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Literacy and Ideology: A Qualitative Research Study of a Language Arts Class of Language Minority Students Using the Scripted Curriculum High Point

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Literacy and Ideology: A Qualitative Research Study of a Language Arts Class of Language Minority Students Using the Scripted Curriculum High Point

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Literacy and Ideology: A Qualitative Research Study of a Language Arts Class of

Language Minority Students Using the Scripted Curriculum *High Point*

by

Elizabeth Osorio-Arzate

A dissertation presented to the Faculty of the School of Education,

Loyola Marymount University,

in partial satisfaction of the requirements for the degree

Doctor of Education

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Literacy and Ideology: A Qualitative Research Study of a Language Arts Class of

Language Minority Students Using the Scripted Curriculum *High Point*

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Elizabeth Osorio-Arzate

This dissertation written by Elizabeth Osorio-Arzate, under the direction of the Dissertation Committee, is approved and accepted by all committee members, in partial fulfillment of requirements for the degree of Doctor of Education.

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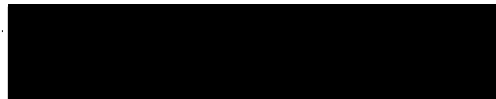
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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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ABSTRACT

This qualitative research study inquired about the literacy experiences of language

minority students in a middle school language arts classroom using the scripted

program *High Point*. In addition, the study inquired about the ideology present in the

curricular program *High Point.* Using qualitative methodology and an inductive

analysis approach to the data, the findings of this study were alarming. The study

found that there was no literacy or learning occurring in the classroom. There was

not even functional literacy occurring in the classroom. On the contrary, students

were being assimilated into a dominant culture different than their own, leading to

resistance on the students' behalf as they were clearly tracked for a life in high school

that did not prepare them for academic success.

CHAPTER 1

BACKGROUND OF STUDY

Introduction

This research study examined the literacy experiences of Latino students in an

inner-city, middle-school language arts classroom using the mandated reading program

High Point, a prepackaged scripted curriculum used to teach language minority students

in California. This study reviewed social and academic transactions occurring in the

classroom in order to ascertain the effects of *High Point* on Latino students' language and

culture. This research evaluated if *High Point*, under the guise of teaching English and

English literacy, is imposing the dominant language ideology (Cadiero-Kaplan, 2004)

and, therefore, producing and reproducing the asymmetrical power relations of the larger

society (Bourdieu, 1973).

Statement of the Problem

In California, one of every 10 people is a recent immigrant (Caroll, Krop, Arkes,

Morrison, & Flanagan, 2005). Demographically, 45% of the population in California is

Latino/a and the student enrollment mirrors the state population: 48% of the student

population in California is Latino/a (California Department of Education, 2007). Of the

number of students currently enrolled in California K-12 public school system, 85.4% of

language minority students are students whose native language is Spanish (California Department of Education, 2007). By 2012, Latinos will be the majority of public school children (Caroll et al., 2005). However, they are now one of the social groups with the larger achievement gap, the highest dropout rate, and one of the top groups with the larger overrepresentation in special education along with African American students.

The No Child Left Behind Act (NCLB, 2001) is a federal legislation that claims to address the achievement gap of minority and poor students by expanding the government's involvement in public schools through accountability measures (Kaufman, 2005) in areas of K-12 curriculum and instruction, teacher qualifications, and student achievement (Kaufman, 2005). NCLB dictates the literacy approach and the kind of reading curriculum used in the classroom to standardized teaching and learning.

Bilingualism is not supported through Title III of NCLB. Therefore, NCLB (2001) requires language minority students to be placed in Sheltered English or Structured English Immersion classes with the purpose of developing English proficiency and mainstreaming them into English-only classrooms (Wright, 2005). K-12 schools must adhere to NCLB's definition of literacy in order to receive federal funds, and they are given linear directions regarding the specific type of literacy instruction they have to use to teach language minority students (Kaufman, 2005). NCLB defines literacy as skills requiring explicit instruction in reading, phonic awareness, decoding, fluency, and reading comprehension (Public Law 107-110, Title I, Subpart 2, Sec. 1221,5).

While the intentions of Title III federal legislation (NCLB, 2001) are to equip every child in the nation, especially language minority students, with reading skills, its

interpretation in California has resulted in a curriculum that is driven by language ideologies that support native *deculturalization* and assimilation of language minority students (Spring, 1997). Deciding what students should learn is related to power; indeed, "pedagogy is always related to power" (Giroux, 1988a, p. 97). While students learn the skill of reading, they are also stripped of their culture and forced to embrace the values and beliefs of the American culture (Darder, 1991). As the population of language minority students in California keeps growing, federal legislation continues to guide the teaching and learning of reading for language minority students.

Given the challenges in California, this study examined how a class of middle-school language minority students is acquiring English literacy through the mandated scripted reading program *High Point,* a chosen state-adopted curriculum for language minority students in Los Angeles Unified School District. This research investigated what type of English literacy *High Point* is promoting and what type of language and literacy ideology is present in the curricular program.

Language and Literacy Ideology

Ideology guides the values held by educators in terms of learning, achievement, and authority. These values exist without ever critically examining their origin, as they are embedded in one's own perception of society. In schools, there is specific ideology pertinent to language and literacy that guides student learning. Latino students coming from a different cultural background might have different beliefs and perceptions guided by the cultural differences they bring. Therefore, this study examined ideology as a way

of assessing the values and beliefs students experience in the classroom through social and academic engagements.

Ideology is the "production of sense and meaning" (Darder, 1991, p. 79), a representation of ideas, beliefs, and values, and the methods by which these beliefs are carried out by society in institutions, such as schools (Darder, 1991; McLaren, 1988). Ideology is also a descriptor of how one views the world and can result in a notion of "common sense;" in this way, the concept becomes unexamined or unquestioned (Gee, 1996).

Language Ideology

Language ideology is a system of discursive practices with rules (Darder, 1991) that govern what can be said and what cannot be said, or who can speak and who cannot speak but rather listen. Darder (1991, p. 36) described language ideology as 'language domination' because it drives the Americanization process in schools. For language minority students, language ideology can mean stripping students of their cultural values and beliefs through the process of learning English. This occurs because after the passage of the anti-bilingual initiative Proposition 227[1] in California, language minority students should acquire English only by being taught in English (Unz & Tuchman, 1998), despite the fact that research in bilingual education claims that native language instruction is more beneficial for the purpose of acquiring a second language (Crawford, 1999; Cummins, 1996). Language ideology was examined in this study by describing power

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[1] Proposition 227 was put forward by the English-only movement initiate by Unz & Tuchman (1998). It's purpose was to instruct students in English while learning English and eliminating the use of native language in their instruction.

relationships that have been revealed in the dispute over the way language minority students should be taught English literacy.

Literacy Ideology

The approaches to literacy instruction in schools derive from a specific language ideology (Lippi-Green, 1997), which may or may not match the literacy practice students bring with them from home into the classroom. Literacy practices in schools can be valued or devalued, and in turn, such practices can affect student achievement (Heath, 1983). This proves detrimental to students because it puts them at a disadvantage, as Heath's (1983) classic ethnographic study *Ways with Words* claimed.

The approach used to teach literacy to language minority students comes from the language ideology that insists immigrant students must learn English quickly, regardless of whether or not it is the most effective way to teach them literacy (Gonzalez, 2005). In his book *Literacy in Theory and Practice,* Street (1984) claimed that social institutions give meaning to literacy, which has political and ideological significance. Regardless of the needs of language minority students, the literacy students acquire is based on the ideology that predominates their learning.

There are several types of literacy, each mediated by a literacy ideology. These types include: functional literacy, cultural literacy, progressive literacy, critical literacy, dominant literacy, and colonial literacy (Cadiero-Kaplan, 2004; Street, 1995).

Functional literacy prepares students to become members of the work force to perform menial jobs. The focus of functional literacy is on following directions and practicing skills that should be transferable to the market in labor-intensive, mundane

jobs. Specifically, functional literacy teaches skills such as filling out job applications and forms needed to enter the marketplace or to be a productive citizen (Apple, 1996; Cadiero-Kaplan, 2004; Kelly, 1997). The ideological approach in functional literacy prepares students to smoothly integrate into the economic market although their economic status will be at the bottom end of a hierarchically divided labor force (Bowles & Gintis, 1976). The smooth integration of students allows for their assimilation into a market economy.

Cultural literacy is centered in a network of information that all students should possess, translating to cultural knowledge (Cadiero-Kaplan, 2004; Hirsch, 1988). The upper middle class usually embraces this cultural knowledge; as a result, many argue that allowing access to cultural literacy would allow more non-upper middle class students to enter mainstream culture (Hirsch, 1988). Gee (1990), however, asserted cultural knowledge derives from overt choices of what is, and is not, included in curriculum. The ideology of cultural literacy, therefore, is muddled. Access to cultural knowledge through cultural literacy would allow students to enter mainstream society; however, the cultural knowledge itself, and how it is defined, is what keeps non-mainstream students in the margins.

Progressive literacy, in contrast with cultural literacy, includes student voice and culture (Cadiero-Kaplan, 2004). Progressive literacy aims to affirm and legitimize the culture students bring to the classroom (McLaren, 1988). It is constructivist and cognitive-based (Cadiero-Kaplan, 2004), allowing students to take part in their learning. Still, progressive literacy allows teaching and curriculum to remain apolitical and

unexamined (Apple, 1986; Freire & Macedo, 1987; McLaren, 1998). Since the curriculum remains apolitical and unexamined, one can claim that its ideology has an agenda: students would be allowed to share their culture but may not question what they learn. In such a case, progressive literacy still keeps students in the margins.

Critical literacy is a literacy of social transformation (Cadiero-Kaplan, 2004; Freire, 1993), requiring that both the teacher and student question the curriculum and any hidden agendas. Critical literacy is not usually welcomed or taught in K-12 public schools (Aronowitz & Giroux, 1985); it becomes political in its approach since it reveals hegemony in schools (Giroux, 1987). Critical literacy curriculum is reconstructed both inside and outside the classroom, allowing students to read texts from their personal life perspectives (Darder, 1991; McLaren, 1988;) and making way for the social, academic, and economic transformation of student lives (Freire, 1993). The ideology of critical literacy allows the student to question the existing social order, place himself or herself in it, and reflect on change.

Apple (1996) claimed that school curricula are produced out of cultural, political, and economic tensions. Literacy and curriculum could, therefore, emerge for one of two purposes: personal empowerment and voice, or rudimentary and functional job skills (Freire, 1993; Luke, 1988).

Education Policy of Language Minority Students

Prior to 1968, there was no education policy related to language minority students in American K-12 education that supported native language instruction (Wright, 2005). That changed as a result of the 1968 Bilingual Education Act, which included specific

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provisions to support students who were deemed "limited and deficient" in English. The framework for Bilingual Education in America became remedial and compensatory (Wright, 2005). In the 1974 reauthorization of Bilingual Education, the purpose of the program was transitioning students to English literacy as soon as possible (Wright, 2005). The *Lau v. Nichols* (Lau v. Nichols, 1974 [414 U.S. 563]) court case claimed that students were not necessarily treated equally, even though they were provided with the same facilities, textbooks, teachers, and curriculum; as a result, the *Lau Remedies* came into effect. As reauthorization progressed, the purpose of bilingual education became both clearer and narrower. The purpose then became the achievement of full competency in English by language minority students (Wright, 2005). In the 1994 reauthorization of the Bilingual Education Act, bilingual education included instructional use of both English and the native language of students (Wright, 2005).

In California, the course of policy for language minority students changed. Proposition 227 limited bilingual education in California and had a profound impact on federal legislation, in particular, the 2001 reauthorization of ESEA (Wright, 2005). The 2001 reauthorization, the No Child Left Behind Act (2001), exclusively focused on English-only teaching of language minority students (Wright, 2005). Use of the native language of language minority students is excluded from instruction.

Macedo (2006) believed teaching literacy to language minority students should stay away from employing workbooks, scripted instruction, and prepackaged curriculum (Cummins, 2000); however, California has turned to exactly that type of curriculum to instruct language minority students. *High Point* was developed as a response to the No

Child Left Behind Act (2001), which requires students to be taught with a specific curriculum. NCLB (2001) demands that K-12 schools "implement language instruction educational programs, based on scientifically based research on teaching limited English proficient children," (Title III, NCLB, 2001). This type of curriculum gives students functional reading skills (Cadiero-Kaplan, 2004) but lacks the ability to give students an "analytical attitude toward authority in their own daily existence," (Freire, 1998, p. 180).

<div align="center">Purpose of the Study</div>

The purpose of this qualitative study was to examine the scripted reading program *High Point*, a mandatory curriculum for all middle schools in Los Angeles Unified School District (LAUSD) with language minority students performing below grade level. This research analyzed what kinds of literacy Latino, language minority students, are experiencing in a classroom that uses the scripted reading program *High Point*, and it investigated the impact of this mandatory curriculum on students' language and culture. This qualitative study examined academic and social transactions taking place in an inner city, middle-school classroom using *High Point* to teach English to Latino students in a Language Arts class.

<div align="center">Research Questions</div>

For the past six years, Los Angeles inner-city schools have been required to use scripted reading programs, such as *Open Court, High Point, Holt, Language!*, and *McDougall-Littell* that appear to respond to the NCLB's (2001) definition of 'scientifically and research-based' reading programs. A LAUSD self-evaluation study

(Vuckovic, Hayes, & Salazar, 2005) claimed that 21% of students in classrooms where *High Point* was fully implemented increased their test scores to basic level performance and they recommended that to increase language minority students' academic achievement, *High Point* has to be fully implemented. Consequently, the study implied that 79% of language minority students taught by *High Point* were not succeeding. As a result of these findings related to the lack of success of *High Point* with language minority students, this dissertation study addressed the following research questions:

1.   Which forms of literacy are students experiencing in the academic transactions of a classroom using *High Point*?

2.   What is the ideology of the scripted curriculum *High Point,* as measured by social and academic transactions occurring in the classroom?

Significance of Study

High Point is a scripted reading curriculum for middle-school students endorsed by the No Child Left Behind (2001) legislation as one of the "scientifically-based" reading programs for failing schools. *High Point* is generally being used to teach immigrant and poor children in inner-city schools. This dissertation research examined the language and literacy ideology of *High Point* and brings to light the values and beliefs embedded in this scripted curriculum. By documenting the pedagogical practices and classroom discourses elicited in the implementation of *High Point,* this study provides evidence of how its restricted vision of literacy, in the long run, supports the reproduction of a cheap immigrant labor force. This research study also provides evidence on the way this scripted curriculum is assimilating immigrant children and forcing them to lose their

language and culture under the guise of teaching functional reading skills. This dissertation provides evidence of the detrimental effects of this scripted curriculum on students' bicultural and bilingual identities.

Research Design and Methodology

This qualitative research study took place in Dominguez School, one of the first middle schools in LAUSD district to implement *High Point* for language minority students. Dominguez School is located in an inner-city area, a few miles away from bustling downtown Los Angeles. As in other inner-city schools, Dominguez School has experienced a rapid turnover in leadership, as it has changed six principals in seven years. Sixty-six percent of Dominguez's students are language minority students. Dominguez School has consistently failed to make Adequate Yearly Progress (AYP) to meet the requirements of NCLB and it is classified as a *Program Improvement School,* year five. For that reason, Dominguez School has been forced to adopt the curricular programs prescribed by NCLB to continue receiving federal funding.

The students in the classroom focus of this research study are identified as middle school, Latino, language minority students who have attended LAUSD since their early elementary school years. Hence, these students are not recent immigrants but rather children of immigrants who were born in the United States, and who, despite attending the same school district since their elementary school years, have not been exited from the English Language Development (ELD) program. The students are orally proficient in English but have difficulties in academic literacy for their grade level (Cummins, 1996). Since these students have not exited the English Language Development (ELD) program

and their test scores are below grade level, they have been placed in a special classroom implementing the reading program *High Point* to teach them Language Arts. The teacher in this classroom has taught for over 25 years and has experience teaching English in other countries, including Germany, Japan, and Hawaii, as first and second language.

Methods of Data Collection

This qualitative research study gathered data through classroom observations that were structured by topic, such as learner, language, and resources used to teach language minority students. Classroom observations were complemented with tape recordings to document the classroom discourse. Structured and unstructured interviews of the classroom teacher and the students were used to understand the insider's perspective of classroom occurrences. In addition, this study incorporated focus groups of other teachers at the same school working with *High Point* to triangulate the perspectives of the classroom teacher where this study was conducted. The curricular text was also used through a document analysis approach.

Data was gathered over a five-month period, in which the classroom focus of this study was observed two to three times per week during the Language Arts period. Fieldnotes, interviews and focus groups were analyzed for identification of recurring themes and they gave direction to the research for further inquiry on the transactions in the classroom.

Positionality and Reflexivity

This study initiated from a position of a feeling of powerlessness. As a classroom teacher, I was forced to teach *High Point,* to follow a pacing guide, and to provide

evidence that the student had mastered an ELD standard. As a teacher working with *High Point,* I believed the students deserved to be taught something different and touch their lives.

It seemed incomprehensible to work with a group of students and never know what their lives outside of the classroom was like; or to know any talents they might possess—all due to the constraint of working with a curricular program that demanded a lot from both the teacher and the students. Aside from the pressure of racing through a pacing guide, I did not have any relationships with my students. Once my students left my classroom, I never knew a single thing about them; moreover, when students walked into my classroom the following day, I had no basis for connection with them. We were both displaced and the feeling of strangers was ever present. After a year of working in this situation and with no support coming from the administration, I left the school. I left disillusioned in the teaching profession, with a strong feeling of failure, and with the guilt that the students I worked with that year had been done a disservice.

My position in this research was twofold. One, I wanted to be objective about the program. I wanted to discover any advantages and anything the program had to offer. I also wanted to know the hidden agenda behind the program and its ideology. Up until my year of working with *High Point,* my teaching had been a success. My teaching plummeted when I started to teach using *High Point*. I wanted to know what had changed. Secondly, in my position in this research, I wanted an affirmation that as a teacher, I can change the things that happen in my classroom. If a curricular piece was not working in my classroom, then I should have the confidence to change it.

This positionality influenced my research in that I entered a classroom of familiar territory. With this familiarity, I must claim that my biases were ever present in my best attempt to remain objective as to what was occurring in the classroom of study. Moreover, in the attempt to capture what was occurring in the classroom, and in validating with the teacher my raw data, it is of obvious discernment that my lens at looking at this classroom was biased. It is the delimitation of this study that in the attempt to remain objective, the lens that was brought to the classroom of study was biased with a perception of the curricular program, its effectiveness, and its agenda. Even so, the qualitative study opened venues that as a teacher I would never have learned, such as the opinions of students. The study also opened discussion with other educators, their feelings in regards to teaching and the teaching profession, and the everyday struggle educators in public schools face in attempting to teach programs that policy makers force upon schools and classrooms. Thus, in Chapter 4, my findings reflect the delimitations of this study, but also the richness in the discoveries of a classroom in terms of teaching, pedagogy, and student voice.

Limitations and Delimitations

This qualitative study does not address or encompass the remaining populations of language minority students in the state of California. The qualitative study addresses specifically the Latino and Latina second- and third-generation population of language minority students in an urban school setting because it is of interest in this particular research.

Definition of Terms

Americanization: Replacing one's culture with the dominant American culture.

Bicultural students: Children who are part of two cultures: their native culture and the dominant, American culture.

Bilingual students: Children that speak two languages.

English Language Learner (ELLs): Individuals who come from language backgrounds other than English who cannot benefit from regular English instruction because they do not have English proficiency (August & Shanahan, 2006).

Language minority student: A student who comes from a home where English is not the dominant language (August & Shanahan, 2006). For the purposes of this study, the term language minority students refers only to Latino and Latina language minority students and does not encompass the remaining populations of language minority students in California. That is because this case study specifically sought to understand the literacy experiences of Latinos and Latinas.

Latina (o): Students in the classroom whom are of Latin American descent.

Literacy: Reading and writing (August & Shanahan, 2006).

Scripted curriculum: A curricular program with directives including the skills students are to learn, objectives for each lesson, instructions for students, and assessment methods.

Organization of Dissertation

Chapter 1 introduced the problem and the goals of the dissertation. Chapter 2 presents a review of literature on critical pedagogy, critical literacy, second language

learning, and educational policies related to language minority students. Insight into

language socialization is included as background to language development in the

classroom. Chapter 3 describes the qualitative methodology used in this study, the

methods of data collection, the site, and the way the data were analyzed and interpreted.

Chapter 4 presents the findings of this research study, and Chapter 5 describes the

findings of the research, the conclusions of the study, and recommendations for further

research.

CHAPTER 2

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

Introduction

This chapter begins by describing the history of educational policies for language

minority students. Next, it provides the theoretical framework for this dissertation,

including such theories as critical pedagogy, social reproduction theories, critical literacy,

and language and literacy ideologies. Lastly, the chapter describes a set of approaches to

the analysis of literacy ideologies used in the teaching of language minority students.

This dissertation reviewed the literacy experience of language minority students and the

impact of a scripted curriculum on their language and culture.

Historical Overview of Language Policies for
Language Minority Students

Language minority students are those students who have not acquired Standard

English (Scarcela, 2003) and who may have a native language other than English or

speak a nonstandard English dialect (Scarcela, 2003). Generally, language minority

students are children of immigrants, or are immigrants themselves. In California, they are

part of the 3.5 million immigrants in the state, and constitute 38% of students in K-12

schools in the County of Los Angeles (Scarcela, 2003). The population of language

minority students in California is increasing. In 1995, there were a total of 1,262,982 language minority students in the state (California Department of Education, 2007). By 2006, that number had grown to 1,570,424 (California Department of Education, 2007). It is important to note that not all language minority students are immigrants (Rubenstein-Avila, 2004). Some language minority students are children of immigrants and are labeled as language minority students because they have yet to acquire the academic English of their peers. Policies in relation to language minority students apply to all regardless of immigrant status.

The Bilingual Education Act

Prior to 1968, no language policy related to language minority students existed in some schools in California (Crawford, 1999; Wright, 2005). However, this changed with the first Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA), of which the 1968 Bilingual Education Act (BEA) eventually became a part. This new BEA, introduced by Senator Ralph Yarborough, a Democrat from Texas, provided school districts and other eligible entities funding through a competitive grant process. The Bilingual Education Act was approved to support students who were identified by the language they spoke at home and labeled "limited" or "deficient" in English (Wright, 2005, p. 3). This provided a framework for bilingual education as remedial, compensatory, and serving students from a deficit perspective. Importantly, the Bilingual Education Act of 1968 became incorporated in the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA), which later became Title VII of the ESEA.

Title VII of ESEA, which was the Bilingual Education Act, became controversial as critics argued whether its intent was anti-discriminatory or anti-poverty. Also questioned was the purpose of Title VII, whether it was to transition students into English literacy instruction as soon as possible, or to produce students who were proficient bilinguals. This debate continued for years, evidenced by the reauthorizations of the Bilingual Education Act, ESEA, and its trajectory to the current legislation No Child Left Behind Act (NCLB) in 2001. Table 1 provides a timeline displaying major points of the reauthorizations of the Bilingual Education Act.

The Bilingual Education Act began without a clear definition of which students the Act would serve, but later developed such a clear definition of students eligible for services, including, for example, migrant students and their families (Wright, 2005). The students BEA would serve, identified as language minority students, also were given a clear direction in their education—to attain English proficiency and not necessary biliteracy or bilingualism—as BEA's purpose became clearer (Wright, 2005). Although the Lau Remedies, brought about by the court case *Lau vs. Nichols* (Lau v. Nichols, 1974 [414 U.S. 463]), provided hope for bilingual education, the hope faded with the approval of NCLB in 2001.

Table 1

Historical and Chronological Development of BEA

Year and Historical Event

1974	1978	1984	1988	1994	2001
• Defined limited-English speaking ability • Clear, narrow definition of students • Eligibility assessments for Title VII programs • Clear definition of bilingual education	• New term for students: "Language minority students" • English proficiency tests in oral language, reading, and writing were developed • Lau v. Nichols court case—no equality simply by having same facilities, textbooks, teachers, or curriculum • Lau Remedies—identified proper approaches for identifying students, determining instruction, deciding transitioning for mainstream classes, and professional standards to be met by teachers	• Title VII programs was for students to achieve full competence in English • English-only programs were official • Creation of "family English literacy programs"	• Native language instruction was supported to promote international competitiveness • Teacher shortage to teach LEP was noted as a problem	• Title change: from Bilingual Education Act to Improving America's Schools Act (IASA) • Migrant students and their families were included in the Act • Title VII funding began supporting "migratory" students and families • California Proposition 227 mandated students be taught English in English. • Students educated through sheltered English Immersion classes	• Title change: from IASA to No Child Left Behind (NCLB) • The word bilingual was no longer used in the Act • Title VII was replaced by Title III • Fewer dollars per student

Bilingual Education Trajectory

Bilingual Education became transitional, to prepare students to English-literacy instruction	Bilingual Education was to transition students into English-literacy instruction, not maintain native languages	Bilingual Education was the subject of controversy between those pushing English-only framework and those pushing developmental Bilingual Education	Bilingual Education was supporting native language instruction to promote international competitiveness	Bilingual Education included instruction in both English and native language of students; it allowed for the development of native language skills; bilingual education became developmental and two-way immersion bilingual programs	No longer Bilingual Education. The purpose of Title III is the development of English proficiency.

1974-1994: A 20-year Trajectory

A landmark of the 1974 reauthorization was the clear definition of bilingual education, which became defined as transitional; that is, students were to be transitioned to English literacy instruction as soon as possible (Wright, 2005). The students eligible for funding under the 1974 reauthorization were those who were not yet proficient in English. Importantly, while it was not explicitly stated, the 1974 reauthorization did not necessarily limit native language instruction or biliteracy.

The 1978 reauthorization brought about new terminology. Students were labeled "limited English proficient," rather than "limited English-speaking ability" (Wright, 2005). In addition, tests were developed to measure the English proficiency of these students in oral language, reading, and writing. Notably, the 1978 reauthorization showed the effects of the *Lau v. Nichols* court case (Lau v. Nichols, 1974 (414 U.S. 563), which claimed that equality was not attained simply by providing the same facilities, textbooks, teachers, or curriculum. The *Lau vs. Nichols* (1974) court case brought about the Lau Remedies (Crawford, 1999), which stipulated proper approaches for identifying students, determining instruction, deciding transitioning students into mainstream classes, and professional standards for teachers. Moreover, although the Lau Remedies set precedents for language minority students, bilingual education became narrower: the purpose of bilingual education was to transition students into English-literacy instruction, not maintain their native languages.

In the 1984 reauthorization, bilingual education was the subject of debate between those pushing an English-only framework and those in support of developmental

bilingual education. In addition, the Bilingual Education Act became incorporated in the

Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA), Title VII, and was no longer a

separate educational policy (Wright, 2005). English-only programs were created and

became official with the incorporation of the Bilingual Education Act in ESEA.

Undeniably, the creation of "family literacy programs" was a positive addition to the

1984 reauthorization.

The 1988 reauthorization was positive for the Bilingual Education Act or Title

VII as it became known. Native language instruction, promoted with the purpose of

increasing international competitiveness, was supported in classrooms (Wright, 2005).

Yet, there was a shortage of teachers equipped to give such native language instruction.

In 1994, the title of the legislation was changed from Bilingual Education Act to

Improving America's Schools Act (IASA), which implied a change in focus. However, a

positive thing occurred with bilingual education, as funding began supporting

"migratory" students and families (Wright, 2005) and allowed for the development of

language skills through developmental bilingual education and two-way immersion

bilingual programs. In California, however, bilingual education was dismantled in 1998.

Proposition 227 mandated that students be taught English through Sheltered English

Immersion classes (Wright, 2005). This means that students were no longer encouraged

to use their native language for support in learning English.

NCLB and the End of Bilingual Education

The signing of the NCLB Act in 2001 marked the end of government-sponsored

bilingual education programs in the United States, specifically in California. The first

notable change was the title, from "Improving America's Schools Act" (IASA) to "No Child Left Behind"(NCLB) (Wright, 2005). Title VII of the former ESEA (1974) was replaced in NCLB (2001) as Title III. The purpose of Title III was the development of English proficiency in language minority students (Wright, 2005). The *Office for Bilingual Education and Minority Language Affairs* was replaced with the *Office of English Language Acquisition, Language Enhancement, and Academic Achievement for Language Minority Students* (No Child Left Behind Act of 2001, Public Law 107-110, January 8, 2002). This change in the title also reflected a change in the purpose of the law.

Metaphorically, the replacement of the word "bilingual" in the federal act also sent a pedagogical message: There would no longer be bilingual education, and it would no longer be supported through federal policy. Changing the name of the office and the title of the Bilingual Education Act essentially erased the existence of bilingual education. Moreover, eliminating the word "bilingual education" in the transition between Title VII to Title III essentially eliminated the opportunity for Bilingual Education to reappear in any further reauthorizations. This is unless there exists a second opportunity for native language instruction to become important for globalization purposes.

The 2001 reauthorization, No Child Left Behind (NCLB, 2001) Act, dramatically changed policy for language minority students. These title changes for bilingual education signaled a deliberate shift in focus for the education of language minority students. When the words *Bilingual Education* were changed to *English Language*

Acquisition, the most pronounced change was the focus of the office, and the focus was away from Bilingual Education. The focus for language minority students became the acquisition of English literacy; native language instruction, or bilingualism and biliteracy, were no longer supported. The result was that bilingual education had no federal status at all, although there has been research to show it is effective.

Effectiveness of Bilingual Education

Proposition 227 did not ban bilingual education in California, but it did ban native language instruction for language minority students learning English as a second language (Wright, 2005). This was done even though research shows that some native language instruction for language minority students has beneficial effects in standardized test scores taken in English (Green, 1997). Research also shows that a language minority student cannot acquire a second target language, i.e. English, by avoiding their first native language (Ovando, 2003). If a child has acquired literacy in their native language, then it should be a common understanding to use that background knowledge of literacy and transfer the skills to acquire English.

It is true that the level of literacy skills that students have in their native language will become a variable in acquiring English (Thomas & Collier, 1997). However, several research studies confirmed that it takes from five to seven years to acquire a second language and it can take seven to 10 years if students have no literacy background in their native tongue (Cummins, 1996). This is because students will have to acquire literacy skills first in their native language before any attempt to learn the second language. Spending more time in English is not necessarily associated with more gains in literacy

acquisition if the students do not understand the lessons (Ovando, 2003). This leads back to native language instruction and its importance for language minority students in acquiring English. Bilingual education is needed for language minority students to acquire English; bilingual education programs do promote academic success (August & Hakuta, 1997; Cummins, 2000; Green, 1998; Krashen & Biber, 1998; Ramirez, Yuen, & Ramey, 1991; Willig, 1985). Research supports the idea that native language instruction has benefits in the academic success of language minority students. However, NCLB dismisses that by funding language and literacy programs that endorse English-only learning.

Qualifying for Funding

Title III of NCLB (2001), which applies specifically to language minority students, provides formula grants to State Education Agencies (SEAs), which, in turn, make sub-grants to Local Education Agencies (LEAs) to fund programs that NCLB supports. Any program geared towards language minority students must meet two categories to qualify for funding: (a) they must teach English, and (b) they must teach the state content standards (NCLB, 2001, Sec. 3301 [8]). This is because NCLB (2001) requires that language minority students be placed in "language instruction education programs" in which the purpose is to develop English proficiency (NCLB, 2001, Sec. 3301 [8]). Language minority students should be in classes in which they are taught English and the state standards; their classes should not have any support in native language instruction.

Local Education Agencies granting funds from SEAs must submit plans to the U.S. Department of Education about how those funds are:

using language instruction curriculum that is tied to scientifically based research on teaching LEP [language minority] children and that has been demonstrated effective…in the manner the eligible entities determine to be the most effective (NCLB, Sec. 3113 (b) [6]).

In addition, Local Education Agencies must make progress or they stand to lose their grants. In California, progress means increase in English proficiency as measured by the California English Language Development Test (CELDT). Another accountability measure is the Adequate Yearly Progress (AYP) of language minority students as measured by the California Standards Test (CST) (NCLB, 2001, Sec. 3102 (8)).

A less positive aspect of NCLB (2001) is its exclusive focus on English-only. Language minority students are taught English in English, or Structured English-Immersion classes, and are mainstreamed into English-only classrooms (Wright, 2005) without support for, or in, their native language. It becomes obvious that bilingualism is not supported through Title III of NCLB (2001). It also becomes obvious that, in order to get funding for language instruction of language minority students, schools and districts must use programs that follow the government's definition of "scientifically based research on teaching LEP children" (NCLB, 2001, Sec. 3113 (b) (6)).

No Child Left Behind Act

The No Child Left Behind Act represents the decision of the federal government to expand its involvement in public schools (Public Law No. 107-110, 2001). The 2001's

NCLB Act marks a time when the federal government has taken away local control of schools across the nation (Kaufman, 2005). Figure 1 shows the components of the NCLB legislation.

Figure 1. The Pillars of the Legislation No Child Left Behind (NCLB)
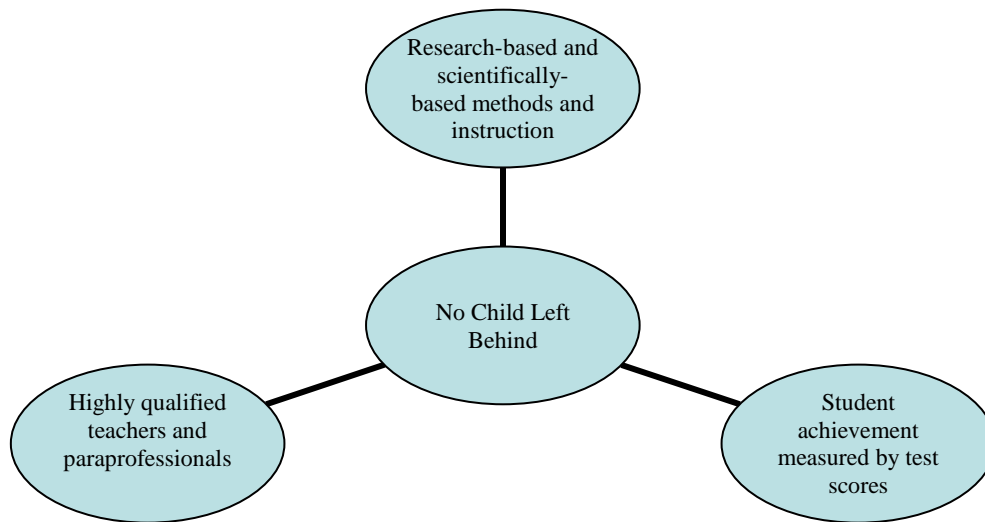
The Structure

The NCLB legislation has several components. First, NCLB requires that all students be taught by highly qualified teachers and paraprofessionals. NCLB also demands high accountability in terms of student achievement; it requires students to be tested in math and reading in grades three through eight. Schools must achieve minimum standards on tests, and scores must be disaggregated by race, ethnicity, gender, socioeconomic status and language proficiency. In addition, NCLB (2001) demands the use of methods and instruction in classrooms that are research-based and scientifically based (Vialpando, 2004). The fact that instruction must specifically be research-based

and scientifically-based according to NCLB's own definition—and that results are measured by standardized test scores—points to the specific, narrow definition used to determine the kind of instruction schools must choose to use in their classrooms.

NCLB (2001) demands high accountability in areas of curriculum and instruction, teacher qualifications, and student achievement. On the surface, these demands set forth by NCLB (2001) are desirable; having high expectations for schools and students is undeniably positive. Underneath the surface, however, when schools and students are not performing up to standard, the curriculum prescribed to improve achievement is based on test scores that may or may not reflect the actual performance or needs of students. This is critical when language minority students are expected to take the same exams for accountability purposes as their counterparts who are non-language minority students. Due to their lack of proficiency in academic English, language minority students can perform considerably lower than the rest of the school population. Students are then placed in remedial or "extra support" classes, based on test scores. These classes use curriculum identified by NCLB as research-based and scientifically based programs designed to improve test scores. If, after a certain amount of time, students who are given this curriculum and are in these classes – most of whom are language minority students – do not show any progress, their schools suffer the consequences for this lack of progress. The following section describes these ramifications.

Penalizing Schools, Teachers, and Students: California and NCLB

The sanctions for not meeting levels of accountability set forth by NCLB (2001) and the state are high. California's level of accountability is narrower than the federal's level of accountability, due to California's interpretation of the federal legislation. California requires that all students score at the proficient and advanced levels on the California performance assessment test (California Department of Education, 2007). The purpose of the California Standards Test (CST) is to determine students' achievement on the California standards in each grade or in each course. Student scores are then determined as Advanced, Proficient, Basic, Below Basic, or Far Below Basic (California Department of Education, 2007).

The CST is the major component of California's accountability system for schools and school districts (CDE, 2007). The CST test scores are used to determine the school's Academic Performance Index (API), which is used to determine if schools are making Adequate Yearly Progress (AYP) in helping students meet the Proficient and Advanced level goals California has for its students (CDE, 2007). These accountability measures are California's interpretation of the accountability required by NCLB (2001).

If students do not show progress in meeting the proficiency guidelines set forth by each state, their schools are identified as needing remediation. A school whose students fail to show sufficient progress on tests for two years in a row is then asked to provide an *Improvement Plan*. The parents of students in an identified *Program Improvement* school may be given the option to send his or her child to a different school that is not identified in need of improvement. Schools must provide the funds to send these students to other

schools if parents decide on that option. If, at the end of two years, a school still does not provide *Adequate Yearly Progress* in meeting the levels of proficiency set forth by each state, the district and the state may require a reconstitution of the administration and curriculum of that school. If schools are asked to reconstitute their curricula, the curriculum implemented must meet federal legislation guidelines as programs that NCLB (2001) labels as scientifically- and researched-based. If, by the end of the third year, schools do not make *Adequate Yearly Progress*, the district may then require schools to reconstruct the nature of the school day. The school might be taken over by the state, contracted out to a private organization, or begin functioning as a charter school. If a subgroup increases student achievement by 10%, then the sanctions for a school are lessened. Schools' failure to make *Adequate Yearly Progress* results in parallel consequences for the district of which they are a part. Districts can be reconstituted, as well as lose their federal and state funding, for their lack of progress on student achievement.

Implications

The implications of NCLB (2001) for local control of schools are unsettling because teaching is focused on improving test scores. First, NCLB (2001) places into law the standards movement, through accountability and testing, by requiring schools to perform on standardized tests (Kaufman, 2005). While the standards movement had been in effect prior to NCLB (2001), placing it into educational policy requires all schools to teach to the standards. Second, if a school fails to meet adequate yearly progress, then the curriculum of that school will most likely become standards-based, meaning that

31

classroom teachers will have to be explicit in the teaching of standards (Kaufman, 2005).

If a school adopts a curriculum that is standards-based, it is most likely that the

curriculum will also have to be research-based and/or scientifically based to meet the

demands of NCLB (2001). Critics such as Kohn (1999) termed the standards-based

movement in NCLB (2001) as politically popular but educationally unsound because it is

geared to improve test scores. Essentially, teaching becomes geared towards a test.

On standardized tests, the highest predictor of high test results is family income,

and, in turn, tests measure socioeconomic status of students, according to Kohn (1999).

Kohn (1999) critically claimed that, at best, standardized tests reward shallow thinking,

such as memorization of facts, and do not reward reflective thinking. In the classroom,

the same would occur; students would be rewarded for memorizing facts and not for

reflective thinking. Accepting Kohn's argument would mean that NCLB (2001) is

producing students that are not thinkers, not analytically sound people, and, therefore, not

globally competent just by the nature of accountability, which is measured in test scores.

NCLB and the Classroom

The No Child Left Behind (2001) Act is the federal legislation that guides the

kind of curriculum teachers will use, specifically in the field of reading and language arts.

NCLB also defines the nature of literacy instruction. The ultimate goal is that the

teaching of reading is standardized for all children.

In the U.S., according to Rubenstein-Avila (2004), adolescents struggle to read

across content areas because what is read in their English classes is not giving them the

skills to transfer to their mathematics, science, or history courses, or to transfer anywhere

else. Many of these adolescents are orally proficient in English, but not in reading or writing; they fail to score above the 36th percentile on standardized tests, which then labels them as non-proficient readers (Rubenstein-Avila, 2004). These are students that are not necessarily language minority students.

The difference between the ability to communicate orally and the ability to use reading and writing academically is a gap that is widening among adolescents, and it is even worse for language minority students (Hadaway, Vardell, & Young, 2002). Cummins (1996) claimed that this is a misconception about language proficiency in English; language learners develop their oral skills in English faster than their cognitive abilities, i.e. reading and writing. In general, students take much longer in acquiring academic writing. This is so because, according to Cummins (1996), students may take up to seven years to gain cognitive proficiency in a new language, but it is also known that the social skills, or the oral proficiency of the language, are learned first and faster than the cognitive proficiency. It would seem that the academic writing would come third on the acquisition stage for language minority students. In so doing, when students do not perform on standardized tests, they are seen as failures because tests measure cognitive proficiency and academic language and not necessarily oral proficiency.

Since fiction, such as short stories, novels, and poems, dominates the classroom, students are asked to read and comprehend what they read. On standardized tests, students are being tested on non-fiction text, which deals with facts, details, and organization. In response to this struggle, the federal legislation, in its attempt to take control over schools, created an emphasis on instruction.

Literacy is an area of specification of instruction under NCLB (2001). Moreover, while literacy is an area of specification under NCLB (2001), literacy ideology is guiding this policy, as well as the kind of curriculum students are learning in the classroom. Literacy ideology, defined later, ultimately gears literacy in the classroom towards the kind of job students will have when they enter the workforce. This is because literacy serves an educational purpose in every country.

Freire (Freire & Macedo, 1998) and Giroux (1988b) agreed that literacy is not being used to transform the lives of students, but rather it is being used to adapt the students to the existing social and class structures. Michael Apple (2000) gave a definition of what literacy should be:

> Literacy itself is a socially constructed form, shaped by and reflecting wider social practices, relations, values, goals, and interests; however, increasingly, the meaning has become fixed around functional definitions and viewed as a set of skills that would lead to economic progress, discipline, and achievement on internationally comparative tests…our aim in education should not be to create 'functional literacy,' but *critical* literacy, *powerful* literacy, *political* literacy that enables the growth of genuine understanding and control of all spheres of social life in which we participate. (Apple, 2000, p. x)

Unlike Apple (2000), the federal legislation, NCLB (2001), defines literacy as a reading skill:

The term 'reading' means a complex system deriving meaning from print that

requires all of the following:

> A) the skills and knowledge to understand how phonemes or speech
>
> sounds are connected to print.
>
> B) The ability to decode unfamiliar words.
>
> C) The ability to read fluently.
>
> D) Sufficient background information and vocabulary to foster
>
> reading comprehension.
>
> E) The development of appropriate active strategies to construct
>
> meaning from print.
>
> F) The development and maintenance of a motivation to read.
>
> (NCLB, 2001, PL 107-110, Title I, Subpart 2, Sec. 1221 (5))

Students can become literate and proficient in reading by just learning to decode.

If students have mastered phonemic awareness, have a knowledge base of phonics,

develop their vocabulary, develop reading fluency (including oral reading) and

comprehend what they read, then schools have accomplished their job in teaching

students to be literate, according to NCLB. Reading and literacy are used

interchangeably, without any regard for the role of the reading for emancipatory

purposes.

In turn, through NCLB (2001), students are assessed on their reading skill—

functional skill—and placed on a scale of how well they read. In the state of California,

the scale becomes a range of five: advanced, proficient, basic, below basic, and far below

basic (Kaufman, 2005). The higher the number of students that perform on a proficient and advanced level, the more schools are praised and labeled high-performing. The fewer the number of students performing as proficient and advanced, the more sanctions schools receive. It becomes the best interest of schools to make sure that students learn the functional skill of reading. The functional skill of reading then becomes their literacy instruction. NCLB (2001) gives a definition of what reading, i.e. literacy (interchangeable used), instruction should be:

The term 'essential components of reading instruction' means explicit and systematic instruction in-

    a) phonemic awareness;

    b) phonics;

    c) vocabulary development;

    d) reading fluency, including oral reading skills; and

    e) reading comprehension strategies (NCLB, 2001, PL 107-110, Title I, Subpart 2, Sec. 1221 (3)) (see Figure 2).

Figure 2. NCLB's Definition of Literacy
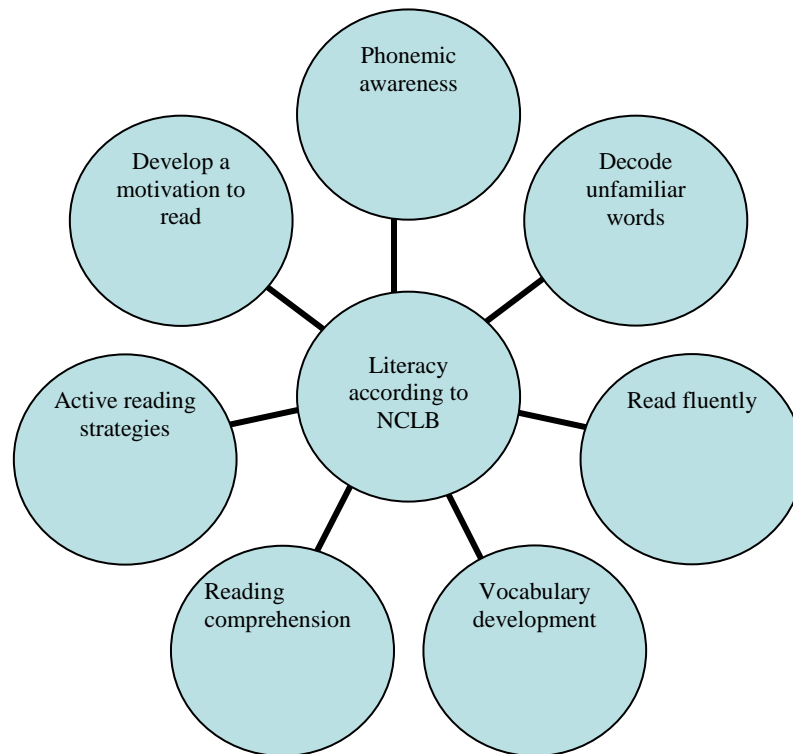
Schools are given a guide by the federal legislation as to what skills students should receive in reading instruction, as well as how the reading instruction should be conducted. Moreover, schools are also given a guide as to what reading programs they can use to teach students how to read. The federal legislation terms this guidance as "scientifically based reading research programs" (NCLB, 2001). A scientifically based reading research program:

1. Applies rigorous, systematic, and objective procedures to obtain valid knowledge relevant to reading development, reading instruction, and reading difficulties; and

2. includes research that-

 a. employs systematic, empirical methods that draw on observation or experiment,

 b. involves rigorous data analyses that are adequate to test the stated hypotheses and justify the general conclusions drawn,

 c. relies on measurements or observational methods that provide valid data across evaluators and observers and across multiple measurements and observations; and

3. has been accepted by a peer-reviewed journal or approved by a panel of independent experts through a comparably rigorous, objective, and scientific review (NCLB, 2001, PL 107-110, Title I, Subpart 2, Sec. 1221 (5)).

Schools are given a linear direction for literacy. Schools are to teach students the skill of reading. Reading instruction must be explicit in the teaching of the technical skills of reading. Schools must use reading programs that are scientifically based reading research programs. It is implied that if a school follows the guidance the federal legislation puts forth, then the school will perform, and the test scores of students will be in the range of advanced and proficient. Schools will then make progress and meet the accountability demands set forth by the state and the federal legislation. The legislation is written in a cause-effect format that schools can easily adopt. Again, the school's job is to teach students the technical skills of reading, not necessarily to teach students critical

literacy skills, powerful literacy skills, or political literacy skills, as Apple (2000) advocated.

A historical overview of language minority students and the policies that guide their classroom instruction is important to include with this study. Since this investigation is a qualitative study on a curricular program for language minority students, it is important to include policies that guide their instruction.

Theoretical Framework

Social reproduction theory, critical theory and critical pedagogy are used as theoretical frameworks of this research study because its questions investigate the literacy experiences of language minority students and the ideology present in their classroom. Following is an overview of the theory guiding the research study.

Social Reproduction Theory

Social reproduction theory can be described as the "regulator of aspirations" (McLeod, 1987, p. 23). This regulation of aspirations is done through several components, or tenets, which together make up social reproduction theory. Table 2 presents a synopsis of the theory, while Figure 3 presents a visual map of the theory.

Table 2

A Synopsis of Social Reproduction Theory

Social and economic reproduction	Cultural reproduction	Cultural production	Linguistic Reproduction	Emergence of critical pedagogy

<u>Capitalist mode of production</u>
• Schools produce stratification
• Makes capitalism work
• Tracking students
 	
<u>Class-based differences in socialization</u>
• Organization of power in schools
• Lack of control in curriculum
• Confining students to their roles
• Subject specialization
 	
<u>Ideological level of operation</u>
• Schools function to train students to enter workforce
• Students rewarded for confining to their roles
	<u>Cultural capital</u>
	• Competencies possessed by the elite
	• Hidden rules: character traits, mannerisms—implicit
	• Inherited
	• Allows school success; schools value upper-class capital
	• Cultural capital becomes economic capital
	
	<u>Habitus</u>
	• Consumption patterns
	• System of dispositions
	• Matrix of perceptions and actions
	• Deeply internalized values
	• Regulator of the individual
		<u>Student resistance</u>
		• Dissatisfaction through their behavior
		• Male celebration of masculinity
		• Reject school
		• Social mobility is remote
		
		<u>Counterculture</u>
		• Identities formed and celebrated
		• Mental labor is social inferiority
		• Mental labor is feminine
		• Manual labor is masculine
			<u>Language patterns</u>
			• Linguistic codes according to class
			• Speech patterns
			  o Allow for social class membership
			• Working-class
			  o Restricted code speech pattern
			  o Dependent on the context of the speech / explicit
			  o Not necessarily able to speak from personal experience
			• Middle-class and Upper-class
			  o Elaborate code speech pattern
			  o Share unique perspective in dialogue
			  o Speak from personal experience
				<u>Act of resistance</u>
				
				• Must be resisting against domination

Figure 3. Social Reproduction Theory
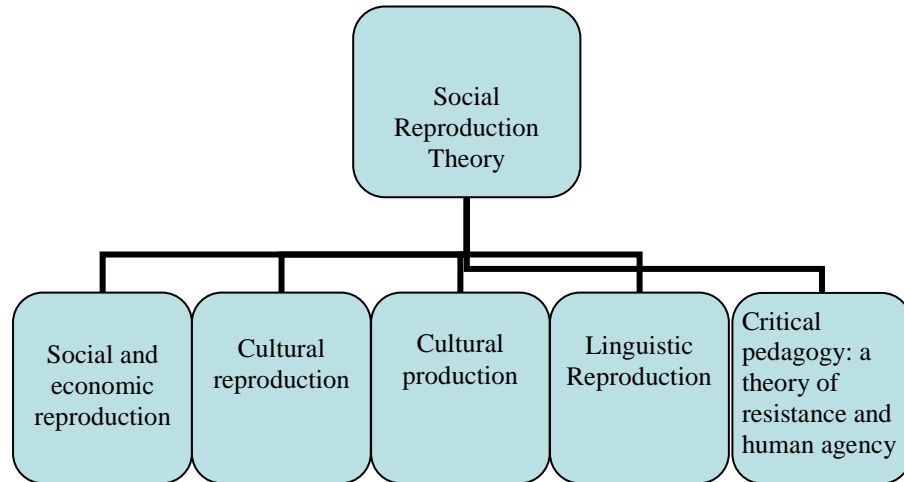
Social and economic reproduction. In the classic book *Schooling in Capitalist America*, Bowles and Gintis (1976) made assertions about the schooling process and its relation to the economic market. One of the assertions is that schools are an opposing force to what Dewey (1916) called a democratic notion of schooling; Bowles and Gintis (1976) claimed that schools are anti-democratic. This is because schools are replicas of the relations that exist in the workplace. The mirroring relations between schools and the workplace are what allow social and economic reproduction, which occur in three levels of operation: a capitalist mode of production, class-based differences in socialization, and an ideological level of operation.

A capitalist mode of production is one in which schools reflect the class relations of the United States. Schools reproduce class stratification: they train the wealthy to take places at the top of the economy, while training the poor to take places in the lower end of the economy (Bowles & Gintis, 1976). In other words, schools prepare students to

enter a hierarchically divided labor force, thus allowing the economic model of class stratification to exist and to be successful. By the mere fact that schools track students, they allow for class stratification. Not every student in a school is placed in an Honors or Advanced Placement course designed for college preparation. These classes are reserved for a very few students, those aligned with a dominant or elite set of traits, values, or beliefs (Bordieu & Passeron, 1977), and thus possessing the knowledge or cultural capital necessary to enter those classes. The majority of students in the schools are placed in regular classes—or non-Honors, non-Advanced Placement, and non-college preparatory. Bordieu and Passeron (1977) claimed that schools validate this function of cultural capital, defined at a later time, and that these behaviors must be present in order for the social order to exist. It is what makes capitalism work: schools placing value in their students having different skills to fulfill their stratified role in the workplace (Bowles & Gintis, 1976).

Not only do schools reproduce class stratification but they also mirror class relationships in society (McLaren, 2003). This is present in the organization of power in schools (McLeod, 1987) where students are at the bottom of power relations preceded by teachers. Students lack control of the curriculum; similarly, in the market place, workers lack control of the content of their jobs. In schools, grades, rewards, and recognitions play a role in confining students to the role they are assigned as students; similarly, in the market place, wages confine workers to their job role. In schools, there is specialization of subjects. One student may excel in math, another in history. Similarly, workers have

fragmented jobs. Subject specialization, which leads to fragmented jobs, allows class-based differences in socialization to occur.

Class-based differences in socialization occur because schools value different necessary job skills as they prepare students for the workforce (Bowles & Gintis, 1976). In working-class neighborhoods, schools emphasize students following rules (McLeod, 1987). In addition, the behavior of students is controlled (McLeod, 1987). Suburban schools, on the other hand, emphasize that their students should have an internalized standard of control (McLeod, 1987). Furthermore, as stated earlier, students are tracked into college-bound and non-college-bound classes, which cater differently to students. This in turn leads to the ideological level of operation in social and economic reproduction.

The ideological level of social and economic reproduction claims that schools function to train students to enter the workplace (Bowles & Gintis, 1976). Moreover, schools reward the behaviors that are appropriate to the existing social order. This means that the values and attitudes required by the capitalist economy are promoted in schools; this is the ideological part of social and economic reproduction. Students are tracked into different routes for the workforce, and they are rewarded with grades when they conform to the role they are expected to have.

Overall, the development and maintenance of each class leads to economic relations that are stratified; this, in turn, leads to the reproduction of relations in the society through cultural, economic, and symbolic capital (Anyon, 1980). This system of reproduction is in place because the economic system is capitalist and is run by

domination of the very few for the purpose of profit. These few dominate the actions of a very large group; "the actions of the vast majority (workers) are controlled by a small minority (owners and managers)" (Bowles & Gintis, 1976, p. 54).

Cultural reproduction. Cultural reproduction has two major concepts: cultural capital and habitus (Bourdieu, 1977). Briefly, cultural reproduction is the reproducing of class privilege. Cultural capital is defined as the cultural background, dispositions, skills, and knowledge passed from one generation to the next (Bourdieu, 1977); it is a series of competencies, possessed by the elite, or dominant, but not majority, class (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1977). These competencies result in the character traits of a person or even the mannerisms of a person. Cultural capital, which is inherited, deals specifically with these hidden rules, such as character traits, mannerisms, and dress styles that are more implicit than explicit. Such things cannot necessarily be taught, although awareness of these hidden rules might be a beginning.

Children of an upper-class background inherit a cultural capital that is different from that which working-class children inherit. This is done through consumption patterns. Consumption patterns can be the difference between attending a performing arts concert and attending the cinema. Students from the culture of poverty tend to go to the cinema, but not to performing arts concerts, which are more frequently attended by upper-class children. This allows upper-class students a means to success in school because schools value the cultural capital that the upper-class students possess and devalue the cultural capital that lower-class students possess (McLeod, 1987). The success that occurs in schools, allowed by cultural capital, is turned into economic

success, or economic capital, through the acquisition of superior jobs. Therefore, in the end, students with cultural capital also have economic capital.

Habitus is defined as a system of dispositions which function at every moment as a matrix of perceptions and actions (Bourdieu, 1977). Habitus involves one's social world and the attitudes, beliefs, and experiences of that social world. The values are deeply internalized, and they cause an individual's attitude and actions. Habitus can be called a regulator of the individual and his or her social world because habitus disposes an individual to think and act in a certain way. When an individual thinks and acts in a certain way, linguistic expression is present. Linguistic reproduction then, is a way to allow cultural reproduction to occur.

Cultural production. In *Learning to Labor* (1981), Paul Willis claimed that schools are not neutral transmitters of cultural values. While Bowles and Gintis (1976) assume that students are passive receivers of cultural values imposed upon them, Willis (1981) claimed that students resist the cultural values transmitted to them. Moreover, students express dissatisfaction with the school system through their behavior, specifically, by male celebration of masculinity. Cultural production, therefore, is two-fold: one, it points to the concept of resistance, and two, it points to a counterculture created by students through their behavior in schools.

In cultural production, several factors influence the kind of job students take once they leave school. These factors are class background, geographical location, job market, and the education attained by the students. The claim made is that working-class students will get working-class jobs (Willis, 1981). In the study conducted on the lads, the label

given to students, Willis (1981) gained insight into the perspective of working-class students. What comes across is that the lads, who are working-class students, reject school; they believe social mobility is remote, and they believe that schooling will not enable their social mobility (Willis, 1981). This cultural outlook can be limiting to the lads (McLeod, 1987), who associate mental labor with a social inferiority. From the lads' point of view, mental labor is feminine, and they do not wish to associate with mental labor. On the other hand, manual labor is associated with masculinity, and the lads wish to celebrate their masculinity.

Students, or the lads, resist the cultural values transmitted to them and, in turn, create their own counterculture. Willis (1981) claimed that students do not necessarily respond to pressures with indifference and passivity; rather, students go through a series of contestations and compromise. As a result, these marginalized or subordinate groups produce an alternative: a counterculture in which identities are formed and celebrated (Willis, 1981). Often, these identities are endemic to the working class (McLeod, 1987). What is important to remember is that cultural production not only means students are socialized into a culture; it also means students create their own alternative counterculture by resisting the socialization imposed upon them.

Cultural production may be a stem of hope in social reproduction theory. The notion that students, in their own ways, resist the reproduction and socialization imposed on them is a stem of hope in education. On the other hand, it can be viewed negatively because students resist their own opportunity for social mobility. Cultural reproduction runs counter to cultural production.

Linguistic reproduction. Linguistic reproduction is related to social class and schooling. Within linguistic reproduction exist language patterns that are pertinent to each social class; in turn, these language patterns provide for a linguistic codification (Bernstein, 1977; Brice Heath, 1983). Each social class, i.e. upper, middle, and lower, has a linguistic code pertinent to the social world individuals are a part of. Individuals use the linguistic code to either bring in or keep out other individuals not a part of the individual's social class. Each social class, in turn, generates a specific and distinctive form of speech and speech patterns. These speech patterns allow for social class membership (Bernstein, 1977).

Working-class students have a different speech pattern than either middle-class or upper-class students. Middle-class students have a speech pattern that allows meanings to be implicit (Brice Heath, 1983). Working-class students also have speech patterns that are restricting because they are dependent on the context of the speech, labeled as restricted code speech pattern (Bernstein, 1977). Middle-class students do not necessarily use restricted code speech patterns but use elaborate code speech patterns. The elaborate code that middle-class students use allows the speaker to share a unique perspective in dialogue, as well as speak from personal experience (Bernstein, 1977). The ability to speak from the experience of the speaker is what differentiates a working-class speech pattern from middle- and upper-class speech patterns.

Schools reinforce and praise the elaborate code speech pattern, therefore disadvantaging working-class students in dialogical experiences in the classroom. One of the effects of class system in linguistic reproduction is actually limiting the access to an

elaborate code speech pattern. Schools work so that elaborate codes are in accordance with the symbolic order of speech patterns and working-class students are at a disadvantage (McLeod, 1987).

The difference in speech patterns, whether restricted code or elaborate code, point to the differences in language socialization patterns in home and in schools. The language used at home, for working-class students, is different from the language used at school (McLeod, 1987). Middle-class and upper-class students use closely aligned speech patterns at home and at school; this points to their not being disadvantaged at school. Working-class students, on the other hand, have two options: they can try to learn the elaborate code, given the opportunity; or they can alienate themselves and use the restricted code. As with cultural production, students can sometimes resist and choose to alienate themselves and create their own identity.

Emergence of critical pedagogy. To resist, to non-conform, or to oppose what is being taught in school has a sociopolitical significance (Giroux, 1983). The theory of resistance presented by Henry Giroux (1983) states that resistance must specifically be an act struggling against domination in order for it to be labeled as resistance.

This qualitative study, in answering the question on the ideology of the curricular program used in the classroom, analyzed whether students in the classroom using *High Point* resist an ideology. The criteria for this analysis included the components mentioned above as part of social reproduction theory.

Critical Theory

The development of critical theory came from an underpinning philosophy that theory and practice must guide any attempts to change oppressive situations (Darder, Baltodano, & Torres, 2003, p. 3). Critical theory and critical pedagogy are the use of pedagogy to eradicate domination, humiliation, injustice and hunger. Following is a brief overview of critical theory, especially as it relates to critical pedagogy. The focus of this qualitative study was on critical pedagogy and its possible presence in a class where scripted curriculum is being used.

Critical theory can be traced back to Germany where it flourished in the 1930s, then to the United States in the 1950s and 1960s; it is associated with the Frankfurt School of philosophy and social theory (Blake & Masschelein, 2003). A strong motive in critical theory is the critical stance toward society; it emerged as a way to assess capitalism and how domination grew alongside it (Blake & Masschelein, 2003; Giroux, 2003). Having a strong concern for the individual, critical theory rejects any excuses for domination, humiliation, injustice, and hunger, and expresses the longing for a better world (Blake & Masschelein, 2003; McLaren, 2003). An objective of critical theory is to create a humane world by eliminating a "false consciousness" and by bringing about conscientization (Freire, 1993); by eliminating things taken for granted, such as cultural capital (Giroux, 1981); and by using transformative practice or an emancipatory role in society (Freire, 1993).

Critical theory is informed by reason from the Enlightment tradition (Giroux, 2003), and the concept of praxis is used to arrive at a critical understanding of the society

of the individual. In such a manner, emancipation, both social and psychological, is created (Blake & Masschelein, 2003; Freire, 1993; McLaren, 2003). Critical theory, in general, speaks to the concerns of justice in the field of education (Blake & Masschelein, 2003).

Critical Pedagogy

Critical pedagogy derives centrally from critical theory. Table 3 provides a basic outline of critical pedagogy. Critical pedagogy was influenced by Paulo Freire (1993) and his book *Pedagogy of the Oppressed.* Other critical pedagogues include Apple (1986), Giroux (1988b), and McLaren (1988) who worked against a backdrop of hidden curriculum and resistance theory. These critical pedagogues claim that education has potential for change.

All these authors emphasized that the school is a place of social reproduction and of possible social and political change. In Freire's (1993) analysis of depository education and in the Marxist sociological analysis of the hidden curriculum, they found schemes that clarify how schools are producing existing power constellations (Blake & Masschelein, 2003, p. 50).

Table 3.

Critical Pedagogy

Cultural Politics	1. Empowerment of students in the margins 2. Legitimization of the experience of the marginalized student 3. Expression of culture much easier for the powerful than for the powerless
Political Economy	1. Workers prevented from taking control of their lives 2. Power to hire and fire restricted to the few elite 3. Awareness that the school system and the economic system are mirrors of each other 4. Culture and class are related; culture forms an identity 5. Schools work to reproduce the values of the dominant group
Historicity of knowledge	1. Students are subjects of history; they can change and transform their histories 2. History in textbooks is incomplete 3. Deconstruction of the events in history books to include those of marginalized groups
Dialectical Theory	1. Governed by discourse practices which point to what can be said and by whom 2. Focus on student engagement in discourse practices 3. Change thoughts and actions through discourse practices 4. Student analysis of their social realities—struggle and change that social reality
Ideology and Critique	1. Teachers questioning their practice 2. Understanding that hidden curriculum is in play 3. Tool for questioning the school culture: the dominant vs. marginal
Hegemony	1. Social control of the dominant class over the subordinate classes 2. Contribution of class to the allocation of power between dominant-subordinate relations 3. Consensual participation by oppressed groups in their own oppression through societal structures 4. Understanding of domination and its form of existence
Counter-hegemony	1. Reconstruction of power relations so that marginalized students are at the center of interaction 2. Resistance of oppression by students
Praxis	1. Dialogue, reflection, and action through interactions that occur in the classroom 2. Action and reflection within human beings
Dialogue/conscienti-zation	1. Interaction in the classroom where students acquire an awareness of their surroundings 2. Realization that they can change their reality 3. Ability to critically question realities, which becomes empowerment to change

Tenets of Critical Pedagogy

In order for critical pedagogy to occur in the classroom, all tenets of critical pedagogy must be present. In order for transformation of student lives to occur, the teacher must perform, as facilitator, the transformation process. Critical pedagogy cannot necessarily be used as a tool or guide for practice because many of the tenets of critical pedagogy call for reflection, dialogue, and consciousness. These must occur in a classroom and then action must follow. The tenets of critical pedagogy were used in this study to analyze whether a classroom of both teacher and language minority students using *High Point* as their curricular program have the space for transformative practice. The following section presents the tenets of critical pedagogy.

Cultural politics. Cultural politics focuses on the empowerment of those students who are in the margins (Darder et al., 2003). A way to do this would be to legitimize the experience of the marginalized student by legitimizing their culture, as a case in point (Darder et al., 2003). Culture, however, can be related to power in that certain groups (with power) can express their culture much more so than those without power (McLaren, 2003). A salient point of cultural politics within critical pedagogy is the transformation of social inequities and injustices (Darder, 1991; McLaren, 1988). Cultural politics is the commitment to transform social inequalities.

Political economy. Political economy derives from social and economic reproduction theory. It is the understanding that schools play a role in the economy by supplying the market with the necessary stratified roles needed for the success of the economic system (Bowles & Gintis, 1976). It is also the understanding that while the

economic system has democratic principles of equality, justice, and reciprocity, the vast majority of workers are prevented from taking control of their lives resembling a totalitarian system—where a few have power over a vast majority (Bowles & Gintis, 1976). This limitation results from the fact that the very few have the power to hire and fire the vast majority, whom they are controlling and dominating in the effort for profit (Bowles & Gintis, 1976). Another component of political economy is having awareness that the school system and the economic system are a reflection of each other. Political economy also makes the distinction that culture and class are related because class contributes to the students' identities (Darder et al., 2003). Within political economy, there exists the notion that schools work to reproduce the values of the dominant group; also, schools are organized so that the interests of schools are dependent on the corporate marketplace and the national economy (Darder, 1991).

Historicity of knowledge. Historicity of knowledge is the idea that students are subjects of history, and in so being, they can change and transform their histories (Darder et al., 2003). This is because historical events in textbooks do not always include histories of marginal groups. In addition, textbooks and historical events tend to not include marginalized groups in their contents; hence, the purpose of historicity of knowledge would be to deconstruct the events in the history books to include those of marginalized groups (Darder, 1991). Historicity of knowledge is also the awareness that there is no neutral or single knowledge; legitimized and subordinate knowledge also exist and awareness must be brought about them. Hence, what is read in the textbooks must be

deconstructed with students, and their own history must be made a part of what was left out in their textbook.

Dialectical theory. Dialectical theory is governed by discourse practices which point to the reference of what can be said and by whom (McLaren, 2003). In critical pedagogy, the focus is to have students engage with discourse practices, and through that engagement, generate and change their thoughts and actions (Darder et al., 2003). The main goal in dialectical theory within critical pedagogy is to have students of marginalized groups analyze their social realities and discover the limitations imposed upon them; this begins the process of change and the subsequent struggle to change and transform that social reality (Darder, 1991).

Ideology and critique. Ideology and critique allow teachers to question their practice and, in so doing, come to understand the hidden curriculum in play (Darder et al., 2003). Mostly, this means that the hidden curriculum is supporting, or reproducing, the dominant views and practices used in the classroom. Ideology is the representation of values and beliefs and how they are lived out by individuals and groups (McLaren, 2003), of which some moral codes, contradictions, or partial truths are unexamined and exist as common sense (Giroux, 1981). Ideology within critical pedagogy is a tool that can be used to question the relationship in school culture: the dominant school culture versus the reality of marginalized students (Darder, 1991). It is also a concept that it is used to analyze the values of the dominant society, which constitutes the ideology of the dominant order.

Hegemony. Hegemony, defined as a social control that the dominant class has over subordinate classes, is done without the knowledge and consent of those classes (Darder et al., 2003; Gramsci, 1971). In addition, class contributes to the allocation of power among dominant-subordinate relations; this, in turn, contributes to the concept of hegemony (McLaren, 2003). Examples of the structures that maintain domination are the church, the school, mass media, and the family (McLaren, 2003). The idea of hegemony is that oppressed groups consensually participate in their own oppression through the structures present in their societies (Gramsci, 1971; McLaren, 2003). In critical pedagogy, hegemony can be used to understand domination and its forms of existence (Darder, 1991).

Counter-hegemony. Counter-hegemony refers to the idea that power relations can be reconstructed so that those marginalized students become the center of interaction rather than remain in the margins (Darder et al., 2003). Students can resist the oppression that they are subject to; however, such resistance can be limited due to class, race, or gender within the marginalized groups (Darder, 1991). Students, and their social realities, must be the center of any counter-hegemony practices in order to understand their opposing actions as aims at reconstructing their social realities (Freire, 1993). Counter-hegemony is resistance from subordinated groups, but in ways that are not detrimental to their wellbeing.

Praxis. Praxis is the dialogue, reflection, and action that results from social interactions that occur in the classroom (Darder et al., 2003). It is action and reflection within human beings (Darder, 1991; Freire, 1993). Praxis also is the coming together of

theory and practice, as one needs the other to guide actions that occur within social realities or within the structure of the society. Freire (1993) argued, however, that praxis cannot occur unless there is dialogue, and the dialogue must occur with the guidance of theory for transformative action to occur.

   Dialogue and conscientization. Dialogue and conscientization is the interaction that occurs in the classroom where students acquire an awareness of their surroundings and realize they have an ability to change the realities that currently exist for them (Darder et al., 2003). Freire (1993) would agree that conscientization for a marginalized student is the beginning of the transformative process that can occur in classrooms. Once students develop the ability to critically question their realities, they become empowered to change those things that before they might have accepted as realities (Freire, 1993). The dialogue and problem posing that happen in the classroom must occur as one entity.

   Critical pedagogy cannot be a teacher's how-to guide for the classroom. Several components are needed to create a critical pedagogy in the classroom. Some tenets of critical pedagogy, outline in Figure 4, are meant to create awareness of their existence in the classroom, whereby their purpose is to change the power relations in the classroom between students and teachers. Awareness will only come through dialogue and reflection before any action can occur.

Figure 4. Tenets of Critical Pedagogy

Critical Pedagogy

- Cultural Politics
- Political Economy
- Historicity of Knowledge
- Dialectical Theory
- Ideology and Critique
- Hegemony
- Counter-Hegemony
- Praxis
- Dialogue / Conscientization
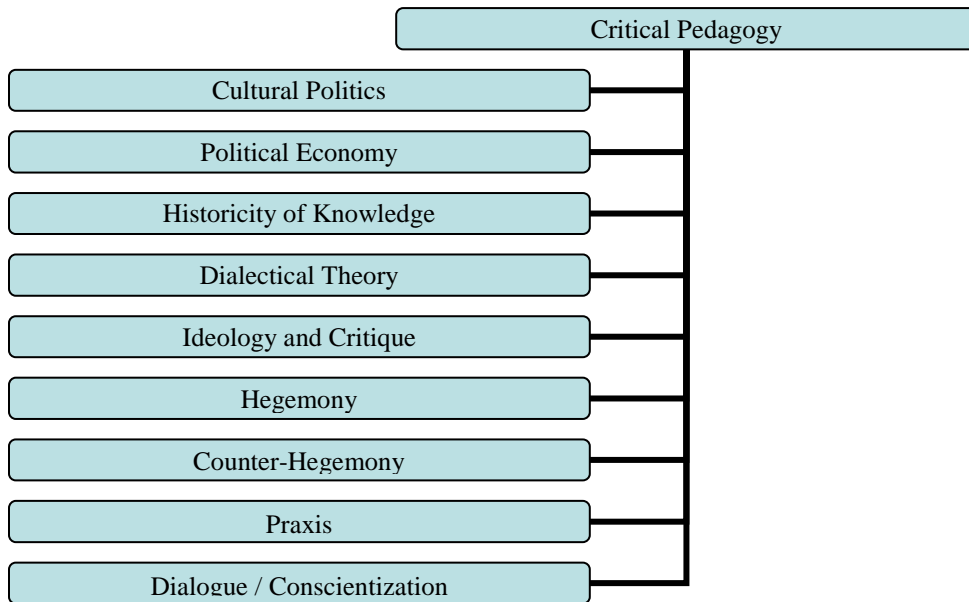
Literacy and Language Ideology

The following section provides an overview of ideology, language ideology, and literacy ideology. This section is useful because ideology guides curriculum choices. The curriculum used in a classroom can be traced to the ideology of a decision-making process. In this qualitative study, it is important to know the ideology present in the classroom because it guides the kind of literacy students are expected to learn.

Ideology

Ideology gives meaning to experiences and structure to perceptions about the order of society (Darder, 1991); it is the "production of sense and meaning" (Darder et al., 2003, p. 79). Ideology can also be described as the representation of ideas or beliefs and values and how they are carried out by people in the society (Darder, 1991; McLaren, 1988). Moreover, ideology can be described as the way one views the world, and can

become common sense; the notion of common sense then makes ideology a concept that is unexamined.

Paul Gee (1996) defined ideology as the set of beliefs, principles, ideas, and values to which a person subscribes, and which are used to understand the world around them. These values are aligned to mainstream culture; they are not goods that are distributed in society. Goods are general beliefs about what is beneficial, e.g., time, good schools, good jobs, wealth, status, and power. Values, on the other hand, are beliefs held by mainstream culture pertaining to race, language, age, education, class, family influences, and many more. Horkheimer (1972) added that ideology operates to conceal or "mask" the social contradictions of the dominant class, although ideology can also be the promotion of interests of dominant groups at the expense of marginalized groups (Lippi-Green, 1997). Darder et al. (2003) claimed that, as a pedagogical tool, ideology can be used to "unmask" the contradictions between schooling and the lived experiences of students (p. 13), which Horkheimer (1972) brought to the surface.

Ideology, moreover, can be ideas formed and expressed in society whether the ideas are true or false, because ideology gives meaning to what one experiences and perceives (Darder, 1991). These experiences and perceptions are unexamined due to the mere fact that they are just that, experiences and perceptions, and are held in the conscious mind, subconsciously. They become, then, the intersection between meaning and power in society (McLaren, 1998).

For the purposes of this study, ideology is a set of ideas or values held by a person or group. A dominant ideology would then be a set of ideas or values that the majority of individuals or dominant group in the society holds (Darder et al., 2003, p. 81).

Language Ideology

While ideology is a set of beliefs, language ideology is a set of beliefs specific to language, referred to as Standard Language Ideology (Lippi-Green, 1997). Lippi-Green (1997) defined language ideology as a bias toward a language maintained by dominant groups which names its own language as a model. Gonzalez (2005) gave a slightly different definition of language ideology as a "set of beliefs that are tied to our social category" (p. 163).

Language ideology plays a central role in schools because the curricula represent the values of dominant society (Gonzalez, 2005) and perpetuate subordinate social relations (Darder, 1991). Further, language ideology implies power and the use of power; within this notion of power, the reproduction of oppressive relations exists (Gonzalez, 2005). In relation to language minority students, the language they bring to the classroom is stripped away through the use of values and beliefs of the standard ideology (Darder, 1991).

Some may coin language ideology as racism specific to language; in this view, racism in the U.S. may not be as overt as that defined through biology, but has been diverted to language and curriculum (Urciuoli, 2001). The notion of being inferior as a language minority student is now capped under language, so that inferiority values are now transmitted to language minority students due to their language, not necessarily their

race or ethnicity (Urciuoli, 2001). Further, assimilation can be a tenet of ideology as language minority students in schools are expected to acquire and internalize the dominant culture and language values as their own (Darder, 1991).

Literacy Ideology

School curriculum and any approach to teaching literacy extend from an ideology. Literacy can either be used for individual empowerment or for functional job skills (Cadiero-Kaplan, 2004; Freire & Macedo, 1987). Street (1995) claimed that discourse around literacy should be extended to a discourse on nationalism. This is because literacy—beyond empowerment, functional skills, or technical skills—is more centered on the concept of nation and national identity (Street, 1995). Literacy, Street (1995) claimed, is really about a power struggle between cultures and not just a simple question of function. Although literacy ideologies have a major impact on the curricular decisions of schools, they are hardly ever examined. This is because literacy is a socializing tool for the poor; it could be threatening if the poor acquire literacy to analyze their oppression and make demands (Corson, 1996). Such is the power struggle between cultures to which Street (1995) referred.

Heath (1983), in *Ways with Words*, a classic ethnographic study on literacy, described how literacy practices are valued and devalued in schools and how this affects student achievement. Her study on "Roadville," a White working-class neighborhood, "Trackton," an African American working-class neighborhood, and "Townspeople," a middle-class neighborhood of both ethnicities, demonstrates how literacy practices at home are different for each ethnic group. In turn, the difference of each ethnic group

allows literacy to be valued or devalued in schools. Such was the case specifically for "Trackton," a neighborhood with a different literacy practice than that of the school. For example, students from the Trackton community were taught at home not to answer questions of strangers (p. 123). On the other hand, students from the Roadville community had been taught all along to answer questions in early literacy experiences. When both set of communities were placed in the classroom, the literacy experiences of Trackton students were devalued because they did not match the literacy expectations of the schools.

Moreover, in "Unpacking Literacy" (Scribner & Cole, 1988), the claim is that most school curricula are focused on "expository text" and the "well-crafted story" (p. 61). This leads to a second claim by Scribner and Cole (1988) that writing outside of the school has little meaning for individual students because of its focus on expository text. Writing, however, should be divided into two components: writing that produces text and writing that does not (Scribner & Cole, 1988). This is because writing affects communication skills, memory, and language analysis as it serves a variety of social functions.

Street (1984), in his book *Literacy in Theory and Practice*, claimed that literacy is an ideological model and not autonomous. Literacy is far from the label of literate or illiterate; rather, literacy is an ideological model, which has several components significant to this study:

1. social institutions (i.e., schools) give meaning to literacy,

2. literacy has political and ideological significance, and

3.   reading and writing practices are taught in stratification structures (Street, 1984, p. 8).

Street (1984), in claiming that literacy is an ideological model that has political and ideological significance, is still careful not to claim directly that literacy is related to the economy. He did not claim that literacy results in economic growth, but stated that attaining one type of literacy skills can transfer to a different set of literacy skills useful in the economic market (Street, 1984, p. 159).

Street's research in Cheshmeh, a village in Iran, allowed him to claim literacy as an ideological model. As a case in point, he showed that the "Maktab" literacy acquired by villagers in Cheshmeh allowed them to develop a "commercial literacy." The ability to transfer their Maktab literacy to a commercial literacy allowed economic growth in the village of Cheshmeh. Street's (1984) ideological model of literacy, when transferred to modern day schooling, is not causal in claiming that school literacy will enable economic growth. Rather, it is the literacy practices and events that are transferable, especially to the economic market that allows a relationship to exist between literacy and the economy. One can claim that those who have the ability to transfer the literacy skills from their schooling to the literacy skills that are needed in the economic market are those who gain positions of social power over those who cannot transfer their literacy skills (Street, 1984, p. 175).

Street's (1984) ideological model of literacy is useful in this study for analyzing the literacy attained by students in the classroom and the way in which skills pertinent to the literacy are transferable to the economic market. In terms of analyzing literacy,

however, Scribner (1988) posed a different approach, perhaps more tangible, but still as powerful. In her article "Literacy in Three Metaphors," Scribner (1988) explained how literacy has social motivations in this country.

The first term Scribner (1988) described as "literacy as adaptation;" it is a literacy practiced with a certain level of proficiency in order to effectively perform in certain settings, which are usually mundane settings. Scribner (1988) claimed that schools are obligated to ensure students have the literacy skills to perform effectively in these mundane settings to ensure that economic growth and stability occur in the nation. "Literacy as power," a second category of Scribner's (1988) analysis of literacy, refers to the potential advancement of a community as a whole through social transformation. In the past, literacy has been a tool for hegemony by which the elite and dominant groups maintain their status. With literacy as power, marginal groups can use literacy to claim their place in the world of stratification and, in so doing, socially transform their lives. "Literacy as state of grace," the final category Scribner (1988) described, is granting the literate person honor and virtue. This is because the literate person can come to be known as "cultured" and knowledgeable in several domains, such as the sciences, humanities, and arts. This knowledge is what grants the literate person status and the respect of many. This calls to mind many chief elders in communities that place honor and respect in their elders, although Scribner (1988) may not have referenced these communities specifically.

Rather than categorize the following literacy ideologies, they are presented in raw form to allow for open interpretation of the data collected for this study. Literacy ideologies inform the curriculum used in the classroom, such as functional literacy,

cultural literacy, progressive literacy, critical literacy, dominant literacy, and colonial

literacy, to name a few (Apple, 1996; Cadiero-Kaplan, 2004; Freire & Macedo, 1987;

Gee, 1990; Giroux, 1988b; Hirsch, 1988; Kelly, 1997; Williams & Capizzi, 1990). Table

4 outlines the literacy ideologies pertinent to this qualitative study. Dominant and

colonial literacy are not included in the table because this study did not include

colonization of groups.

Table 4

Literacy Ideologies

Types of Literacy	Literacy Ideologies
Functional	• Prepares students to become members of the workforce (Apple, 1996; Cadiero-Kaplan, 2004; Kelly, 1997) • Teaches skills needed to enter the workforce (Cadiero-Kaplan, 2004) • Reaches at most a 6th grade level competency (Williams & Capizzi-Sniper, 1990) • Foci are reading comprehension and decoding (Myers, 1996) • Pragmatic requirements of the workplace (Giroux, 1983) • Related to the standards movement, accountability, and back-to-basics movement (Oakes, 1985)
Cultural	• Teaches core cultural beliefs, morality, and common values (Hirsch, 1988) • Cultural knowledge all students should posses • Access to cultural knowledge allows access to enter mainstream culture • Cultural knowledge, i.e. cultural capital • Marginalized students will be able to participate in the discourse of mainstream culture (Hirsch, 1988; Cadiero-Kaplan, 2004) • Negates the experience of the individual student and their community (Cadiero-Kaplan, 2004) • Memorization of historic facts, literacy passages, and important people (Gee, 1990) • Students taught through a transmission, or banking approach (Aronowitz & Giroux, 1991; Freire, 1993).
Progressive	• Includes student voice and culture—a student-centered curriculum (Cadiero-Kaplan, 2004; Dewey, 1916) • Affirms and legitimizes the culture students bring to the classroom (McLaren, 1988) • Constructivist and cognitive-based (Freeman & Freeman, 1992) • Reflected on Piaget's theory of learning development (Piaget, 1973) • Reader-text-world interaction (Macedo, 1991) • Knowledge discourse the individual brings to the reading of the text (Cadiero-Kaplan, 2004) • Fails to transform student lives (Freire & Macedo, 1987) • Fails to explore questions dealing with power and culture (Apple, 1986) • Politically neutral—does not question the curriculum or the sociopolitical background of the curriculum (Apple, 1986; McLaren, 1998)

Table 4, *continued*

Critical	• Social transformation (Freire & Macedo, 1987)
	• Both teacher and student question curriculum for vested interests and hidden agendas (Apple, 1986; Kelly. 1997)
	• Deconstruct the text both inside and outside the classroom—reading the word and the world (Freire, 1993)
	• Historicity—becomes a narrative to be examined by the other perspective in the context of the curriculum (McLaren, 1988; Darder, 1991)
	• Not always welcomed in public schools (Giroux, 1991; Apple, 1995; Macedo, Dendrinos, & Gounari, 2003)
	• Threatens dominant school culture (functional and cultural literacies at play) (Aronowitz & Giroux, 1985)
	• Literacy as a social action (Giroux, 1987)

Functional Literacy

Functional literacy is part of a curriculum that prepares students to become members of the work force that, in turn, support the marketplace ideologies (Apple, 1996; Cadiero-Kaplan, 2004; Kelly, 1997). Functional literacy specifically teaches skills needed to enter the marketplace, such as job applications, filling out common forms, writing checks, shopping lists, and reading signs. These skills are directed at becoming successful members of the menial work force (Cadiero-Kaplan, 2004). Functional literacy only reaches a sixth grade, sometimes just a fourth grade, level of competency (Williams & Capizzi-Sniper, 1990).

Functional literacy has other characteristics reflected in the curriculum. Examples are basal readers or series of curricular books that are heavily used in schools, such as *Open Court,* a scripted reading program used in elementary schools to teach reading by teaching phonemic awareness (Cadiero-Kaplan, 2004). The foci of these texts are primarily reading comprehension (on the higher end of level-order thinking) and decoding text (on the lower end of order thinking) (Myers, 1996). Specifically, the foci are to comprehend vocabulary, follow directions, and derive meaning. Literacy in this

sense is reduced to the pragmatic requirements of the work place (Cadiero-Kaplan, 2004; Giroux, 1983). Functional literacy in texts is also reflected by instruction that is followed by skill books and worksheets so that students can practice the skills they are to learn (Cadiero-Kaplan, 2004; Myers, 1996).

Historically, functional literacy was salient during the Industrial Revolution when schools were operating under a factory model, but in the 21st century, functional literacy has returned to schools under the guise of the No Child Left Behind Act (Apple, 1986; Giroux, 1983; Oakes, 1985). The return of functional literacy is related to the standards movement, the cries for accountability, and the back-to-basics movement (Oakes, 1985).

Many reading programs used in classrooms today function under a functional literacy ideology. These programs are guided by the scientific method of scripted instruction and are decontextualized; they do not consider the language and culture of students (Apple, 1986; Cadiero-Kaplan, 2004). In addition, these programs give skill instruction in phonemic awareness, decoding, and reading comprehension (Cadiero-Kaplan, 2004).

Interesting to note is that ethnic minorities, poor or working-class students, comprise most classes where functional literacy curriculum is being utilized. Their nonstandard literacies (i.e., literacies other than academic English) are not regarded as different, but rather as deficits in their schooling (McLaren, 1988).

Cultural Literacy

Cultural literacy teaches core cultural beliefs, morality, and common values (Hirsch, 1988). Cultural literacy is centered on a network of information that all students

should possess, which translates to cultural knowledge. This cultural knowledge is usually possessed by the upper middle class, and hence many argue that allowing access to this cultural knowledge will bring more opportunity to enter the mainstream culture (Hirsch, 1988).

Critical theorists view cultural knowledge as cultural capital. In Pierre Bordieu's (1977) concept of cultural capital, different forms of cultural capital knowledge are hierarchically valued in society (Cadiero-Kaplan, 2004; Corson, 1999). When students learn this cultural knowledge, or cultural capital, through cultural literacy, those who are disadvantaged have a way to combat the determinism that condemns them to remain in the same socioeconomic status (Hirsch, 1988). According to advocates of cultural literacy such as E.D. Hirsch (1988), cultural literacy is an avenue for students to leave the margins and enter the center of the society in which they live. It is through cultural literacy that marginalized students will be able to participate in the discourses of mainstream culture (Cadiero-Kaplan, 2004; Hirsch, 1988).

However, while cultural literacy might be an avenue for disadvantaged students, it is also problematic. Cultural literacy negates the experiences of the individual student and of their communities (Cadiero-Kaplan, 2004). It also points to distorted instruction of historic facts, literacy passages, and important people—which students must memorize in order to become literate and have access to such information during discourse (Gee, 1990). A second downfall of cultural literacy is that students are taught through a transmission, or what Paulo Freire (1993) would term banking approach model (Aronowitz & Giroux, 1991). Moreover, the core values and beliefs of the dominant

culture are taught without bringing in the experiences of the students in the classroom, most of whom come from a non-dominant culture, such as Los Angeles. That this curriculum has been present since the Enlightment period is only a justification for the reproduction of the elite society:

> It is a position that advocates a social system in which a select cadre of intellectuals, economically privileged groups, and their professional servants are the only individuals deemed fit to possess the culture's sacred canon of knowledge, which assures their supremacy (Aronowitz & Giroux, 1991, p. 26 as cited in Cadiero-Kaplan, 2004, p. 8).

Cultural literacy has been known to be an elitist curriculum and as such is in a position to maintain social inequity (Cadiero-Kaplan, 2004; McLaren, 1988) because it discredits popular culture, ethnically and racially diverse cultures, and sexual communities (Aronowitz & Giroux, 1991). Furthermore, it indirectly supports functional literacy, because the functional skills of decoding and comprehension must be present to have access to culture knowledge (Cadiero-Kaplan, 2004).

Progressive Literacy

Progressive literacy, in contrast to cultural literacy, includes the student voice and culture (Cadiero-Kaplan, 2004). Progressive literacy is based on Dewey's (1916) notion of democratic schooling, specifically on the interchange of ideas between teacher and students, and a student-centered curriculum (Cadiero-Kaplan, 2004). The progressive literacy curriculum aims at affirming and legitimizing the culture that students bring to the classroom (McLaren, 1988). The curriculum of progressive literacy is seen in whole-

language programs that are constructivist and cognitive-based (Freeman & Freeman, 1992), and make use of writer's workshops, literary journal responses, and literary circles (Cadiero-Kaplan, 2004). Reflected in Piaget's (1973) theory of learning development, progressive literacy allows students to take in new knowledge paired with the self-experience or the context of previous learning (Piaget, 1973). The construction of knowledge becomes an interaction between the reader, the text, and the world (Macedo, 1991). In progressive literacy, the value of the individual is in the knowledge discourse that the individual brings to the reading of the text (Cadiero-Kaplan, 2004).

Progressive literacy emphasizes the development of new structures that allow students to complete complex reading tasks; reading comprehension is deferred to make way for new knowledge (Macedo, 1991). The purpose of reading becomes learning something new:

> Readers make meaning by linking the symbols on a page with real-world knowledge and then considering what the text means for generating new ideas and actions not explicitly written or said in the text. The transformation of literacy skills into literate behaviors and ways of thinking depends on a community of talkers who make the text mean something. For most of history, such literate communities have been elite groups, holding themselves and their knowledge and power apart from the masses. (McLaren, 1988, p. 215)

While progressive literacy includes the experience of the individual in making new meaning, it fails to transform the lives of students (Freire & Macedo, 1987). Progressive literacy fails to explore questions dealing with power and culture (Apple,

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1986; Cadiero-Kaplan, 2004). Progressive literacy is not transformative in process as it fails to specifically address the "students' cultural capital, which includes their individual lived experiences, histories, languages, and discourse communities," (Cadiero-Kaplan, 2004, p. 12). As a result, students are hardly able to reach thorough critical reflection that enables conscientization and an understanding of students' significance (Freire & Macedo, 1987). Progressive literacy remains politically neutral, apolitical, since it does not question the curriculum or interact with the sociopolitical background of the curriculum (Apple, 1986; McLaren, 1998).

Critical Literacy

Critical literacy is one of social transformation (Cadiero-Kaplan, 2004; Freire & Macedo, 1987; Kelly, 1997). It requires both the teacher and the student to examine the curriculum for vested interests and hidden agendas, making critical literacy unavoidably political (Apple, 1986; Cadiero-Kaplan, 2004; Kelly, 1997). The purpose of critical literacy is to deconstruct the text both inside and outside the classroom, following critical literacy along the notions of Paulo Freire's (1993) reading the word and the world. To deconstruct a text is meant to pay attention to the language choice and to the message the text conveys.

Critical literacy takes the cultural text, places it in relation to the sociopolitical and socio-cultural world of the students reading it, then analyzes and questions the cultural text (Aronowitz & Giroux, 1991) for socio-political meaning. The curriculum in critical literacy is placed in an historical and cultural context that makes way for transformation of student lives through historicity. Historicity "allows students to read

any text or discourse from the perspective of their lives in relation to their experience,"

(Darder, 1991; McLaren, 1988). History, where a narrative is told from one perspective,

becomes a narrative to be examined by another perspective in the context of the

curriculum (Cadiero-Kaplan, 2004). This allows for deconstruction of a text.

Critical literacy is not always welcomed in public schools (Apple, 1995; Giroux,

1991; Macedo, Dendrinos, & Gounari, 2003) because it threatens the dominant school

culture, which often demands the practices of functional and cultural literacy (Aronowitz

& Giroux, 1985). The result is that schools then legitimate dominant groups, while

marginalizing subordinate and oppressed groups, through the present school culture

(Aronowitz & Giroux, 1985). Critical literacy does not reject functional literacy, but

rather takes literacy as social action:

> Gramsci viewed literacy as both a concept and a social practice that must be
>
> linked historically to configurations of knowledge and power, on the one hand,
>
> and the political and cultural struggle over language and experience on the other.
>
> For Gramsci, literacy was a double-edged sword; it could be wielded for the
>
> purpose of self and social empowerment or for the perpetration of relations of
>
> repression and domination (Giroux, 1987, p. 1-2).

Cadiero-Kaplan (2004) believed that schools do not accept critical literacy because it

reveals the hegemony in the curricular practices of the school (Giroux, 1987). Scribner

and Cole (1981) added that literacy has prescribed qualifications; that is, there are criteria

to be qualified as literate in the U.S. These include the ability to write one's name, a

sixth-grade education, or the ability to read and write a simple message (Scribner & Cole, 1981).

While Scribner and Cole (1981) did not term it "familial literacy," this seems the only appropriate title to grant their view on literacy. The distinction between literacy and non-literacy is family: both family education and family tradition (Scribner & Cole, 1981). A family with a history of education will continue to have educated family members. The tradition of that family then allows for literacy to exist. In contrast, a family with no education will, presumably, continue a tradition of no education. The attainment of literacy then, lies in family, both family education and family tradition (Scribner & Cole, 1981). This is because the amount of literacy, schooling, and education young children gain is deeply influenced by the literacy and education attained by parents (Scribner & Cole, 1981). Literacy, Scribner and Cole (1981) claimed, can be associated with the elite classes who emphasize literacy in their homes.

Curricular decisions regarding literacy, therefore, are based on literacy ideologies tied to political and economic structures of society (Cadiero-Kaplan, 2004; Giroux, 1988b). The curriculum of the classroom is based on a literacy ideology (i.e., functional, cultural, progressive, critical) that is a result of choices by individuals within a specific cultural and historical context in order to further support any political or economic structure of the society (Cadiero-Kaplan, 2004).

The literacy ideologies are presented here as reference for one of the research questions of this study. The research question asks which type of literacy language minority students are learning in the classroom. These literacy ideologies were used as

criteria to determine what type, or types, of literacy were present in a classroom using *High Point* as their curricular program.

<center>Approaches to the Analysis of Literacy Practices</center>

The following section provides a review of language socialization. The section provided here is for background information in analyzing the literacy used with language minority students; therefore, a section on Academic Language Learning is included as a guide as well.

Language Socialization

Language socialization, under the large umbrella of linguistic theory, is defined as a process "by which adults socialize children into the cultural framework and linguistic repertoire of their society or social group" (Schecter & Bayley, 2002, p. 17). Culture, on the other hand, is a structure that allows individuals to make sense of the social world of which they are a part. Culture is defined as a "description of patterns of human organization" (Schecter & Bayley, 2002, p. 180). Language socialization for the bilingual person involves becoming competent in the linguistic communities spoken in cultural settings, and acquiring the ability to switch from one cultural setting to another (Schecter & Bayley, 2002; Zentella, 1997).

Bilingual persons must have linguistic abilities in several situations and contexts to fit in the culture of each domain, or setting; identity is not static within each situational setting (Schecter & Bayley, 2002). They use language strategies to identify within each cultural setting and, since they have more than one culture to identify with, must reconcile cultural traditions with each setting (Schecter & Bayley, 2002). The linguistic

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decision within each situation is a choice of identity (Zentella, 1997); language is the way a social identity is advertised (Lippi-Green, 1997).

Learning a language is equivalent to learning a culture (Zentella, 2005). Before infants learn to speak a word or any grammatical structure, they learn the rules and how to behave in the cultural group of which they are a part (Hymes, 1972; Zentella, 2005); Hymes (1972) called this "communicative competence." Hymes (1972) also claimed that it was crucial for children to learn communicative competence first, then grammatical competence. This is because language minority students, as a case in point, must acquire two codes of competence due to their participation in two communities: their cultural community and that of the dominant society (Zentella, 2005).

Language Socialization and the Home

Many families believe that the school's job is to teach the dominant societal language, while the home teaches cultural continuity (Schecter & Bayley, 2002). In a study on language socialization (Bayley & Schecter, 2003), parents were questioned on their role in their children's language development. Parental involvement in the children's language development is thought to reveal the cultural values and practices of language socialization (Pease-Alvarez, 2003). Many parents believed that schools should focus on the English language development of their children and that their job (i.e., the mother's job) was to develop their child's Spanish language (Pease-Alvarez, 2003). It was, however, important for children to maintain their Spanish language as well as develop their English language. Parents' reasons for their beliefs lay on economic

grounds: "Spanish/English bilinguals enjoy economic and social benefits that are not available to monolinguals" (Pease-Alvarez, 2003, p. 12).

Beliefs vary, however, among second- and third-generation parents. U.S.-born parents shift toward English language usage in their homes. A shift toward English language usage does not symbolize an "abandonment of Mexican identity" (Pease-Alvarez, 2003, p. 16) because Spanish language maintenance is considered important, but not essential, in cultural identity. Overall, while parents believe it is their role to maintain Spanish language with their children, they emphasize that schools should also make an effort to help children to maintain their bilingualism: "…schools also needed to make sure that Latino children continued to develop and maintain Spanish" (Pease-Alvarez, 2003, p. 17). Parents believe that the children's native Spanish language should play a role in the schools' curricula, even if for just one hour every day. This strongly resonates with what Crawford (1999) termed as the difference between having English as the official language versus having bilingual education in the classrooms of language minority students.

Language Socialization in Schools

Research on language socialization has demonstrated that schools are not prepared to teach students of diverse linguistic backgrounds (Zentella, 2005). In fact, the population of language minority students includes those who are immigrant students, both voluntary and involuntary immigrants, as well as those born in the U.S. Schools, however, teach both groups using the same techniques (Zentella, 2005).

The population of students with diverse linguistic backgrounds will only increase. The enrollment of students with a language minority background grew 29% between the years of 1968 and 1998 (Zentella, 2005). Moreover, between the years of 1990 and 2000, the population grew 57% (Zentella, 2005). In 2006-2007, the Hispanic/Latino population in Los Angeles alone was a total of 62%, which goes to show that the majority of students in the Los Angeles region are of Hispanic/Latino background.

Harklau (2003) provided research on language socialization of schools with a focus on language minority students. This study came from a historical perspective on why public schools were founded: "public secondary schools were established in part because of the perceived need to socialize and "Americanize" a large number of immigrants," (Harklau, 2003, p. 83). This study claimed that schools socialize children of multilingual backgrounds into the habits, norms, and values that are desirable for participation in American society (Harklau, 2003). Secondly, this study said that schools socialize multilingual children to participate in their expected role in the economy: "A second purpose was to socialize these newcomers to fill their expected roles in the lowest rungs of the economy as agricultural and industrial workers" (Harklau, 2003, p. 85).

The school then, is a sphere of social life where educators convey messages to immigrants in regards to their identities (Bayley & Schecter, 2003). A downside to this socialization is that multilingual students can come to see themselves as the dominant group perceives them; this is termed "internal colonization" (Harklau, 2003, p. 85). What matters then is the awareness that socialization in the classroom and in the schools influence language socialization and identity formation of multilingual children.

Language minority students communicate their realities in bilingual speech patterns that are often misunderstood (Zentella, 2005). Their identities are constructed in ethnic dialects—English or Spanish or Spanglish—which identify them as members of a group (Zentella, 2005).

What is important is not that language learners learn one correct and absolute way of learning English, but rather, that their ability to negotiate multiple linguistic environments is mastered and not diminished (Bayley & Schecter, 2003). The situation should be that a student learns English in school and is allowed to maintain the native language through school. Language policy should focus on ways to make the multilingual abilities of students of utmost use, especially for economic and global reasons. Lavadenz (2005) claimed that one of the biggest threats for language minority students in school is language loss: "The most serious threat is not invisibility, however, but language loss. Where contact between languages occurs among more and less socially powerful groups, the result is monolingualism for the weaker language group," (Romaine, 1995, as cited in Lavadenz, 2005, p. 102). In addition, teachers must question their roles working in an institution of subtractive schooling (Lavadenz, 2005).

How students are socialized in schools comes from the curriculum that is used in their classroom. One must turn to the curriculum used in the classroom with language minority students to understand how socialization occurs and its purpose. This qualitative study investigated one classroom of language minority students, and the impact of the curriculum on the students' literacy acquisition.

Academic Language Learning

It takes language minority students approximately two years to acquire a conversational proficiency in English; however, it takes them up to seven years to acquire an academic proficiency in English (Cummins, 1996). Research has shown that one of the best ways to teach literacy to language minority students is to activate prior knowledge. One of the strategies employed in the classroom to activate prior knowledge is the use of visuals to stimulate discussions (Schifini, 1994). When students use visuals, they use their knowledge of the image presented to them and then, through discussion of their own concepts of the image, are able to add to their prior knowledge. Use of manipulative and multimedia also is a strategy for activating prior knowledge. Posters, realia, and the discussion of these hands-on manipulative allow the language learner to use any knowledge they might own, and in turn, add a new vocabulary word or concept to their linguistic ability.

Sharing with a student partner or the teacher is also a strategy for activating prior knowledge (Cummins, 1996). Sharing allows the student voice to be heard in the classroom and uses the student's own experience to spark topics that might be difficult for language learners to grasp in a new language. A fourth strategy used to activate prior knowledge is writing. Asking students to write their opinion about a topic, or about the first thing that comes to their mind when introduced to a concept, allows the student to approach the classroom with knowledge they already possess. This increases the chances

of academic success because their own experiences are being validated in the classroom. Essentially, the use of prior knowledge allows students to link their own experiences to new concepts. This has been one of the ways to teach literacy to language minority students (Cummins, 1996).

There are other strategies that work in teaching literacy to language minority students. One is cooperative learning, which provides participation and cognitive growth in the language learner (Cummins, 1996). Peer tutoring, also an effective teaching strategy for working with language learners (Heath, 1995), allows a student with expertise in an area to teach a peer; this builds confidence in one learner, while allowing the second learner to acquire a concept from a peer. Drama, another effective strategy in working with language learners (Heath, 1995), allows learners to synthesize and interpret the themes and concepts they are learning. Drama and theme-based learning allows students to treat a theme and learn about it.

An example of theme-based learning is as follows: a student might have a unit on the theme of flowers. The student might acquire not only vocabulary, but also the nature of a flower from a scientific perspective and the writing skills to reflect on the learning about the nature of a flower. If extended, the theme on flowers can also add an oral component, in which students are asked to make a presentation on a specific flower, and a research and reading component, in which students are asked to read and look for information for a presentation on a flower. Regardless of the strategies used to teach language minority students, collaboration, analysis, and critique of what is read should be

a component of their instruction. This will allow the language minority student to reflect on their own position in society in regards to the material they are learning in class.

Critical Pedagogy in the Classroom

Paulo Freire (1993) identified a banking style of education: teachers are the depositors of knowledge to students who are empty vessels ready for knowledge to be poured into them. This implies that students are only recipients of knowledge and that any questioning or critical analysis of the information they are given is out of the question; such is the very nature of a banking approach to educating students. Freire (1993) advocated that the exact opposite should occur in classrooms. Educators and students should play an equal role in constructing knowledge in a classroom. In addition, the knowledge that is constructed in the classroom should build upon what students already know. Hence, the teacher is also a learner, and students are also teachers. Knowledge is constructed collaboratively and engaged through dialogue and discussion. Power cannot be handed to students so they can have an opportunity to transform their lives; to do so would mean teaching them in a banking approach. Rather, students must be allowed, through dialogue and collaboration, to arrive at an understanding of their situation as oppressed individuals and, in so doing, arm them with knowledge to begin a transformative process in their lives. Freire (1993) termed this realization as learner's conscientization. Facilitating the space, time, and dialogue in classrooms to have students arrive at conscientization and a critique of the structure of their society so that they can

empower themselves to change their lives would be an approach to critical pedagogy in the classroom.

In all, critical pedagogy is constructed through collaboration between students and teacher and is not teacher-directed (Bernstein, 1996). The teacher's role in a critical classroom becomes one of mediator of knowledge construction (Luke, 1996), not a depositor of knowledge into students' heads as if they were empty vessels (Freire, 1993).

Critical Pedagogy in Relation to Critical Literacy

Critical pedagogy cannot occur without critical literacy; it is mandatory to function so that every member in a class contributes and constructs knowledge through active roles (Wallace, 2001). When critical pedagogy takes place, the texts used in the classroom are more than just reading tools; they are used to question, resist, and critically inquire the world (Eco, 1992; Freire, 1993; Wallace, 2001). In addition, the critical classroom must have the following components described by Lankshear (1994):

1. A critical perspective on literacy

2. A critical perspective on texts

3. A critical perspective on social practices mediated by the reading of the texts (p. 10)

Not having an opportunity to collaborate and construct knowledge in the classroom limits the existence of critical literacy. When teachers are "expected to merely deliver a teaching program handed to them via a fixed curriculum," they are "deskilled" and the learners are "disempowered," (Wallace, 2001, p. 226).

Implications of Literature for this Study

It is argued that a scripted reading program such as *High Point* creates in the classroom the concept of breadth versus depth; teachers are urged to cover many topics on a superficial level and at (Gutierrez, Rymes, & Larson, 1995; McLaren, 1988). As a result, students disengage from learning for the purpose of learning, because the goal of the uniform curriculum becomes the learning of a skill and self-identities are not validated (Gutierrez et al., 1995). Students also create resistant attitudes and behaviors that further disengage them from the learning process (Gutierrez et al., 1995). This qualitative research study aimed at capturing the literacy experiences of a class of language minority students as they work to acquire standard academic English.

Summary

It was the goal of this study to establish background knowledge to arrive at the first research question of this study. The question asks what kind of literacy students are experiencing in the classroom. In order for the question to be answered, there needs to be a guide. The guides in this study are the literacies: functional, cultural, progressive, critical, colonial, dominant, and familial. The second question inquires about the ideology of the classroom pedagogy; in this case, background knowledge on ideology, literacy, and language ideology were established. Aside from the knowledge background, it was also necessary to establish how the research questions would be analyzed once the data has been recorded; such is the place of social reproduction theory and critical theory and pedagogy. It also became necessary to understand the student population, which this study addressed, and its historical background, in terms of policies in the state of

California. The goal of this chapter, then, was to establish the background knowledge

necessary to approach the research questions objectively and to use the knowledge as a

guide in the data collection process, which follows.

CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY

Introduction

This dissertation was a qualitative research study conducted in a naturalistic social unit, in this case, a classroom. In order for research to probe at a human experience, a social unit, such as a classroom, and a case, such as a reading program, must be identified (Dyson & Genishi, 2005). A qualitative research study has a framework for interpreting the context of the social unit; the framework deals with space and time, with maps of the setting, schedules, people, and language use (Dyson & Genishi, 2005). A qualitative research study can use observations to gather data, as well as for interpretation and analysis of the data and fieldwork (Fetterman, 1998). This study of a classroom using the scripted reading program *High Point* used qualitative methodology. Data collection included observations, interviews, audio recording, and textual analysis.

Data gathered through observations were both unstructured and structured by topic: learner and language, and resources used to teach language minority students. Observations and audio recordings also documented classroom discourse. Interviews of the teacher in the classroom as well as other key players in *High Point* were conducted. Students were interviewed to arrive at an insider's perspective of classroom occurrences.

In addition, focus group interviews included other teachers at the same school working with *High Point* to triangulate teacher classroom perspectives. Finally, textual analysis of the actual curricular program was also conducted.

Research Questions

Question 1

1.   Which forms of literacy are students experiencing in the academic

transactions of a classroom using *High Point*?

To answer this research question, data were gathered through classroom observations, interviews, audio recording, fieldnotes, and a focus group of teachers to arrive at any conclusions.

Question 2

2.   What is the ideology of the scripted curriculum, *High Point,* as measured

by social and academic transactions occurring in the classroom?

To answer this research question data were gathered through textual analysis, discourse analysis, curriculum analysis, observations, fieldnotes, and audio recording to arrive at conclusions about the language ideology of the curriculum.

Methods of Data Collection

Observations

Classroom observations were fundamental to the examination of the research questions of this study. These classroom observations, specifically the academic transactions of the class, allowed documenting the forms of literacy that students were

experiencing in the classroom. Classroom observations were the foundation of this qualitative research.

Structured Observations

One objective in using structured classroom observations as part of the data collection process was ascertaining the motivation and the learning behavior of each student (Wajnryb, 1992). The motivation that some students put into learning another language can be either intrinsic or extrinsic. Students who are more motivated to learn a language are more willing to follow the direction of the teacher than those students who are not motivated and are less likely to cooperate with the teacher (Wright, 1987). This observation of motivation and resulting learning behavior was done by focusing on the students in the classroom and by observing how they cooperate with the teacher (see Appendix A). This references Paul Willis' (1981) theory of cultural production claiming that students do not necessarily passively embrace the culture of the school and classroom, but rather form their own subcultures. If students had different self-identities and motivations for cooperating with their teacher, then a classroom observation provided insight into subcultures students were creating.

Classroom observations captured the activities students performed in the classroom. In the activities the students performed, the teacher's purpose came across (see Appendix B). Literacy in the classroom can be identified within the activity; the identification of literacy would involve the skill that was demanded of every learner. This observation determined the skills students were taught, based on the activities they were asked to perform. Subsequently, the kind of literacy learned in the classroom was

determined by documenting the skills students used to perform the activities they were asked to do, providing answers to question one of this study.

Classroom observations also looked at the teacher's role in teaching the scripted curriculum. A tenet of critical theory and pedagogy involves ideology and critique. This is a tenet critical for teachers, in that they question their practice, and in so doing, come to understand the hidden curriculum at play (Darder et al., 2003).

When a student is learning a language, the student is also learning a culture (Rogers, 1982). Classroom observations focused on making visible the culture of the classroom; in other words, noted was the specific culture of the materials used in the classroom, the culture of topics discussed, and the specific cultural norms governing teacher and student interactions. In particular, the use of the dominant culture was identified. In addition, observations noted the language used in the classroom and, specifically, identified the questions asked, by whom, and to whom. If the questions were always asked by the teacher, and if students always answered the questions but never asked them, several findings can result from this. Student motivation and, in turn, engagement in the classroom can be based on how the teacher and students interact by way of questions.

Questions are very common in the discourse of classrooms (Sinclair & Coulthard, 1975), and they are important because questions socialize, set a scene, check learning and vocabulary, and seek opinion (see Appendix C). Questions are also important because they require a level of cognitive difficulty when students respond to a question (Tollefson, 1989). It would also be important to examine questions the teacher asked

students. The choice of what is included and excluded in the language of instruction is important because choices imply teacher expectations for students (Wajnryb, 1992) and their learning ideologies, which is one of the questions this study sought to answer.

Examining the classroom was fundamental because the academic transactions, academic engagement, student motivation, language, and relationships between teacher and students all point to the literacy, ideology, and academic achievement that occur at the site. As mentioned above, the outcome of each structured and unstructured observation can answer more than just ideology or literacy, but can also point to how students are academically engaged and motivated in the classroom, or how power and control can lead them to disengage from learning. This is because *High Point* is a scripted reading program which the teacher may or may not follow. This also influences the kind of literacy the students experienced in the classroom, based on the literacy expectations of the actual curricular program. The curricular program of *High Point* may, in turn, have embedded in its text a specific ideology for students, teachers, and the classroom.

The observations described above helped in uncovering any power relations existing in the classroom; the ideology and literacy experiences of students were apparent if, indeed, they existed in the classroom. The language used in the classroom had a specific function, and it was the goal of this study to uncover the purposes, if any, of language use between students and teacher. In addition, the goal of this study was to uncover the specific purpose of each language use and form to determine the literacy development students experienced, as well as the ideology existing in the classroom in which the teacher used the curricular program *High Point.*

Interviews

While classroom observations looked for specific behaviors in the classroom, interviews were helpful in answering the two research questions of this study. Interviews were used to gain an understanding of the teacher's background in the classroom. Discourse, or the language use of the classroom, is directly connected to identity (Gee, 1996). Discourse is a way to reflect on a person's identity and identify the social capital background of a person (Gee, 1996). Therefore, interviews were useful in gaining an understanding of the teacher's discourse and perspective on what occurred in the classroom.

Interviews were based on classroom observations and were used to obtain detailed teacher explanations of what occurred in the classroom. Another reason for interviewing a teacher (Gorden, 1975) was to further inquire about the professional development received prior to delivering and using the scripted reading program *High Point*. When necessary and possible, students were also interviewed after classroom observations. These student interviews assisted in the interpretation and inclusion of student voice on what was occurring in the classroom.

These interviews were set up as pre- or post-observation follow-ups and were used to establish open communication between the teacher in the classroom and the researcher. At the discretion of the teacher, the time (Gorden, 1975) of interviews were scheduled during conference periods, after school, or on weekends. The place (Gorden, 1975) of the interview was in the classroom, or at a location outside the school (i.e., teacher's home or another quiet place); the majority of the time, interviews occurred at

the teacher's home during the weekend following an observation. Gorden (1975) stated that interviews are most valuable when the researcher is interested in knowing the knowledge, attitude, or beliefs of the person being interviewed.

In the case of this qualitative research study, interviews were used to understand the teacher's role and beliefs about teaching and working with the scripted reading program *High Point*. Teacher interviews were used to document teacher beliefs about teaching *High Point*, how she coped with the lack of creativity posed by *High Point*, and how she was able (or not) to design differentiated instruction for language minority students.

In addition to teacher and student interviews, a district official was also interviewed. The district official interviewed was the person from the department in charge of the language minority students in the district. Although not necessarily the person in charge of the program and the students, the district official was able to give an accurate representation of the program and the purpose of *High Point*. The interview took place at the district official's office; the district official was open and readily available to answer any questions posed regarding the program.

Focus Group

A focus group of teachers was also arranged. This occurred when teachers were invited to participate in an open discussion of the happenings in classes where *High Point* was taught. The teachers invited to participate in the focus group were those who had taught *High Point* and who were not first-year teachers but rather veteran teachers. This was to ensure that any issues brought forth were on account of the instruction and the

curriculum and not necessarily issues of classroom management. The focus group was used to allow for triangulation of data, but also to capture the culture and climate of the school surrounding the language minority student population.

Fieldnotes

Ethnographic fieldnotes were also used in this qualitative research study. Mostly accompanying classroom observation, fieldnotes were to aid in recording other information pertinent to the study. The fieldnotes were divided into two types: descriptive and interpretive (Frank, 1999); this process can also be described as notetaking and notemaking. It enabled the researcher to have, as reference, both the actual description of what occurred in the classroom and also the researcher's personal coding, analysis, and/ or notations on themes in the interpretation of those notes. The objective in notetaking and notemaking was to describe the talk and actions in the classroom and to interpret them from a particular perspective (Frank, 1999).

Textual Analysis

The curricular textbook used in the classroom has been cited in this study to arrive at a factual insight of what the textbook instructs. This was done to allow the reader a perspective of what was taught in the classroom, which came directly from the textbook that the teacher used with the students. This criterion was used for analysis of this qualitative study because it was important to cite specific excerpts from the curricular text since the study specifically inquired about the reading program.

Discourse Analysis

The social and academic transactions in the classroom were recorded with specific examples of discourse. This criterion was necessary to give insight to the scripted curriculum and its direct teaching method that it emphasizes. The discourse recorded from the occurrences in the classroom was limited to those which included the text or which gave insight to the classroom culture and climate, and which aided in reporting the findings for this study.

Through an extension of classroom observations, interviews, fieldnotes, and audio recordings, literacy and ideology was conducted. The researcher looked at questions the teacher asked, responses given by students, and the evaluation or feedback given to the student (Cazden, 2001). Through this interaction between the student and the teacher, themes and generalizations were used to interpret and analyze the literacy and ideology of the classroom.

Timeline

Data were gathered over a sixth-month period, with classroom visits of two to three times per week. The school workday began at 7:40 in the morning and ended at 2:50 in the afternoon. There were two morning breaks and two lunches to accommodate the large student population in the school. The students in this qualitative research study have the same break and the same lunch.

Classroom observations were every other day during the literacy hour. Students began their morning class with a science class and an art class. Afterward, they went to a 15-minute morning break. After their break, students attended their English class.

Students were observed in their English class, which used *High Point* and lasted for two hours. Classroom observations occurred during this two-hour block. After this two-hour block, students were expected to go to their lunch for 30 minutes. Afterward, they attended their history class, physical education class, and math class at the end of the day. The same group of students attended the same classes, with the same teachers, for the entire day and it has been in this format for the past two years that they have attended this school.

While observations specifically occurred during two hours per day, in the English class, Monday through Friday, the remaining time of the school day was used to attend to other events. For one thing, the researcher spent time with the teacher in the classroom. This time was used to help the teacher prepare for the students coming into the classroom and to help students with questions regarding work done in the class; this volunteer time was part of an agreement between the teacher and researcher, made in exchange for conducting the study at the school site. The help provided by the researcher to the teacher was specifically related to the class, not necessarily for data collection; however, there was an understanding between the two that the events could be used in the data collection if deemed necessary. Time outside of the two-hour observations was also used to interview students (provided that teachers from other classes gave prior permission, and there was parental and student consent); to interview the teacher during the fifth period in the school day, right after lunch and the two-hour observation; and to interview other teachers using *High Point* with other language minority students.

The researcher also used time at the school site to write personal journal reflections, including ideas, possible themes or categories, or further questions to ask of personnel at the school site. The idea for this timeline was to fully immerse in the school work day and experience a specific event with the students in the classroom using *High Point*; while at the same time, using access to other staff members teaching *High Point*, as well as the teacher and students of the study outside of their English class, and having personal time for the researcher to reflect and gather other pertinent data.

<div align="center">Participants</div>

Study participants were drawn from a middle school in a large urban district in Southern California; teacher, teacher aides, and students were located primarily in the classroom selected for the qualitative research study. Through interviews and observations, the researcher involved other participants, including the school principal, Title I coordinator, bilingual coordinator, district staff, and community members including parents.

Selection Criteria

The selection criterion for this qualitative study was that the teacher in the classroom needed to be using and teaching *High Point*. The students in the classroom all needed to be identified as language minority students and not recent immigrants in the classroom with Spanish as their native language. The purpose or goal of the classroom needed to be one where the students were acquiring academic English, and the text used for that purpose needed to be *High Point*.

The school itself needed to be a school that had a majority of its students labeled as language minority students (ABC school had 66% language minority students), and the school needed to have more than one classroom, or more than one teacher, using the curricular text *High Point.* This was to triangulate and validate the qualitative study, and to have access to other teachers also working with the same curricular text. The teacher in the classroom also needed to be veteran teacher who had taught for longer than five years; in this case, the veteran teacher had been teaching for over 20 years.

IRB and Consent

Study participants were recruited in the spring of 2006. Several letters and e-mails were sent out to schools and teachers asking them to volunteer and participate in the study. Teachers who expressed interest in participating in the study were identified; during a one-to-one meeting, the study and its purposes were shared. The teacher whose classroom was used for this study signed a consent form to volunteer her classroom and students (see Appendix D).

After Institutional Review Board approval, students were then invited to participate, and the study and its purposes were explained to them. Students were told that their participation was voluntary; at any time, they could opt out of participating in the study; and that their grades would not be affected at all by not volunteering to participate. The students were told that in order to participate in the study both parental permission and student consent were required (see Appendix E). Parental and student consent forms were signed and returned. Although the parental consent forms were translated into Spanish, many of the forms were read to parents who did not read. Not one

student or parent denied participation in the study; in fact, they were eager to participate in the study and to express their opinions in interviews regarding *High Point.*

Students

In the classroom of study, the students were 20 Latino language minority students. Students were identified as language minority students upon entering kindergarten, when a Home Language Survey in their registration packet was completed, stating that Spanish was the primary and native language of the student. The Home Language Survey became a signifier for the student to be labeled as a language minority student. Once the student became identified as a language minority student, the student was placed in an English Language Development (ELD) program and required to go through a reclassification process to exit the program.

The reclassification process for students had several requirements. First, students needed passing grades in the areas of math and English. Students also needed evidence of passing all of the standards for the ELD level at which they were identified: beginning, early intermediate, intermediate, early advanced, or advanced level. In addition to their grades and standards, students also needed a Basic score on their standardized test, the California Standards Test (CST). Students needed a passing score of proficient or better on the California English Language Development Test (CELDT). (A passing score became a 4 or 5 on a scale of 1 through 7.) The CELDT exam tested language minority students in three areas of language proficiency: oral, reading, and writing. Students received a score in every domain but also an overall score on the exam. Finally, students

needed a recommendation for reclassification from their English teacher in order to begin the process of reclassifying as an English Proficient student.

The students in this study reached middle school without having exited the ELD program and without having reclassified as English Proficient in their elementary school years. They were placed in classes at the middle-school level according to their ELD levels, based on their CELDT score: beginning, early intermediate, intermediate, early advanced, advanced. The students in this study have participated in the intermediate, early advanced classes and were currently identified as advanced students in the ELD program. Once students left the advanced class in the ELD program, they left ELD level classes, but were not placed in regular English classes until they were reclassified as English Proficient. Instead, students were placed in classes that prepared them to reclassify: Preparation for Redesignation Program (PRP) classes.

The students who participated in the classroom were a total of 20 students, 12 boys and eight girls; they were language minority students in the advanced level ELD class. They attended a school with 2,762 students, of which 62% were language minority students. The average age of the students that participated in the study was 13 and they were eighth graders. The students were all of Latino background and were identified as low socioeconomic status since they all qualified for free or reduced-price lunch.

Teachers

The teacher identified herself as a 42-year old, upper-class, White female who has taught in the classroom for 20 years. She has experience in teaching English to language minority students in Japan and in the United States. In addition to having a working

knowledge of Japanese, she is fully bilingual in three languages: Spanish, French, and English. This teacher, Ms. Adams, had been working with *High Point* for over five years. She initiated the implementation of *High Point* when she realized it was becoming a state-adopted textbook.

Ms. Adams conducted professional development on *High Point* for teachers who were new to the school site. In a pivotal role, Ms. Adams was also the assigned person in the ELD department responsible for initiating the reclassification process by identifying students who had met requirements to reclassify. She would then dialogue with those students and let them know of their progress, or let them know they were near reclassifying, but had an area to work on.

Ms. Adams also tested students annually with the CELDT exam every October. This allowed Ms. Adams to get to know the vast majority of the students identified as language minority students. Testing the students every year also allowed Ms. Adams to identify the areas in which students were weaker, i.e. oral, reading, or writing; in turn, she would then advise the teachers in the ELD department of the areas in which students needed more practice for their English language development.

Her knowledge of the reclassification process prompted Ms. Adams to return to the classroom after having worked in roles outside of the classroom. Ms. Adams currently works in the classroom with students identified as advanced ELD students. The other seven teachers in the school who participated in a focus group consisted of three males and four females. The majority of the teachers had taught for more than 10 years, with the exception of one teacher who was new to teaching and new to the school.

Two of the teachers in the ELD Department were ready for retirement. It seemed that the department was very cohesive in terms of working together and making decisions as a group.

Setting

K-12 school leaders at the local, district, and national levels are pressured by the federal legislation of No Child Left Behind (2001) to raise test scores of students, including language minority students (Kaufman, 2005). This is because federal legislation measures student achievement through norm-referenced standardized tests. When the outgoing superintendent of a school district in Southern California was asked about his contributions during his long tenure in the second largest and most underachieving district in the nation, he responded that the implementation of a uniform curriculum across schools was one of his major successes in ensuring academic progress of students (Maxwell, 2006).

In the battle over governance of this district, selection of curriculum became a central focus of the debate. The mayor of the city, who sought control of the district, accepted demands that teachers would play an authentic and central role in selecting curriculum for the schools (Maxwell, 2006). The president of the school board did not support the mayor's plan on curriculum, since it would reverse rising test scores that resulted from mandated implementation of the scripted reading program (Maxwell, 2006). It is in this background setting that the qualitative research study was conducted.

This qualitative study took place in Dominguez School, one of the first middle schools in the district to implement *High Point* for language minority students. This

particular school had experienced rapid turnover in leadership, notably, six principals in seven years. It was located in an inner-city area, a few miles away from bustling downtown Los Angeles. The language minority student population was 66%. Dominguez School had consistently failed to make Adequate Yearly Progress (AYP) for NCLB (2001) and was classified as a *Program Improvement School,* year five. Failing to meet AYP made it necessary for the school to change curricular programs to specifically meet NCLB (2001) requirements.

Physical Description

Situated in the county of Los Angeles, Dominguez School was centered by surrounding highways. Three highways can be used to arrive at Dominguez School. The school seemed to be hidden among a community with homes that were gated, with dying grass, and roses lining the periphery of front yards. A bakery at the corner of the school broke the pattern of homes surrounding the school.

The mornings were very busy in front of school Dominguez School. Students walked to school from the surrounding neighborhoods; usually, students frequented the bakery in the morning and purchased *pan dulce* for a quarter. Inside the liquor store, students used the video game machines right after school before going home. Parents dropped off students and formed a long line of cars running parallel to the front of the school between 7:00 and 7:45 in the morning when classes began. Sometimes, parents would drop off students and students would run into the bakery before entering school.

The front of the school was gated. An administrator stood in front of the school greeting students as they walked through the gates, but also checked for dress code

violations, e.g., low tops on females, midriff showing, and baggy pants on males. If visitors walked in to the school through the front gates, a supervisor made sure they signed in.

The first office was the attendance office. It was at this office that parents came in and requested information regarding students, dropped off any item for a student, or picked up a student early for doctor or dentist appointments. Behind the attendance office were the counselors of the school. There were three counselors and one counselor was responsible for one grade level: sixth, seventh, or eighth grade students. The nurse's office was the second office down the hall in the main building. In front of the nurse's office were the principals' offices, which consisted of the entire side of the hall.

Classrooms were situated opposite the main building. The school library began one row of classes, where mostly sixth-grade students took classes. The second row of classes, in one long hall, also housed sixth-grade students. Two couple of rows of classrooms housed the seventh-grade students. The adjacent rows of classes housed the eighth-grade students. The last rows of classrooms, at the back of the school, housed all of the students identified as language minority students. Classroom bungalows handled the overflow of language minority students. Opposite to the bungalows and in between the rows of classrooms were the gym, the basketball courts, and football field. A grass lawn was the only greenery in the school, which lay in between each row of classrooms.

The classroom where this qualitative study took place was a bungalow classroom. The classroom bungalow itself had been placed in the school in the late 1970s to alleviate the overly populated school. The advanced ELD students walked to the end of the school

to get to their classroom. The classroom itself was not handicapped equipped; instead of a ramp onto the bungalow, a set of three stairs existed to enter the classroom.

The first visual item in the classroom was the teacher's desk. The teacher's desk sat directly in front of the door and a small walkway lead to her desk. The students' desks were in rows, seven rows of desks with five seats in each row, allowing up to 35 students in the class. The classroom consisted of the teacher's desk, the 35 student desks, the chalkboard, one bookshelf with books the students used in the class, and four computers, which did not function.

The walls had student work displayed. The work displayed was a combination of student worksheets, graphic organizers, and writing samples. One entire wall was used by windows and shades, while the third remaining wall was used for air conditioning purposes. This left only two functional walls for classroom use: the wall to display work and the front chalkboard. The classroom remained in the same set up for the entire school year.

The teacher's edition of the curricular texts remained at her desk. The students placed their textbook and their practice book, for skills from their text, on the bookshelf in front of the class. Everyday, students picked up a book from the shelf as they walked in the room and their individual, consumable practice book.

Gaining Entry to the Site

Approaching the principal was the first step in gaining access to the school. The principal did not enjoy the idea of research conducted at the school site, but consented to the study if it meant minimum distraction to the students, class, and the school. The

principal specifically stated that the classroom teacher was obliged to follow district-mandated curriculum and that the researcher should not interfere with the teacher's responsibility to follow the mandate. After the principal consented to the study, with these described provisions, the researcher visited the classroom several times to allow the students to get comfortable with the idea of having the researcher in the classroom. While the site was a previous work site, it was still necessary to allow the students to know the researcher in a researcher role.

Meeting with the students and parents outside the classroom allowed them to trust the researcher. Parents specifically liked the idea that the researcher would be asking questions about what they thought their children were learning in the classroom. In informal conversations, parents commented on the fact that no one (i.e., teachers or school officials) in the past had asked them their opinions of their children's learning. Because the researcher was meeting with parents to get to know them for site entry, there was no data gathering or interviewing for information.

The researcher had previously worked as a teacher at the school site three years prior to the study, which made it feasible to approach school staff, such as administrative assistants, coaches, and other teachers, and to ask about the school culture and climate. Many previous colleagues and students felt comfortable and open to answer questions or direct to the right place or person for an answer. Meeting with staff or administrative assistants was to get to know the school set-up and to get situated in the school as a researcher; data collection was not involved in these conversations.

Demographics

The California Department of Education (2007) claimed that student enrollment mirrored the State population where approximately 48% of the population was Hispanic/Latino. In less than five years from the year this study was conducted, the Hispanic/Latino population was projected to become the majority, according to the Department of Education (2007). The classroom where this study took place does not mirror the California Department of Education (2007) statistics. One-hundred percent of the students in the classroom were of Hispanic/Latino descent with Spanish being their native language.

Students in the classroom who participated in this study were identified as Latino language minority students. They were unique language minority students, since they had attended the district since early elementary school. Hence, these students were not recent immigrants, rather sons and daughters of an immigrant generation. Despite the fact that they were second generation, they had not exited from the English Language Development (ELD) program. These students were orally proficient, but had difficulties in academic literacy for their grade level (Cummins, 1996). Since students had not exited the English Language Development program, and their test scores were below grade level, these students had been placed in a special classroom implementing the reading program *High Point* to teach them language arts. The teacher had taught for over 25 years and had experience teaching English, not necessarily as a foreign language, in other countries, including Germany and Japan.

The class began with a total of 38 students; however, the class average was 35. The class had 20 females and the remaining students were males. The average class size was a contention among the English Language Development Department at the school. This contention came about when a reform at the state level called for class size reduction (California Department of Education, 2007). The class size reduction eventually occurred in the classroom so that in September of 2006, the class size was an average of 35, and by March of 2007, the class size was 20. Still, more than half of the students in the class were females despite the size reduction.

The passing rate of the class was a 73.3%: the class had two A's, 17 B's, eight C's, no D's, and eight F's. It was an English Language Development (ELD) Department policy that no D's would be allowed in terms of student grades. This was so that the student demonstrated mastery or no mastery of the standard. The concept of a "D" grade allowed for the possibility that a student may "almost" pass a standard, according to the ELD Chairperson. It was believed by the ELD Department that "almost" passing a standard was not the same as "mastering" a standard (Focus Group, 2007). Hence, the school did not allow D's in their language minority student population.

<center>Data Interpretation: Coding and Analysis</center>

The data analysis procedure of this study followed an inductive analysis approach. According to Hatch (2002a), inductive analysis looks for patterns across individual data. Several steps were taken to complete the data analysis of the data collected in this study; the steps were modeled after Hatch's (2002a) description of inductive analysis.

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Classroom observations, interviews, and artifact data were framed around individual utterances. These utterances were coded, given labels, and organized in the data. When the data had several utterances coded in similar patterns, those patterns were grouped into categories. The categories were created based on semantic relationships (Hatch, 2002a). From these categories, or domains as Hatch (2002a) termed it, salient categories were identified. Identification of salient domains allowed for data reduction—by focusing on the salient domains that shared some insight into the classroom of study. When the salient domains were confirmed, a review of the data was done to gather support for inclusion in the findings section. These salient domains identified through the data analysis procedure are presented in the following chapter; the domains, based on any connections among them, were then grouped into themes.

It is from these themes that the general findings for the two research questions were formed from what Hatch (2002b) termed the 'bare essentials.' These themes then allowed for an outline; hence, the data to follow chapter four is organized thematically, after a general summary of the findings for each research question.

Even so, the data collected and the grouping of the data into categories and themes did not always lend itself to answering the research questions. Data had to be revisited several times to search for possible missed categories. Coding of the data had to be revisited in search of mislabels or even for alternative plausible explanations. When the data did not provide answers, the classroom was revisited to probe specifically for the gaps that existed in the data. Any lack of data in support of the research questions is presented as a finding that did not exist in the data.

Reliability

Gorden (1975) defined reliability as the use of measurements or observations, and the probability that these, if repeated at a later date by the same researcher or by a different researcher at a different time, would render the same results in data. The use of observation protocols, as opposed to just observing and using fieldnotes, was to ensure that the information gathered gave reliable results. Conventional naturalist observations allow for different data collection, meaning many things can be observed; those observations can be used to support any themes or analysis of data.

Structured observations using observation protocols were used to focus each observation on specific categories pertinent to the research questions. Since the research questions delved into the topic of ideology, the observations needed to be structured specifically to look for those events in the classroom. Fieldnotes may add and point to other events, which can be attributed to the ideology existing in the classroom. Three features of the classroom were examined by structured observations that aided in data collection; they were the language of curriculum, control, and identity of the learners in the classroom (Cazden, 2001).

Data in this study were checked for reliability by using observation protocols as opposed to just observing and using fieldnotes. Observation protocols were used to focus observation in specific categories pertinent to the research questions to guide the reliability of this study. The use of fieldnotes allowed other information outside of the

observation protocols for further analysis of classroom events. The aim and objective of

each observation guided the reliability of this qualitative research study.

Validity

Validity in data collection is the extent to which the data collected conforms to the

fact (Gorden, 1975). Validity in this study is in reference to the student population used.

Since over half of the student population in this school was identified as language

minority students, the sampling population had more validity than it would if the school

had only 10% of student population identified as language minority students. This is

because the larger population allowed practices and behaviors to be more embedded in

the culture and climate of the school, which would thus be reflective of the kind of

ideology practiced with language minority students in general. Using a school that had a

large population identified as language minority student allowed the study to have both

subjective and objective data collection results.

Validity was checked for in this study by allowing the teacher in the classroom to

have access to the data collected. When classroom observations were done, it was a

perfect set-up that the teacher had one full hour free of students after each observation.

While mindful of not taking too much time, data collected during the classroom

observation were shared with the teacher. The open discussion of the recorded classroom

observation allowed for trust to build between the teacher and researcher. Moreover, it

allowed for accuracy of the data because the teacher was able to confirm the actual

happenings of the classroom against the recorded observations. Qualitative data is meant

to explain the social phenomena in the classroom; validating the data for accuracy as to what occurred in the classroom was one way to establish criteria for validity.

Triangulation

Multiple sources were contrasted to triangulate data. Observations and fieldnotes were used to collect data on occurrences in the classroom. These observations were checked against interviews with teachers and students using *High Point* to arrive at accurate descriptions and interpretations of what was happening in a classroom using the scripted reading program. This was to ensure that data collected through observations reflected the experience of students and teachers. In addition, the use of audio recording in the classroom ensured that the data collected, and what the students and teachers shared through interviews, correlated with what was actually said in the classroom. Using more than one type of data procedure allowed for triangulation.

Triangulation was checked for in this study by correlating the classroom observations with interviews, textual analysis, and audio recordings. The same questions asked during an interview with the teacher regarding the scripted program *High Point* were also asked of more teachers in the same school working with the same curricular program. These interviews with the teachers, both the teacher in the classroom as well as others working with *High Point,* were triangulated with observations and fieldnotes. The responses of students and their own voices were also used to triangulate the data. This was to ensure that what was said in the classroom correlated with what was observed and recorded.

Trustworthiness

The data collected from the classroom was shared continuously with the teacher in the classroom. This sharing of the data with the teacher was to ensure that what was recorded was fact. Any incongruence with the recorded data and the perception of the data were discussed and revised with the teacher almost immediately following the classroom observations. This allowed for accuracy and for the data to remain as factual as possible since the data recorded focused on describing the classroom social and academic transactions. Any memos or personal observations and opinions were recorded on a different document to separate the actual data from the opinions formed as a result of the observations.

CHAPTER 4

FINDINGS

Purpose

This qualitative study had several goals. One of its goals was to examine the

literacy experiences of Latino students who attended an inner-city, middle-school

language arts classroom using the mandated reading program *High Point,* a prepackaged

scripted curriculum used to teach language minority students in California. A second goal

of this qualitative study was to review social and academic transactions occurring in the

classroom to ascertain the role of *High Point* in implementing the dominant language

ideology (Cadiero-Kaplan, 2004). Furthermore, a third goal of this study was to

document the curriculum used in the classroom and its effects on students' language and

culture under the guise of teaching English and English literacy. Finally, in the

classroom—specifically through observation of a mandated, scripted reading program—

this research analyzed how all participants, students and teachers, produce and reproduce

power relations of the larger, dominant American society and culture (Bordieu, 1973).

Research Questions

The following are the two research questions this study addressed to reach its goals as mentioned above:

1.   Which forms of literacy are students experiencing in the academic transactions of a classroom using *High Point?*

2.   What is the ideology of the scripted curriculum *High Point,* as measured by social and academic transactions occurring in the classroom?

General Findings

As evidenced in the data to follow, the literacy experiences of language minority students was not enriching or engaging. The learning activities of the students were skills-based and focused on low frequency decoding skills. The teacher believed the curriculum was not working with her students, but agreed it was needed because her students lacked skills that the curriculum emphasized. Differentiation of instruction did not exist because of the homogenized and structured curriculum, although it was evident the teacher was frustrated with the curriculum and demonstrated a desire for something different.

In the data presented below, students experienced a lack of literacy instruction in general. Students followed directives in the classroom without space for critically inquiring about their learning. Data points to a culture and climate in the classroom where students do not experience learning, autonomy, motivation, and hope in the future. The ideology of the curriculum pushes the students and their teacher to not believe in the capabilities of learning. Students lack space to ask questions not related to the learning

activities guided by their curriculum and the authority of the classroom teacher. Although some students resisted learning with subtle behaviors, the females in the classroom were invisible, not respected by the males in the classroom, and the teacher spent more time with the boys in the classroom than the girls.

Classroom Data

The following section is organized into themes present in the data collected. They were organized to present a clear picture of what occurred in the classroom and as a way to interpret "what's going on" in the classroom (Emerson, Fretz, & Shaw, 1995, p. 145). Emerson et al. (1995) stated it best when they claimed that a researcher brings data to bear on a topic. Hence, when a researcher writes about one topic, or on some topics over others, it is due to the sensitivities the researcher holds. These sensitivities might be personal commitments, feelings, insights from the field, or from the literature review itself. The sentiment Emerson et al. (1995) claimed remains true for this qualitative study.

Classroom Curriculum

District Policy

It is apparent that the choice of materials used in the classroom was not decided upon by the teacher. The district and the school's policy mandated that students in the ELD classroom use the instructional curriculum of *High Point.* The materials were those pertinent to *High Point*, which included a textbook and a practice book. Students worked from the textbook; in the practice book they practiced the skills they were to learn and were later tested on.

Grading Policy

The policy of the curriculum at the school was nonnegotiable. The school had a structured guide that teachers adhered to. The structured guide listed the reading selections the teacher needed to work with the students, the time to spend on each reading selection, and when the new reading selection should have been started. This structured guide limited the amount of time that the teacher could spend on each item, skill, or objective; moreover, it limited the creativity of the teacher by having her follow a scripted text and the opportunity to re-teach any concept was not available.

The curriculum policies lead to student performance. Not only did the school have a policy in regards to the curriculum, but also in regards to grades. Any student in the ELD program could not receive a grade of a D. The student could receive a grade of an A, which meant excellent; a B, which meant good achievement; a C, which meant fair; or an F, which meant failure. To receive a grade of a D meant that the student 'almost' mastered a standard. To 'almost' master a standard was considered different than 'having mastered' a standard; hence, the grade of a D did not exist in the ELD department. This allowed the teacher to know early on who would fail her class even before the middle of the semester. This was because if evidence was not provided in the ELD portfolio, the student could not move on to the next ELD level, and therefore, fails the class. If an assignment was not completed, or was not proficient, then that meant the student was at risk of flunking the class even as early as one-third of the way into semester.

The teacher had a structured guide; she was to teach a unit in a certain amount of time, not necessarily in the amount of lessons that the textbook asked. In addition, the teacher was recommended not to supplement the curriculum since the student tests were from the textbook. The teacher was recommended to follow the curriculum as closely as possible to the textbook because the ELD portfolio needed evidence, from the *High Point* textbook,* for each student as having mastered an ELD standard. There was no correlation between the text and the ELD standards.

Evidence was needed in the ELD portfolio that each student had mastered an ELD standard for the ELD level they were in. When the teachers were asked in a focus group interview how they assessed each student on whether or not they had mastered all ELD standards, and consequently the student would move on to the next ELD level, they could not answer the question. The teachers did share, however, that as long as the student passed the unit test and the writing assignment—from the text *High Point*—then the student was able to move on to the next ELD level. The curricular program did promise, however, a "standards-based with specialized instructional strategies" approach to teaching (*High Point*, Level C, 6-7).

High Point did claim that the instructional program addressed the standards, but it did not address all standards for one entire ELD level in one specific unit (*High Point,* 7). That the district, or the school, adopted the practice of only working with one unit, i.e. Unit 4, from the curricular text as evidence of mastery of standards, was not necessarily the way *High Point* was designed, as shared by the *High Point* expert from the district

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office. Such was the main reason the district office would have liked teachers at the individual school site to teach the instructional program of *High Point* to a fidelity level—meaning that teachers should teach *High Point* the way it was designed from Unit 1 to Unit 5 in a chronological order.

Unit Plan

The classroom materials and topics were all referenced to *High Point.* The vocabulary development students completed was related to the stories read in the textbook. Each unit in the *High Point* (Schifini, Short, & Villamil Tinajero, 2002) textbook had two themes. Each theme was taught separately using two or three reading selections. For example, Unit 4 in *High Point,* had the first theme as "A Fork in the Road," while the second theme was "An Element of Risk." The first theme had three reading selections encompassing the theme: "The Lady, or the Tiger?" "The Road Not Taken," and "Aimee Mullins." According to the Unit 4 Planner, the first theme needed 16 lessons of instruction. Each lesson estimated to be 45 to 55 minutes long. The second theme had two reading selections: "Passage to Freedom," and "Melba's Choice." The second theme also needed 16 lessons of instruction of 45 to 55 minutes each (see Figure 5).

Figure 5. Unit Four Themes and Reading Selections

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                    ┌─────────────────────────┐
                    │     Unit 4: High Point   │
                    └─────────────────────────┘
              ┌──────────────┴──────────────┐
    ┌───────────────────┐        ┌───────────────────┐
    │     Theme 1:       │        │     Theme 2:       │
    │  A Fork in the Road│        │  An Element of Risk│
    └───────────────────┘        └───────────────────┘
    ┌───────────────────┐        ┌───────────────────┐
    │"The Lady, or the  │        │"Passage to Freedom"│
    │     Tiger?"        │        │                    │
    └───────────────────┘        └───────────────────┘
            ┌───────────────────┐        ┌───────────────────┐
            │"The Road Not Taken"│       │ "Melba's Choice"  │
            └───────────────────┘        └───────────────────┘
                    ┌───────────────────┐
                    │  "Aimee Mullins"  │
                    └───────────────────┘
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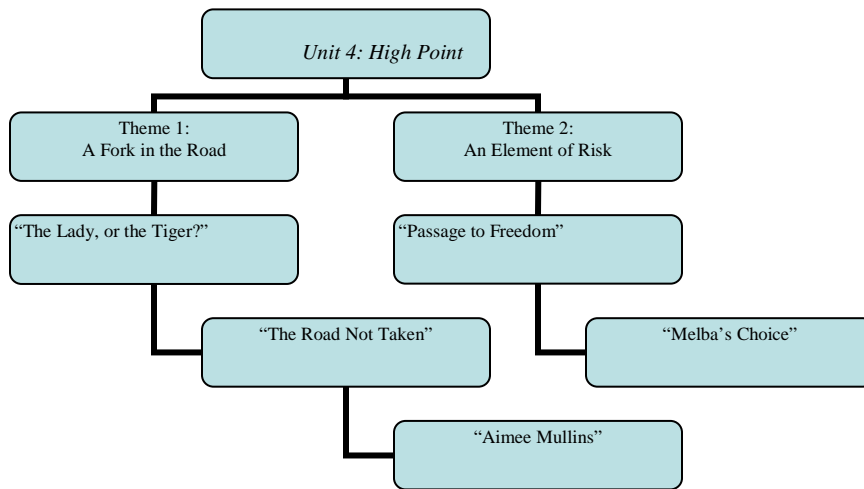
Each reading selection had a pre-reading activity termed "Prepare to Read" in the textbook, a through-reading activity termed "Read the Selection," and a beyond-reading activity also as "Respond." As a pre-reading activity when students prepared to read the selection, they performed three things: activated prior knowledge, built vocabulary, and learned a reading strategy. In the through-reading activity, students identified the genre they were reading and set a purpose for reading, such as making predictions or monitoring reading. Students practiced their reading strategy as they read the selection, they applied their knowledge of the vocabulary words that they learned, and they checked for their reading comprehension. In addition, students received a grammar lesson with each reading selection. For the beyond-reading activity, students checked to make sure that they understood their reading. They worked on a section that *High Point* termed "Critical Thinking and Comprehension" but the activities it provided were to (a) predict the outcome of the reading, or to (b) identify the sequence of the reading selection.

Students were asked to write a short piece in response to what they read, or write a journal entry about how they felt about the reading. Table 5 outlines the skills students used when reading a selection from the text, specifically in Unit Four.

Table 5

Before-, During-, and After-Reading Activities

	Pre-Reading Activity	Through-Reading Activity	Beyond Reading
Skills	• Activate prior knowledge • Build vocabulary • Reading Strategy	• Identify genre • Set a purpose for reading • Practice reading strategy • Apply knowledge of vocabulary • Grammar lesson	• Check for comprehension • Predict outcome of reading • Identify the sequence of the reading selection • Write response to literature

When students went through each reading selection for both themes in the unit, they then had a writing assignment. The writing assignment asked students to write a piece, to use the writing process to write, and to complete a self-assessment at the end of the writing activity. The self-assessment was not a reflective piece where students were asked to meta-cognitively reflect on their writing or on the topic they chose to write about. Rather, the self-assessment asked students to evaluate how well they performed on the writing assignment based on the criteria required of them.

How-to-Read

A typical learning activity in the classroom of language minority students was the functional "how-to" skill related with the text being read. As a case in point, a lesson was presented on "how to use sticky notes" in the classroom. Students were not allowed to

mark the book they were reading; an alternative to using highlighters and marking up text was the use of "sticky notes," i.e., post-it notes.

The lesson proceeded as follows. The teacher handed out a yellow sheet of paper to the student labeled "sticky notes." Figure 6 provides the contents of the handout.

Figure 6. Sample Lesson on "Sticky Notes"

Sticky Notes

Sticky notes, or "post-its," are used while you read. You can use them in many different ways to help you read.

You can…

- Ask a question about something you just read.
- Write briefly about how the sentence, quotation, or passage reminds you of something you have done, seen, heard, or felt.
- Point out that the sentence, quotation, or passage answers a question that you had or maybe someone else had.
- Explain what the reading makes you think of.

The students taped this yellow sheet of paper on a spiral notebook they used specifically for the class—which the teacher bought and gave to the students. The teacher read the yellow sheet of paper labeled "sticky notes" to the students. The students were not asked if they had any knowledge of reading strategies, nor were they asked to co-construct the knowledge they needed for reading. According to Schifini (1994) and Cummins (1996), activating prior knowledge is one of the best ways to teach literacy to language minority students. Freire (1993) would term this teaching approach used as banking approach to education: students are vessels where knowledge is deposited.

Interestingly, while the teacher gave directions, one student was gluing his yellow sheet of paper to his spiral notebook because he was 19 minutes late to class. At the same time, another student was writing on the stack of yellow post-it notes the teacher gave

him. This lesson on how-to-mark-a-text, with some individual students following their own agenda, was an example of a lesson instructing students on how to work with a textbook.

Memorizing Vocabulary

Another type of learning activity in the classroom was an attempt at vocabulary development. With every reading selection students read in the textbook, *High Point,* they needed to memorize a set of words. The students were tested at the end of the reading selection on their vocabulary words. A learning activity on vocabulary development with the set of vocabulary words was how to study vocabulary with flashcards. The students felt that learning vocabulary was important, but they really could not distinguish why it was important.

One student, Vanessa, said the following during an interview about working with vocabulary:

> I was kind of prepared…the thing that I got prepared at is the vocabulary words…I only thought of that because it seems important…I don't know if I pass the tests or failed them, but I kind of got prepared.

A typical vocabulary lesson proceeded as follows. The teacher allowed each student to create flashcards. The teacher gave each student approximately nine or 10 flashcards and students wrote the word on one side and a definition on the back. When students finished creating their set of vocabulary flash cards for the reading selection, then the students studied.

First, however, the teacher instructed them on how to study vocabulary with flashcards: "Those of you who have finished vocabulary cards, place them facing up," the teacher would say. Then she continued with her instructions as cited here from fieldnotes:

The teacher gives the students directions on how to study vocabulary cards. She uses a student as a model, asks the student to pick a word, guess the definition, flip the card over and check to see if he had the definition right, then pick the card up—if he guessed the right definition—and put the card in his hand. If he guessed the wrong definition, he would then put the card back on his desk.

This learning activity occurred periodically as students received a set of vocabulary words to learn with every reading selection in Unit 4—that would mean five reading selections, and approximately eight to 10 vocabulary words per reading selection. From the text *High Point* (Schifini, Short, & Villamil Tinajero*, 2002*) one of the reading selections students worked with was "Passage to Freedom," a biography by Ken Machizuki. Citing the text using textual analysis, the objective in "Passage to Freedom" in learning vocabulary was to relate to words. In the curricular text, under the selection labeled "Learn Key Vocabulary," the directions were as follows: "Study the new words and their definitions. Write the word 'visa' in the center of a box. In the corners, write the new words that go with it. Complete another box of words for 'Holocaust.'" These were the directions that students used to complete and relate to the vocabulary words.

Moreover, in the top, left-hand corner, in a blue box where all the objectives for the lesson were listed, a 'T' resulted in a red circle right after the objective with vocabulary. The purpose for this 'T' in a red circle was to alert the teacher that the words

students were to learn were at the end of the reading selection and on a test. When the teacher was asked her opinion in having learning objectives listed in the textbook, the response was short: "It's good to have it there. I don't have to think about what my students need to learn. The book [i.e., Teacher's Edition] tells me!" While the text suggested a format to teach students the vocabulary words, i.e., word boxes, the teacher decided to use flashcards because the teacher thought it was the most efficient way to have students learn, i.e., memorize the vocabulary.

Since the students in the classroom were language minority students, then the students should have guided the vocabulary development due to their comprehension, or lack of, vocabulary words. However, such was not the case in the classroom. The text and the teacher guided the vocabulary development that existed in the classroom based on what students were tested on. Even so, even if the text that the teacher and students were using in the classroom guided the vocabulary development existing in the classroom, it would make sense for the teacher to ask students words they do not understand and in that manner, add to the vocabulary development that took place. This did not occur in the classroom. The textbook *High Point* guided the vocabulary development. One student shared his feeling regarding the vocabulary learned in class: "The most important think I learned is all the meaning of the words in the vocabulary in the *High Point* book. I learn new words about a new story in the textbook."

When students were tested on the vocabulary words they memorized, most of them did well because they memorized the vocabulary words using their flashcards: "On the test I performed good because I study my vocabulary words, and I kind of got

nervous and I don't want to take it." The case in point is that students did not decide what they were to learn with vocabulary, even though it should have been that way, they learned what the teacher and *High Point* asked them to learn with vocabulary.

Feigning Reading

Another learning activity in the classroom was independent reading using a chapter book. This was a separate learning activity away from *High Point.* The teacher decided to perform this activity with the students because the teacher thought the students needed to learn more than what *High Point* had to offer them in terms of reading.

Students took out a book and concurrently both read and used sticky notes while reading. When the teacher asked students to take out their books for the independent reading portion of the class, one student asks, "Which one, Miss?" and the teacher responds: "The one that you are reading on your own, by yourself." The student then grabbed a zip-lock bag from underneath his seat and took out his book. While the students were taking out their books from his or her zip-lock bags—used to keep the books in good shape according to the teacher—the teacher reminded the students of the rules for independent reading: "Everybody is reading and nobody is talking." Students then opened the books and kept still; the students would, however, look at each other with their eyes and smile at each other. They would not talk or giggle, but they would not read either.

Not all students found value in the activities they were doing. At one point, one student mentioned how boring the class was: "This class is boring, Miss" the student shared with the researcher. At a later time, the same student turned around and shared for

a second time the class was boring, except when he participates: "[He] turns around and says to me [the researcher] that the class is boring, except for that one time that he participated. The he turns back around and puts gum in his mouth."

The learning activities in the classroom revolved around reading and vocabulary. Specifically, the students were learning skills that would help them read. Learning vocabulary would help students comprehend what they read, and learning skills, i.e., sticky notes, to read would also help students get through the text. The skills and activities were guided by *High Point.* That is, students learned vocabulary because (a) they needed the vocabulary in order to read the selection from the story in the book, and (b) they were going to be tested on the vocabulary words.

<center>Authoritarian Relationships of Power</center>

The teacher held power and authority in the classroom. For example, the teacher decided the aims of the classroom. The students did not share with their teacher in deciding the literacy and learning goals for the semester. The students did not decide to work with *High Point,* or to choose the activities for their ELD portfolio. The students did not have an option on what topics they talked about or what reading selections they read in *High Point.* This is not to say, however, that the teacher did have a say in what she was teaching. While the teacher held the authority in the classroom, while she directed her students to complete the work in the classroom, essentially, she also did not have power to choose her instruction:

> I don't like it that I have to follow *High Point.* I think it doesn't work with the
> students…I don't like it that I have to have evidence in their portfolios…it's like

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someone is watching over me to make sure that I teach *High Point.* I feel that

way. They [i.e., students] need something different. Something that is more at

their cognitively level but not too high on reading skills…their reading skills are

low.

The teacher did not have power or authority over what policy makers adopted as the best

curriculum to use with language minority students. In turn, the teacher lacked power and

authority in what the District adopted as the curricular text for language minority

students.

Seating Arrangements

However, the teacher had power and authority in what occurred in the classroom.

For example, the teacher decided the seating arrangements of the students. Granted, some

teachers have seating arrangements for classroom management purposes and their seating

arrangements are for discipline reasons. Other teachers group students according to level

or ability. When students are seated in rows, however, it does not allow students to

interact with one another as when students are seated in groups. The position of the desk

facing forward to the front of the room where the teacher stands sends a message to

students. The students may receive the message that the only person in the room they are

to listen to is their teacher. It also may send the message that students are the learners, the

recipients of knowledge, and that the teacher is the one sending knowledge to them.

On the other hand, seating students in rows may also involve the type of lesson

the teacher is teaching. Some lessons do require lecture-type seating arrangements. Some

teachers teach a lesson and students sit in rows, and afterwards, students practice the

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lesson that was taught. Still, some students misbehave and talk even if they are in rows, as one student shared: "I was talking a lot. Maria kept making me laugh so I kept talking. I really didn't behave well today…I tried to finish my work. I only finish some of my work."

Nonetheless, in close to five months of observation, not a single grouping arrangement was observed in the classroom of language minority students. When the teacher was interviewed on this topic, she mentioned:

Well, I need to figure out how to make them more autonomous. They are very dependent. They won't work unless a teacher uses the seats in rows, traditional, guided method of instruction. Group settings become social free-for-alls. I am really worried about their futures. I can't move them where they need to go, which is another indication that I am failing.

Whereas the teacher shared her sentiments on seating arrangements, what is noticeable is that she mentioned students were not autonomous. The fact that students were not autonomous is a reflection on the curriculum *High Point.* In the text, teachers are asked to do direct teaching; that is, the teacher is to directly instruct the student on how to do things.

Students Lacking Autonomy

After a period of four weeks of direct teaching, the students became more dependent on her, the teacher shared. The students expected the teacher to show them how to do things. The students looked towards the teacher as a model. If the teacher did not guide them through the activity, the students did not attempt to perform. Interesting to

note is that students kept sharing *High Point* was boring to them, and part of the lack of effort to perform was due to *High Point,* but the teacher shared the students would not work unless they were directed:

> Today was not exciting…today…the only thing we did was when we were doing
> *High Point*…what I learn today was perfect tense…I also learn about African
> American culture again…I already learn about African American culture, I don't
> want to do this again…I don't get it…why we can't learn about something else…I
> never learn about Mexicans.

There was a hint in this student's interview that there should be something else going on in the classroom besides *High Point.* The use of the word "again" implies a sentiment of unhappiness and even complacency with what is going on. Another student shared:

> I did not like *High Point* because we always had to read and do practice book
> pages. The stories were also boring. I didn't like anything we did. Also, because
> we had to repeat everything from last year. That's why I didn't like it.

This student points to the fact that what they did last year is what they are doing this year in the classroom. Most likely, this student failed the class last year and is repeating the same course this year.

Daily Agendas

The teacher also had power and authority to decide when to start or stop an activity. The ability to start and stop the activity is what grants the teacher with the

authority. This was guided by the agenda the teacher posted on the board each day. An

example of an agenda the teacher would post is as follows:

> Agenda: March 6, 2007
> - Unit Vocabulary
> - Composition
>   - Discuss the prompt
>   - Mind map
>   - Write composition
> - Selection test, page 15 and 16
> - Homework: study the vocabulary
> - Unit test tomorrow

The teacher was guided when to stop an activity and when to start another based

on the amount of items on the agenda. This teacher can be called an exceptional teacher

because she would cover every item on the agenda on any given day the researcher was

present for classroom observations. The teacher was meticulous about following the

agenda, and would move the students through the agenda regardless of whether or not the

students would need more time with an activity. This was the downfall of the teacher. If

restated, one could say this was the downfall of the curricular program. This is because

students were expected to produce all items on the agenda; the pressure existed for both

the teacher and the students on behalf of a pacing guide that told teachers that by a certain

day, a certain Unit in the textbook should already have been covered. However, how

possible is it to have students write a composition of four or five paragraphs, finish

writing a composition, and still complete a selection test on the same day? According to

the *High Point* textbook, it is possible because that is what the textbook asked for at the

end of every unit. Is it also possible that a classroom with an agenda on the board

completes every item on the agenda? If students are language minority students, and if

students perform at different levels, it deems almost necessary to deviate from the agenda to ensure every student was successful on every item.

At the end of the day, it was implied every student had mastery understanding of the concepts covered, not one student needed review, and the teacher smoothly moved through the agenda as planned. That the students were not able to stop the teacher and ask for help implies that the power and the authority lay with the teacher; she was able to decide what to teach when, and when to stop an activity and end it—even if the activities and topics were guided by a scripted curriculum and students did not perform well on each activity. As one student shared, there existed some level of difficulty for her in the textbook, but there was not any space for her to receive help; therefore, she moved through the curriculum having that level of difficulty:

> There are so many stories in *High Point* book. The level of stories are all different. Some stories are easy. But some stories are so hard for me. And I like the "Before you move on." The questions are so good to my memory [i.e., memorize] the story. But the words are so hard that are almost I've never heard. And the definition is not enough to understand what the word means. I think the practice book is worse than the textbook. Because sometime I don't know what should I do. I understand the questions. But I don't know what should I write. Sometimes it's easy. But sometimes it makes me confused. So I don't like the practice book.

Students do not have the power or authority to decide what vocabulary words they needed to learn. Instead, the textbook and the teacher decided what vocabulary words

they were to learn, and this occurred by looking at what vocabulary words they were

going to be tested on. The textbook did, at the beginning of every reading selection, give

a list of vocabulary words that were then tested at the end of the reading selection. These,

in turn, were the vocabulary words that the teacher asked students to memorize.

Blind Obedience

In general, students did not decide what they learned. They did not choose the

topics or activities. They did not choose their seating arrangements or the types of

questions they were able to ask. Students did not choose what vocabulary words they

should have learned. In essence, students did not have power in the classroom, other than

to follow what they are asked to by the teacher.

Teacher Culture and Expectations

The teacher was not interested in validating the culture of students. The teacher

did share, however, that she believed the lives of students and what they were interested

in should be part of the curriculum. She did not see that happening in the classroom,

though, unless the curriculum required for use in the classroom was changed. In addition,

the teacher felt it was her job to teach students the target language; it was her job to make

sure students knew how to read, write, and speak in academic English. When asked about

validating students' language and culture, the teacher mentioned the students should learn

academic English putting their native language aside. "It's important," she shared, for the

students in the classroom to learn the language and the culture of the U.S. "in order for

the students to have a chance to go to college and to succeed in life."

Cultural Expectations

In response to the school leader, and to current recommendations on student achievement, the teacher looked at the students' test scores. The teacher was interested in learning the students' achievement levels on standardized test scores. During a school staff meeting in March, each teacher in the school was provided with a class comparison sheet that listed students' test results. The results were a two-year comparison. The teacher shared her thoughts:

> In comparing CST results from students in period 3 and 4 from 2004 to 2005, they actually dropped! I don't know what I can hypothesize about this coming year. Why would they drop if this group of students had Mrs. [Gonzalez] as their teacher? I don't get it? Am I supposed to catch them up now? How can I do that?"

Evident in this teacher commentary is a held expectation of the students. It was apparent the teacher did not expect students to improve on test scores because of a viewpoint that students needed to "catch up" to knowledge they should already have. It demonstrated the teacher did not feel a possibility of addressing the standards for the current school year without relying on students' knowledge from the previous year. The expectation itself could have been a reason the students' scores dropped; Mrs. Gonzalez, whom the students worked with the prior year, probably held the same expectation of catching up students. Instead of addressing the standards for the current year, Mrs. Gonzalez might have pushed-back and addressed standards the students needed to catch up.

This feeling of "catching-up" was present among many of the teachers who taught *High Point,* as was evidenced during a focus group interview. The teachers perceived a need to make sure students were ready to take the yearly standardized test. Although the school principal stated that performance on the CST (California Standardized Test) was not a reflection of the teaching quality occurring in the classroom, the fact that the CST results were public pressured teachers to pay attention to their student scores, as shared by the principal during a staff meeting in March:

> I do want to make sure that you know that the results on the CST are not a
>
> reflection on you [i.e., teachers], but they are a reflection of how our students are
>
> doing and of the hard work we still have ahead of us.

The sentiment present in the school was that CST test scores took precedence and teachers were to prepare students for the CST. "They can't do it" one *High Point* teacher commented, "They don't want to do it." "It's not that they can't do it" a second *High Point* teacher responded. "It's that they can't think. They [i.e., students] want us to give them all the answers. They don't want to think. They're lazy."

Teacher's Expectations

In the classroom of this qualitative study the teacher had different expectations. Even though she thought her students were behind, she expected them to do well, pass their ELD level, and move on to the next ELD level: "I want all of my students to promote to the next ELD level" the teacher commented in an interview. The expectation was to have her students succeed. The theme of commitment to the students is transparent

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in the teacher. "I continue to refine my instruction," she stated regarding what she had

done to help her students succeed in the classroom.

There is friction, however, in what the teacher expects of the students and of what

students were actually doing. "I am having a hard time trying to find a way to keep the

students involved and guarantee that they are able to make it through the *High Point*

material," she shared in an interview. When asked why the teacher had the expectation of

her students to move on to the next ELD level, and why that was considered successful,

the teacher responded that if the students performed well and met her expectations, then

she as the teacher had done her job and she would be satisfied.

Even though the teacher wanted her students to do well and pass her class, it was

evident that the teacher was self-reflecting on her own success and not of the students.

Having a high percentage of students promote to the next ELD level also meant that she

was successful as a teacher. It was the success on her part that motivated this teacher to

have a high passing rate of students.

The notion that students must race through the curriculum because there existed a

pacing plan was common among the *High Point* teachers interviewed. In addition, getting

the students through the pacing plan was considered a success—not necessarily on behalf

of the students but on behalf of the teacher. Each semester, the teacher was responsible

for covering a certain amount of activities and lessons in the *High Point* textbook. These

in turn, were to be included in an ELD portfolio for each student in the class as evidence

that they had passed one ELD level and they would move to the next level. Interestingly,

however, is the fact that students in each ELD level were promoted from one level to the

next based on the material and work produced from the *High Point* textbook. Promoting to the next ELD level, according to the California Department of Education (2007), should be based on a combination of standards, CELDT exam, and district implemented assessments.

There exists a framework for ELD standards for each level. Mastering the set of standards in one level should then allow for promotion to the next ELD level. It seemed that this school dismissed the ELD standards in promoting students, even though they were posted on the ELD portfolio for each student. According to the district *High Point* expert, the portfolio had standards for each level and was aligned to the curriculum of *High Point*. This was done so that it would be "easier for teachers to assess the academic abilities of the students…and make appropriate judgment in considering movement to the next ELD level." Therefore, the expectation of the teacher for her students was within the periphery of the ELD portfolio: this teacher expected all of her students to pass the *High Point* material to include in the portfolio, which would have allowed her students to promote to the next ELD level. This would then deem this teacher and others at the school in the same situation as successful in moving the students along the program.

The common thread among some *High Point* teachers who were interviewed was 'making' the students do the work. When ask why they thought students refused to do their work, the teachers commented that the students needed something different in the classroom. One teacher suggested:

They know that they are different. They know that the work they do in here is

different than everyone else. They are stuck in my English class working with

High Point for two periods, while everyone else only has one period of English.

They want that. They don't have an elective. They don't have Art, or Technology,

or Music because instead of an elective, they are here. They hate us.

Whereas the teachers expressed a strong sentiment regarding the students in the

classroom, when asked how that sentiment transferred in the classroom, the teachers

commented on the feeling of having to make-up in the classroom for the loss of electives.

In the classroom of this study, the teacher thought she needed to give students

projects that reflected some sort of artistic expression from her students. The teacher in

the classroom shared she often had the students draw plot summaries of the reading

selections from the text. The problem with this, as the teacher in the classroom shared,

was that the school expects them to follow a pacing guide. It became very hard for them,

i.e. teachers to deviate from the pacing plan because of the requirements students had for

their portfolios. It is important to mention, however, that the pacing guide teachers

followed and the ELD portfolio were two separate instruments used in the classroom to

guide the teaching and learning of students. It was the combination of the two

instruments that make for the ideology present in the classroom.

Gate-Keeping Students

A teacher can have high expectations for his or her students, but the ELD

portfolio each student must have, and the evidence that must be provided each semester,

limited these expectations. Therefore, it turned out that teachers of *High Point* had the

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same expectations of their students: each student had to pass the unit tests and the writing assignment to include as evidence for their ELD portfolio to move on to the next ELD level. In order for this to occur, each student had to read four reading selections and take four reading selection tests as preparations for the unit test. At the end of the unit, a writing assignment accompanied the unit test. Each student then wrote the assignment and needed to pass it on a proficient level.

The writing assignment students had to write about was to "Write for Personal Expression," citing the *High Point* text. The writing assignment was usually at the end of the unit, and students read the writing prompt that gave them the directions. The writing prompt was as follows: "Now you will write a memoir to share with your teacher and classmates. In your memoir, you will tell about a problem you had and how it was solved. Tell about your feelings, too." The teacher had to teach the writing assignment whether she agreed with it or not. The teacher began her lesson to her students as follows:

Every unit test has a composition. Up there [on the board], we see the prompt. You are going to write about an event that changed your life. We were thinking about it in period 2. They had a difficult time. It is not about a problem. It is not about deciding how you're going to attack things. What happens is that these are possible changes that you can talk about…Maybe you are having a difficult time in your classes. Maybe the semester is getting to you. Maybe your grades from last semester are getting to you. So, this is one change that you might be doing. Changing your study habits so that you can improve your grade.

The teacher continued to introduce the writing prompt by mentioning that the story they have just read was about a character changing in the story.

While the teacher introduced the prompt to the students, the *High Point* text demanded that students and teacher read the prompt together, and leaf through the pages to review the writing process, i.e., prewriting, drafting, and revising. In the prewriting section, the *High Point* textbook demanded that teachers pre-write by having the students collect ideas and choose a topic, stating, "Think about experiences in your past. Was there a particular time when you were worried about something? Was there a problem that you had to solve? Make a list." The teacher performed the same activity with her students: "Are there any changes you can think about what you can do? 'Style?' one student shared. 'Yeah, change the way you do things.'" Students shared their ideas with the teacher.

When asked of the teacher what her feelings were in following the textbook to teach, she mentioned she felt constricted at times. She felt that there was a box, a mode, and a model presented in *High Point* on how to teach. She felt obligated to follow the model but shared it conflicted with her teaching style. She wanted students to work in groups, to share, to have a writer's workshop with their writing. "I can't teach to my style…if it is my goal to make sure that these students can pass the requirements to move on to the next ELD level." The style, or method, of *High Point* limited what this teacher was able to do in the classroom.

Lacking Resources

In an interview, the teacher shared the frustration of teaching students due to a lack of materials. A lack of materials is a common experience for this teacher. She commented:

How can I teach these students if I don't have all of the materials? I'm missing all of the transparency sets for both sets of classes. I don't have the workbooks for the students. I don't get enough copies for the entire month to be able to get a copy of the workbook to each student. How am I supposed to teach like that? The class size is big. How can I reach each student in the class?"

The lack of materials was later solved when the teacher received all of the materials from the Assistant Principal. The teacher wrote a letter to the Assistant Principal in charge of curriculum and asked for the materials she needed in her class to be able to successfully teach the program she was suppose to teach. The Assistant Principal did not respond enthusiastically about the request, as the teacher shared, but since the district required the curriculum, then the Assistant Principal had to make an effort to order and get the materials for the teacher. It took two months to receive the materials in the classroom. By then, the teacher "…had already done without the materials. There was no point getting any materials in mid-March when the school year would be over in June!"

Misuse of the Curriculum for Advanced ELD Students

Although the teacher was teaching *High Point* to her students, she did not praise the program. One thing shared regarding the curricular program was that it worked very

well with students who were recent immigrants, who did not have knowledge of English, and, therefore, the program would allow these students to acquire English. The curricular program did not work, however, when the students were those who had been in the system since their early education but simply did not get out of the ELD program. The program also did not work when the students failed the course and were to repeat the course, along with the same activities, materials, tests, and compositions. The repetition of the class, without any intervention, or differentiation in the curriculum, allowed students to disengage from their learning: "I already did this last year. It's boring today. I already know how to do this. I'm not going to do it"—such was the voice of one student who was interviewed and asked why he decided not to do the work in the classroom.

The curriculum did not work well with students who were not recent immigrants. "These students know how to speak English. They don't know how to read and write. We need to teach them reading skills and writing skills, not oral skills" one neighboring teacher, who also taught *High Point* at the school, mentioned. "Yeah!" another teacher mentioned during a focus group interview. Another teacher mentioned:

These students need a young teacher who can teach them writing. They don't need me teaching them how to speak English. They already know! These are not like the students from 20 years ago…They need another program. *High Point* is not for them. It doesn't work for them.

Still, another teacher mentioned: "If the Principal would be a good Principal, he would know this program doesn't work. He would listen to his teachers…but he just does what the district tells him to do." The teachers in the focus group interview shared the

same sentiment as the teacher in the classroom. *High Point* does not do a well job of teaching the students what they need to learn. According to these teachers, their students need to learn how to read and write; they do not need to learn how to speak the language.

When the District *High Point* expert, a position an individual holds at the district office, was interviewed—he was the liaison between the teachers in the district and the literacy goals of the district office—he mentioned *High Point* was a program designed to teach students how to read and write. Flipping through the pages of the curricular text, the *High Point* expert demonstrated that every day, a lesson should be taught. Every lesson in *High Point*, specifically in the teacher's edition, had an objective for the day. The objective was not always to learn pronunciation. The objectives varied: 'Activate Prior Knowledge,' 'Relate Words,' 'Preview,' 'Predict,' 'Read a Selection,' 'Listen to a Selection,' and 'Set a Purpose for Reading.' Each objective built to a larger goal, whether in reading or writing, that involved several aspects of the English language. "If followed the way *High Point* is suppose to be taught, the students would be successful. Some teachers, however, are not giving *High Point* a chance," the expert mentioned. Lastly, the *High Point* expert mentioned that *High Point* was a scientifically based curriculum designed to improve the reading and writing of students. He also mentioned that the State Department of Education would not have adopted *High Point* if it did not meet the curricular demands of the federal legislation, NCLB. In his eyes, *High Point* worked, he had worked with it when he was in the classroom, and his students were successful. If he did not believe the program worked, he mentioned he "wouldn't be here."

Stuck with High Point

Still, the teacher in the classroom, with students in front of her, mentioned several frustrations with *High Point*. One was an administrative school-wide issue that there were not enough materials to be able to provide each student with the necessary materials; second, the lack of access to paper and copies. The teacher made one copy of the workbook, turned it into a transparency, and used the transparency in the class rather than each student supplied with an individual copy. This resulted in students taking more time to copy work from the board, time that was deemed more useful in practicing the skills. Lastly, the teacher mentioned her frustration in the inability to reach each student in the class: "I wish I could sit down just with Rene and work with him one-on-one. He would be responsive. But I don't have the time…I have other students to teach."

On one occasion, the teacher visited the Assistant Principal in charge of curriculum to ask for an intervention program. What the teacher wanted was the Assistant Principal's permission to not teach *High Point* and instead work with a novel in the classroom. She shared: "I spoke with Ms. [Doty] about doing an intervention program with my class. She was actually very responsive to it. She said she was aware that one size does not fit all." Still, when the teacher asked for different materials to use in the classroom, Ms. Doty then responded that there were not any funds to use to purchase the materials the teacher wanted. Hence, the teacher went back to the classroom and felt "stuck teaching *High Point*."

Giving Up

Regarding the value of the learning activities to students, the teacher shared a couple of thoughts. One, the teacher shared the students needed the skills. At one point in an interview the teacher said, "How can I teach them what I want them to learn if they can't read?" Adding to the teacher's distress that the students were lacking skills, the teacher shared, "If my students can't read, how am I supposed to teach like that? That's supposed to be the elementary school's job, not mine." Whereas the teacher would want to teach the students different skills, the teacher felt students needed to learn vocabulary to understand their reading.

A second thought the teacher shared regarding the learning activities was that the students did not know how to behave. The teacher mentioned the school itself did not have a discipline plan for students; consequently, students would behave without fear for any consequences. Students would be late to class without any consequences held in place by the school for being late. At the school, the teacher shared, the students would roam without any regard for adult authority. The students would stop at the restroom, stop to purchase a drink, and then walk into the class with a drink in hand and 20 minutes or so late.

When students were referred to the counselors for their tardiness, there were no consequences other than the student being 'counseled' for their actions. As an example, the teacher sent David to his counselor; David was tardy to class on a daily basis. Upon that incident, 20 minutes later, David returned to his teacher with a copy to the discipline referral. The disciplinary action taken by the counselor regarding David's tardy problem

was as follows: "Student counseled. Parent contact, no success. RTC." RTC was written in short hand referring to 'return to class.' This allowed the teacher in the classroom to vow, for students whom were constantly late to class, never to send them to their counselor for disciplinary action. When counselors were interviewed regarding the teacher's feelings about disciplinary action their response was one of defense: "We have too many discipline problems…the teachers should be taking care of this in the classroom…that's not our job…the teachers should have more classroom management…"

The constant tardiness by the students, who happened to be the same students, affected the learning activities occurring in the classroom. This was so because the teacher felt that the students did not want to be there and their tardiness implied that sentiment; in turn, she had stopped wanting to teach the students other than the skills they would need later in life: "How can I want to teach these students? They are always late. And they show up to class and decide not to work. I decided to leave them alone and teach those in the front who want to learn," the teacher said in an interview. The feeling of giving up on the teacher's behalf is one that allows teachers to disengage from his or her teaching and in turn allows students to disengage from their learning as well.

No Room for Culture

Neither the culture of the teacher nor the culture of the student was present in the classroom. The classroom had a focused agenda on achieving all of the necessary work for students to complete their ELD portfolio in order to move on to the next ELD level.

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When the teacher was interviewed on whether her own culture was reflected in how she planned for the class or how she taught the class, her answer was frank: No. The teacher did not feel she had the opportunity to bring her own culture, or that of the students into the classroom lesson:

> I can't teach about culture, mine or my students. I have to teach what *High Point* is asking me to teach. The stories we read are to make sure my students understand vocabulary and can use reading strategies. I don't think they'll ever remember that we read "Passage to Freedom" or that we read "Aimee Mullins." I don't think it matters. The goal is to make sure they know how to read…we don't have to talk about culture to do that.

In addition, the teacher mentioned that she hardly planned lessons. She no longer had to lesson plan because *High Point* had already planned for her. The teacher would allow herself time to understand the lesson one day prior to teaching it, she would make sure the materials necessary to carry out the lesson were available, and she would write the agenda for the following day before leaving. All that was taken home to work were papers to grade, portfolios to complete, and if necessary, the teaching guide to understand whether she was falling behind or ahead of it. "I don't have to figure out what I'm going to teach or how. I just have to follow *High Point*," shared the teacher. In addition, she shared:

> Plus, if I don't follow *High Point*, and if I don't have all of the required materials in the portfolio for the students, I can't pass my students. I would have to fail them all. I don't want to do that disservice to them.

Lesson planning for the teacher was something that had been taken away from her. "My life is easier in that way," said one of the teachers during a focus group interview, referring to lesson planning. "But it's harder because in my 28 years of teaching," he continued, "the students have never been lazier; lacking thinking skills…they just want to be entertained. I don't entertain. I teach" were his last comments.

Still, the teachers in the focus group interview and the teacher in the classroom were able to identify a necessity to bring culture in the classroom. The culture they thought students brought into the classroom was the pop culture of society: video games, cell phones, I-pods, and MP3 players. Students were more concerned, according to these teachers, with technology than with learning to read or write. "Students need to learn to read and write," said one teacher. "Why do I need to teach them about their Mexican culture? I'm not Mexican…" he finished. The teachers thought that validating the culture, i.e., Mexican culture, which students brought into the classroom was not necessary nor was it their job. It was also not necessary, according to the teacher in the classroom, to teach students the American culture either. It was the teacher's job to teach reading and writing, to teach the materials from *High Point,* and to make sure that each student had met the ELD portfolio requirements and promote to the next ELD level.

<div align="center">Student Culture and Resistance</div>

The purpose of including students in this study was to give students access to share views that they may not otherwise have shared. Indeed, through specific examples of student interview excerpts, student voice in the classroom was not necessarily present.

Throughout the study, the difficulty of providing student voice was a struggle because the scripted curriculum did not provide the space to allow it. The student voice provided in this study is a personal attempt to give the students in the classroom a voice for their opinions and desires. The criteria set forth for this to occur was limited to students providing their opinions specific to the curriculum in the classroom, the classroom happenings, and the classroom desires all in the classroom setting. The students' personal lives were not shared as they do not pertain specifically to the research questions at hand.

Disengagement

Overall, there was no differentiation in the curriculum. Students were expected to learn certain skills; they were expected to pass the reading selection, followed by the unit tests so that they can move forward to English Language Development (ELD) level four and not repeat ELD three.

When asked of the teacher if students were at the same level, according to CELDT exam scores, the answer was no. Some students would score lower on some areas of the CELDT versus another, but since an overall score of ELD level three was common to all students in the classroom, then the students were in ELD level three classes. "Students must pass the unit tests and the compositions to move on…there's not much I can do, but try to prepare them for it," the teacher mentioned in regards to how she meets the demands of students. As a result, the teacher would stand in front of the room and teach what the teacher thought the students needed to pass the unit tests. Students, however, did not share the same sentiment:

Five students are responding to the teacher's question. One student puts his hand on his forehead, and he is not looking at the overhead. Another student has his head down and does not look at the overhead. One student keeps dropping his books underneath his chair and keeps fixing them after he drops them. One student is drawing while the teacher keeps talking about [the lesson] on the overhead.

Students were sending out the message with their behavior. They are either not interested in the lesson the teacher is teaching, or they are not asked to be a part of the lesson. At one point, the researcher wrote in the fieldnotes: "Why doesn't the teacher ask her students questions as she is explaining? Or why doesn't the teacher involve the students as she explains?" This was because the researcher saw, from the back of the room, the disinterest of the students in the lesson.

The Classroom Non-conformist

Although students did show some disinterest in the lesson, there was one student in particular that was set apart. His name was Eric. Eric sat in the back of the class and refused to open his *High Point* book. He would sit, stare at the teacher, and do that behavior for an entire class period. Many times the teacher would pass by and ask him to open his book. On one occasion, the teacher herself opened the book for Eric. Still, Eric just sat in his chair and did nothing. The rest of the class giggled at Eric.

On a second occasion, however, Eric had his book open. He was leaned over the book, his pencil moving alongside his paper, and the class was quiet—admiring Eric and

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his work. Later, when the chance approached itself, the teacher commented in an interview in regards to the Eric event [as the researcher is choosing to call it]:

> I tried something different with Eric today. I gave him the red literature book— used with the regular English students—to work with instead of *High Point,* and he actually read and he actually did the work. I was so surprised. I hope it works that he continues doing his work in the red book.

If providing students different opportunities to work in the classroom counts as differentiating curriculum, then the Eric event is an example of differentiation. When the researcher asked the teacher if it was possible to grant the same opportunity to all her students as was provided to Eric, the teacher shared it was impossible. The teacher had a mission to fulfill the entire portfolio requirements so that her students had evidence in their portfolio that they were deemed fit to move on to the next ELD level. Hence, providing the same opportunity to all of her students as was granted to Eric was unthinkable.

Resisting Rules

Students in the classroom were required to follow rules. There were four rules the teacher had posted in her classroom:

1. Follow directions the first time.
2. Keep your hands, feet, and objects to yourself.
3. Come prepared.
4. Be respectful.

The classroom rules came from the *Assertive Discipline* book by Lee Canter (2001). They were what he termed efficient and effective. Although there is no rule written in the classroom, such as "be on time," it was implied. When students came in late to the classroom, it was assumed they were not prepared by the mere fact that they were late. The teacher saw being on time as good practice for the "real world."

During an interview with the teacher she mentioned an anecdote of a parent conference. In the parent conference with the parent, the teacher asked the parent what would have happened if the parent was late to work. The parent responded that he or she would lose the job. The teacher then went back to the student, used the parent as an example, and sent the message to both the student and the parent that it was very important to be on time to class. Even more so, however, it was suppose to be good training to be on time to class so that when the student held a job, that student would not lose the job due to excessive tardiness.

On the topic of tardiness, the students shared a couple of things. On one occasion, one student, Vanessa, pseudonym used, was asked her opinion on what she had learned that day. She happened to share on the classroom rules, stating that they were hard to follow and they, i.e., students, could not do anything about changing the rules. For example, Vanessa stated, "Also, not to laugh during class or else you and the class will owe time." Students sensed they could not laugh in the classroom. The teacher's personality would add insight to this perception on the student's behalf; the teacher was a very serious, hard-working person, as she described herself. The idea that the students could not laugh in class might have been misinterpreted.

Another student, Alexa, on the same topic of rules mentioned that she learned to follow rules: "I learned today that to respect the rules. Also to pay attention to…on what you're doing." When Alexa was inquired more about the things she would like to learn, she mentioned the curriculum: "I would like to learn new things that I haven't done. I would like to learn more about books. Also… other important things." Although Alexa could not mention specifically what she meant by other important things, the fact that she mentioned she would like to learn more about books possibly points to her feeling restricted with what she was learning in her class. Francisco, on the other hand, commented on the teacher's rule number four: Be respectful. During a short classroom discussion he shared: "I learned today about the classroom rules… that suppose to be respectful. I even learned to respect each other."

Disregarding Females

Even though the students had a rule on respecting each other, the social transactions occurring it the classroom gave a different picture. As a personal anecdote, during the first classroom visitations, one student threw a piece of crumbled paper towards me [the researcher] in the back of the room. As an apology, the student offered he meant to make a basket in the wastebasket, even though there was not a wastebasket nearby. At a different time during classroom observations, as a form of disciplinary action, the teacher moved Eduardo to the front of the room. This caused more disruption than was intended. Another student in the class, Anthony, yelled out to him: "Go kiss her, she's your future." The female student, in front of where Eduardo moved in the third row, physically scooted down in her seat and leaned over her work more. The teacher (a)

did not hear the comment, (b) did not know how to approach the situation, or (c) decided not to do anything about it.

It was apparent, though, that although one of the rules the teacher posted in her room was about respect, the females in the classroom where victims of lack of respect by the males in the classroom. At one point, Alexa was finishing an assignment. The teacher being aware Alexa was still working on the assignment mentioned to Alexa she would wait for her to finish the assignment in order to have the class move on. A male student, who happened to be Alexa's neighbor, however, had a different approach. He yelled out to Alexa: "Hurry up, Alexa…we're waiting for you. Damn, we're always waiting for you. You're so slow." The teacher walked away from the situation to the front of the room, and waited for Alexa to finish her work to move on with the next activity. There was no mention on the teacher's part of the social transaction involving Alexa on both occasions as mentioned above. At the end of the class, when Alexa was asked about her feelings on the situation, she mentioned:

I wish I was in a different class…I don't like the boys, they're dumb. Plus, this classroom is boring…but I want to be someone in life, that's what my mother always tells me. She doesn't want me to be like her, like, like with a lot of babies. I don't want them. I like to read. We just read boring books here, but the library has a lot of books. I like the library.

When Alexa was asked why she did not ask her teacher of possibly reading other books, Alexa was not keen on the idea. The student stated that the teacher was the teacher and that, as the teacher, she probably knew what she was doing. In addition, the student

shared that her mother had always told her not to disobey her teachers. It seems that the culture itself, the Latino culture, allows the females in the classroom to be obedient to what they are asked to do in the classroom.

No Questions Allowed

Students asked questions that were clarifying questions on any given assignment; however, the teacher asked the majority of the questions in the classroom. One student, Rafael, mentioned his frustration during an interview that he thought he could not ask the teacher questions unless related to the assignment: "These three weeks I pick my grade up, but with this teacher…she doesn't even let me tell her that I didn't finish my oral presentation." Although the student was concerned about his grade, he felt he could not let the teacher know of an unfinished assignment that was hurting his grade.

The questions students asked were to clarify an assignment. During an academic transaction between the student and the teacher, the teacher gave directions for all the students in the class to take out their reading books. One student asked: "Which one, Miss?" The teacher responded, "Your independent reading book." The extent of the question was to clarify the directions the student was to follow. On a second occasion, the students were a reading selection on "Passage to Freedom" from their *High Point* textbook. The teacher asked the students to volunteer any information they had about World War II. The students then volunteered their answers. Table 6 portrays the answers student shared with their teacher regarding their knowledge of World War II.

Table 6

Student Answers to Knowledge of World War II

World War II	Holocaust
• Hitler started WWII • The U.S. won • Hitler blamed the Jews for his problem	• Many Jews died • Jews wore yellow stars • Some escaped

The students who volunteered answers to these questions were limited to the students in the front of the room. The students in the back of the room were not involved and did not participate in the activity. The teacher had asked the students to take notes and copy the information from the chart; however, the students in the back did neither. On fieldnotes for that day of observations, the following was observed in the classroom: "Some students are talking about a personal conversation about what they did on Friday of last week. They are excited that today is Friday and they want to plan what they will be doing." Even though the teacher had asked everyone to take notes, the students in the back had a different agenda.

The teacher showed commitment to the students in the front of the classroom who were participating and volunteering answers to the teacher's questions. The students in the back neither participated nor volunteered along with the rest of the class. When asked why they, i.e., students, decided not to participate along with the class, the students shared many views. One student stated he knew "everything from last year…the teacher last year didn't like me and flunked me. I'm here because he [the teacher] flunked me last year. I already know all of these…those are school boys over there." Another student shared the same sentiment: "I don't want to be a schoolboy…I don't care." By calling

their classmates in the class 'schoolboy,' the students explained the concept meant that a 'schoolboy' did what the teacher asked them to do; moreover, a 'schoolboy' wanted to get good grades in the class for any number of reasons.

On a third occasion, a student asked a question to move from his seat. "Miss, can I go forward?" one student asked, referencing an empty seat in front of him. The teacher responds with "Please" and the student ends with a "Thank You." Once the student moved, he no longer had questions for his teacher. The teacher, on the other hand, asked many questions to elicit student responses. On a vocabulary review lesson, the teacher asked:

> One of the things I have noticed is that with the other classes… with the definitions, people are just copying and are not really paying attention to them. That is a problem because if you don't pay attention to the vocabulary, then you do not understand what is going on in the selection…if I asked you what those things meant, you probably wouldn't be able to tell me what they meant… [Rafael], can you tell me the definition for bankruptcy?"

The question was asked by the teacher to inquire information from the student. The questions in this classroom were centered more or less on the concept of the teacher asking students information. The student would then respond to the question the teacher asked, such as Rafael did, stating "Financial ruin." The following excerpt from a day of observations in the classroom is an example of an academic transaction occurring in the classroom:

> "What do you have on your paper?"

"Financial ruin."

"Walter, what does that mean?"

"To be poor, to not have money."

"Right. The next word is baren. Jonathan, what does it mean?" (fieldnotes, July 17, 2007)

The classroom discussion would continue in the same way. The teacher asked the question, and confirmed with another student. Once the students shared the answer, the class proceeded to the next word. The lesson did not allow students to share with one another, to choose a different learning modality, or even to allow for a deep discussion of the meaning of the words during World War II and the connection between the vocabulary and the reading selection the class was reading.

Furthermore, students did not have the opportunity to ask the reasons for their learning of vocabulary words. Students did not have the opportunity to ask the meaning behind reading the selection. Students did not have an opportunity to question their memorization of definitions for a test. It was assumed students must work on what the teacher asked. It was assumed students learned vocabulary and read a story, and then they were tested on their memorization and comprehension. It was assumed students would comply with this request and not question it; this was the assumption the class operated by in order for the students to advance to the next ELD level. This assumption operated well in the classroom because it was also assumed students did not want to repeat the same course over and over again, two or three semesters in a row.

Hegemony at Work

From a macro-level perspective, it was also assumed the teacher would follow the *High Point* program in teaching her students. The amount of students that moves from one ELD level to the next, from one semester to the next, reflected on the success of the teacher with her students. And, according to the *High Point* expert, a successful teacher promoted his or her students to the next ELD level because he or she was teaching the curriculum the way the curriculum was meant to be.

No one questioned, however, why students did not have a say in what they learned. It was assumed the teacher should have the power to make sure the students complete the work they were assigned. Based on the questions asked, the teacher had the power and authority in the classroom. As the teacher in the classroom, however, given a curriculum that is scripted and paced, with an accountability that students must have evidence from the curriculum to promote to the next ELD level, one can claim that the teacher had no power or authority outside of that classroom.

In terms of the student culture in the class, there was a subtle way of teaching the culture of the target language. For example, the pattern of interaction in the classroom was cognizant of power and authority: the teacher had the authority and the students had to obey. In heavy, critiqued terms, the students were colonized, and the teacher was the colonizer—terms that have been associated with the American culture. In a different light, the teacher was the oppressor and the students were the oppressed. From a different perspective, the students were in the margins, and the teacher was in the core. From a

Freire-ian (1993) perspective, students were empty vessels and the teacher the depositor of knowledge.

One can choose the terminology to explain the pattern of interaction in the classroom; however, that there was a dominant culture present in the classroom was evident. The dominant culture present in the classroom was the bureaucratic ways of doing things—the hierarchical ways of achieving things: in this case, the teacher gave the directions and the students followed them. On a hierarchical ladder, students were placed lower on the ladder than their teacher. Even though the teacher did not think it was her job to acculturate students into the dominant culture, even though she thought that it was not her job to teach her students 'American things,' she did think she needed to prepare her students for the 'real world.' Her students needed to learn how to follow directions and how to get to class on time, as examples of what they would be expected to do in their jobs:

> They have to learn that they need to get to class on time—if this were their job, they would already have been fired…they need to learn to follow the rules and to not be insubordinate…they will not survive in their jobs like that.

In addition, the students were encouraged to behave using the cultural norms of the society they lived in, which was the American society. Students were expected to follow rules. Students were expected to respect the teacher and to do what she told them to do. Students were encouraged not to dissent. Students were encouraged to complete all of their portfolio requirements and promote to the next ELD level, and they were encouraged not to question why they needed to do that:

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I have to teach them that when they hold jobs [i.e., the students] they will have to follow rules…they may not like my rules…they may not like to follow my rules…but when they get their jobs, they are going to have to follow rules, it's just the way it is. I have to follow rules, too. I don't like it sometimes…I just want my students to be prepared for the real world…if they don't like the way society is organized, then that's just too bad, we can't do anything about it.

The teacher shared sentiments in regards to industrialization, to hierarchy, to bureaucracy—essentially, to the capitalist organization of the American culture. Whereas the teacher may not have thought it was her obligation to teach students the American culture, essentially, she was teaching her students the world of capitalism by preparing her students for the 'real world.'

Student Resistance

It cannot be said that students openly resisted the curriculum they were being taught. Students did display, however, behaviors that pointed to a subtle form of resistance. One such behavior was classroom tardiness. Four students, the exact same four students every time, were late to class every day. In one week alone, one student missed one hour of instruction due to his tardiness. Another student missed approximately one hour and 20 minutes due to his tardiness. Combined, in one week, these four students missed a minimum of four hours of instruction out of the 7.5 hours per week provided. If schools follow the Educational Code and it should be that way, in assuring the instructional minutes required are provided to students, and the school day is arranged so that instructional minutes are well defined from the beginning and ending of

the school year, these four students were far behind in receiving the instructional minutes required.

When students were interviewed regarding their tardiness and their reasons for being tardy, they were open and honest. One of the students said that the class was boring. He was unable to point, however, to reasons why the class was boring. Another student mentioned that he "hate[d] *High Point* because [he] knows everything in it already." Another student shared: "The practice book is so easy for me because I already learned it. Ms. [Ramirez] showed it to me…I feel that I could belong in regular English because I already know." Students were 'behavior problems,' as identified by the teacher; moreover, the teacher did not necessarily interrogate the reasons for the students' tardiness. If the teacher had interrogated her students regarding the genuine reason for their tardiness, and if the students had honestly shared, the teacher still would not have altered the curriculum in the classroom. This is because the teacher was being pressured to complete the portfolio requirements in order for the students to promote to the next ELD level.

For the most part, the majority of the students in front of the classroom displayed behavior patterns that are not considered deviant. Students worked on their assignments. Students sat quietly in their seats. Students followed directions. The following is an excerpt from fieldnotes during a classroom observation:

> The students are working without necessarily any talking or any talking to the
>
> peers. The students have their heads bent over their paper and their pencils
>
> moving. A student, [Nadia], raises her hand and waits for the teacher to get to her.

The teacher continues to walk around the room and continues to give students flashcards.

These students completed their work. These were the students who did not resist, who completed the work, and who most likely were the ones passing the class. Other students, those sitting in the back of the room, resisted their work. Sometimes these students drew in their books. Once, Daniel had written a comic book using his own creation of animated figures. His comic book exemplified mastery knowledge of the concept of plot, suspense, and imagery. Daniel had no ending to his book, and when inquired about the ending of his book, he commented on comic book sequels and on endings not necessarily being definite. At another occasion, Javier took his finger and used it to trace his book, in a motion that resembled reading from right to left as opposed to left to right. Some students put their heads down, although not sleeping; they made movements that resembled fatigue, such as stretching their hands and yawning. Students also displayed behaviors using their required materials in the class, such as counting the textbooks on the bookshelf or counting the amount of pencils they possessed. On another occasion, a student had an unused pencil, walked over to the sharpener, and sharpened the pencil until the pencil was too tiny he could not sharpen it nor make use of it. He decided to tell his teacher he did not have a pencil to do his work.

These students, displaying these behaviors—which any teacher can mistake for lack of motivation or laziness—are the students who would share they knew the work, could do the work, and which they thought belonged in a regular English. As one student shared: "I could do the work on my own, and I think I belong in regular English. Just that

I'm lazy, but if I wasn't lazy I would have a B or C in this class." For some reason, however, the students who sat in the back of the room and who claimed to know the material would not do the work that required them to move on. The teacher, in turn, would dismiss them as lacking drive and would not devote time to them. Instead, the teacher would sit them in the back of the classroom and teach only those students whom she thought would learn and would want to learn.

The Student Leader

There was one exception to the subtle behaviors these students displayed in their resistance. Rene was an exception. Rene sat in the back of the classroom. Rene had the opportunity to sit in front of the researcher and every now and then, Rene would turn around and either (a) offer information, or (b) ask the researcher questions. For the most part, Rene thought the class to be boring, and an exception to the boringness was when he participated in a classroom discussion. In class, Rene did the following:

> Rene raises his hand twice, and yells out to the teacher to pick on him. The
> teacher calls on Rene and he volunteers. Next, Rene turns around and says to me
> [the researcher] that the class is boring, except for that one time that he
> participated.

> The very next day, Rene was suspended from school for tagging—graffiti on
school grounds—as shared by his teacher. In addition, the teacher shared that Rene was the type of student who could not be trusted. His seat had to be moved because Rene was close to the teacher's desk and was trying to take things from her desk. Consequently, Rene was changed seats, away from the teacher's desk. Rene can be said to be at a

different level than the rest of the students. He was the one student who seemed to not care to be subtle about his behavior. He would come late to class. During a five-week period, or during 25 days, Rene was on time to class only seven times. Several times he would come in late to class, sit in his desk, and wait possibly 15 minutes on average, before he decided to remove his backpack from his back. Rene was identified as the leader of the students. If students were behaving in the class, it was because Rene was behaving, or, on rare occasions, because he was absent. Rene had a 98% attendance record.

Regular English

Students thought they belonged in regular classes: "I feel that I belong in regular English class. I could do other things. I will improve to get better at other things I don't know," one student shared during an interview. Yet, students displayed behaviors that would make educators think otherwise. Students' displayed behaviors that would make educators think the work these students need is remedial or disciplinary. These students are knowledgeable in what they are required to do. They have made the choice not to do what they are being asked to do.

Conclusion

In this classroom of language minority students using *High Point* as their curricular text, the literacy experiences of students are limited. In addition, traces exist of social reproduction occurring in the classroom. The space in the classroom exists for critical pedagogy if the teacher becomes aware of the theory. The problem is the teacher lacking knowledge of the theory and, therefore, she is not using it to guide the instruction.

Even so, without knowing the theory and terminology, the teacher can still use her instinct to provide what her students need. This would take, however, more work on the teacher's part.

The fact that the teacher did not pursue this venue can point to several things. One, the teacher most likely did not feel empowered to do so. Two, the teacher may lack the energy and time to commit to such endeavor in the classroom. Or three, the teacher might feel ineffective in making such a change for her students and probably setting a precedent for the rest of the school. What is important to leave with is that even when a curriculum is scripted, there is still possibility to work around it to eradicate inequity and injustice. If teachers are given theoretical knowledge, support, and the guidance to work with critical pedagogy, it can occur in the classroom.

High Point is a scripted reading curriculum for middle-school students endorsed by the No Child Left Behind (2001) legislation as one of the "scientifically-based" reading programs for failing schools. *High Point* is generally being used to teach immigrant and poor children in inner-city schools. This research examined the language and literacy ideology of *High Point* and brings to light the values and beliefs embedded in this scripted curriculum, such as following directions and learning skills rather than critical thinking. By documenting the pedagogical practices and classroom discourses elicited in the implementation of *High Point,* this study described how the restricted vision of literacy, in the long run, supports the reproduction of a cheap immigrant labor force through the tracking and gate-keeping of students. One can even go so far in claiming that the students were taught to a factory-model by providing teachers with a

teaching guide and guising it with accountability in ELD portfolios—and some students are definitely not playing the game, to their own detriment.

    This research study described the way this scripted curriculum was assimilating language minority students and forcing them to lose their language and culture under the guise of teaching functional reading skills, and of the detrimental effects of this scripted curriculum on the students' bicultural and bilingual identities by completely dismissing them in the classroom.

CHAPTER 5

DISCUSSION

Introduction

This study examined whether the reading program *High Point* provided teachers and students the necessary conditions for reading and critical academic engagement. This study documented how the curriculum used in the classroom affected and mediated students' language and culture under the intention of teaching academic English and English literacy. This research examined how in this classroom, through the implementation of a mandated, scripted reading program, all participants (students and teachers) produced and reproduced power relations of the larger, dominant American society and culture (Bordieu, 1973).

Research Questions

This qualitative study used two research questions to guide the research and data collection. One research question inquired about the literacy experiences of language minority students in a middle school language arts classroom using the scripted program *High Point*. The second research question inquired about the ideology present in the curricular program *High Point*. These research questions guided the data collection and analysis of this study.

Pedagogical Practices Reinforcing Economic Roles

In *Schooling in Capitalist America*, Bowles and Gintis (1976) claimed that

schools play a role in the economy by supplying the market with the necessary stratified

roles needed for the success of the economic system. As students leave schools, they

enter predetermined roles in the economy. This happens through many traditional

pedagogical practices including meritocracy, testing, teacher expectations, and,

particularly, the curriculum.

Even though it is believed that schooling is a democratic process and everyone,

rich and poor, has an opportunity to succeed, the reality is different. Schools produce

class stratification. They prepare the wealthy to take places at the top of the economy,

while preparing the poor to take places in the lower end of the economy (Bowles &

Gintis, 1976).

Meritocracy

Meritocracy is the belief that those who work hard succeed. The presence of

unequal treatment, and, therefore, inequity, is guised under the idea of merit—the

talented student is chosen to move forward and succeed based on merit. However, what is

not revealed is that there are practices in schools designed to prevent students from

acquiring social mobility.

In this study, the curriculum *High Point*, and more specifically, the tests that the

program mandates along with the completion of an ELD portfolio, functioned as

gatekeepers for language minority students. Most of the students in this study could not

move into the next level of literacy because they did not pass the *High Point* test or

because they did not deliberately complete the ELD portfolio. The ELD Portfolio was, according to *High Point*, the school, and the teacher, the only proof that students were indeed literate and proficient on academic English.

Although the teacher in the classroom may have shared and reflected that *High Point* was not for her students, she continued to teach it. She listed pros and cons of *High Point,* such as no longer planning lessons and focusing her time on correcting papers. However, she refused to see the lack of cooperation of students that highly depended on her and were not able to do much on their own as a result of the scripted nature of the reading program.

Tracking

This study found that this school widely used tracking practices for language minority students. For example, students in the classroom using *High Point* had two class periods of *High Point* (English/Language Arts) while the rest of the student population who were not English language learners took only one class period of English; in the other period they took elective courses, such as technology, art, or music. Students learning *High Point* expressed a desire to have the opportunity to take an elective class and mentioned unfairness in their reasoning.

Also, language minority students, 62% of the student population at the school, were in classes taught with the curricular program *High Point.* The remaining student population had English classes with a different textbook, which the students labeled as the 'red book'—a typical anthology of literature used in many English classes.

Students were also tracked in their classes by the score on both the CELDT exam and the CST exam. In order for students to reclassify out of the class, they needed a proficient score on the CELDT exam and a basic score on the CST exam. There was no other way to reconsider the placement of a student. If students did not reclassify as English Proficient students before reaching high school, then most likely they would not have been able to have enough units to enter college.

The strongest evidence of tracking was the ELD Portfolio. The only students in the school who needed to show evidence of mastery of standards were the language minority students through their portfolio. Not a single student who was not considered a language minority student and who was not taught with *High Point* had to produce any form of evidence. The ELD portfolio prevented many of these students from achieving social mobility. The district, school, ELD Department, and the teachers all considered the ELD Portfolio a sense of accountability: it was an instrument necessary to ensure that students were proficient in English before they were reclassified as English Proficient. The excuse might be accountability, but the ELD Portfolio created a mockery of assessment; the ELD portfolio was mainly an instrument of tracking.

Instilling Obedience in Future Workers

Schools value different necessary job skills as they prepare students for the workforce (Bowles & Gintis, 1976). Schools, such as Dominguez School situated in an inner-city community, emphasized passive attitudes in students and a cult to obedience (McLeod, 1987).

The teacher in the classroom mentioned that it was her responsibility and duty to prepare students for the "real world." The teacher mentioned that it became her responsibility to prepare students to be good workers, such as by being on time to class. The teacher claimed that by students constantly being tardy to class, they were not preparing themselves for a job. If students did not show up on time to class, they were not practicing showing up on time for a job; consequently, they would lose the job. Even though the teacher claimed she was preparing students for the "real world," she was not teaching reading or literacy but physical behaviors.

While not explicit, it was implied that students would be following orders in the kind of jobs they would hold. If the teacher mentioned that students were to be on time in order not to lose their jobs, then the implication exists that students would be in jobs where every minute of the workday counted towards production. In the field of engineering, for example, late arrival might be looked down upon but not punishable. In this case, while there was not an open discussion that the school and the economic system were a reflection of each other, the teacher was operating from a shared understanding that her students would eventually enter the marketplace. Therefore, it became the teacher's job to prepare her students to enter the marketplace.

Functional Literacy

NCLB (2001) defines literacy as a reading skill that teaches phonemic awareness, decoding, reading fluency, vocabulary, and reading strategies (Title I, Subpart 2, Section 1221 [5]). Literacy should be more than the functional skill of reading, though; literacy should enable growth and an understanding of social life (Apple, 2000).

Functional literacy is a part of the curriculum that prepares students to become members of the work force, which, in turn, support the marketplace ideologies (Apple, 1996; Cadiero-Kaplan, 2004; Kelly, 1997). The focus of texts that operate from a functional literacy perspective are primarily reading comprehension, decoding, comprehending vocabulary, and following directions (Myers, 1996).

This study showed evidence that there was an attempt to teach functional literacy with a focus on reading comprehension and decoding. However, this study found that the students in the classroom of this study did not even experience functional literacy. Students read selections from the text, were asked to practice a reading strategy, such as making predictions, but reading comprehension was not a topic of discussion in the class. The tests that students took at the end of every reading selection tested the students on reading comprehension, but it was not taught in the course of the lesson in the classroom.

A third claim of functional literacy is that it teaches vocabulary comprehension. Again, it was not a skill present in the classroom. Instead, students were asked to study vocabulary, memorize it, and to take a test on the definitions that were memorized. They were not comprehending vocabulary but rather memorizing vocabulary.

There was no literacy existing in the classroom. There was no engagement in the classroom. Instead, the classroom had constant examples of resistance. Students themselves shared that the class was boring and a waste of time.

No Room for Biculturalism

In literature there are many references to historical events. Still, it would be hard for this ELD class to deconstruct events in the history books because what was read was

literature and not history. For example, the class was reading a piece of literature with reference to World War II and the Holocaust. There was ample opportunity to then bring in the students' native culture and discuss where they would be placed in the historical event of the piece of literature that they were reading. This did not occur. Instead, the historical reference was to allow the class to comprehend the reading. There was not any dialogue as to where the students placed themselves and their culture in relation to the text they were about to read. Students were not deconstructing their reading. Students were only reading to comprehend what was presented to them. At no given point were students asked to place themselves in relation to the piece of literature they were reading and ask were they belonged. Reading the text to include the students and have them be a part of what was read was not the purpose of reading the text in the classroom.

Progressive literacy calls for student voice and culture as well as knowledge discourse that the student brings to reading the text (Cadiero-Kaplan, 2004). This was not evident in the classroom of study. Student voice was not, if ever, present in the classroom, nor was their language and culture. The teacher dismissed any opportunity for students to share any knowledge they might have held. In addition, not only was student background knowledge dismissed, students were not even able to ask questions, except to clarify directions or an assignment. These students were labeled as behavior problems that lacked reading skills.

Leave Your Native Language at the Door

Research showed that native language instruction for language minority students had beneficial effects on standardized test scores taken in English (Green, 1997). Yet,

with Proposition 227 in California, native language instruction was banned (Green, 1997). Research also showed that language minority students couldn't acquire a second target language (i.e. English) by avoiding their native language (Ovando, 2003).

This study found, however, that despite research findings, native language instruction was not used, but it was also not encouraged or affirmed. It is one thing to instruct in native language, but it is another to encourage or affirm native language use. This is especially true when teaching new concepts to language minority students. Making use of students' capital, such as their language background, can break ground in students acquiring a concept. The student would already hold a schema for the concept in their native language and would only be learning the English academic language. Academic success would rise if the approach to teaching language minority students came from a perspective of affirming native languages.

Normally it can take five to seven years to acquire a second language if students possess literacy skills in a native language; it can take seven to 10 years to acquire a second language if students do not have literacy background in their native language (Cummins, 1996; Thomas & Collier, 1997). Acquisition of a second language is acquiring language social skills and cognitive skills, which is termed academic language in the field of education. In general, students take much longer in acquiring academic writing.

This study found students were not learning language social skills as well as insidiously not learning academic English. Instead, student learning was centered on memorizing vocabulary and on learning technical skills in reading. Moreover, research

has shown that one of the best ways to teach literacy to language minority students is to activate prior knowledge; visuals to stimulate discussion can help make use of student prior knowledge (Schifini, 1994). At one point in the classroom, prior knowledge of students was utilized to talk about World War II and the Holocaust. Aside from that moment, however, it was expected that students were to listen to directions from the teacher and do as she told. It did not make sense, however, when the teacher, at a moment of frustration, commented that students were dependent on her and were not able to complete an assignment without her guiding them.

High Point is not for Language Minority Students

Critical literacy requires that both the teacher and the student explore hidden agendas in the curriculum used in the classroom, making critical literacy unavoidably political (Apple, 1986; Cadiero-Kaplan, 2004; Kelly, 1997). The purpose of critical literacy is to deconstruct the text both inside and outside the classroom, following critical literacy along the notions of Paulo Freire's (1993) reading the word and the world.

Questioning the curriculum was far from existing in the classroom. At one point, the teacher reflected that *High Point* was not working with the students. This is because *High Point* was not a program intended for use with language minority students who were not recent immigrants. While the program might be useful for newcomers, the use of the program with students who are sons and daughters of second- and third-generation immigrants was inappropriate. Many of the students could orally speak the language but lack the academic English skills they needed to acquire. The teacher made an attempt to change the curriculum. However, when the attempt was not supported, she reverted back

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to the curriculum and continued teaching to the test through a banking approach. The students were not brought into discussion of the curriculum; they were expected to complete the assignments.

The teacher did reflect on her practice. She seemed committed to her students, especially to have her students meet the requirements for the ELD portfolio. This teacher wanted her students to perform well on each unit test so that her students would move to the next ELD level. This teacher was unaware, however, of the hidden curriculum at work in her classroom. She was unwilling to bring issues to the classroom because she might have felt underpowered to make change. The teacher realized that *High Point* curriculum was not working for her students, and she asked the Assistant Principal for permission to use something different. The Assistant Principal agreed with the teacher's point of view, however, was unable or unwilling to find the funds necessary for new materials for the class. There was awareness, then, on the teacher's part that something was not working with the students and the curriculum. There was reflection on the teacher's part that something was not working. There was no action, however, in the classroom to make changes.

The curriculum in critical literacy is placed in a historical and cultural context that makes way for transformation of student lives through historicity. Historicity allows students to read any text from their perspective and experience (Darder, 1991; McLaren, 1988). This concept of critical literacy would have been extremely hard to perform since students were either disengaged from the classroom, misbehaving, or resisting the classroom activities.

Critical literacy is not always welcomed in public schools (Apple, 1995; Giroux, 1991; Macedo, Dendrinos, & Gounari, 2003) because it threatens the dominant school culture, which often demands the practices of functional and cultural literacies (Aronowitz & Giroux, 1985). From the perspective of the classroom in this study, however, it would be desirable if functional or cultural literacy existed in this classroom. It is much worse to say that no literacy practices existed in the classroom than to say that critical literacy did not exist in the classroom.

It is preferable to have critical literacy over functional literacy in the classroom, as critical literacy does not reject functional literacy but is taken to social action (Giroux, 1987). If critical literacy is not present, it would be preferable to have functional literacy over no literacy at all. Claiming that functional literacy existed in the classroom would mean in part that students were learning in the classroom. Claiming that there was no literacy in the classroom implies that there was no learning in the classroom.

Students in the classroom did not analyze their social realities. To a certain extent, students were reminded of the realities of their parents who worked in factories. This came up on some occasions during parent-teacher-student conferences. For example, during a conference, the teacher asked a parent directly the consequences for arriving late to their job. The parent responded that losing the job was a strong possibility. The teacher then turned to the student and used the parent as an example of why promptness was important. This was done so that the students would behave in the classroom and follow the rules; it was not done so that students would discover the limitations imposed upon them for change to happen.

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High Point is not appropriate for language minority students that have been schooled in inner-city schools since their elementary school years. This is because a scripted and commercial program, such as *High Point*, does not allow for adjustments to be made by the teacher to meet the instructional needs of students. In a study by Bond and Dykstra (1967) it was found that the biggest factor in academic achievement in the area of literacy was teacher excellence (p. 43). The program itself, therefore, sets up an environment that prevents both the teacher and the students to be unsuccessful.

No Dialogue, No Awareness, No Academic Engagement

In the classroom there was no dialogue between or among the students and teacher regarding the social reality of the classroom or the larger society. The classroom had an agenda that provided for students to make sure they completed their portfolio requirements. This focus on completing ELD portfolio requirements to move on to the next ELD level and to reclassify was an accountability approach to keep students and teachers from critically questioning the reality they were experiencing. If students and teachers focused on the requirement, then they would not have space to dialogue about what was not working. Such was the case in this classroom: both the teacher and students were focused on what needed to be done by the end of the semester. The teacher did not reflect upon why students were coming in late and not completing their work. Students also did not perceive that they had the opportunity to approach their teacher on what was working for them because they had to follow rules.

If a change could occur for students, such as changing the requirements needed in their ELD portfolios, the important element is the dialogue between students and teacher.

It would have been ideal to have students decide when and how they wanted to meet the requirements and, as a collective unit of both teacher and students, decide on deadlines for each requirement. This would have allowed students to be aware that there was a requirement both they and their teacher needed to meet; together, they could have worked towards that goal. Part of the problem was that students were not told of the requirements, nor did they know they had requirements to meet. The teacher never shared this information with them.

The Irony of NCLB: High Point Does Not Improve Test Scores

This study found that the curriculum taught in the class, *High Point,* was designed for students to improve on test scores. It was a state-adopted curriculum program as 'research-based' and 'scientifically-based' designed to help language minority students. *High Point,* however, was a complete waste of time for the students in the classroom. Many of them refused to play the game of reading a selection, of applying a reading strategy such as making predictions, and memorizing vocabulary solely for the purpose of passing a test at the end of the selection.

Many students did not learn reading or anything with *High Point.* The test-driven curriculum turned students away from learning. The students that did not fail the class were in part due to their willingness to participate in the reading-test format of the classroom, and most of them who willingly participated were female. Still, the test scores did not improve, and they did not help the students' ability to reclassify as English Proficient. Not a single student in the classroom labeled Advanced ELD reclassified as

English Proficient. In a sense, then, *High Point* failed these students who were misled into believing that passing a test and a class ensured academic achievement.

The inflexibility of the classroom curriculum poses difficulty, especially if the teacher agrees it is not working with the students. Giving the classroom teacher a scripted curriculum takes away freedom and ability from the teacher to be creative in teaching students. It also takes away the ability to use the teacher's knowledge about teaching and pedagogy to instruct the group of students.

Banking Model: Imposing the Ideology of the Dominant Society

According to Horkheimer (1972), ideology operates in schools to conceal or "mask" the social contradictions of the dominant class, although ideology can also be the promotion of interests of dominant groups at the expense of marginalized groups. Darder, Baltodano, and Torres (2003) claimed that as a pedagogical tool, ideology could be used to "unmask" the contradictions between schooling and the lived experiences of students (p. 13), which Horkheimer (1972) brought to the surface.

Language ideology implies power and the use of power (Gonzalez, 2005). Language ideology played a role in the classroom because the curriculum, *High Point,* represents the values of the dominant society (Gonzalez, 2005), and perpetuates the subordinate social relations (Darder, 1991). This study found traces that the curriculum *High Point* was being used as an instrument to impose the values and beliefs of the dominant society while the language and culture the students brought to the classroom was stripped away. There was no space, the teacher stated, to teach the students the value

of their culture. There was no space to use the students' native language in the classroom. In fact, the classroom had only one agenda, which was to get through the curriculum to have evidence for the ELD Portfolio. As the teacher explained:

> I can't teach about culture, mine or my students. I have to teach what *High Point* is asking me to teach. The stories we read are to make sure my students understand vocabulary and can use reading strategies. I don't think they'll ever remember that we read 'Passage to Freedom' or that we read 'Aimee Mullins.' I don't think it matters. The goal is to make sure they know how to read…we don't have to talk about culture to do that.

In this classroom, there was no attempt to arrive at an understanding of hegemony. Oppression or subjugation was not discussed in the class between teacher and students. It was not an openly discussed topic that students and teacher could possibly share power and authority. The teacher held the rules, and the students followed them. There was no classroom discussion regarding a democratic way of coming up with classroom rules. The teacher presented the rules to the students and the students followed. Students, it seemed, felt the authority of the teacher; for the most part, the class had an understanding that the rules needed to be respected. A handful of students defied those rules and in a sense, where defying the authority of the teacher. Domination, however, was not a topic discussed or made openly aware that it existed in the classroom or that it existed in the social reality of students' lives.

The resistance that existed in the classroom—far from functional and definitely impossible from a critical literacy standpoint—is a significant finding in this study. This

is because there was no learning occurring in the classroom. The language and experience of the students was not valued; their bicultural backgrounds were over shadowed by the hegemony at play in the classroom; and the ideology that existed in the classroom kept the students at the bottom, where the dominant society wanted them to be.

Teacher's Beliefs: It is not My Job to Reaffirm Their Identity or Language

Language socialization for the bilingual person involves becoming competent in the linguistic communities spoken in cultural settings and acquiring the ability to switch from one cultural setting to another (Schecter & Bayley, 2002; Zentella, 1997). For bilinguals, language is the way a social identity is advertised (Lippi-Green, 1997). This study found that language and identity were not addressed in the classroom. From a focus group interview, it was observed that the teachers felt that teaching culture and affirming identities was not their job; it was the teachers' job to teach English, specifically reading and writing.

This resonates with what many families believed was the school's job: to teach the dominant societal language, while the home was a place to teach cultural continuity (Schecter & Bayley, 2002). Parents believed, in a study conducted by Pease-Alvarez (2003), that schools should teach English language development while the home and the parents should teach native languages.

Socialization in the classroom and in the schools influenced the identity formation of language minority students. How students were socialized in the classroom came from the curriculum that was used in the classroom. If students were not experiencing literacy nor learning in the classroom, then their identities were at a loss.

Student Resistance

In *Learning to Labor* (1981), Willis claimed that students resist the cultural values transmitted to them and express dissatisfaction with the school system through their behavior. In so doing, unfortunately, students resist their own opportunity for social mobility. According to Giroux (1983), to resist, to non-conform, or to oppose what is being taught in school has a sociopolitical significance. Sadly, it means that students end up in the same situation that dominant society wanted them to be in. Socially, however, it is the students' powerful statement that part of their identity is not intended for compromise.

Students disengaged from the classroom as their form of resisting the work required of them. When students were told to read, they either stared at the book or made motions that indicated they were reading. The clarifying questions they asked, however, were all an indication that they were not reading: "What book?" and "What am I suppose to read?"

In this study it was found that students resisted the teacher and the values imposed upon them. For one thing, the students misbehaved, especially those students who sat at the back of the classroom. The teacher dismissed these students before the semester was over, signifying that they were failures and did not want to learn. These students would sometimes sit there and wait 15 minutes before they even considered removing their backpack from their shoulders. The students also would constantly arrive late to class, yet there were no consequences for being tardy. Aside from a parent conference, the teacher never followed through on consequences for being late.

The saddest example of resistance was the sexist attitude the males developed towards the females in the class. Willis (1981) referenced it as the celebration of masculinity, the idea that boys view mental labor as feminine and they wished to not associate it with. Yelling at the girls in the classroom to hurry up and finish the work—which they sometimes never started—was an example of sexism. Additionally, the students who were tardy to class everyday were boys. There was not a single female student at any given time that was late to class. Furthermore, the boys in the classroom were the ones who did not do their work, while the girls in the classroom did comply with the rules and directions. This again points to Willis's (1981) claim that students, specifically the boys, are claiming their masculinity by associating learning with femininity and allowing the female students in the classroom to work while they do not.

Significance of Findings

In this study, the experience of the student outside of the classroom was not discussed. It was mandatory for the class of language minority students to follow the curriculum plan provided for the class and teacher; therefore, dialogue and conversation on their lived experiences not related to *High Point* was out of the question. The class lived by the daily classroom agenda to cover a certain amount of work, or chapters in the book, in order to provide evidence students had mastered a skill or concept and move to the next ELD level.

In the classroom, there was reflection occurring on the part of the teacher. The teacher was aware that students needed a different curriculum other than *High Point.* Dialogue did not occur with the students regarding the curriculum used to teach them.

Students were not able to voice their opinions about *High Point* to their teacher because it was expected they would follow the requirements in order to reclassify as English Proficient. There was also not any dialogue occurring with other teachers in the school who were also teaching *High Point.* As a collective unit, the teachers could have changed the requirements of acceptable evidence for students for the ELD portfolio. There did not exist, however, the time and space within the workday for teachers to come together and dialogue on the issue. Consequently, to change any social reality of the students was very limited. While there was one attempt by the teacher to try to change the curriculum used with the students, lack of funding for new textbooks impeded the teacher from moving on with the action.

There did exist, however, the possibility of bringing the students' lives into the classroom even with such a constrained agenda. This was done through the written compositions that students wrote at the end of every unit in *High Point.* Allowing each student to write about his/her experiences could have validated the students' life stories. This did not occur, though, because even then, students were encouraged to write compositions related to school events. Inequity, low expectations, disengagement, and lack of learning were part of the culture of this classroom.

Significance of the Study

High Point is used in this inner-city middle school to teach poor language minority students. The assumed goal of this scripted reading program is that it allows the classroom teacher and students to work towards a goal of reclassification and by placing language minority students in an English class. The literacy ideology of this NCLB-

approved scripted reading program, however, is to keep students trapped in their own

lack of academic achievement. The students disengaged from the lessons in the

classroom because there was no learning and because neither the teacher nor the

curriculum validated their language and culture.

The vision of literacy (i.e. for students to learn and understand what they read and

to memorize vocabulary) is a restricted vision and supports the reproduction of cheap

labor in the market economy. It cannot be expected for these language minority students,

taught under *High Point,* to be successful in entering higher academic learning and

attaining higher economic status. The scripted curriculum, *High Point,* with its curricular

plan and cultural expectation of a portfolio, assimilates language minority students into

an American way of life not inclusive of their language and culture.

Under the guise of teaching English literacy, academic English, and working

towards a goal of reclassification, the identity of the students in the classroom as

bilingual and bicultural is shattered by dismissing their existence through the use of the

High Point scripted reading program.

Implications

While the general findings for this study cannot be attributed to the entire

language minority population in California, there are several implications for the larger

minority.

Henry Giroux (1988a) stated in an interview that pedagogy is always related to

power. When Kaufman (2005) asked whom educators are educating, and who makes

those decisions, numbers and test scores must partake in those decisions. How and what

students are taught is related to the kind of roles students are expected to take on as members of the dominant society (Giroux, 1988b). Moreover, Giroux (1988b) claimed that dominant educational philosophies only educate students to adapt to the current social norms rather than interrogate and critique current social norms.

If by correlating test scores and curricula research can forecast the type of role that students will take in the work force, this study claims that the *High Point* reading program is skills-based and designed to prepare students for entry into the menial job force.

Skills-based curricula favored the advancement of capitalism and the reproduction of society's class structure and power relations:

> This occurs when it endeavors to determine the contribution made by the educational system to the reproduction of the structure of power relations and symbolic relationships between classes, by contributing to the reproduction of the structure of the distribution of cultural capital among these classes. (Bordieu, 1973, p. 487)

Schools are not leveling the playing field. Dewey's (1916) concept of democracy, where everyone has educational opportunity with the goal to become participants of the society, is not present when schools contribute to the reproduction of the dominant power structure. Through the curricula delivered to students, schools legitimize society's power structure.

Recommendations for Further Research

Student voice is needed both in the classroom and in future studies. Teachers can gain a wealth of knowledge about student behavior and engagement in the classroom. These, in turn, can help a teacher understand the students in the classroom, and the teacher can better educate the student.

Recommendations for Teachers

There has not been much research on scripted reading programs. Specifically, there has not been much research on *High Point*—aside from a district self-evaluation study and a publishing house report. Even so, those few studies focus and emphasize the correlation between the curriculum and NCLB. Specifically, that *High Point* is scientifically- and research-based and meets the demands of the federal legislation.

In a study by Moustafa and Land (2002), it was found that scripted reading instruction is less effective than instruction where teachers have the freedom and creativity to teach. Teachers should use their expertise when working with scripted reading programs. A scripted reading program does not place a teacher-proof label on a curricular program. A structured, paced guide on how to teach the curriculum does not make the scripted reading program teacher-proof either. Some may make the argument that a novice teacher may benefit from a structured, paced guide on a curriculum. If, however, a veteran teacher failed to teach literacy to middle school students, as this study has supported, then the ramifications for a novice teacher to teach literacy using a scripted reading program might be far from successful. It does not mean that the

possibility for a novice teacher working with a scripted reading program may not be fruitful of success. What is meant is that the teacher may and should be allowed to take shortcuts to make the scripted reading program work in his or her classroom. If teachers are being forced, to an extent, to teach with scripted reading programs, then teachers should have the capacity to teach according to their creativity and pedagogical expertise.

The one-size-fits-all approach to scripted reading programs is exactly what makes it a failure. Teachers need to step back from the demands of the scripted reading program and ask what the objective is in the teaching and learning. What the students are asked to learn is the question that should be asked. From there, teachers can determine if students are asked to produce mundane assignments, work with basic skills, or critical thinking. Teachers should decide how best to teach students, even when working with a scripted reading program. This may mean teachers may deviate from a structured and paced guide. This may also mean teachers might teach different other than what the scripted reading program suggests. The case in point is that a framework for a curricular program is probably desired for planning a school year in a Language Arts classroom. It should not, however, be an inflexible framework to the detriment of students and their learning. While well-intentioned, assumingly, scripted reading programs are turning students away from learning, are not helping to close the achievement gap, are not preparing students to leave middle school and well-prepared for high school, are not improving the high school drop-out rate, and are not allowing teachers to use pedagogical expertise to teach. Hence, teachers should feel empowered and not powerless to take their pedagogical expertise and

exercise it in the classroom. Scripted reading programs will be successful only if the teacher can make them successful.

Recommendations for Policy Makers

Scripted reading programs do not work well for language minority students. Programs that have a curricular plan that teachers must follow only disengage students because there is no space for students and teachers to dialogue. The connections between students and teachers and dialogue about what is occurring in their lives add to students' achievement in the classroom. When the space to have dialogue in classrooms is eliminated due to a constrained curriculum, students disengage from learning. Policy makers should reconsider the use of scripted reading programs for language minority students.

How language minority students are assessed should also be reconsidered. Teachers should have the professional authority to use classroom assessments besides tests to evaluate a student's English language proficiency.

Limitations of the Study

A limitation of this study is that the population of students was Latino and Latina second- and third-generation language minority students. It was the specific interest of this study to look at that population. These findings, however, cannot be attributed to the entire language minority population in California. It can only be attributed the classroom where the study took place and extend the findings in a school-wide manner to include

the rest of language minority population in the school. This can be done because the entire school had a portfolio expectation for its students taught under *High Point.*

These limitations hinder the data in that generalizations cannot be made inclusive of all language minority students. Instead, they can be attributed to Latino and Latina language minority students in settings similar to those in inner cities in California. Moreover, findings can only be applied to those taught under the scripted reading program of *High Point.* While there are other scripted reading programs under NCLB and are scientifically and researched-based, the generalization cannot be attributed to these other programs.

Concluding Thoughts

The literacy experiences of students are ones that affect their schooling process. Literacy allows students to prepare themselves for their lives once their leave their formal schooling years. If students are not well equipped through their formal K-12 schooling years, then their lives beyond that hold no true promise of success. The literacy experiences guide their futures.

Language minority students are a large population in California. Not equipping this student population will only ensure that they remain marginalized and in low-skill, menial jobs. If there is a strong correlation between schooling and the economic process, to socially contain students in the ranks that they are in only ensures that drop-out rates, as a case in point, will continue to grow; enrollment from this population will continue to be low at the college and university level; and the use of native languages from language minority students for international competencies and globalization will be wasted.

Freire (Freire & Macedo, 1998) and Giroux (1988) claimed that literacy is not being used to transform the lives of students, but rather to adapt them to existing social and class structures. These claims were made over 10 years ago and it still seems as thought nothing has changed. Apple (2000) claimed, to repeat a reference used earlier, literacy should have a different aim and defines what it should be:

> Literacy itself is a socially constructed form, shaped by and reflecting wider social practices, relations, values, goals, and interests…our aim in education should not be to create 'functional literacy,' but *critical* literacy, *powerful* literacy, *political* literacy that enables the growth of genuine understanding and control of all spheres of social life in which we participate. (p. x)

If America, of which California is a part of, stands for the land of opportunity, as it is globally known, then amplifying the opportunity for language minority students to improve their social realities should start with their educational classroom experience. The educational classroom experience for students will only be successful if the teacher in the classroom is effective. Teachers need the freedom to use their expertise to meet the instructional demands of students; what is not needed is a scripted, commercial program that creates an environment of student disengagement, no learning, and teacher inadequacy.

Classroom Learning

What learners do	What this involves	Teacher's Purpose	Comment
What are learners asked to do?	*What skill does this demand of learners?*	*What is the purpose of asking students to do what they are asked?*	
How do learners give meaning to their experience?	*Does the teacher explain the need for the skill in the learners' future?*	*What value does the teacher give to the learning?*	
What value do students give to learning?	*How do students respond to the skill?*	*What value does the teacher give to the English language?*	

Classroom Power and Organization

Categories	Guiding Questions	Notes
Modes of address	Who addresses whom in the classroom?	
Patterns of interaction	Who interacts with whom?	
Seating arrangements	How and where are students seated?	
Questions teacher asks	What kinds of questions does the teacher ask? For what purpose?	
Choice of materials	What materials are used in the classroom?	
Choice of topics	What topics are covered?	
Choice of activities	How are activities decided upon?	
Cultural framework	What are students taught regarding the society they are in?	
Linguistic Repertoire	What do students learn regarding the language of the society (i.e. English)?	
Bilingualism	What are students learning regarding their bilingualism?	

APPENDIX C
Classroom Ideology

Questions	Notes
1. Who chose the aims? 2. Who chose the language and / or skills focus? 3. Who chose the topics and activities? 4. Who chose and prepared the materials?	
5. Who chose the seating arrangements? 6. Who wrote on the board? 7. Who cleaned the board?	
8. Whom did the students speak to? 9. Who created the pairs or groups?	
10. Who decided to stop an activity? 11. Who operated the equipment? 12. Who decided which questions or problems in the lesson were explored? 13. Who chose the vocabulary to be learned? 14. Who gave meaning for words? 15. Who spelled out new words?	
16. Who gave explanations? 17. Who asked questions? 18. Who answered student questions? 19. Who repeated what was said if others did not hear?	
20. Who created the silences? 21. Who broke the silences?	
22. Who checked the work? 23. Who chose the homework?	

APPENDIX D
Teacher Consent Form

Loyola Marymount University
Teacher Consent Form

1. I hereby authorize Elizabeth Osorio-Arzate, Doctoral Candidate, to include
    myself and my classroom in the following research study: "Literacy and Ideology:
    A Qualitative Research Study of an English Learning Classroom using the
    Scripted Curriculum of *High Point*"
2. I have been asked to participate in this study which is designed to provide insight
    into the reading program used to teach English Language Learners and which will
    last for approximately two months. My participation will involve the researcher
    asking questions about what is occurring in the classroom, and allowing the
    researcher to be in the classroom for a period of observation with a group of my
    students.
3. It has been explained to me that the reason for my inclusion in this project is
    because my classroom uses the instructional program of *High Point.*
4. I understand that my class would continue daily instruction as routine. The
    researcher would come into my classroom and observe. These procedures have
    been explained to me by Elizabeth Osorio-Arzate.
5. I understand that I will be audio-taped in the process of these research procedures.
    It has been explained to me that these tapes will be used for research purposes
    only and that my identity will not be disclosed. I have been assured that these
    tapes will be destroyed after their use in this research project is completed. I
    understand that I have the right to review tapes made as part of the study to
    determine whether they should be edited or erased in whole or in part. I agree that
    these tapes can be retained for research purposes.
6. I understand that the study described above may involved the following risks
    and/or discomforts: Having a second person in the classroom observing, and the
    researcher asking clarifying questions about what is occurring in the classroom.
7. I also understand that there are possible benefits of the study: my students may
    receive more attention in class for the concepts they are learning in class.
8. I understand that Elizabeth Osorio-Arzate will be the researcher in my class, and
    can be reached at 714.724.0623, to answer any questions we may have concerning
    details of the procedures performed as part of this study.
9. If the study design or the use of information is to change, I will also be informed
    and my consent re-obtained.
10. I understand I have the right to refuse participation, or to withdraw from the study
    at any time.
11. I understand that circumstances may arise which might cause the researcher to
    terminate my participation before the completion of the study.

12. I understand that no information that identifies me will be released without my separate consent except as specifically required by law.
13. I understand that I have the right to refuse to answer any question that I may not wish to answer.
14. I understand that I will not receive any monetary compensation for my participation in the study.
15. I understand that if I have any further questions, comments, or concerns about the study or the informed consent process, I may contact Dr. Birute Vileisis, Acting Chair, IRB, University Hall 3025, Loyola Marymount University, Los Angeles, CA, 90045-8140, (310) 338-4599, Bvileisis@lmu.edu.
16. In signing this consent form, I acknowledge receipt of the "Subject's Bill of Rights."
17. In signing this consent form, I acknowledge receipt of a copy of this form and give consent to participate in the study.

Name:_____

Signature:_____

Date:_____

Witness:_____

Parent/Student Consent Form

Loyola Marymount University
Parent/Student Consent Form

1. *I hereby authorize* <u>Elizabeth Osorio-Arzate, Doctoral Candidate</u> to include my child/ward in the following research study: <u>"Literacy and Ideology: A qualitative research study of an English learning classroom using the scripted curriculum of High Point."</u>
   Yo autorizo a <u>Elizabeth Osorio-Arzate, candidata doctoral,</u> que incluya a mi hijo/hija en la investigación titulada: "Ideología y aprendizaje:Un estudio cualitativo de una clase de aprendizaje de ingles usando el curriculo de High Point "

2. My child has been asked to participate in a research project which is designed to provide insight into the reading program used to teach English Language Learners and which will last for approximately two months.
   La investigación durara aproximadamente dos meses.

3. It has been explained to me that the reason for my child's inclusion in this project is because my child/ward is part of the classroom chosen to be observed.
   La participación de mi hijo/hija en este proyecto se llega acabo por ser estudiante en la clase de estudiantes aprendiendo ingles y por la enseñanza utilizando el programa de High Point.

4. I understand that if my child is a subject, he/she will continue to go to his/her class and participate as he/she normally would in a class. The investigator will come into my child/ward's classroom and observe the classroom. These procedures have been explained to me by <u>Elizabeth Osorio-Arzate.</u>
   Yo entiendo que mi hijo/hija continuara su participación en su clase de ingles en una manera ritual. La persona actuando la investigación observara la clase de me hijo/hija. Estos procedimientos me los ha explicado <u>Elizabeth Osorio-Arzate.</u>

5. I understand that my child will be audio-taped in the process of these research procedures. It has been explained to me that these tapes will be used for research purposes only and that my child's identity will not be disclosed. I have been assured that the tapes will be destroyed after their use in this research project is completed. I understand that I have the right to review tapes made as part of the study to determine whether they should be edited or erased in whole or in part. And I agree that the tapes can be retained for research purposes.
   Yo entiendo que mi hijo/hija será grabado en el proceso. Yo entiendo que estas grabaciones serán utilizadas solo para el propósito de esta investigación. Se me ha asegurado que la identidad de mi hijo/hija será protegida y permanecerá en confidencia. Las grabaciones seran destruidas después de esta investigación para proteger la identidad de mi hijo/hija.

6. I understand that the study described above may involve the following risks and/or discomforts: My child having a second person in the classroom, and the researcher asking him/her questions during the class time.
Yo entiendo que la investigación describía podría tener ciertos riesgos e incomodidades: mi hijo/hija tendrá una segunda persona en su clase y podría ser incomodo para ellos, y la investigadora podría hacerle preguntas durante su clase solamente.

7. I also understand that the possible benefits of the study are that my child/ward may receive more attention in class for the concepts he/she is learning in the class. In addition, the presence of two teachers in the classroom will allow my child to focus in class and make sure he/she learns the objectives for the day.
Yo entiendo que la posibilidad de beneficios existe con esta investigación y que mi hijo/hija podría recibir más atención en su clase sobre los conceptos que estaría aprendiendo. Mas aun, la presencia de dos personas en la clase ayudara a mi hijo/hija concentrarse en la clase y prestar atención a los objetivos del día.

8. I understand that Elizabeth Osorio-Arzate will be the researcher in my child/ward's class, who can be reached at 714.724.0623, will answer any questions I may have at any time concerning details of the procedures performed as part of this study.
Yo entiendo que Elizabeth Osorio-Arzate será la investigadora en la clase de mi hijo/hija. Ella puede ser contactada al teléfono 714. 724. 0623. para contestar cualquier pregunta.

9. If the study design or the use of the information is to be changed, I will be so informed and my consent re-obtained.
Si la investigación cambiaria, yo seré informada y mi consentimiento será obtenido.

10. I understand that I have the right to refuse my child's participation, or to withdraw him/her from this research at any time without prejudice to my child/ward attending the school he/she attends.
Yo entiendo que tengo el derecho de negar la participación de mi hijo/hija en esta investigación sin ningún prejuicio hacia mi hijo/hija.

11. I understand that circumstances may arise which might cause the investigator to terminate my child's participation before the completion of the study.
Yo entiendo que pueden surgir circunstancias que causarían terminar la participación de mi hijo/hija en la investigación.

12. I understand that no information that identifies me or my child will be released without my separate consent except as specifically required by law.
Yo entiendo que ninguna información que identifique a mi hijo/hija puede ser publico sin mi consentimiento, como lo es requerido por la ley.

13. I understand that I have the right to refuse to answer any question that I may not wish to answer and so does my child.
Yo entiendo que tengo el derecho de negar una respuesta a una pregunta si no deseo contestarla y que mi hijo/hija también tiene el mismo derecho.

14. I understand that will not receive any money for my child's participation in this study.
Yo entiendo que no recibiré ninguna compensación por la participación de mi hijo/hija en la investigación.

15. I understand that if I have any further questions, comments, or concerns about the study or the informed consent process, I may contact Dr. Birute Vileisis, Acting Chair, IRB, University Hall 3025, Loyola Marymount University, Los Angeles, CA 90045-8140, (310) 338-4599, Bvileisis@lmu.edu.
Yo entiendo que si tengo mas preguntas o comentarios sobre la investigación, puedo contactar a Dr. Birute Vileisis, Actino Chair, IRB, University Hall 3025, Loyola Marymount University, Los Angeles, CA 90045-8140, 310. 338. 4599., Bvileisis@lmu.edu.

16. In signing this consent form, I acknowledge receipt of the "Subject's Bill of Rights".
En firmar esta forma, tomo en cuenta haber recibido el "Subject's Bill of Rights."

17. In signing this consent form, I acknowledge receipt of a copy of this form and give consent to participate and have my child participate in the study.
En firmar esta forma, tomo en cuenta haber recibido una copia de esta forma y que estoy dando mi consentimiento para participar en la investigación.

Mother/Father/Guardian Signature:_____

Firma de padre:_____

Student Name:_____

Nombre de estudiante:_____

Student Signature:_____

Firma de estudiante:_____

Date:_____

Fecha:_____

Witness:_____

Testigo:_____

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