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"Their Whole World at School": Portraits of Students, Their Teacher, and Emerging Culture in a Middle School Newcomer Program

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"THEIR WHOLE WORLD AT SCHOOL": PORTRAITS OF
STUDENTS, THEIR TEACHER, AND EMERGING
CULTURE IN A MIDDLE SCHOOL
NEWCOMER PROGRAM

A Dissertation Submitted in Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements of the Degree of
Doctor of Education

Megan Finney Edmiston

College of Education and Behavioral Sciences
School of Teacher Education
Educational Studies

May 2017

This Dissertation by: Megan Finney Edmiston

Entitled: *"Their Whole World at School": Portraits of Students, Their Teacher, and Emerging Culture in a Middle School Newcomer Program*

has been approved as meeting the requirement for the Degree of Doctor of Education in College of Education and Behavioral Sciences in School of Teacher Education, Program of Educational Studies

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ABSTRACT

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This dissertation utilizes ethnographic and portraiture as complementary methodologies to explore the individual and group cultures of emergent multilingual immigrant students in a public middle school newcomer program. Research questions focus on how these students negotiate their multiple identities individually and collectively. Postmodernism and a critical perspective form the conceptual framework to support the theoretical lenses of Culturally Responsive/Sustaining Pedagogy and Sociocultural Positioning Theory. Six newcomer students and the newcomer teacher are explored through individual portraits and through five emergent themes shared among the group in their constructed newcomer cohort culture. Results suggest greater recognition of the differences among newcomer students and the need to analyze English language development programming for newcomer students.

Key Words: emergent bilingual, multilingual learner, newcomer, English Learner, portraiture, ethnography, Culturally Responsive Pedagogy, Culturally Sustaining Pedagogy, Sociocultural Positioning Theory

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Above all, my family has provided endless support and sacrifice so that I could pursue this degree. My parents and my husband, Scott, have put up with the constant presence of my computer and have provided childcare when I needed time to work. My brother, Daryn Finney, also allowed me to include his artwork in this dissertation. Lastly and most importantly, thank you to Sean for sharing mommy time with my studies and for allowing me to be a mom and a professional.

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INTRODUCTION

Statement of the Problem

When students immigrate to the United States and enter the public school system,

they face a number of challenges as they learn to negotiate the expectations and

procedures of school, their cultural differences from their classmates and teachers, and

often the acquisition of English as an additional language. English language support

programming for emergent multilingual immigrants (newcomers) varies widely by

district, by school, by elementary or secondary level, as well as by the definition of

newcomer. Ovando and Combs (2012) described that newcomer programs consist of

"combin[ing] teaching ESL with content instruction, as well as some L1 academic

support when feasible, and they provide social service information to assist families with

adaptation to this country" (p. 39). Short and Boyson (2012) distinguished newcomer

programs from "regular language support programs (ESL or bilingual)" by the intensity

of time during a school day and the focus on literacy and "more explicit instruction in

social uses of English" (p. 13). Generally, the literature defines a newcomer program as a

temporary program that supports a student in the first one or two years in the United

States (Ovando & Combs, 2012; Short & Boyson, 2012; Suárez-Orozco, Suarez-Orozco,

& Todorova, 2008).

In a survey of newcomer programs for students in secondary grades, Short and

Boyson (2012) found three dominant models of Language Instruction Educational

Programs (LIEPs) across the United States: programs within a school, separate site programs, and whole school programs. These three program models demonstrate differences not only in resources available to a district or school, but also differences in philosophy regarding the development of English and the social and academic inclusion of newcomers in the school and district (Nieto, 2010; Suarez-Orozco, et al., 2008). Language Instruction Educational Programs, both for newcomers and for more English proficient multilingual students, across the United States take such a wide array of forms because they exist as part of the culture of their settings. The ideologies that guide a district and its schools also guide the shape of English development within those schools (Vaught, 2011). The culture of education in the United States as a whole has persisted with English-centric and Euro-centric curricula and policies, the traditional classroom model, unifying academic standards, and standardized assessments (Ladson-Billings, 2014; Nieto, 2010; Vaught, 2011). These practices systemically marginalize multilingual students by establishing English fluency and white, middle-class discourse--including language, literacy, and cultural values--as the implicit and/or explicit standard for all students (Delpit, 1995/2006, 2012; Gándara & Contreras, 2009; Gándara et al., 2010; Gay, 2000; Ladson-Billings, 2014; Nieto, 2010; Taylor, 2009, Vaught, 2011).

Language Instruction Educational Programs are intended to support students' development of English and their academic success, but these programs bear the weight of the ideologies that form them and can often be unintentionally instrumental in the marginalization of multilingual students (Suárez-Orozco et al., 2008). The culture of English development programming is crucial to evaluate because how the district, school, and teachers approach the instruction of English determines the experience the students

will have as emergent multilinguals. Every choice in the design and implementation of English development programs holds implications for the entirety of these students' educations.

Explanation of Terms

Various terms are used interchangeably in the literature and in schools and districts serving students who are learning English as an additional language. Culturally and Linguistically Diverse (CLD) is a common term in the literature and in Colorado state guidance (Colorado Department of Education [CDE], 2016) for students who differ from the white, English-speaking norms privileged in schools. I avoid the use of this term in this study because I see it as furthering the centricity of white, English privilege by emphasizing the diversity, or the difference, from that privilege as the norm. I also avoid the terms English Learner (EL), Non-English Proficient (NEP), and Limited English Proficient (LEP), except when used in district policies or in assessment descriptions. In my writing, I will use the term emergent bilingual (Chappell & Faltis, 2013) or emergent multilingual for students, to emphasize multilingualism as an asset instead of limited English proficiency as a deficit. The definition of a "newcomer" in the district studied here is a Non-English Proficient (NEP) immigrant student who is in his or her first year in United States schools. The district does refer to these students as newcomers, and I will continue the use of that term. However, I will only use the term NEP if it appears in student documents, district policies, or interviews. I will define a newcomer as an emergent multilingual immigrant student.

Other terms that are used interchangeably in the literature and in district and school practice are English as a Second Language (ESL), English Language Acquisition

(ELA), and English Language Learner (ELL) education to describe Language Instruction Educational Programs for students learning English in a school district. The district being studied uses the title English Language Development (ELD) for its district-wide program and all of the personnel within it. I will use that term to describe services for and personnel who work directly with emergent multilingual students.

**English Language Development in
the Examined District**

The district being studied has a low population of emergent multilingual students, but robust ELD programming, compared to surrounding districts in northern Colorado. Approximately 600 students (~3.7%) of a total district enrollment of approximately 16,000 students are classified as active English Learners (NEP or LEP) or students in their two monitor years after being re-designated as FEP (Fully English Proficient). The English Language Development (ELD) program has 23 teachers, three instructional assistants, three translators/interpreters, and four administrative employees, including myself as coordinator. Most ELD classes at all levels, elementary through high school, have fewer than ten students, and individual teachers' full caseloads are all less than 40 students. Of the 34 district schools, 27 offer daily ELD instructional services, including two charter schools. The schools without daily ELD instructional services have fewer than five emergent multilingual students who qualify for the ELD program, but those students are given the option to receive transportation to a district school with an ELD teacher.

The district provides newcomer-specific services at two elementary schools, one middle school, and one high school, so newcomer students in the district are provided transportation to these sites if parents accept those services. Newcomer students in these

newcomer programs have much more intensive English instruction than do non-newcomers, both in terms of the number of minutes of English instruction during the school day and the student-to-teacher ratio for this instruction. Newcomers receive 90 minutes of English instruction per day, with the recommendation of an additional 45 minutes, compared to 45 minutes per day for non-newcomer multilingual students. Classes for newcomers are small, and they have a newcomer-specific teacher supported by an instructional assistant. The newcomer program at the high school has existed for ten years, the middle school newcomer program is in its third year, and the two elementary newcomer programs are in their second year.

The extent of this district's programming for a small proportion of its overall student population is important in understanding the emerging culture at the district-level for the individual schools and the students in those schools. Robust ELD programming facilitates sheltered, supportive environments for emergent multilingual students, especially newcomers, but this study found that shelter and support for these students also labeled and isolated these students from their peers. Taking a sustained, critical perspective of how newcomers create their identities and culture through interaction led to a greater understanding of the student experiences regarding ELD programming.

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this dissertation was to understand how emergent multilingual newcomer students in grades 6-8 experience an English Language Development middle school program designed for newcomers in this suburban public school district. The program is consistent with the traditional systemic separation of emergent multilingual students from English monolingual peers and, within the population of emergent

multilingual students, newcomers from "longtime" learners of English (Case, 2015; Faltis & Valdés, 2010; Gunderson, 2000; Miller, 2000; Suárez-Orozco et al., 2008). This study seeks to understand how newcomer students individually and collectively negotiate their multiple identities through interactions over time in the formation of the newcomer program culture.

The complementary use of ethnographic and portraiture methodologies elicit perspectives of both the group culture and individual culture (Bourdieu, 1990; Gillespie, 2007) of the newcomers in the program. Contextual components contributing to the development of local cultures include people--the students, teachers, administrators, and parents/guardians--and artifacts and processes, such as curricular materials and district policies. Newcomers in this district are grouped together, regardless of their primary language, home country, or educational background, so it is important to understand how individual students negotiate their multiple identities in creation of the group culture.

The historical contexts of the district's policies and programming as well as the perspectives of the families and teachers of the newcomer students provided a multi-faceted understanding of the newcomer culture. However, the newcomer students themselves within the context of their ELD classes were my principal focus, guided by the following research questions:

Q1   How do newcomer students position themselves in relationship to their newcomer peers?

Q2   How are newcomer students positioned by their peers, teachers, families, and the district?

Q3   How do newcomers' interpretations of their experiences prior to and during the newcomer program contribute to the negotiation of their multiple identities?

Q4   In what ways do individual identities shape the newcomer group culture?

These questions focused on how multiple identities emerge within and in creation of the newcomer group's culture. I was specifically interested in how multiple identities surrounding literacies and language emerge within the newcomer group, which exists because of the English language proficiency of its members. Instead of considering literate and linguistic identities as pre-established or striving toward a certain goal of English proficiency, this study understood literacy as a situated process of emerging multiple literate practices (Castanheira, Crawford, Dixon, & Green, 2001). Literate practices emerged in relation to linguistic practices, and identities emerged from these situated processes (Bloome, Carter, Christian, Otto, and Shuart-Faris, 2005; Gee, 2000).

Ethnographic and portraiture methodologies provided data to answer these questions for the emerging culture of the newcomer group and the multiple identities of each newcomer student. Considering how "literate practices are developed as a collective (e.g., classroom, reading group, and a peer group) and serve the purposes and goals of both the collective and the individual-within-the-collective" (Castanheira et al., 2001), the complement of ethnography with portraiture allowed for the collective and individual lenses. With this methodological framework, the interaction of multiple identities was analyzed through the theoretical lenses of Culturally Responsive/Sustaining Pedagogy

(Gay, 2000; Ladson-Billings, 1995, 2014; Paris, 2012) and Sociocultural Positioning

Theory (Harré & van Langenhov, 1991, 1999; Harré & Moghaddam, 2003; McVee,

Brock, & Glazier, 2011) from within a conceptual framework of critical postmodernism

(Aronowitz & Giroux, 1991; Derrida, 1968, 1986; Giroux, 2004).

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

English Centricity and English Language Development

The predominance of English as the main language of instruction, curricula, assessment, school communication, and of all aspects of traditional education often positions students learning English to be perceived as deficient. Deficit perspectives point to factors of students' identities (language, race, socioeconomic status, lack of parental involvement, etc.) as justification for their failing the education system, rather than considering how the education system has failed them. Deficit perspectives toward multilingualism and multiculturalism emerge systemically in inequitable educational opportunities. Historically, multilingual students are underrepresented in academically challenging programs, such as Advanced Placement and International Baccalaureate, services for gifted and talented students, creative writing, arts and theater, high school graduation rates, and college attendance and graduation (Chappell & Faltis, 2013; Delpit, 1995/2006, 2012; Gándara & Contreras, 2009; Gándara et al., 2010; Taylor, 2009).

English instruction programs can be part of inequitable educational programming for emergent multilingual students if the philosophy of the program and district or school policies focus on the acquisition of English at the expense of all the curricular and extracurricular activities available to monolingual English speakers. Students learning English often take ELD classes in lieu of elective classes or even mainstream

content-area classes, so they do not have as many academic options as their English monolingual peers (Chappell & Faltis, 2013; Gándara & Contreras, 2009; Ladson-Billings, 2009; Nieto, 2010). These mandated language classes often result in isolation of emergent multilingual students from their peers. When full English proficiency is held as the standard, students learning English often cluster together, either independently because of cultural and linguistic similarity with each other or under the forced clustering of ELD programming, but isolation from English proficient peers occurs in either scenario (Case, 2015).

English Language Development (ELD) classes are also often physically isolated from the rest of the school, as a school-within-a-school model (Gándara & Contreras, 2010; Nieto, 2010; Short & Boyson, 2012). Many schools have one teacher who teaches all emergent multilingual students, so these students become both highly visible and simultaneously invisible to the rest of the school. Isolation from English monolingual students and even other multilingual students is especially prominent in the programming for newcomers. Furthermore, in Colorado, emergent multilingual students take an additional annual high-stakes assessment that English monolingual students do not take, which results in loss of instructional time and isolation of multilingual students from their peers. Not only is this assessment administered at a time of year when no other assessments are being given, in January, which makes these students stand out, but it also results in back-to-back state assessments in the spring semester for emergent multilingual students, as state-wide content assessments generally occur in March.

**Emergent Multilingual Immigrant
Students (Newcomers)**

Emergent multilingual students who are also immigrants to the United States face

many of the same challenges as their multilingual peers who have been in the U.S. school

system for a longer period of time, but they also potentially experience additional

isolation because of their level of English proficiency, unfamiliarity with the school

system, and potentially limited experience with any formal schooling or exposure to

certain school subjects. Newcomers enter schools with a vast array of previous

educational and personal backgrounds. Short and Boyson (2012) described "four

categories of learners" in their survey of secondary newcomer programs across the

United States:

    A.   Literate, on-level newcomers: Students with educational backgrounds who
have literacy skills and academic schooling in their own language that
align with their grade level.

    B.   Literate, partially-schooled newcomers: Students with native language
literacy skills and some academic schooling.

    C.   Newcomer students with interrupted education: Students with disrupted or
weak educational backgrounds and below-grade-level or no literacy in
their own native language.

    D.   Late-entrant immigrant newcomers: Students who enter after the first
quarter or semester. (pp. 3-4)

Decapua and Marshall (2010) also supported further differentiation among newcomer

students, arguing that the term Students with Interrupted Formal Education (SIFE) is not

appropriate to describe all students who do not have consistent prior schooling, and that

the term should be Students with Limited or Interrupted Formal Education (SLIFE).

This study will not explore these specific profiles of newcomer students or try to

categorize the participants in this newcomer program, but it is important to understand

the literature documenting how different each and every newcomer is from each other. The backgrounds newcomer students have are dynamic and diverse, so newcomers face extensive identity negotiation in addition to linguistic negotiation. Furthermore, all students differ in their held beliefs and values related to education and language. Education is fundamentally ideological, so newcomers who are coming from all over the world to an established United States school system inevitably have to negotiate more than just a new language.

Since newcomers have different needs than other emergent multilingual students, the type of ELD programming they receive often results in sheltered isolation (Ovando & Combs, 2012; Short & Boyson, 2012). In the district studied here, newcomers spend up to half of their school day in ELD classes with other newcomers. That type of isolation from non-newcomer emergent multilingual students and from English monolingual students creates a forced culture among the group of newcomers. Case (2015) found that lack of proficiency in English was a unifying factor for newcomers, who preferred to be with other newcomers, regardless of their first language or educational background. Given the fact that newcomers can have very different experiences with formal schooling, Danling (2004) and Decapua and Marshall (2010) urge recognizing differences among newcomers, in terms of what they know and how they learn, not just differences in primary languages. This study explores both of these phenomena, that newcomers seem to cluster together even when not forced, but they are also still individuals with very different stories from each other, despite all being newcomers.

Case (2015) argued that "it is both peculiar and understandable that ELLs are often defined by the one characteristic they all share: a primary language other than

English" (p. 362), which dictates the type of interaction these students are supposed to have with each other and with English monolingual students. She makes the point that students learning English are so divided from English monolingual peers in practice that the division has emerged in the research as well, as very little has explored the interactions of emergent multilingual students with monolingual peers. In some ways, this study continues that division by focusing on newcomers within their newcomer program. However, the methods of ethnography and portraiture and collecting data from multiple sources provide an understanding of shared and individual identities within a group of newcomers, which is missing from the literature.

Asset Perspectives of Multilingualism
and Multiple Identities

Language, literacy, and cultural practices all compose a person's multiple identities, so how language, literacy, and individual and cultural identities manifest in schools carries enormous power for emergent multilingual students, especially newcomers. Language and literacy marginalization effectively marginalizes student identity as well, as language and personhood are inseparable (Bloome et al., 2005). English-dominant language policies and programming, as well as Euro-centric curricula and pedagogy (Nieto, 2010) reinforce identity marginalization for these students systemically, but more implicit elements of the traditional discourse of school often go unexamined. The mode of interactions between teachers, students, and administrators, the hidden curricula, expectations, assessments, and values, and the overall culture and climate established within and beyond classrooms potentially reflect and sustain language, literacy, and identity marginalization of emergent multilingual students.

Shifting the traditional paradigm in education to value and celebrate of multilingualism, multiliteracies, and multiple identities gives rise to the need for more studies to explore the experiences of emergent multilingual immigrants and their multiple identities as they perceive them to be and how others perceive them to be. This study seeks to understand the dynamic negotiation of individual identities within the emerging group identities of students who have been placed together because of shared English proficiency. My study design, from conceptual framework through methods, takes an asset-based perspective regarding multilingualism and multiple identities.

Conceptual and Theoretical Frameworks

Exploring the ideas that spark an inquiry and lead to the construction of research questions and a study design is as important as exploring the body of literature on the topic to be studied. Writers who describe and give guidance to research designs vary in their approaches and the terminology they use to describe aspects of the research process. Egbert and Sanden (2014) provide an analogy of research design with a tree, as shown in Figure 1. This analogy demonstrates the need to consider explicitly the thought process that determines all parts of the study design. Though the tree concept suggests that methods are determined last in the process, Egbert and Sanden describe how method and theory develop in relationship to each other, all grounded in how the researcher thinks about the nature of knowledge and identity. I used Egbert and Sanden's design framework to guide my thinking in the design of this study and to ensure that all parts of the design align.
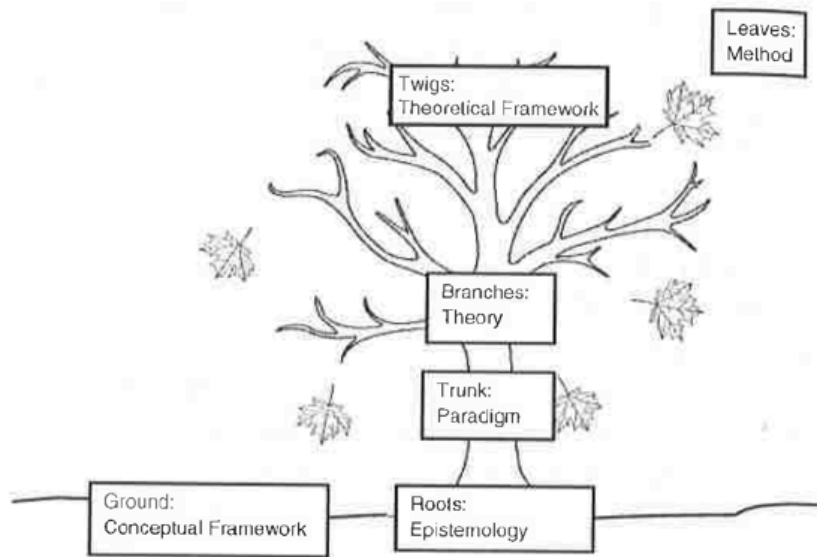
Figure 1. Tree diagram for methods (Egbert & Sanden, 2014, p. 86).

Conceptual Framework

Egbert and Sanden (2014) define conceptual framework as "an overall world view" (p. 5) from which epistemology, ontology, paradigm, theoretical frameworks, and methodology arise. They argue that the terms conceptual framework and theoretical framework are incorrectly used interchangeably because they represent different aspects of the researcher's thinking and therefore different parts of the research design. In the tree analogy, the conceptual framework is the earth and "no part of the tree (all the research components) can live without the earth, but it is invisible to and expressed through each part of the tree" (Egbert & Sanden, 2014, p. 11). The conceptual framework is the foundation of the researcher's beliefs about knowledge and being and develops epistemology. Epistemology and ontology stem from the researcher's foundational beliefs and then directly impact the researcher, as Egbert and Sanden (2014) described: "The questions they ask, the methods they use to collect data, and the meaning they

ascribe to their results are all dependent on the epistemological lens through which they view knowledge" (p. 23).

    Postmodernism. Postmodernism forms the foundation of my conceptual framework, as it guides my ontological and epistemological beliefs. Consistent with its basic tenets, postmodernism is difficult to define and classify within traditional research designs. For example, scholars have defined postmodernism as "a mood" (Noddings, 2012, p. 77) rather than a guiding process of thought or as "a family of theories and perspectives that have something in common" (Creswell, 2007, p. 25). Crotty (1998) called postmodernism "the most slippery of terms" that "is used, and defined, in a multitude of ways" (p. 183). The inability to specify the exact placement of postmodern thought fits perfectly into Egbert and Sanden's definition of conceptual framework's invisible permeation of all research aspects. This study establishes postmodernism as a conceptual framework that accomplishes the following: establishes a foundation of epistemological and ontological pluralism and subjectivism; constructs an interpretivist and critical paradigm (Egbert & Sanden, 2014); applies the theories of Culturally Responsive/Sustaining Pedagogy and Sociocultural Positioning Theory to create the theoretical framework; and finally, utilizes ethnography and portraiture as complementary methodologies for data collection, analysis, and narrative writing.

    Epistemological and ontological pluralism. The rejection of ultimate truth forms the foundation of the worldview of postmodernism. Postmodernists believe in local truths, such as the rules of mathematics, the date of something in history, or the score of a sporting event (Noddings, 2012), but otherwise hold that ideas are multiple, interrelated, fluid, and resistant to categories. Jean-Francois Lyotard believed that modern thought

consists of metanarratives, stories that "people tell to legitimate their pursuits" (Kerdeman, 2012, p. 1679), and that postmodernism challenges those metanarratives and the presumption that they are correct. Lyotard (1984) referred to these narratives as grand narratives and postmodernism as philosophically counter-narrative. Figure 2 provides a visual representation of the deconstruction of grand narratives into the recognition of counter-narratives, as the two conversations on the right and the left in the image are the same, but from different lenses of distortion. Postmodernism recognizes the multiplicity of narratives and the many and varied perspectives that write them.
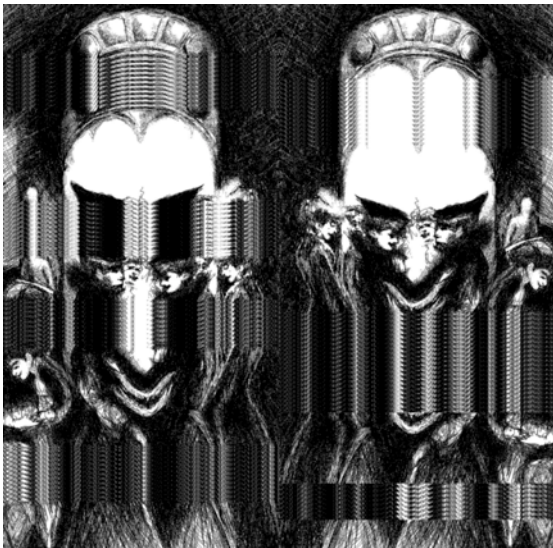
Figure 2. Two opposing rumors (Finney, 2011a).

It could be argued that in terms of how knowledge and identity come into being, postmodernism contradicts the social construction of multiculturalism and Culturally Responsive/Sustaining Pedagogy and the concept of constructed discourses that govern a group. Postmodernism is a highly individualistic philosophy (Creswell, 2007) that resists grouping and categories, which suggests that it would be more interested in the individual than the culture to which he or she stems. That would be true if postmodernists did not

recognize the "sociology of knowledge" (Noddings, 2012) that positions those individuals within the multiple structures that are forming multiple identities.

By deconstructing categories and emphasizing multiple identities, postmodernism dispels thinking of everyone in a group as the same. Crenshaw (2009) discussed how postmodernism has been productive for subordinated people to consider their individual positions and their agency or non-agency within categories that have meaning and consequence. She argued a postmodern stance that hierarchies must be deconstructed, not just recognized: "At this point in history, a strong case can be made that the most critical resistance strategy for disempowered groups is to occupy and defend a politics of social location rather than to vacate and destroy it" (p. 245). Postmodernism does not seek to strip individuals of their culture or group identity, but rather not to define them solely by that identity or to take as natural the structures of meaning that created dominant and non-dominant groups.

Deconstruction. Postmodernists also reject the objectivity of language represented in Ferdinand de Saussure's semiotics of the sign and signified and therefore the theory of structuralism. Saussure believed that language consisted of agreed-upon, recognized signs that signified certain meaning. Structuralism, or modernism, holds that language is arbitrary and only has meaning through the constructed significance of a sign, but "the two elements are interdependent; if one or the other changes, the sign as a whole changes. Signifiers and signifieds, thus, have equal value" (Kerdeman, 2012, p. 1680). The issue that postmodernists take with this concept is that multiple meanings can be attached to a sign because language is always subjective. Structuralism argues that language as a structure of interaction is more important than the significance of the

individual parts. Postmodernists challenge the accepted interconnection and equality of sign/signified and argue that power and privilege always play a role in language, so the meaning attached to a sign always holds consequence.

According to postmodernism, the sign/signifier and the signified exist in a dichotomy. They do not mutually construct each other's meanings on equal terms, but rather have meaning because they exist in contrast to each other. Meaning comes from this hierarchy, from the lack of inherent connection between sign and signified. Postmodernists see language, and therefore what language stands for, as necessarily value-laden and positioned within dynamics of power. Meaning and identity are always constructed negotiations, as Figure 3 demonstrates. Disconnection of meaning from sign, or disruption of the belief in inherent connection between them, is a key theme in postmodern thought.
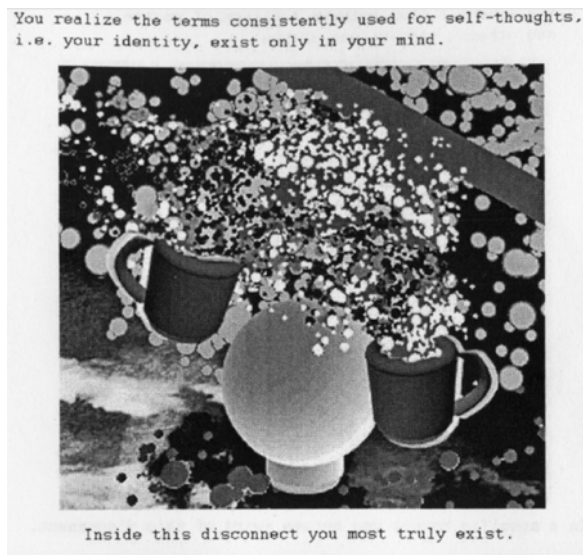
Figure 3. Excerpt one from *A Brief Discourse on Social Identity* (Finney, 2013).

One of the most famous postmodernists in this strand of belief, Jacques Derrida (1968, 1986), argued that meaning comes from absence, from the différance between

signifier and signified; therefore, meaning is a process of differentiation. Meaning is

dependent upon non-meaning, or absence. In terms of identity, Self and Other exist in

contrast; there is no self-consciousness without Other-consciousness, as Figure 4

illustrates.
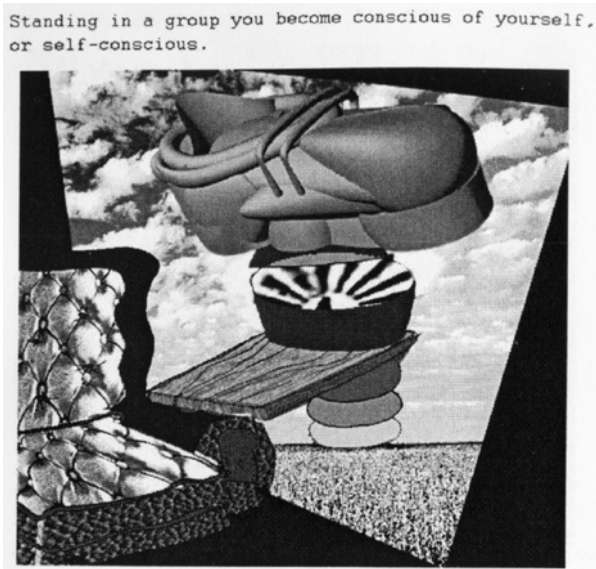
Figure 4. Excerpt two from *A Brief Discourse on Social Identity* (Finney, 2013).

Derrida takes this idea to insist upon the possibility that every sign can be

extracted and grafted into a new context, which is the basis for the concept of

deconstruction. For a sign to have meaning and be used in a context, it must have the

ability to be misused in another context; therefore, contexts are not absolute: "This does

not suppose that the mark is valid outside its context, but on the contrary that there are

only contexts without any center of absolute anchoring" (Derrida, 1986, p. 320). Derrida

and Michel Foucault both pushed for deconstruction of language to expose the

hierarchies in what is accepted as inherent or given in social structures. Foucault believed

that power is not in existence waiting to be discovered, but rather that "it is itself a

generator of reality and meaning" (Crotty, 1998, p. 205). Deconstruction intends to break

down language and existing structures of meaning into their parts, therefore abandoning enveloping perspectives that marginalize non-dominant voices.

Inclusion of others. One of Derrida's major objectives was "the inclusion of outsiders, Others, who use a different language and see from a different perspective...to respect their otherness and stop trying to assimilate them into our own language and stories" (Noddings, 2012, p. 80). Through recognition of multiple perspectives, "postmodernists celebrate diversity among people, ideas, and institutions. By accepting the diversity and plurality of the world, no one element is privileged or more powerful than another" (Merriam, 2009, p. 10).

A postmodern view of identity understands that Other necessarily exists in hierarchal contrast to non-Other, who derives its dominance from the existence of the Other. Instead of being completely free to shape our own identities or constructing our identities through interaction with people and settings, postmodernism argues that the subject is constituted and has multiple identities (Crotty, 1998; Noddings, 2012). The idea of constituted and multiple identities stems from the same argument about the meaning of language. Multiple meanings can be associated with a sign, and the sign has only limited control over what those meanings are and what they imply and perform, as Figure 5 illustrates. To postmodernists, especially in the strand of Derrida, language and identity are performative, assuming many different roles over which the subject does not have complete control, but do necessarily have consequences.

A disconnect lies between feelings of yourself
and others' perceptions of you.
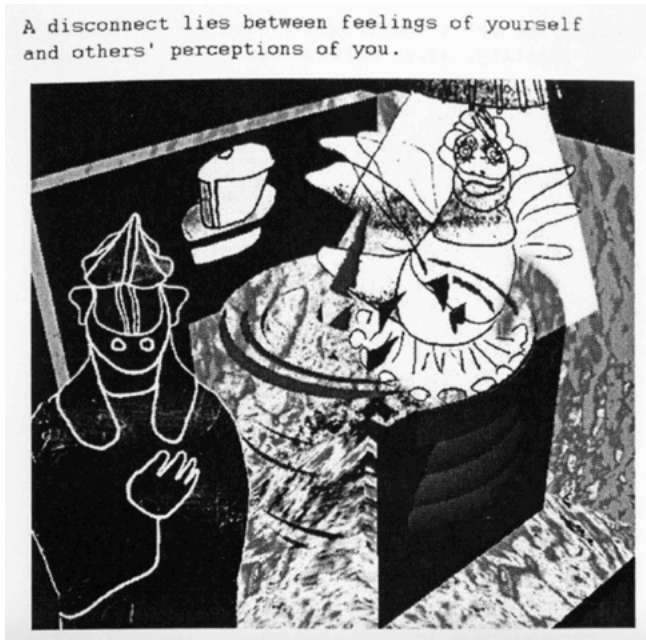
Figure 5. Excerpt three from *A Brief Discourse on Social Identity* (Finney, 2013).

Paradigm

Egbert and Sanden (2014) defined a research paradigm as "a researcher's specific stance on how knowledge (as defined by that same researcher's epistemological perspectives about the nature of knowledge) can be revealed" (p. 32). They make the point that many people view a critical paradigm as a natural extension of an interpretivist paradigm, but that others staunchly reject the similarities between them. Furthermore, they argue that scholars often confuse constructivism with interpretivism and that, overall, paradigms are flexible because they are informed by how a specific researcher views the world.

This study continues in the strand of research combining postmodernism and critical theory (Aronowitz & Giroux, 1991; Giroux, 2004; Ideland & Malmberg, 2014). Postmodernists and critical theorists both challenge the belief that those who have power should keep it and teach new generations the status quo. They both contextualize power

and privilege as ongoing constructions that education has the potential to transform and

not simply replicate. Giroux (2004) explained that the roles of educators and education

are "performative and contextual:"

> Educational work at its best represents a response to questions and issues posed
> by the tensions and contradictions of the broader society; it is an attempt to
> understand and intervene in specific problems that emanate from those sites that
> people concretely inhabit and actually live out their lives and everyday existence.
> (p. 41)

Critical theory repositions curricula as well as teachers, students, and the function of

school as an institution. The traditional role of teacher-as-expert transmitting knowledge

to students contradicts critical theory, which holds teachers and those in power

responsible for examining "consequences of the subject positions they have been

assigned, the knowledge they produce, the social relations they legitimate, and the

ideologies they disseminate to students" (p. 41). Critical theorists, especially those like

Giroux who overlap with postmodernist ideology, would also agree that the concept of

transformation must face scrutiny as well as the curricular decisions behind it. Critical

theory and postmodernism, like cultural responsiveness, work to deconstruct grand

narratives, including educators' roles in them.

Part of the reason some people view interpretivist and critical paradigms as very

different has to do with the deconstructive stance of postmodernism, which has faced

criticism for stripping the context of power inequities from diverse perspectives and

making it seem as if they are equal (Aronowitz & Giroux, 1991). However, an

interpretivist paradigm understands that "reality is multilayered and complex and a single

event can have multiple interpretations," and a critical paradigm stresses "the importance

of building awareness of multiple realities and allowing diverse voices to come to the

fore" (Egbert & Sanden, 2014, p. 34). Both paradigms begin from the same stance that

multiple realities and multiple identities exist simultaneously and dynamically.

Postmodernism combined with a critical approach toward praxis and social justice

can be powerful for those marginalized in educational institutions. Both critical theory

and postmodernism work to expose and break down hierarchies; critical theorists look at

the social construction of those hierarchies and how to change them, whereas

postmodernists examine the language and context that dichotomize the two. Merriam

(2009) gave the example of a study of high school dropouts from a critical and a

postmodern stance. A critical stance would examine the structures that led to students

dropping out, where "a postmodern or poststructural inquiry would question and 'disrupt'

the dichotomies (for example completer-noncompleter, successful-unsuccessful,

graduate-dropout) inherent in the research problem" (p. 21). I approach this study from

both perspectives, trying to understand the systems in place that create the multiple

identities of newcomer students, but also to complicate the idea that newcomers are a

category unto themselves in hierarchical relationship to non-newcomers.

Theoretical Framework

The theoretical lenses of Culturally Responsive/Sustaining Pedagogy (Gay, 2000;

Ladson-Billings, 1995, 2014; Paris, 2012) and Sociocultural Positioning Theory (Harré &

van Langenhov, 1991, 1999; Harré & Moghaddam, 2003; McVee et al., 2011) stem from

and are supported by a postmodern conceptual framework and a critical interpretivist

paradigm. These theories will frame the methodologies of ethnography and portraiture to

consider multiple perspectives and dynamics of power in the identity negotiation process.

Green and Gee (1998) argued, "Each decision about method implicates the use of

particular theories and the exclusion of others, and each decision about theory entails related decisions about method" (p. 121). I have designed this study with the synergy of theory and methods in mind.

Culturally Responsive/Sustaining Pedagogy. Culturally Responsive Pedagogy (CRP) is such a large component of the literature on multilingual students that it must be utilized within any study of multilingualism and multiculturalism. Specifically, CRP urges an ideological shift in how schools position emergent multilingual students. Exploring the individual and group cultures created within a newcomer class is an act of examining the "dynamic and synergistic relationship between home/community culture and school culture" (Ladson-Billings, 1995, p. 467). Theory and praxis from a critical perspective are mutual and reciprocal in CRP, requiring that educators and scholars continuously deconstruct, reflect, and act upon inequities.

Culturally Responsive Pedagogy (CRP) is an approach to educational policy, curricula, and instruction that encourages deep knowledge of students' lives outside of school. CRP is not just revising the curricula to include culturally relevant materials or training teachers to engage the cultures of their students; it is a paradigm shift regarding the purpose of education and the goal for students to be active, critical citizens invested in creating a more equitable world. Foundational to this pedagogy is the belief that schools reflect and reproduce dominant beliefs and values, which creates inequitable power and access between students whose homes and cultures match or do not match those beliefs and values (Gándara et al., 2010). Educators, education theorists, and researchers who believe in CRP hold that "cultural mismatch is located in larger social structures and that schools as institutions serve to reproduce social inequities" (Ladson-Billings, 1995,

p. 466). All aspects of education, from pre-service teacher preparation (Villegas & Lucas, 2002a, 2002b) to curricula and what constitutes student success (Gándara et al., 2010; Gay, 2002), stem from larger social structures, so multilingual students often find themselves marginalized not only in society-at-large, but also in school (Ladson-Billings, 1995; Nieto, 2010).

Nieto (2010) explained that CRP "is founded on the notion that--rather than deficits--students' backgrounds are assets that students can and should use in the service of their learning" (p. 218). Education of multilingual and multicultural students rests on the educators and the education system to teach all students effectively, rather than on the need for student identities to match the system. Students' identities should be utilized in the classroom and honored as assets: "Culturally responsive teaching is defined as using the cultural characteristics, experiences, and perspectives of ethnically diverse students as conduits for teaching them more effectively" (Gay, 2002, p. 106). Delpit (2012) expanded upon that definition:

> Successful instruction is constant, rigorous, integrated across disciplines, connected to students' lived cultures, connected to their intellectual legacies, engaging, and designed for critical thinking and problem solving that is useful beyond the classroom. (p. 37)

Cultural responsiveness applied to the field of multilingualism and the development of English in Language Instruction Educational Programs has developed during the last two decades. Lazar (2011) summarized that "in the last 20 years, English language learning research has recognized the significance of culturally responsive teaching," (p. 7) to address inequitable positioning of students. As Gándara et al. (2010) explained, "In short, across the last century, the United States has developed into a culture in which the category of citizen (and by extension, student) has been defined in

terms of having a primary allegiance to speaking only in English" (p. 31), which has translated into restrictive language policies in schools that marginalize the cultural and linguistic identities of multilingual students. These students often have language and literacy programming that isolates them from English monolingual students and reduces language to rote skills and solely academic application (Dimitriadis, 2004; Nieto, 2010; Ovando & Combs, 2012). Cultural responsiveness for emergent multilingual students involves affirming and embracing their multilingualism and the literacies and knowledge they bring from their home communities.

Recent studies applying CRP have explored its limitations and what the potential effects are on emergent multilingual students' perceptions of their own discourses and of dominant discourses. Paris (2012) modified the term and concept of cultural responsiveness to Culturally Sustaining Pedagogy (CSP), arguing that celebrating and embracing diverse communities are not adequate to sustain those communities. Education should not just be culturally relevant and responsive, but culturally sustaining, meaning "it requires that they support young people in sustaining the cultural and linguistic competence of their communities while simultaneously offering access to dominant cultural competence" (Paris, 2012, p. 95). An interest in sustainability requires that educators critically examine what practices and curricula they consider relevant or responsive to identify if they are actually allowing cultural practices to become part of students' identities and "repertoires of practice" (Gutiérrez & Rogoff, 2003).

Also crucial to the concept of CSP is that sustaining culture will sustain access to power by changing what power entails. Paris and Alim (2014) argued that as our society becomes increasingly diverse, "white, middle-class linguistic, literate, and cultural skills

and ways of being that were considered the sole gatekeepers to the opportunity structure"

are no longer the only means of accessing power (p. 89). Dominant and non-dominant

languages, literacies, and cultural practices must be seen as important assets to learn and

sustain if they are to reach the same status of power. What power and privilege are

perceived as attached to a person's language and literacy ultimately inform the identities

that person and others perceive as available.

Several scholars have expressed the need for a more diverse teaching force to

provide cultural and linguistic sameness with students to combat deficit perspectives of

language, literacy, and diverse identity. Gay (2000, 2002), Delpit (1995/2006, 2012), and

Nieto (2010) all have argued the importance of teachers' backgrounds matching their

students in order to fully and effectively engage their cultural funds of knowledge.

Achinstein and Ogawa (2011) explained why cultural matching matters:

> Researchers have reported that teachers of color who share racial, cultural, and/or
> linguistic backgrounds with students may tap cultural resources in themselves and
> their students to engage in culturally and linguistically responsive teaching,
> support cultural boundary crossing, and provide a cultural bridge to learning.
> (p. 16)

Since the newcomer teacher in this study did not share a cultural, racial, or linguistic

background with any of her students, it is important to consider the potential limitations

of her ability to respond to and sustain student identities. Furthermore, the instructional

assistant in the newcomer program did share a racial and linguistic background with

many of the students, and my study confirmed that many students found a greater

connection with her because of these shared aspects of identity.

However, my study also confirmed the argument that even diverse teachers still

need explicit training in cultural responsiveness and are only as effective as the support

schools give. In their studies of teachers of color, Achinstein and Ogawa (2011) found that the extent of teachers' CRP implementation corresponded directly to the environment of the school. Their point is important because it challenges the assumption that teachers who share a cultural and/or linguistic background with students will inherently teach them more effectively, which was found not to be the case in my study with the English-Spanish bilingual instructional assistant in the newcomer program.

Michael-Luna (2008) and Kirkland (2011) expressed similar challenges to common assumptions about CRP in the realm of curricula, particularly literature curricula. Michael-Luna made the point that many of the texts chosen to diversify literature curriculum ask students to identify with disempowered, victimized characters and can actually be detrimental to students' cultural identities. Kirkland expanded that argument to show that literacy involves complex ideology that cannot be simplified to a formula that someone will resonate with certain characters or a certain writer because they share a cultural background. How students responded to the "multicultural" curricula for the newcomer program in this district confirmed that the presence of characters that match the racial, cultural, or linguistic identities of students may or may not result in engagement with that text.

These challenges do not suggest that diversifying the teaching force and the curricula are not necessary, just that any actions to address language, literacy, and identity must be accompanied with critical thought and explicit attention to responding to and sustaining culture and students' multiple identities. The interaction of language and literacy with identity is dynamic and specific to the individual, as Kirkland (2011) demonstrated.

Sociocultural Positioning Theory. Sociocultural Positioning Theory applies

positioning theory (Harré & van Lanenhove, 1991; Harré & Moghaddam, 2003),

exploring the psychological modes of negotiating self and Other, to the social contexts

for those modes. McVee et al. (2011) summarized:

> The metaphor of positioning is a complex, multifaceted, dynamic construct
> related to the ways in which people construct self and other through discursive
> practices such as oral and written discourse, language use, and speech and other
> acts. (p. 4)

Harré and Moghaddam (2003) defined positions as "a cluster of rights and duties to

perform certain actions with certain significance as acts, but which also may include

prohibitions or denials of access to some of the local repertoire of meaningful acts" (p. 5)

and explained that positions can be implicit and explicit, repositioned, and resisted. In

Harré and van Langenhove's (1991) theory of positioning, there can be first-order

positioning, "the way people position themselves and others within categories usually

understood by the nature of the language participants use," and second-order positioning,

"when the first-order positioning is questioned or refused by one of the people involved"

(McVee et al., 2011, p. 208). As Reeves (2009) described, positioning theory explores

identity "as socially negotiated, dynamic, and fragmented, [which] stands in contrast to

the historical view of identity as internal, fixed, and coherent" (p. 35).

Positioning theory argues that identity is multiple and constantly negotiated,

consistent with my conceptual framework. In particular, the stance that "the relations

between material bearers of meanings are determined by those meanings, not by any

material properties of the bearers as such" (Harré, Moghaddam, Cairnie, Rothbart, and

Sabat, 2009, p. 7) supports a postmodern view of identity that self and Other exist

because of each other. Buscholtz and Hall (2005), continuing in the strand of Harré and

Moghaddam (2003) defined identity as "the social positioning of self and other" (p. 586) and argued that they kept their definition intentionally "broad and open-ended" because identity itself is open-ended and constantly negotiated.

Research utilizing Sociocultural Positioning Theory stresses that "looking at data through the lens of positioning offers researchers a specific terminology to describe where and how and to what ultimate end or consequence people position themselves" (McVee et al., 2011, p. 15). The sociocultural lens for positioning theory grounds identity positioning within social structures and access to privileges afforded those identities. As Schiller (2016) argued, "Positioning Theory proposes that we share a common world, although relating to it through different and multiple positionings that are constituted within different structures and representations of power" (p. 137). Since Sociocultural Positioning Theory explores identity within shared contexts, it pairs well with examining ethnographic positionings (Buscholtz & Hall, 2005).

Another aspect of Sociocultural Positioning Theory that I have explored in this study is the performative nature of identity positionings. In their exploration of the experiences of a Palestinian-American teacher, McVee et al. (2011) described three different types of positioning: performative and accountive positioning, role-based positioning, and forced positioning. All three refer to the ways that a person can position herself and be positioned by others in constant negotiation, with or without assertion that those positionings are accurate. In terms of this study of the "newcomer" identity among six participants in a group forced to be homogenous in many ways, the concept of identity performance and the ways that people "take up, assert, and resist identity positions that define them" (Reeves, 2009, p. 35) is important to consider.

Taking a sociocultural lens to the construction of language and literacy in school can illuminate "the kind of knowledge that counts as learning" (Rex & Schiller, 2009, p. 153), which carries implications for multilingual students' perception of their identities. Students can be positioned in schools as academically "low" or struggling because they do not exhibit what is valued as literate or intelligent in that setting, which is a function of the constructed discourse of school. Pahl and Rowsell (2012) lamented:

> It happens far too frequently that students acquire an identity within a classroom, for instance a child who is unable to read or to write. Meanwhile, at home or in mosque, that same child draws elaborate pictures with accompanying oral tales or they can recite by rote large segments of the Quran. (p. 118)

The construction of identity involves constructions of language and literacy, so when the latter are positioned as inferior to academic manifestations, identities position themselves and are positioned by others as inferior.

Another important element of identity, social structures, and discursive acts to consider for historically marginalized populations, such as multilingual learners, is the concept that language, literacy, and identity privileges are so powerful that they appear invisible. Dominant discourses, such as English as the accepted language, white as the normal skin color, or middle class as the social norm, pervade institutions, which are social constructions themselves, and become so ingrained in the social mindset of what to expect from institutions that they appear innate. Freire (1970/2007) argued this point, that those without power do not recognize their powerlessness because they have internalized that existing social structures are as they should be. Nieto (2010) discussed how people from dominant groups, such as white and middle class, view themselves as without culture in contrast to culturally and linguistically diverse populations who have culture. Emergent multilingual students have historically been positioned disadvantageously in

schools and society by historically dominant discourses. Martin-Beltrán (2010) argued that positioning theory has the potential to illuminate privileges, especially related to constructed meaning of proficiency in schools, which applies to this newcomer group who were all grouped together because of a constructed definition of "newcomer."

Sociocultural Positioning Theory overlaps theoretically with Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), and many authors utilize the two theoretical approaches simultaneously. Both theories see identities as multiple, constructed, and positioned through discursive acts (Harré et al., 2009; McVee et al., 2011). CDA provides an analytical lens that positions communication and interaction of all kinds (verbal, behavioral, implied, printed, visual) in historical, socially-constructed context that necessarily involves issues of power so that power structures can be critiqued and transformed. Discourse cannot be separated from context, and all discourse is significant and meaningful for that reason; a person says something, acts or dresses a certain way, or associates with certain beliefs and groups for meaningful reasons informed by the history of the discursive practices in which she has participated (Gee, 2000). Both theories argue that all social constructions hold power and therefore need critical examination.

The difference between Sociocultural Positioning Theory and Critical Discourse Analysis is largely in application rather than as a theoretical lens. In this study, I do examine discourse, discursive acts, social structures, and identity negotiations, but not through a methodology of CDA. Though I do have captured discourse from the classroom and the participant interviews, I have examined them through the lenses of Sociocultural Positioning Theory and Culturally Responsive Pedagogy, and methodologically through thematic coding practices of ethnography and portraiture.

Alignment of Study Design

Considering all elements of research design explicated in Egbert and Sanden's (2014) model, I have aligned my conceptual and theoretical frameworks with the methodologies of ethnography and portraiture so that theory and methods inform each other (Green & Gee, 1998). Thorough and thoughtful study design ensures that the theories and methods not only complement each other, but are appropriate to address the research questions. Utilizing more than one method always comes with the risk of not implementing those methods fully and with fidelity. However, methodologies used together as complements also allow the limitations in any one method to be accommodated and even corrected by another method. The emerging trend of utilizing ethnography and portraiture together (Dixson, Chapman, & Hill, 2005; Miranda, Robbins, & Stauffer, 2007; Niland, 2015) suggested that these two methods accomplish a productive synergy, particularly for marginalized populations (Duneier & Back, 2006; Smyth & McInerney, 2011). My critical postmodern framework further supports this synergy of examining group culture emerging through interaction while bringing the multiple identities to the fore through portraiture as well.

CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY

Methods

In this study, I adopted a postmodern epistemology and ontology that informed my research design, which is a departure from traditional research methodology. For many philosophers, researchers, and educators, the ideas of multiple knowledge and subjects represented in this study's conceptual and theoretical framework demonstrate endless deconstruction of truth into nothingness (Anderson, 2015; Crotty, 1998; Greene, 1993). Noddings (2012) described how postmodernists "attack the long-standing belief in objectivity," so they not only put forth a drastically different, post-epistemology, but they also deny that any inquiry can be objective (p. 78). They instead focus on elements of "how knowledge and power are connected, how domains of expertise evolve, who profits from and who is hurt by various claims to knowledge, and what sort of language develops in communities of knowers" (p. 78).

These goals are aligned with this study's research questions. I took the stance that research is always subjective. As Merriam (2009) explained, "Postmodern research is highly experimental, playful, and creative, and no two postmodern studies look alike. By "experimental," Merriam referred to the innovative approaches taken in postmodern studies. Creswell (2007) added that the methodology of validation in a postmodern study functions as a crystal, rather than a triangle, to take account of multiple perspectives. Continuing in the vein of innovative research designs, this study utilized both

ethnographic and portraiture methods to explore the group culture of the newcomer

program, while allowing the individual portraits of each newcomer to emerge from

within the group culture as well.

Ethnography

Ethnography has a long and rich history in qualitative research as a method in

which "the researcher describes and interprets the shared and learned patterns of values,

behaviors, beliefs, and language of a culture-sharing group" (Creswell, 2007, p. 68).

Creswell (2013) described that the approach to an ethnography involves considerable

time in the field observing participants in their setting as well as data collection from

multiple sources, including participant interviews, artifacts, and constant reflection upon

the researcher's own role in the study. The culture-sharing group to be studied in

ethnography needs to be bounded by a site, cultural theme to be studied, or other aspect

that holds a group of people to common practices and beliefs (Creswell, 2013).

The traditional ethnography research design has been changing in recent

literature. As Nader (2011) discussed, ethnography has historically insisted that "cultures

are interconnected, not fragmented; they are whole systems, and therefore any description

of them, to be complete, must tackle the whole" (p. 211). She argued that ethnography is

more dynamic than the traditional model allows, because ethnography is both a method

and a "theory of description" (p. 211). As theory, there are no set boundaries on what the

concept of whole means as applied to a group of people, and the dynamics of multiple

interpretations of any single group of people make it impossible to capture anything but

fragmented perspectives. Ethnography is both a product and a process (Merriam, 2009)

through the lens of the ethnographer, who creates the ethnographic narrative from the

"tales [that] weave specific analyses of discrete pieces of fieldnote data into an overall story" (Emerson, Fretz, & Shaw, 1995).

Whereas Creswell's (2007, 2013) concept of culture and a culture-sharing group suggests that culture is present to observe, I approach ethnography and the concept of culture as a constantly negotiated, emerging shared experience among a group of people. Spradley (1979) provided a definition of culture that resonates with my conception: "Culture, as used in this book, refers to the acquired knowledge that people use to interpret experience and generate social behavior" (p. 5), and it is situated and fluid because "culture as a shared system of meanings, is learned, revised, maintained, and defined in the context of people interacting" (p. 6). Furthermore, Spradley argued that culture cannot be explicitly seen, but is rather inferred by the ethnographer, in a constant interplay of interpretation and an understanding of what "the parts of culture are as conceptualized by informants" (p. 93).

Current ethnographies in the literature focus on self and Other, complicating the hierarchy between the researcher and the people studied (Nader, 2011). The approach of trying to be completely objective and inconspicuous is not only impossible, but also not desirable (Emerson et al., 1995), because the researcher is just as important to the culture of what is being studied as the participants. As Nader (2011) explained, the cultures of people do not exist in a vacuum, but are instead "a reflection of the society of which it is a part [and] ethnographers are caught in their culture as much as the people they study" (p. 217). Challenging the objectivism of the ethnographer also challenges the privilege of the ethnographer compared to those being studied. Postmodernism urges the breaking of dichotomies and hierarchies, and my use of ethnography explores my own culture and my

interactions with the newcomer culture as well as the interactions among the group of students and between the students and teacher.

This subjective, dynamic approach to ethnography with a focus on the negotiation of multiple identities requires that data collection and analysis are equally dynamic. Emerson et al. (1995) emphasized the importance of field notes and how an ethnographer records and interprets them reflects the ideology of the ethnographer. They argued that viewing field notes as just a record of what was observed assumes that there is an objective Truth to be recorded. In line with ontological and epistemological pluralism, I assume their stance that "because descriptions involve issues of perception and interpretation, different descriptions of 'the same' situations and events are possible" (p. 5). The same holds for audio recordings of classroom interactions or of participant interviews, as the interpretations of those taped interactions still filter through the subjectivity of the researcher (Baker & Green, 2007).

Recognizing my inherent subjectivities in this study affected the types of questions asked in interviews as well. Spradley (1979) argued that in sound ethnographic interviewing "both questions and answers must be discovered from informants" (p. 84). I found it important to be flexible and adaptive with questions in this study, not only to execute ethnography, but also because I do not speak the same primary language as the student and family participants. The presence of an interpreter and our cultural and linguistic differences as researcher and participant required the use of native language questions (Spradley, 1979, p. 89). These questions minimized mistranslation and misunderstanding by asking questions in the dialect and syntax familiar to the participants. Developing these questions required time observing that native language in

action. Furthermore, my interview questions were designed to elicit multiple, not singular

views, in alignment with a postmodern conceptual framework (Merriam, 2009).

I observed the newcomer classroom with the concept of how ethnographic

approaches make the invisible visible (Bloome et al., 2005). I also viewed ethnography as

a way to turn a critical eye to classroom interactions and where educators have agency to

bring change and not accept that schools will reflect the structures of society:

> Although classrooms are part of a broader social institution and set of social,
> cultural, and political processes, we do not view classrooms as merely playing out
> a predetermined process of cultural and social reproduction…Together, teachers
> and students address the circumstances in which they find themselves, and
> together they construct their classroom worlds. (Bloome et al., 2005, p. 2)

Ethnography focuses on the emergence of the constructed classroom culture over time as

members of that classroom world negotiate their identities and positions relative to each

other. I analyzed the various structures that position the students and their teacher within

this newcomer classroom and how the culture of the group emerges over time. Creswell

(2007) would categorize this ethnography as a critical ethnography, with which I would

not disagree in terms of the conceptual and theoretical frameworks, as well as the focus

of this study on a marginalized population:

> The major components of a critical ethnography include a value-laden orientation,
> empowering people by giving them more authority, challenging the status quo,
> and addressing concerns about power and control. A critical ethnographer will
> study issues of power, empowerment, inequality, inequity, dominance, repression,
> hegemony, and victimization. (p. 70)

My purpose in using ethnography was not to make value statements or recommendations

for policy, but I did seek to observe, understand, and deconstruct the negotiation of

individual and group identities within the structures that bind them.

Portraiture

Though group culture is imperative to understand for my research questions and to contextualize the emergent individual identities of newcomers within the newcomer program, ethnography maintains a focus on identities situated within the group. Portraiture complements ethnography by providing an additional lens on the group culture that allows individual identities to emerge in their own right. One of the most powerful endorsements of portraiture in the literature is not by Lawrence-Lightfoot or Davis (1997), the authors of *The Art and Science of Portraiture*, but rather from Chapman (2011) who argued that portraiture is a form of social justice in its recognition of the goodness of counter-narratives. Portraiture questions the power structures inherent in the researcher-participant relationship and believes that the expression of research should also be representative of that re-negotiated research design.

Like ethnography, portraiture insists that people and actions must be understood within their social and historical contexts. Chapman (2011) articulated how portraiture complements critical theories because of mutual "rejection of one-dimensional analyses of school actors and actions [and] denunciation of stereotypes and acontextual explanations for the actions of people of color" (p. 29). This study added that portraiture complements ethnography and my guiding conceptual and theoretical frameworks through its deconstruction of dominant narratives. With an emphasis on context and voice, portraiture aims to empower and bring about social change through a new "goodness" perspective of previously silenced or misunderstood voices. Lawrence-Lightfoot and Davis (1997) defined goodness as an approach to inquiry that foregrounds strength rather than weakness, aligning with the asset-based perspectives of CRP/CSP

and the recognition of postmodernism that there are always multiple lenses and multiple identities.

Similar to Nader's (2011) discussion of the changing approaches of ethnography, Lawrence-Lightfoot and Davis (1997) explained that the purpose of portraiture is not "complete and full representation, but rather the selection of some aspect--or angle on--reality that would transform our vision of the whole" (p. 5). Portraiture recognizes the intimate role of the portraitist with the resulting portrait, so the process of data collection, analysis, and writing involves constant self-reflection on what particular view of the whole the participant is demonstrating and the portraitist is interpreting.

Lawrence-Lightfoot and Davis (1997) emphasized the portraitist's voice in the field and in writing:

> The balance is approached through self-reflection and self-criticism as the portraitist is engaged in observing, listening, and talking to people, always keeping the actors in the focus and in the light, always watching for the ways her shadow might distort her clear vision of them. (p. 85)

In *Respect* and *The Good High School*, for example, Lawrence-Lightfoot (1983, 2000) wove her own stories in with those of her participants and wove their narratives together. Chapman (2011) also inserted anecdotes about her education, her own beliefs about the intentions of education and research, her pre-study assumptions about the site, and her effect on the site, but the focus remained on the participants. As in ethnography, the fly on the wall approach to research is not the objective, but neither is active participation. Both methods require a delicate balance of being an outsider to the scene and an intimate confidant. I qualify as both, since I have a deep knowledge of the ELD newcomer program and environment and an existing professional relationship with the teacher, but I

am an outsider to these particular students, with no established relationship or shared elements of identity with them.

Lawrence-Lightfoot and Davis (1997) established that data collection and analysis should focus on the individual case for what can be understood in a larger context from the glimpse of the individual. Single cases can then be connected through the writing of the portrait. Methods for designing and executing a portraiture study disrupt the inherent power structure in a researcher-participant relationship by utilizing frequent informal observation and interviews in the form of conversations and storytelling. Portraiture involves all the elements of traditional case study, including having bounds and maintaining a focus on one bounded case at a time. The difference between a portrait and traditional methods of case study or ethnography is the creative and artistic approach to the narrative and the intentional and explicit presence of the portraitist in the process and the final narrative. Rather than being a researcher or an interpreter of data, the portraitist is an artist, creating a particular story to share to represent the "case" being studied. As Lawrence-Lightfoot and Davis (1997) described, "Ethnographers listen *to* a story while portraitists listen *for* a story…However, there is never a single story--many could be told" (pp. 12-13). In other words, the portraitist is an artist listening for the stories to be told and actively shaping the telling of those stories.

Synthesis of Ethnography and Portraiture

Utilizing ethnography and portraiture together as complementary methods accomplishes a process and product that neither method can independently. Ethnography provides a depth and breadth of immersion in the lives of participants and their lived realities over time, allowing for observation of interactions and identity negotiation

among members in a group. Ethnography requires extensive time in the field and involves observation and analysis of the culture-sharing group, not necessarily each person within the group. Portraiture applies a lens to the culture-sharing group that focuses on individual voices and narratives to better understand how each person experiences a shared phenomenon. Unlike ethnography, portraiture as a methodology does not necessarily require extensive time with participants (Lawrence-Lightfoot & Davis, 1997). Data for a portrait could potentially be gathered in one-time interactions with a participant, just as a painting or a photograph could be completed in one session, because portraiture explicitly recognizes that it provides one view of a person bound within a given time and space.

The productive synthesis between ethnography and portraiture exists in what they add to each other in terms of breadth, depth, and perspective. Figure 6 provides a visual representation of the type of synergy I identify between the two methods. This image takes different forms depending upon the perspective of the viewer. Which layer of faces comes into focus or drops into the periphery changes as the eye takes in the entire image. The complementary nature of ethnography and portraiture lies in the same dynamic, that the portraitist can focus or zoom in on specific aspects of the whole while ethnography interweaves those aspects within the depth and bounds of the whole.

Figure 6. Akinesia Strain (Finney, 2011b).

Just as every time one views Figure 6, it changes somewhat and provides the eye

something new, I found that the ways in which ethnography and portraiture intersected

and diverged emerged through the processes of data collection, analysis, and narrative

writing. During the process, I found the methods moving relationally to each other,

sliding into the forefront or background or into balance. Portraiture, with its focus on

individual narratives and the recognition of how those narratives challenge or deconstruct

grand narratives, emerged as the dominant methodology in this study. Even though

ethnography was a necessary method to achieve the understanding of the whole and add

depth to the identity negotiations within their larger context, the individual stories of the

newcomer teacher, students, and myself emerged as the backbone of the narrative.

Ethnographic methods of analysis played a more dominant role in the identification of

how all these disparate narratives could be understood together as a shared experience of

a newcomer program.

Permission to Conduct Research

After completing and defending my dissertation proposal, I submitted my

research proposal to the Institutional Review Board for The University of Northern

Colorado that was approved prior to any contact with participants (see Appendix A).

Additionally, prior to any contact with participants, I secured permission from the

district, school principal, and ELD administrator for the district to conduct research

during school hours, on school property, and with district students and employees (see

Appendix B).

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

My access to and knowledge of the ELD newcomer program informed my

decision to study the district where I am employed. The study is stronger with this insider

perspective than if I were an outsider studying another district's newcomer program. The

central participants in this study were the middle-school-aged students, grades 6-8,

enrolled in the district's program for emergent multilingual immigrants (newcomers).

Since the program is for new immigrants across the district and this population can be

transient, enrollment numbers vary throughout the school year. At the beginning of the

2015-16 school year, four Spanish speakers were enrolled in the program, three from

Mexico and one from the Dominican Republic. In October, a Mandarin Chinese speaker

from China enrolled in the program, followed a few weeks later by a Spanish speaker

from Mexico. In the second semester, a seventh and final student, a Spanish speaker from

Mexico, joined the newcomer program. All students except one Spanish speaker from

Mexico agreed to participate in this study.

The students in the program were the principal focus of the study, but additional

participants included the families of the students and the ELD teachers and instructional

assistant who interacted with these students in the newcomer program. Providing multiple

perspectives of these students allowed fuller understanding of the individual and group

cultures within this newcomer program. The members of the district-level management of the program also provided the perspective of the district's history, policies, and decisions in implementing this program to frame the experiences of the students. I am the coordinator of this program in the district and have explored my involvement with the program as I collected and analyzed data.

Participant Contact

Contact with participants began with the adults, first the district and school administrators, and then the teachers and instructional assistants. The district and school-level participants functioned as informants in providing the names and contact information for the enrolled newcomer students. I first contacted the students' parents/guardians in-person with an oral interpreter to discuss the study and the potential participation of their children and themselves. Most of the students were present with their parents when I discussed the study, but students were given additional explanation of what participation would entail as well as the option not to participate without any negative repercussions before being asked to sign their assent. Students and their family members were provided consent and assent forms in Spanish or Mandarin Chinese, translated by privately hired and compensated translators (see Appendices C-L). Additionally, they were provided printed interview questions translated into these languages as well prior to each interview (see Appendices M-S).

Ethical Treatment of Vulnerable Participants

The student participants are from vulnerable populations as adolescents and individuals from immigrant families. This study does not address their immigration status, and I have been diligent to protect participant confidentiality. Interviews required

the use of an interpreter for Spanish and Mandarin Chinese, who were hired privately, compensated, and informed of the need to maintain confidentiality.

All individuals, the name of the district, and the name of the school have been given pseudonyms and stored in files with those names in my home office. Only the two oral interpreters and I know participants' identities. Since the group of students is small and selected from a specific school site and district, there is the risk of deducing identities based on data from participants. However, only the participants involved in the study, including the students' families, teachers, and the district personnel, would have enough context to determine participants' identities. The use of pseudonyms for all locations, institutions, and people, along with the procedure of sharing data with only the individual source and an interpreter maximized confidentiality.

Context and Setting

Since the English Language Development program provides newcomer services at one middle school to which newcomer students receive transportation, the school setting for this study was pre-determined. The newcomer program was re-located to this school three years ago from a different middle school within the district because the demographics of the schools shifted. The newcomer program is located at the middle school with the highest number of multilingual students in the district and the highest poverty rate. These characteristics of the middle school are important to consider because the setting and context directly affected the culture created within the group of newcomers.

Despite a large number of emergent multilingual students and all of the newcomers attending this middle school, the setting for ELD classes does not meet the

same size or quality standards of other classrooms. The two ELD teachers and ELD

instructional assistant at this school share two classrooms in a portable building outside

the main school building. Other teachers have classrooms in portable buildings as well,

but what is understood as the ELD "cottage" is the most worn and in need of repair at this

school. Not only are all emergent multilingual students clustered together in a "school

within a school" (Short & Boyson, 2012), but newcomers also spend several hours per

day sheltered away from interaction with any other students. These newcomer students

also did not have complete ownership over the space that they occupied for the majority

of their school day, because the classroom housed gifted and talented classes during the

portion of the school day that the newcomer teacher was at her other school. These details

of the context and setting contribute to the culture created within the newcomer

classroom, and I have included observations of these effects in my data collection and

analysis.

Data Collection

This study utilized both ethnographic and portraiture methodologies in data

collection from multiple sources and in concurrent data analysis (Creswell, 2007;

Lawrence-Lightfoot & Davis, 1997; Saldaña, 2009; Spradley, 1979). Appendix T

provides a matrix of data collection methods I used from the start of my study to address

each research question and what possible topics might emerge from the data. I utilized a

researcher's journal for field notes while observing participants in classrooms and other

school settings, such as the cafeteria, gym, and recess area, and to record observations

during informal conversations and audio-recorded, semi-structured interviews. I also

recorded my observations of the classroom environment and my reflections upon the

process of data collection and analysis in the researcher journal. I reviewed my researcher journal weekly to synthesize my thoughts and to preliminarily code observations and reflections. Appendices U and V provide excerpts from my researcher journal with my field notes and my synthesizing reflections at the end of each week.

I began classroom observations after gaining consent and assent from all participants. My first week of classroom observations occurred in mid-October 2015 and concluded at the end of May 2016. Since the newcomer class occurred during the school day hours, which were also my normal working hours, I was not able to be in the newcomer classroom every day. I was able to be in the classroom at least two times each week during the time frame of data collection, October to May. The newcomer teacher kept regular communication with me about activities in her class or in the school that might be relevant to my study, which would require my presence at different times than the newcomer class period. Some of the events I attended during the school year included awards ceremonies, student presentations, parent-teacher conferences, and walking field trips to locations surrounding the school.

My original proposed research design involved video recordings of the newcomer class to ensure accuracy in observation and to allow for multiple viewings and transcription, because "a video recording provides a valuable record of words actually uttered and gestures actually made" (Emerson et al., 1995, p. 10). I also originally proposed using interactional ethnography, which would require being able to capture classroom interactions in a way that could be transcribed and analyzed through Critical Discourse Analysis. However, one student in the newcomer class was not part of the study because of lack of consent and assent, so I could not videotape the class with him

present. Furthermore, a few parents/guardians of the students felt uncomfortable with the aspect of video taping, so I decided and communicated with all participants that I would not use video in my data collection. In my classroom observations, though, I often sat close enough to students to capture in writing short conversations and interactions that occurred. I would often utilize my phone to audio record interesting conversations or lessons so that I could ensure an accurate record of them.

In addition to classroom observations, semi-structured interviews with all participants were conducted outside of school hours and lasted no more than one hour per interview. Each student participant, with their parents/guardians, was interviewed three times during the 2015-2016 school year, with the exception of the student who arrived in March and was able to complete only two interviews before the end of the school year. My original research design was to interview student participants and their families separate from each other, but all participants felt more comfortable having joint interviews. So, students and their families sat down with me and my respective interpreters, each time in the students' own homes, for an hour at a time to discuss my questions. I still asked student-specific question and parent/guardian-specific questions, but I found that many of my questions were answered more deeply by having students and families together. Informal conversations and observations also occurred during the newcomer class, lunchtime, recess, and before and after school, but did not take time from the students' normal activity. All formal interviews were audio-recorded for transcription, using pseudonyms for all people and institutions, and I had my respective interpreters help with transcription to ensure proper recording of Spanish and Mandarin Chinese.

To provide tangible examples of the emerging multiple identities and collective culture of the group, I collected various artifacts throughout the school year, both from the school and home/community settings. In order to analyze the literacy practices that newcomers experience and use to negotiate their multiple identities, students and families were asked to provide representations of literacy activities in their homes, from their home countries, and/or in their primary language. Students, teachers, and instructional assistants also provided representations of literacy and language learning at school, including student work samples, lessons, and curricular materials. Additionally, I recorded observations of pedagogical representations in the classroom, such as posters, anchor charts, books and print materials, digital literacy materials, etc. Additional artifacts included student academic and language testing and program placement information that could be found in students' cumulative files, as well as policy documents from the district's ELD program.

Data Analysis

Data analysis occurred concurrently with data collection, as the two processes mutually inform each other (Green & Bloome, 2007; Green & Gee, 1998; Lawrence-Lightfoot & Davis, 1997; Spradley, 1979). As Spradley (1979) explained, the research stages of ethnography are concurrent, from selecting a problem through writing the ethnography. In portraiture, Lawrence-Lightfoot and Davis's (1997) process of malleable, ongoing theme coding guides analysis of emerging meanings during and after data collection. Both ethnographic and portraiture methodologists assert that the process of research and the researcher herself are positioned within the cultures explored, so the

researcher's observations and reflections are a continuous part of data collection and analysis.

The theoretical lenses of Culturally Responsive/Sustaining Pedagogy, and Sociocultural Positioning Theory guided the coding and analysis of emergent themes, as they illuminated sociocultural dynamics and contexts of identity negotiation (Ladson-Billings, 2014; McVee et al., 2011; Paris, 2012). Utilizing critical postmodernism as a conceptual framework, I paid close attention to the creation of those contexts and identities, complicating self/Other dichotomies (Derrida, 1968; Giroux, 2004; Harré & Moghaddam, 2003).

Transcriptions of Participant Interviews

Analysis occurred during the transcription of the audiotaped interviews, with reflection upon how transcription is a theoretical process in which the researcher's assumptions, values, and beliefs emerge (Ochs, 1979). I transcribed all of the audio files from interviews with the ELD teachers and instructional assistant and coded them while transcribing. Transcripts for student and family participant interviews were all completed by the oral interpreters who accompanied me on the interviews, because these files contained Spanish or Mandarin Chinese that I could not accurately transcribe. The process of analyzing these transcripts differed from that for the school personnel transcripts, because I was removed from listening to the audio files and actively taking down the record of the interview. Instead of being able to transcribe and code simultaneously, I saw the transcripts completed with an accurate record of the conversations, but not necessarily complete with the nuances or observations I potentially would have made if transcribing them.

I transcribed, or had the interpreters transcribe, each interview before the next scheduled one with that participant so that I could prepare the next set of potential interview questions. This process was important with student and family participants, particularly during the first round of interviews, when they were almost entirely in Spanish or Mandarin Chinese. Though my listening comprehension of Spanish is fairly proficient, I realized when reading transcripts that I sometimes misunderstood answers during the moment or asked a question that the participants had already answered in the conversation. And with the Mandarin Chinese interviews, I was more of a spectator of the conversation, posing my question in English and trying to read body language and facial expressions to understand the answer before it was interpreted back to me.

Coding and Emergent Themes

Merriam (2009) argued that the term coding further mystifies an already complicated process of making sense of the massive amount of data that emerges from qualitative studies, making the point, "I see a category the same as a theme, a pattern, a finding, or an answer to a research problem" (p. 178). In other words, coding is a process for data management, "nothing more than assigning some sort of shorthand designation to various aspects of your data so that you can easily retrieve specific pieces of data" (Merriam, 2009, p. 173). Qualitative research involves thorough processes of organizing, understanding, and representing data, but scholars differ in what those processes look like in practice.

This study is the synthesis of two qualitative methodologies within epistemological and ontological pluralism, which often presented a struggle in how to approach making sense of data in ways that were representative of both genres and held

true to postmodernism. In my process of analyzing and exploring my data, I utilized elements of Saldaña's (2009) method of First Cycle and Second Cycle coding, Spradley's (1979) method of domain analysis and discovering cultural themes, and Lawrence-Lightfoot and Davis's (1997) method of iterative and generative searching for patterns. All of these approaches identify the process of data analysis as cyclical, systematic, and leading to the emergence of themes.

I found useful Saldaña's (2009) method of making preliminary codes by hand on my printed transcripts of participant interviews and of my researcher journal containing field notes. I recorded any noticings or reflections I had for my preliminary codes, recording as well my own thoughts in the process and then also coding those. As soon as interviews were transcribed, I began the process of preliminary coding so that I could inform the questions to be asked in the subsequent interviews. With my number of participant narratives I was trying to understand and portray, I found this approach helpful for "member checking" (Saldaña, 2009, p. 28). I orally summarized these initial codes for participants to check what I had understood them saying and to ensure accuracy (Creswell, 2013; Merriam, 2009; Saldaña, 2009). My oral interpreters who were present for interviews and transcribed them for me also reviewed these initial codes and often helped me make sense of the data, especially regarding accurate interpretation of language and cultural background.

After initial coding, I began to draw connections between codes, both because of similarities and differences, and I began to identify ways that patterns emerged within the transcripts and observations of individuals (Lawrence-Lightfoot & Davis, 1997) and ways that codes connected among the group into guiding domains that indicated "cultural

meaning systems" (Spradley, 1979, p. 173) and connections between "different subsystems of a culture" (Spradley, 1979, p. 189). Since both ethnography and portraiture suggest ongoing coding, patterns and themes emerged, revised, and re-emerged throughout data collection, analysis, and writing. My final emergent themes that appear in the narratives in Chapters IV and V represent the voices of the individual participants as well as "universal themes" (Spradley, 1979) for the group of newcomers.

Writing the Narrative

The strongest synthesis of ethnography and portraiture came in the writing of the narrative. Like all qualitative inquiry, the product is "richly descriptive" for both methods. Furthermore, both methods urge the positioning of the ethnographer/portraitist within the narrative. As Creswell (2007) said of ethnography, "The final product is a holistic cultural portrait of the group that incorporates the views of the participants (emic) as well as the views of the researchers (etic)" (p. 72). In the following two chapters, my own multiple identities intermingle with those of the participants, and I explore the ways that these narratives are my constructions.

I have tried to create a product--a final individual and group portrait--that synthesizes ethnography and portraiture seamlessly into a narrative worth reading and guided by participant voices. Though Chapter IV largely represents portraits of the newcomer teacher and newcomer students, I discuss interactions and observations that unite participants as well, attempting to bring one voice at a time to the fore while framing the context from which that voice arose. Similarly, Chapter V focuses on the cultural themes that emerged among the group, but I simultaneously listen "for the voices and perspectives that seem to fall outside, and diverge from, the emergent themes"

(Lawrence-Lightfoot & Davis, 1997, p. 192). Each participant, including the newcomer teacher and each student, has his or her own portrait in which I examine specific "bounded" cases, but all participants are bound together within the newcomer cohort. So, the perspective of the group and the themes that emerged over time can be interpreted as a portrait as well, a group portrait.

Researcher's Stance

My personal connection to the newcomer program being studied has been crucial to reflect upon in the design of this study and throughout the process of collecting and analyzing data. I was the teacher in this newcomer classroom during the 2014-2015 school year. Even though the students in the newcomer class during the 2015-2016 school year were new students with whom I had not worked, I was familiar with the classroom, the school, the curricula, the materials, and the collaborating teachers and instructional assistant. I made a conscious effort to be aware of comparisons I was making between the culture created in this classroom among the current students and teacher and what I perceived the culture to be in my classroom or dynamics that were created among my previous students.

As with any study where the researcher spends time in the field, my presence undoubtedly affected the culture created in this classroom. Since I worked directly with the instructional assistant who helps the newcomer teacher, the ELD teacher in the adjacent classroom, and the students who were newcomers previously, my presence in the field was not as a complete outsider. Since the two ELD classrooms at this school are housed together in a detached building outside of the main school building, I inevitably interacted with my students from the prior year, even though they were not enrolled in the

newcomer program I was observing, but that interaction could have had implications for the culture of the current newcomer class.

My current position in the English Language Development program made it impossible for me to be an inconspicuous and objective observer. I am the coordinator of the ELD program for the district, which positions me in a supervisory role over teachers. Though I have no involvement with the teachers' job evaluations, I am not a teacher peer either. It was a challenge during the first few observations and the first round of interviews for teachers and myself to negotiate the separation between my role as a supervisor and my role as a researcher. My position relative to Kristin, the newcomer teacher, was especially difficult to negotiate, because she was new to the district and we had no prior relationship to the beginning of this study. I describe our relationship and our interactions throughout the study in detail in Chapter IV. These relationships with the adults running the newcomer program inevitably manifested in the established culture of the students in the program, and I consciously reflected upon these effects throughout my data collection and analysis.

The subjective and interactive nature of this study stems from and supports the methodologies of ethnography and portraiture and my conceptual and theoretical frameworks. As Emerson et al. (1995) noted, "The fieldworker cannot and should not should not attempt to be a fly on the wall" (p. 3), because such implied objectivity is not possible or desirable to understand the lived experiences of a group of people. Lawrence-Lightfoot (2005) made a similar statement about the portraitist's position as an inevitable contributor to the portrait she wishes to capture: "In the process of creating portraits, we enter people's lives, build relationships, engage in discourse, make an imprint…and

leave" (p. 12). Lawrence-Lightfoot stressed the moral and ethical responsibility of the qualitative researcher, especially one engaging in portraiture, because entering the lives of people cannot be objective or free of effect. In my case, I interacted professionally with the teachers and instructional assistant during the study regarding district work, and I have continued to interact professionally with them after the study concluded. I have also continued to see the student participants periodically within my role as coordinator and support them and their families as part of the ELD program. The effects I have observed from this continued interaction are stronger, more understanding relationships as a result of putting a critical eye to the newcomer program.

My privileged voice (Emerson et al., 2005) not only as a member of district administration and a doctoral student, but also as a white, middle-class, English-speaking female required my constant awareness and reflection. Utilizing portraiture and Critical Race Theory (CRT), Chapman (2011) discussed how "CRT posits that scholars of color have a unique vantage point for conducting and interpreting research that focuses on the experiences of people of color" (p. 158), so these methodologies and theories require explicit exploration of the researcher's own race, class, gender, and ideologies. Though I do not utilize CRT, my conceptual framework of critical postmodernism insists that I explore my epistemological and ontological pluralism and recognize that each aspect of my identity are as situated in social constructions as those of the study participants. In my reflections upon my own position as the researcher, I maintained awareness of my difference from my participants. I have never moved to a new country, attended schools not conducted in my primary language, faced racial or cultural marginalization, or any other number of scenarios that impede my ability to fully understand what it is like to be

a newcomer. Since I do not have the perspective of shared experiences or aspects of identity with my participants, I designed this study to be guided by the voices of my participants and their identity negotiations.

My privileged voice also allowed me privileged knowledge of the participants and the context that any other researcher would not have, so data collection and analysis had a depth not attainable by a researcher outside of this district's ELD program. My knowledge of the school and the newcomer program allowed me to notice certain interactions in the classroom and in verbal and nonverbal interview responses that another researcher may not have. I also found that I could frame questions in my participant interviews that came from my depth of knowledge of the ELD program and the district, which resulted in open, honest conversations about their realities and lived experiences.

CHAPTER IV

FINDINGS

Portraiture acknowledges that the actors are "the best authorities on their own experience" (Lawrence-Lightfoot & Davis, 1997, p. 141). As a methodology and as a genre of writing, portraiture searches for goodness, which Lawrence-Lightfoot and Davis (1997) defined as not idealized portrayals or only looking at what is positive, but rather an approach to inquiry that foregrounds strength rather than weakness, while acknowledging that all aspects of positivity and negativity are intermingled within everyone and "that the portraitist's inquiry must leave room for the full range of qualities to be revealed" (p. 142). These portraits reflect my experiences along with the students' and teachers' experiences. Just as in a photograph or a painting of a person, all artistic choices of what to include, what angle to take, what to emphasize, etc. come from the dynamic relationship between artist and the real thing that inspired that art. I have intentionally imbedded my reflections, thoughts, and reactions within these portraits as a conscious outsider, as an artist capturing someone's experience, but not claiming to be the authority on his or her narrative, as only he or she could be.

Through the following portraits, I explore the multiple and continuously negotiated identities of Kristin, the newcomer teacher, and each newcomer student while situating them within the context of their newcomer group. I begin with Kristin's narrative, which establishes the context for the group of newcomers. The student portraits occur in the order that the students arrived in the program, and they are intentionally

inter-mingled, with reflections upon other students within each portrait. All students actively and continuously positioned themselves in relationship to their past and present surroundings and peers, but they were all actively positioned by those elements, and my study, as well. It is that intersection of agency and non-agency, of multiple versions of a person that I have tried to capture in these portraits.

Each student's portrait includes a selection from their end-of-year Presentation of Learning (POL) project that they completed in Kristin's class. All students at Carson Middle School must complete a POL in their language arts class, which for newcomers was Kristin's class, and each grade level has a different type of project. Eighth-grade students were asked to create a slideshow with various required pieces, such as a letter from a significant adult, a summary of their successes and struggle, and a six-word memoir that the students felt represented them. Below the heading for Kristin's and each student's portrait, I have included my own six-word memoir to capture my own learning and reflection upon the essence of each portrait in the context of the whole newcomer group.

Kristin's Newcomer Classroom

A New World for Her Too

To get to the newcomer classroom at Carson Middle School, you never enter the main school building. Along the side of the building is a row of portable classrooms, and among them is the English Language Development (ELD) "cottage," as the teachers call it, where Kristin has one classroom and Celeste has another, separated only by a narrow hallway with two single-occupancy bathrooms and a water fountain. The rooms are so close together and the interior and exterior walls so thin that every noise can be heard, but

it has the effect of intimacy. The only students who have classes in this cottage are students who speak a primary language other than English and are enrolled in ELD courses. Kristin is the "newcomer teacher," who teaches two main courses--Oral Language Development and ELD 1--both designed for new immigrant emergent multilingual students (newcomers) within English Language Proficiency (ELP) levels 1.0-1.9, as measured by the state-approved English proficiency assessment. Celeste teaches students with ELP levels 2.0-5.0 who are enrolled in ELD 2-5 as their Language Arts class for sixth, seventh, or eighth grade. Together, Kristin and Celeste teach a sheltered Social Studies class and supervise an academic advisory class. Lizette, who is English-Spanish bilingual, supports both teachers in the afternoon after being at the high school newcomer program in the morning. The adults and students move fluidly between the two classrooms, and everyone knows everyone within those walls.

The ELD cottage is a world apart from the rest of the school, both physically and symbolically. In many schools in this district, ELD classrooms are in portable buildings, shared classrooms, small spaces, or even in the curriculum storage room at one school, supporting research that has found that multilingual learners often inhabit inequitable learning environments (Case, 2015; Faltis & Valdés, 2010; Nieto, 2010). The physical location of these classrooms reflects the value put upon ELD and the students enrolled in it, and even though Carson Middle School is a designated newcomer site, these students and their teachers are separate from the rest of the school (Short & Boyson, 2012).

In many ways, newcomer students are separate from the rest of the district because they enroll in specific newcomer school sites, regardless of where they live in the district. At the middle school level, all newcomers are recommended to attend Carson,

and if they accept that recommendation, they ride a bus from wherever they live within the district. Though the school is centrally located in the city, bus rides can be quite lengthy, as the students in this study described, and as Short and Boyson (2012) found to be the case for many newcomer programs across the country. Riding the bus to and from school also forecloses students from participating in events before or after school and from interacting much with anyone but their immediate classmates. Furthermore, the friends students make at school may not be those who live in their neighborhoods, as would be the case if students attended the school zoned for their address.

These various dynamics of a newcomer-specific site frame all interactions and emergent culture among newcomer students, who find themselves all placed within one classroom in one school in the district. The systemic structures that externally create the newcomer program affect everything that occurs internally within the school. To receive newcomer programming, newcomers and their families accept that recommendation, which is an acceptance that the student is different and needs something different from what their neighborhood school can provide. Though families and students have the choice not to accept newcomer placement, most of the time they follow the recommendations from the school district. The difference they accept through newcomer programming becomes a label these students carry and share, whether they want to or not.

The structure of the newcomer program prioritizes the identity of "newcomer," regardless of first language, country of origin, educational background, or any other aspects of dynamic and varied identities. There is an implicit belief that newcomers necessarily have things in common, that they all need the same things, and that identity is

singular and stable (Case, 2015; Ovando & Combs, 2012; Short & Boyson, 2012), as evidenced by the specific-site programming, set curriculum, and the scheduling of newcomers into newcomer classes for the same duration of time. My school year with this newcomer group and their teachers challenged all of those assumptions and highlighted the underlying frustrations caused by them. Every participant in this study, from the teachers to the students to their families, struggled with the unifying newcomer identity that structured these students' entire first school year in the United States.

The décor in Kristin's classroom demonstrated this struggle, as she wrestled with her identity as a newcomer teacher and the task of providing intensive English instruction to middle school kids. The room was plastered with labels and signage in English, Spanish, and Mandarin Chinese, as Figure 7 represents, and resembled what one might find in an elementary classroom--an alphabet banner, a poster of the seasons (Figure 8), a feelings chart--but mixed with self-portraits of teenagers with a diverse array of interests and stories of their home countries that demonstrate teenage-level reflection, as seen in Figures 9 and 10. The appearance and set-up of her classroom changed throughout the year, reflecting her own professional learning and the influx of new students.

Figure 7. Question words in three languages.

Figure 8. Weather, days, colors, and clothes.

Figure 9. Identity charts.
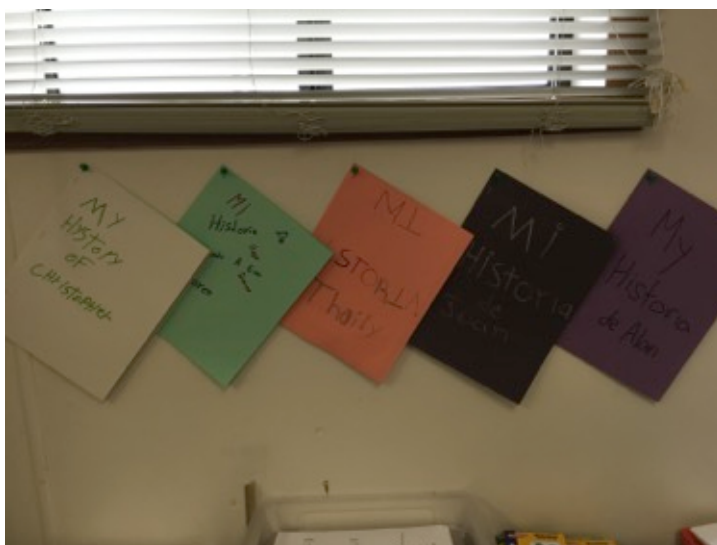
Figure 10. My History narrative books.

Though an experienced teacher, having taught in the states of Washington, Alaska, and California, Kristin had never taught newcomers or secondary students until the 2015-2016 school year when she started in this district. She had recently completed her Master's degree in English Language Learning and had just moved to Colorado from California the summer prior to the beginning of this school year. Her prior teaching experience was as an elementary classroom teacher and then a literacy interventionist, but her job at Carson Middle School was her first position working solely with emergent multilingual students. This school year proved to be full of new experiences for Kristin that she managed as best she could for herself and her students. She was adapting not only to a new school, district, and type of teaching position, but also to Colorado academic standards and to WIDA's guiding philosophies, assessments, and discourse regarding the development of English. Neither California nor Washington is a part of the WIDA consortium (WIDA, 2014).

In addition to all these changes, Kristin also agreed to have me as a constant presence in her classroom for her first year, which she admitted was quite stressful for her

at the beginning of the year. My dual identities as the ELD Coordinator for this district and as a researcher were ever present between the two of us. Though my district administrative role is to provide program and instructional support for ELD teachers, not evaluation, Kristin and I both had to be actively aware of our identities as researcher/participant and coordinator/teacher as we interacted in both capacities throughout the school year. Our conversations throughout the year demonstrate this identity dance, especially when Kristin made tough instructional decisions and I was present to see them both from a researcher and coordinator lens.

My presence as a district administrator of the ELD program required her to implement that program as it was designed and with fidelity, because it was impossible for me to be solely a researcher, nor could Kristin view me in that way. She wanted to do her job well and was still learning the curriculum and the programming, so she was trying to do everything by the book, which she may have done anyway, with or without my presence in the classroom. But, I sensed throughout my observations and our conversations that she remained very aware of my position relative to her in the program.

I understand and respect Kristin's position relative to me, because I felt a similar struggle between my two roles. Like Kristin, my job in the district requires implementing the ELD program as it is designed, because I am only tangentially in a position to change program design. My researcher lens, though, revealed the issues with student placement, curricula, and pedagogy that arise because of that program design and because of larger district, state, and national contexts for multilingual students. Kristin and I were both bound to our identities as employees of this program and district, and I recognize

throughout my discussions of Kristin that our employee identities existed in a hierarchy that could not be deconstructed completely or disregarded in the process of this study.

Whereas many teachers who were facing the numerous changes that Kristin was during this school year would have been reluctant to participate in a study of this magnitude, Kristin was excited and willing to participate. For opening her classroom to me and for allowing me to engage her in ongoing conversations throughout the school year, I will always be grateful to Kristin. Her narrative as the newcomer teacher is as important as her students' because her presence and choices were instrumental in all of their narratives and in the group culture that emerged within her classroom. I have used Kristin's own words to frame the context of her newcomer class, as her thoughts, words, and actions framed the culture that emerged for her and her group of students.

"I feel responsible for their whole world at school."

One major adjustment for Kristin was how dynamic and adaptive a newcomer program must be, because students come and go throughout a school year. Two students, Teresa and Karla, began on the first day of school in August of 2015, followed a few days later by José, who chose not to participate in this study. Cristian began about a week after José, and these four students remained a small, tight-knit group for almost two months. Since Kristin was new to the school as well, the five of them developed sort of a safe family for each other, what Kristin described as a "small, intimate group." Kristin reflected on those first few weeks of school, saying that "it was really, really heartbreaking, you know, feeling really, really helpless and overwhelmed, like they did," because she was still trying to acclimate to the district and school along with her students. Furthermore, Kristin's contract was part-time at the middle school and part-time at a high

school, so she was not there in the mornings to greet her students and get them going into their day.

She mentioned several times that she did not realize how much of a responsibility she would feel for her newcomer students and how much she would worry about them while at her other school or even at home: "I would have Celeste or Lizette or people in the office asking me all the time, like, where's their iPad, what bus do they take, where are their vaccines, and at first I was thinking, I didn't know I was in charge of all this." For example, I had the opportunity to observe the annual vision screening at school, to which teachers do not normally accompany their students, but Kristin and Lizette both went to ensure that the kids knew what was happening and what they were supposed to do. Lizette had to translate some of the students' responses for the nurse, because they were saying some of the names of letters on the vision chart in Spanish instead of English. Kristin quickly learned that her role as the newcomer teacher involved much more than teaching her classes.

Although Kristin said the first couple of weeks of the school year were tough for her and for her students, she felt that when new students arrived, she knew what to provide for them and what to get into place for them at school. Ju joined the newcomer program in mid-October, right around the time of fall parent-teacher conferences, followed by Raúl roughly a month later, and then Jarome much later, in early March 2016. Kristin's reflections on her role as the newcomer teacher demonstrate the separation of newcomers from the rest of the school. She felt like the later student arrivals were easier because she had learned better "what to provide for them, not just in our classroom, but in the whole school," rather than the school learning to take responsibility

for newcomer students. Even at the end of the school year, Kristin shouldered the responsibility of getting her students' schedules established for the next school year and connecting her students to their counselors, especially the three eighth-graders going into high school. She initiated these procedures, because she felt that if she had not, her students would be forgotten.

"They're with me all day."

Part of why Kristin felt such a heavy responsibility for her students was because she was their main point of contact during their school day. She taught two high school classes in the morning at another school, but was at Carson by mid-morning, when her Oral Language Development class began, and her students stayed with her until the end of the school day, except for lunch, recess, and one elective class. It is understandable how Kristin and her newcomers were overlooked as part of the school, given how much time they spent together away from the rest of the school. That isolation exacerbated Kristin's own feeling of responsibility for them, but also everyone else's belief that anything related to the newcomers was Kristin's job. Kristin felt very strongly that her students were too segregated from their peers: "I think it's good to go to other classes and be with other students, and feel like they are part of the school community and not just the ELD community. And not to feel like I'm an ELD kid stuck in this portable all day." But, she did not feel like she had any control over their schedules, so she tried to take them into the school building as much as possible, to the library, the computer labs, etc.

Advocating for students and being assertive with colleagues were acknowledged struggles for Kristin and something that she said she had to actively work on all year. Both she and Celeste discussed how they knew that taking on the responsibilities of

mainstream teachers was not solving the problem in the long run, but they felt they had

no choice in order to do right by their students. For example, the sheltered Social Studies

class they co-taught was by their choice, instead of having emergent multilingual students

take mainstream Social Studies classes where, Kristin and Celeste felt, students would

not be appropriately accommodated to access the content. They felt that their students,

especially newcomers, would benefit more from their instruction, but they both

acknowledged that one more class period away from the rest of the school was not

beneficial and that the mainstream Social Studies teachers learned nothing about how to

teach newcomers by not having these students in their classes.

As Celeste said of the school and its mainstream teachers generally, "They know

how to treat brand new newcomers, but they don't know how to start phasing them into

their actual class." Celeste had been at Carson four years and had seen this as trend for

multiple groups of newcomers. Her comments demonstrate the relegation of newcomer

students to the newcomer teacher and general education teachers not knowing how to

appropriately teach newcomers or even students who are a year or two into learning

English. According to Celeste, newcomers are seen as guests in their mainstream classes

instead of any other student who needs differentiation.

Confusion about when and how newcomers stop being newcomers was something

both Kristin and Celeste discussed as well, supporting the varied and inconsistent

guidance in the literature as well (Case, 2015; Ovando & Combs, 2012, Short & Boyson,

2012). Especially at the middle and high school levels, where class credits are by

semester, fluidity between newcomer programming and regular ELD programming

becomes difficult. Even though at Carson Middle School, both ELD 1 and ELD 2-5 are

available, newcomer students by default are enrolled in Kristin's course for the entire

school year, which inevitably created tension within her group as students arrived at

different times and progressed at different rates.

**"It just worked really nicely to be able
to teach to their levels."**

Kristin adapted her instruction throughout the year as new students with different

needs arrived, as could be seen in the student desk configurations and her whiteboard

display. At the beginning of the year, all of her students sat together at a round table,

focused on one lesson with one set of guiding content and language objectives, with some

Spanish mixed in for clarification. As Ju and then Raúl arrived, Kristin decided that their

needs were too different from the rest of the students to keep everyone together as one

group. She divided the class into two groups, consisting of Teresa, Karla, and Cristian in

one group and Ju, Raúl, and José in another group. José, who began school the first week,

was grouped with the two newer students. Kristin said that she placed him in that group

to motivate him to work harder and because she felt that he would benefit from reviewing

the content from the beginning of the year. I wish that José had agreed to participate in

this study, because his distinctly negative reaction to this grouping was fascinating to

watch and influenced how Cristian, and later Jarome, treated Ju and Raúl. Kristin's

intentions in dividing the class were to be able to target instruction to the needs of

students more efficiently and effectively, but the result of the division was mixed for

class morale and for student achievement and engagement.

Once Kristin separated the class, she had to re-structure how she delivered

instruction and how she set up her classroom. Instead of sitting at a round table at the

front of the room, students had traditional desks in which they stored their notebooks,

textbooks, etc., and the desks were placed together in a table. Kristin chose where each student sat in relationship to each other at this table, placing a student from group one next to a student from group two all around the table, with the intention of providing partnering opportunities between students of different English proficiency levels. The other desks and tables in the room were set up as work spaces for when the two groups split into their separate activities.

Class periods were highly structured and organized, since Kristin was managing two concurrent lessons. The class period generally involved a routine of an individual activity for a warm-up and then two separate, concurrent lessons for the groups, and sometimes a time at the end where the whole group came back together. All students had the same warm-up activity, and it was usually something with no "correct" answer, such as personal reflections, creative prompts, etc. As a group, they would discuss the warm-up, and then turn their attention to the white board to go over the content and language objectives for the day. When Kristin taught the class as one group, she used one set of objectives, tied to one agenda, to guide the lesson. After dividing the groups, Kristin listed objectives and an agenda for group one and group two separately. She would have a student from each group read the objectives aloud, and she would go over each group's assignments for that day before the students got up from their desks to move into their groups.

Kristin would then divide her time between the two groups, and though she made an effort to give the groups equal attention, Ju, Raúl, and José almost daily received more direct instruction from her than did the other group. Her choice to spend more time with the group "with the higher need" is understandable, and I do not think she was even

cognizant of the disparity in time between the two groups. Kristin said that she had divided the groups thinking that Lizette would be able to support one group while she worked with the other, but Lizette was often absent or came into the class part-way through and needed to be caught-up herself in order to support the students. So, Kristin began to design her direct instruction into mini-lessons that had accompanying assignments either in groups or individually so that she could teach a group and then have them work on their own while she taught the other group, and Lizette would support if present. Not only did Ju, Raúl, and José receive more direct instructional time, they also almost always worked with Kristin first, which meant that their lesson followed a logical format of learning new material, practicing it, and applying it. Cristian, Teresa, and Karla often began with a reading or a worksheet of some sort on their own that they would then use during their instructional time with Kristin. Though all students were working on academic tasks the entire class period, there were large amounts of time for both groups that required students to be self-motivated and self-taught, simply because Kristin could not be with both groups at the same time.

Kristin and I discussed this grouping configuration frequently throughout the school year and what was working and not working about it. These discussions were times when our dual identities were most present, as she was discussing her instructional decisions not only with me as a researcher, but me as an instructional supervisor. I tried to ask her open-ended, reflective questions and let her discuss her own thinking, rather than give my opinion or advice on her pedagogical decisions. Through one of these discussions, she identified that ability grouping was problematic, but she said did not know another way to meet everyone's needs:

> With how I taught this year, it was very difficult. I started out whole group when it was small, and then everyone started going off in different directions, you know, making progress, not making progress, new kids coming in needing a lot of help. I felt like when I split them into two groups, it worked for 99% of the class. And there are issues with that, you know, it's not really good pedagogy these days to group kids by their levels. But, it just worked really nicely to be able to teach to their level. And, that's really the only way I've known how to do things. When I taught elementary school, we had guided reading groups and different levels, and it was nice to have a lesson at their level.

I found Kristin's comment about teaching elementary school illuminating, because in many ways, I felt all year like Kristin was trying to figure out what to do with these older kids and was often feeling so overwhelmed that she went with what she knew, which was leveled reading groups. The instructional decision she made was based upon what she thought was best given the circumstances of having only one newcomer block of time; she was trying to recognize and respond to the heterogeneity among her students.

As both a researcher and a coordinator, I identified the effects of the grouping configuration on the students' positioning of themselves and each other as learners. The difference between the "levels" of the two groups was obvious to everyone and influenced how students interacted within and between the groups. Cristian, Teresa, and Karla all said they were glad when Kristin divided the groups, and when asked what was different about the two groups, they all articulated a belief that what they were doing was challenging, and what they other group was doing was easy. Karla's description particularly stood out to me because of her labels for the groups: "Like the whole class gets bigger she just divide us like, in two teams, who were like advanced and who were not." Her description showed that she did not consider the entire class to be a team, but instead to be made up of two opposing teams. Furthermore, Karla tied identity with the level of work given to the group--it was not the task that was advanced, but the people.

Though unintentionally, Kristin's treatment of the two groups implicitly reinforced the belief that some students were more advanced than others. Having Cristian, Teresa, and Karla work independently without her and without first having direct instruction demonstrated a greater trust in their abilities. Kristin's reason for splitting the groups was not only to be able to start at the beginning of the curriculum for newer students, but also for these "more advanced" students to continue making progress: "I didn't want to impede Teresa or Cristian or Karla's progress." Looking at the difference between the objectives and the agendas for the two groups demonstrated the level of challenge given each group. Figure 11 was photographed shortly after Kristin divided the groups, so Raúl had only been in the class about a week, and the difference in the linguistic and content complexity of the groups' tasks is evident. When I reflected on this picture, I could see Kristin's justification in having two lessons, but I was also thinking what it would feel like to be a student looking at that board and seeing where I belong and do not belong.
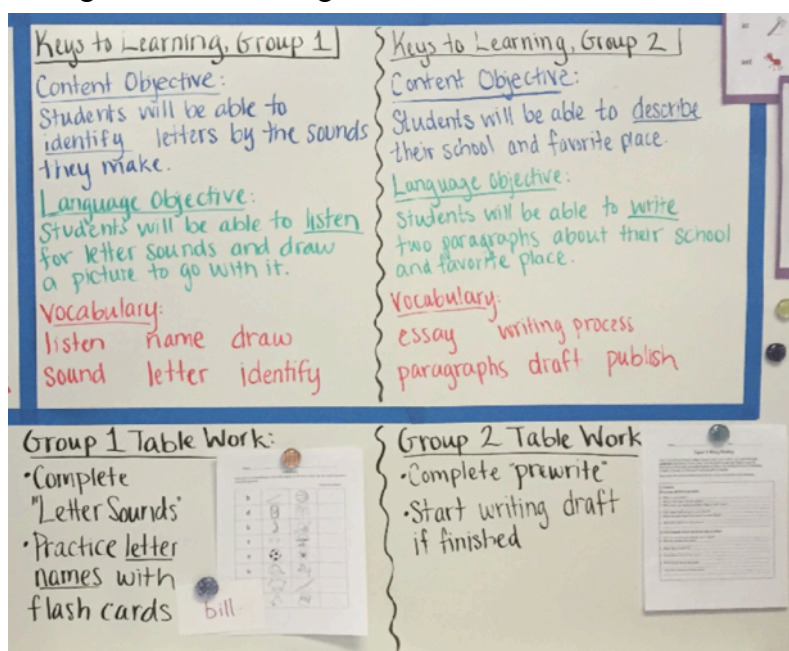
Figure 11. English language Development 1 objectives and agenda.

Sustaining the division of the two groups for most of the school year affected the opportunities students had to develop language in authentic ways (Gándara & Contreras, 2009; Gándara et al., 2010). Whereas group two was writing extended text by November, as the picture above shows, group one did not write more than one paragraph until the groups were brought back together again in the spring. Furthermore, Ju, Raúl, and José were all very quiet and did not benefit from sustained interaction with their more loquacious and more English proficient peers, nor did they have the advantage of beginning school at the same time as their peers, except José, so they were positioned as behind the others and trying to catch up to the rest of the class. Conversely, Cristian, Teresa, and Karla all made great progress after the group division, according to Kristin. Teresa, in particular, benefitted from the confidence of being part of the "advanced" group.

However, there were drawbacks for Cristian, Teresa, and Karla as well, chief among them not having the opportunity to develop empathy from the reflection that they all once learned those basics of English as well. As a researcher, I found the lack of empathy among these students fascinating, because I was expecting newcomers to be supportive of each other due to their shared experience of learning a new language and adapting to a new country. All students had difficulty accepting newer students into the group, though, especially Ju, with whom everyone told me they had nothing in common. Even when asked to consider the fact that Ju is going through some of the same things they are, only Teresa seemed to internalize that connection and make an effort to include Ju, but even her compassion developed over time as she became more confident in her own abilities to negotiate her emerging multilingual identity.

Whereas Teresa's boosted confidence from being positioned as successful helped her overcome some of her anxiety and made her flourish, the confidence of being part of the "advanced" group only increased disengagement for Cristian and Karla, who often finished work early and were bored. Neither of them worked well without direction, though they preferred to work alone, because they were content to finish work and be done. True engagement and learning for them required guidance, which they were often without as Kristin was trying to address other students' needs. Cristian's middle-of-year and end-of-year assessments demonstrated less English proficiency growth than Kristin had expected, and Karla's growth may have been even greater given different opportunities.

Shortly after Jarome arrived, Kristin began to do more whole group instruction and activities, because Jarome's English proficiency was similar to the other students, and she felt that Ju, Raúl, and José "could hang with the others" by then. She began to do a lot of projects, presentations, skits, reader's theater, and games in which all students participated, and differentiation was imbedded rather than an explicit part of the class structure. Though all the kids interacted more with each other, and the feeling in the room was more relaxed and conversational, there were increased conflicts between students in the two groups, in particular frustration directed at Ju, mainly from Karla, and bullying of Raúl from all the other boys, led largely by Jarome. At the end of the year, Kristin reflected that overall she felt the group division was helpful instructionally, but not socially: "And, when I brought them back, I felt like that was good for morale, but it was also difficult teaching to their levels." In planning for next year, though, Kristin said she

"would definitely teach whole group, and just kind of differentiate how I can," and she felt better prepared to do so after teaching the curriculum for a year.

In my observations of Kristin's classroom, my largest internal struggle as a researcher and a district administrator was if and how to coach through her pedagogical decisions. As a researcher, I felt compelled to understand Kristin's intentions and analyze the subsequent results of these decisions. I also had the integrity of this study to uphold, which required me to put a critical eye to pedagogical decisions and the effects on individual identities and group culture; furthermore, upholding the integrity of this study meant not meddling with the situation. As an administrator and a former teacher of newcomers who had struggled with these same tough decisions, I wanted to coach and lead to improve Kristin's practice and the outcomes for the students.

Given these conflicting motivations, I intentionally positioned myself as an observer in her classroom and used reflective questions in our interviews to allow her space to process her own thinking and come to her own conclusions. Though in a coordinator/teacher relationship, we would have had more of a back-and-forth discussion of pedagogical practices, I always provide instructional support through guided self-reflection. I identified through my observations and our conversations that Kristin made intentional, strategic decisions based upon the knowledge of her students and her context, which she knew best, so I decided as both a researcher and administrator to observe her practice in action. The result of these struggles and trials and errors throughout the year was that Kristin emerged as a confident teacher of newcomers who could identify what was successful and unsuccessful about her own practice.

"It's not just language that I'm teaching."

Another unexpected aspect of being a newcomer teacher for Kristin was related to the scope of her responsibilities, but tied directly to curricular and instructional choices. She felt like her job was much more than developing her students' English; she also needed to teach her students how to function in an American school system: "I think culture plays a part of it. You know, what's appropriate in American culture. I think that needs to be taught…like eye contact and sitting up straight, you know, things like that." When Ju began in her class, Kristin noticed that Ju was reluctant to participate in anything that required her to share personal things, even her favorite food or color. Kristin discussed this with her husband, who had studied abroad in China, and he said that it is considered rude in Chinese culture to talk about yourself. Kristin reflected to me that she wanted to respect Ju's culture, but that "[she] also need[s] to know more about her and what she enjoys doing." As the year went on, Kristin continued various activities that required personal reflection, and Ju continued to be uncomfortable. At a later date in the school year when Ju had written nothing in response to a warm-up writing prompt, Kristin told me that she felt she needed to keep exposing Ju to these prompts to prepare her for other classes in American schools. The pressure on Ju was stemming from Kristin's desire to ensure Ju was prepared to be independent in her classes in subsequent years, but the effect was that Ju often refused to participate or looked visibly uncomfortable.

Kristin wanted to prepare her students to exit the newcomer program and not lose the good academic habits of their newcomer year, including appropriate classroom behavior and their eagerness to learn. She often compared her newcomers to the students

in Celeste's class or to the multilingual students in her high school ELD courses, saying

that she hoped that confidence from increased English proficiency did not lead to being

disengaged:

> They're just disenchanted, unmotivated, um, I don't know if it's because of how
> long they've been in the program, and they just feel like they're not going
> anywhere, they're not going to make any progress, or they just don't care. I'm
> very worried that my newcomers will lose that motivation, and, you know,
> willingness to learn. And wanting to practice at home. I don't hear that from any
> other students.

Kristin and I discussed student engagement frequently, and I sensed that she had not

previously experienced the amount and intensity of academic disenchantment she was

seeing among secondary students. Her descriptions of adolescent disenchantment with

school supports a rich literature documenting the decrease in academic engagement as

students, especially historically marginalized students, get into the middle and high

school grades (Nieto, 2010; Ovando & Combs, 2012).

Through our conversations, I asked Kristin questions to reflect on what might be

causing student disengagement, and her responses included the lack of academic support

in students' home lives and lack of good role models in and outside of school. For

example, when discussing the effects of dividing the newcomer class into two groups,

Kristin attributed students' success to their work habits and the support of their families:

> I've seen Karla, Cristian, and Teresa, nothing but improvement. Um, I know a lot
> of that has to do with their home life and the fact that they study at home too and
> they're motivated. But I know I can give them complex, you know, rigorous
> tasks, and they can go with it.

These statements represent what scholars in the field of multilingual and multicultural

education refer to as deficit explanations for the difference in school achievement

between monolingual English and multilingual students (Delpit 1995/2006, 2012;

Gándara & Contreras, 2009; Ladson-Billings, 1995, 2014; Nieto, 2010). The converse

perspective through a culturally responsive lens would be to identify that engagement

directly relates to curricular and instructional relevance, interest, and an appropriate

amount of challenge for all students (Ladson-Billings, 1995, 2014; Nieto, 2010).

These statements concerned me as well in terms of whether I should use them as

coachable moments and if so, in what manner. As a district administrator, I was

disappointed in these responses, but not surprised, not because the statements came from

Kristin, but because I have experienced that deficit explanations are pervasive in this

district. As an educator, I have struggled to identify and challenge my own assumptions,

as all educators have, and I felt compelled to coach Kristin to help her along her

professional journey. However, upon reflection, I felt that many of Kristin's statements

were evidence of her being in her first year working directly with multilingual learners

and with secondary students and that she would learn to confront her assumptions

through further experiences.

However, as a researcher, it is important to contextualize Kristin's reflections and

thought processes within guiding scholarship and research on what practices are best for

multilingual learners. With a small group of students, the majority of the day with them,

and exemption from most of the expectations of the rest of the school, Kristin had the

opportunity to put traditional education aside and teach in a culturally responsive and

sustaining way, but she conducted her class in very traditional ways most of the time. Her

students did talk to each other and work together and therefore produced language.

Language production, however, whether in English or their home languages, was

channeled through curriculum-based reading, writing, listening, and speaking

assignments that were ultimately individually graded. Power Points, a textbook-based

curriculum, and direct instruction guided her teaching, at least for a portion of every

lesson, as students sat at their desks.

Though the ELD program and the district give no directives for pedagogy, Kristin

was restricted by the curricular requirements of the ELD program, and we were both

aware of my role in holding her responsible for meeting those requirements as a district

administrator. The ELD program has an adopted curriculum and supplemental materials

that teachers are expected to use with fidelity, and Kristin was doing her best to meet

expectations. She also told me when we were discussing the curriculum that she is a very

linear thinker and that she finds it stressful to skip something in the curriculum or do

something out of order, so I understood better her rationale for splitting the class so that

she could begin back at the beginning of the curriculum with the new students.

She also said that she struggled with bringing in outside texts or materials to

supplement the curriculum, though she recognized its limitations, especially for Ju. When

I asked Kristin about the cultural relevance of the newcomer curriculum, she responded,

> I think it's a good curriculum. I think they're learning what they need to do, and I
> think that they can relate to the things that are happening in the stories. . . . And
> they do try some, like there is a girl named Mei. But, um, it's definitely more
> relevant to the Hispanic students than it would be to Ju.

The text has a cast of recurring characters in its stories, many who speak Spanish, which

is often mixed into the text. Mei is the only non-Hispanic character, and she has a more

limited role in the text than the other characters.

Though Kristin was aware that she was teaching culture and behavior as well as

English, I did not observe her questioning or complicating the privilege given to English,

both within schools generally and within her instruction. For example, during a lesson

that had a picture of a bicycle, the class began discussing the names of the different parts

of the bicycle, and the following exchange happened between Raúl and Kristin:

Transcript 1

Kristin	What is this? (points to kickstand)
Raúl	Pata de apoyo. (*kickstand*)
Kristin	OK, but do you know what that means?
Raúl	(blank stare) Um, pata de apoyo para bicicletas. (*Um, kickstand for bicycles)*
Kristin	In English.

Though this conversation was informal, and Kristin probably did not even notice what

she had said, the implied message was that words have no meaning until they are in

English. Raúl was confused by her question, because to him he did know the meaning of

what he was saying.

Another example of the prioritization of English, imbedded in great intentions,

was Kristin's taking her class to the school library every other week for a lesson with the

librarian and time to select books of interest to them. Even though students were

encouraged to choose books in Spanish or Chinese in addition to their one required

English book, the entire library experience was foregrounded by prioritizing English and

the types of literacy that are traditionally valued at school. Figure 12 shows an example

of the reading interest survey that Kristin had students fill out prior to their first library

visit. I asked Kristin why she had not included a choice of preferred language, and she

said she had not noticed that it was not included, because she just printed a survey that

she found online.

Figure 12. Example reading survey.

Kristin's journey toward linguistic and cultural responsive pedagogy that was

appropriate and challenging for middle school students showed great progress by the end

of the year, as could be seen in the complexity and depth of her assignments, especially

projects and writing assignments designed for student self-reflection. Figure 13

demonstrates Kristin's modeled pre-writing for a writing assignment about the benefits of

bilingualism. Kristin always tried to incorporate her students' cultures and languages, but

the transformation I observed throughout the school year was that this incorporation went

from being something she did (labels in the room, translations, etc.) to something the

students brought to the classroom and shared. As a researcher, I was excited to see

evidence of her pedagogical journey, but I also recognized the need for newcomer

students to be given challenging curriculum, even when English is first emerging. In the

example presented in Figure 13, students could have reflected conceptually upon the

benefits of bilingualism their first day in the newcomer program, though their

representations of that concept may have been only in pictures, a hybrid of languages,

performance, etc. From my perspective as a district administrator, this change seemed like the natural arch of a teacher in her first year in a position. As Kristin felt more comfortable with her students, her role, and her expectations of newcomer students, her pedagogy matured.
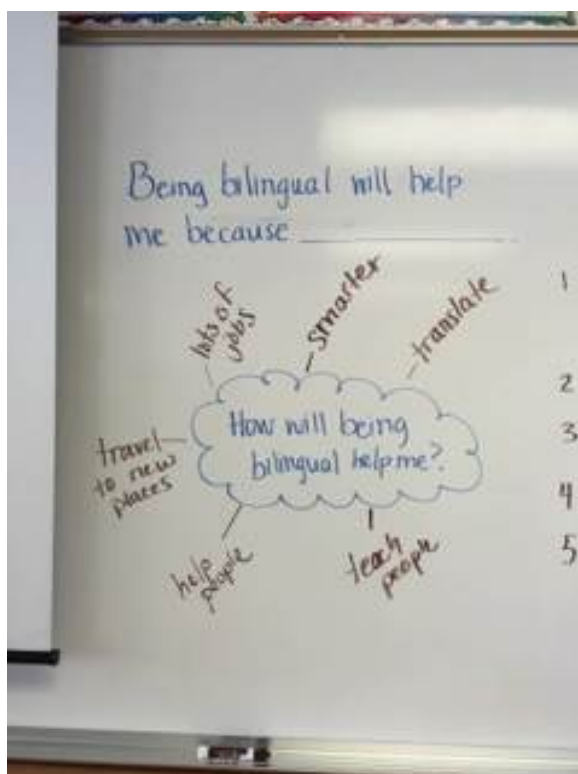
Figure 13. Bilingualism pre-write.

Newcomer Student Portraits

Table 1 below provides an overview of the students, their home countries, primary languages, emergent themes, and a summary of their assessment data from the 2015-2016 school year. Though assessments are not a focus of this study, except to highlight the placement test that placed all of these students in the newcomer program, these data do reflect many of the emergent themes within these individual portraits and

from across the group as a whole, which will be discussed in more detail in Chapter V.

Table 1

Overview of Student Participants

	Student					
	Teresa	Karla	Cristian	Ju	Raúl	Jarome
Grade	8th	6th	8th	6th	7th	8th
Country	Mexico	Mexico	Dominican Republic	China	Mexico	Mexico
Language	Spanish	Spanish	Spanish	Mandarin Chinese	Spanish	Spanish
Entered Program	August	August	August	October	November	March
Emergent Themes	Measurement again Peers	Positioned Intelligence	Passivity	Exotic Other	Highly Visible, yet Invisible	Conscious Outsider
	Anxiety and Confusion	Frustration with Change	Comfort, but Frustration	Dually Minoritized		Jester
	Comfort and Confident in Newcomer Class	Mature Metacognition	Reluctant Leader, Willing Follower	Social Stigmatization	"Ideal" Student	
		Outsider Among Newcomer Peers		Different Expectations	Security and Confidence	
	Leadership Emerging with Confidence		Identity Conflation		Self-Advocacy	
Assessment Upon Entry	1.0	1.0	1.3	1.0	1.0	1.8
January 2016	2.4	4.3	2.6	2.1	2.6	N/A
May 2016	3.9	4.8	2.3	1.9	3.2	3.1

Note. Group Emergent Themes: 1. Anxiety (environment, family dynamics, communication, meeting academic expectations); 2. Comfort, but Frustration; 3. Isolation; 4. Dependence (on institution, on peers, on newcomer teacher, on technology); 5. Relative Identity

It is important to note that when newcomers enter the U.S. school system, placing them in a grade level that matches their prior grade completion can often be difficult. Grade-level definitions and expectations between the United States and other countries often do not align, even if students have received uninterrupted formal schooling in their home countries (Short & Boyson, 2012). Additionally, students entering U.S. schools face the challenge of entering new language and cultural mediums of instruction in addition to the content itself to which they may or may not have been exposed previously. As Conger (2013) noted, students in U.S. schools are enrolled in a specific grade immediately, often without a full picture of the student's background, so grade placement is largely based upon the student's birth date. Given limited knowledge of a student's background, schools make enrollment decisions based upon what they perceive to be the best academic placement, which often results in a lower grade placement:

> An older ELL migrant who enrolls in the school system with limited prior formal schooling and whose parents speak very little English is unlikely to be placed in the higher of the two grade choices for his or her age under the assumption that he or she will quickly fall behind. (Conger, 2013, p. 396).

Accurate grade placement is important not only for the student's academic success, but also for his or her social development with grade-level peers.

The students in this study had the advantage of attending a newcomer-specific site that has a school counselor assigned to the development of appropriate schedules for these students. Based upon these students' birthdays, they were all placed in the grade level with their same-age peers. All of these students also had uninterrupted prior formal schooling in their home countries, though they each described different experiences in terms of how long their school days were, what curriculum they learned, what the expectations were, etc. The common experience for all students was that science was not

a subject to which they had been exposed until entering U.S. schools. Math was also a struggle for students, in terms of the content as well as language. However, in contrast to the other students, Ju excelled at math and demonstrated early on that a higher grade-level placement, at least in math, would have been more appropriate for her.

It is important to note that the WIDA assessments used for placement in ELD programming and for determinations of progress in English language development are designed to assess academic language in content areas: "Students' development of academic language and academic content knowledge are interrelated processes" (WIDA, 2010). The tests contain the language of language arts, math, science, and social studies, and also assume familiarity with how U.S. classrooms look and function. For example, in the grades 6-8 placement test for listening, students are asked to describe a student's process in solving a math problem. So, even though the assessments measure English proficiency, they are also measures of content knowledge to an extent. Furthermore, all students in grades 6-8 take the same WIDA assessments, and grade adjustments occur at the scoring of the assessments. These elements of grade placement and the synthesis of language and content knowledge are important frames for the following student portraits.

Teresa

Confidence Breeds Confidence;
Support Each Other

When my Spanish interpreter, Nancy, and I arrived at Teresa's home for the first interview with her and her family, we walked into a room full of people in the middle of dinner. A dining table covered with a plastic tablecloth took up the majority of the kitchen and living room, and a large sectional couch covered the rest of the space, leaving a narrow walkway from the front door to the table. As Nancy and I stood awkwardly in

the doorway apologizing for interrupting their dinner and making sure that we were there at the time we had scheduled, Teresa's older sister ushered us into their home and introduced us around to Teresa's mother, niece and nephew, cousins, and family friends who were all there for dinner. Teresa rushed around nervously, clearing plates from the table and washing off the tablecloth so that we could sit. "Ayúdame, por favor" (*help me, please*), she snapped at her younger niece, anxiety present in her tone.

Since this interview was my first of this project with my first participant, my own nervousness was amplified by my discomfort in that space. I reflected after the experience that I had, without thinking about it, seen the space and the people within it through the lens of that discomfort--slight annoyance that we had scheduled a time that they were not prepared for in the way I had expected, embarrassment at interrupting a family meal, and hyper-awareness of my position as an outsider. As I reflected upon the experience and my reaction to it, I felt keenly aware that I was a white, English monolingual, middle class, educated representative from two institutions (a university and a school district) who came into their home and derailed normal activities. Teresa's anxiety that the lady who comes into her English class was in her home hung like a canopy over our entire conversation that evening.

My presence in the students' English class and in their lives for several months was something to be overcome with all participants, taking varying amounts of time to develop a comfortable researcher/participant relationship with each student and with Kristin. Despite such a rocky start to the interview process with Teresa, she and her family ended up being the most open with me of all the participants. Furthermore, I appreciated that first interview experience more as my study progressed and I listened to

participants' stories of being newcomers in school and in the United States. As I reflected back on that evening, I realized that I felt completely out of my element for approximately one hour, and then I got back in my car and returned to my comfortable life where I do not have to negotiate a new language, culture, institution, or community. To contrast that experience with the sustained, daily struggle of being a newcomer that every participant described was humbling and developed my deep respect for the people who allowed me to explore their lives for a school year.

Measurement against peers. Teresa paved the way not only for my emerging role as a researcher, but also for the other students in the newcomer program. Moving from Ignacio Zaragoza, Chihuahua, Mexico, over the summer, she was one of two students to begin in the newcomer program on the first day of the academic year. Kristin described how these first two students, Teresa and Karla, faced the brunt of the confusion and chaos at the beginning of the year, because Kristin was new to the district and school and was trying to figure out along with the kids how to navigate the school: "I felt so terrible for them, even with me there, because I'm new at that school too, so I was trying to figure all the procedures out too." She reflected on how they looked "so scared and confused" during those first few weeks, not really talking to anyone, and barely to each other, even at lunch and recess:

> And you know, socially, they'd go and sit, just Teresa and Karla, not anyone else. Not even talking to each other. And they were at a table with other, like, severe needs kids. And it was kind of like they're being grouped with special needs kids, you know?

Her description of "they're being grouped with" stood out to me as an example of how students receive identities with or without their knowledge or belief that those identities are accurate (McVee et al., 2011).

Much of how Teresa participated within the newcomer classroom and socially throughout her school day was in direct relationship to Karla and her other peers. When both girls were new to the school, they relied upon each other for social and academic support. Though Teresa was grouped with Karla and Cristian for much of the year, they all worked mostly independently of each other. Furthermore, as the year progressed, Teresa and Karla became increasingly contentious when they did work together. For example, Kristin had set up a vocabulary competition between the two groups, where each student was to act out a vocabulary word for the other group members to guess. Both Teresa and Cristian seemed to be confused about the directions, and since Kristin was explaining the game to the other group, Karla took up the explanation to her group. Karla positioned herself through that action as dominant in relation to the other two students in her group. During one of Teresa's turns during the activity, she and Karla began raising their voices at each other, making enough of a scene that Kristin came over to intervene. When asked what the problem was, Karla pointed at Teresa and exclaimed, "She's saying the words!" Teresa appeared very frustrated, and yelled, "No, I trying to explain!" The whole incident was simply a miscommunication between the two girls, but Teresa sat with her arms crossed, not participating for the rest of the activity. She also grabbed her stuff and ran out of the room to lunch at the end of the class period.

Similar to this incident, Teresa struggled throughout the year with the idea of measuring up to her peers, both because of her own standards for herself and the traditional practice in schools of measuring students in relationship to each other (Dimitriadis, 2004; Gándara & Contreras, 2009; Nieto, 2010). During one class period, Lizette called out test scores in order of highest to lowest, giving praise to the "higher"

scores, which did not apply to Teresa. Kristin addressed that practice with Lizette after

class, but the effect on Teresa had already occurred. Kristin reflected on that day,

recognizing the effect on Teresa:

> Teresa was, she looked like she was about to cry…Lizette was kind of, like,
> saying to them across the room who did well and who didn't on their test, and
> Teresa hadn't, and so you know, she knows enough now where she can pick up
> on that.

Not only was Teresa positioned as deficient relative to her newcomer peers in this

situation, but the message from both Lizette during the incident and Kristin's reflection

on the incident was that Teresa's ability to comprehend the social cues of discourse is

dependent upon English proficiency.

Teresa's sensitivity to her position in her peer group led her to prefer to be in the

company of her teachers rather than her peers, according to Kristin:

> I felt like I definitely formed a bond quickly with Teresa. Um, I think she kinda
> clung to that, like to me and Celeste, because she felt so lost. And Cristian and
> Karla picked up really quickly, and I felt like that motivated Teresa. Then she
> started learning a little bit more quickly. She was really lost, pretty low at the
> beginning of the year with her language growth.

Before the class of newcomers grew to be large enough to split students into two groups,

in which Teresa was positioned as part of the more English proficient group, Teresa

exhibited a lack of confidence and insecurity in advocating for her own needs. Her

confidence as a learner of English, and also generally as a student, improved as her

position as a learner relative to her newcomer peers improved. As Kristin noted about

Teresa around the middle of the year, "She's improved. I think she's one of my stronger

students now, and it's definitely a confidence thing." Teresa completed her newcomer

year, though, still concerned about her grades and her status socially, as she reflected in

the goals section of her end-of-year Presentation of Learning.

Anxiety and confusion. Part of Teresa's lack of confidence with her peers, especially early in the year, came from her academic success in Mexico and her previous experiences of having more control over her own academic success. Her academic experiences at the beginning of her newcomer year varied drastically between classes, depending upon the environment of the class and the support of the teacher and peers. Teresa admitted to Kristin that she would often be up until the early hours of the morning doing homework and would struggle sleeping because she was worried about her classes. When I asked her about the time homework takes her to complete, she said, "Sometimes they give me homework and I try to do it and I took too long and my sister try to do and she said, oh my god, this so hard I don't understand." Teresa's mother, Ariana, expressed that Teresa was very frustrated at the beginning of the school year and asked her mother to take her back to Mexico:

> Al principio decía mejor vámonos otra vez para México má, decía. Porque se quería regresar porque sentía que no podía, que no entendía. Pasaron los días y ella empezó a sentirse mejor y ya. (*At the beginning she would say, let's just return to Mexico, mom, she would say. Because she wanted to go back because she felt like she couldn't do it, like she couldn't understand. The days went by and she started to feel better and that's it.*)

Teresa was used to being successful in school and not struggling to meet expectations, so her initial reaction to a new identity of struggling learner was to give up.

Another difficult transition to U.S. schools for Teresa and her family was the role of family in education. Ariana had always had a presence in her education in Mexico:

> Siempre estuve, siempre iba de voluntaria a la escuela, siempre ayudaba en la escuela en todo lo que podía yo ayudar. (*I was always there, I would always go and volunteer at the school. I always helped at the school in everything I could help.*)

Even though Ariana said that she had been up to Carson Middle School several times during the school year, the visits were purposeful to address a problem of which the family had received notification or to attend a pre-scheduled meeting, such as a parent-teacher conference. Furthermore, Dalia, Teresa's adult sister, always attended with Ariana as an interpreter. Ariana described how she wishes she could communicate directly with the school, but she understands that it is easier for the school to communicate with Dalia because she is fluent in English:

> Pues sí me gustaría pero de todas maneras entiendo porque mi hija ella sabe y ella es la que me ayuda en todo. Ella es la que siempre está conmigo, siempre va conmigo a la escuela. Vamos y venimos juntos y a todo lo que se ocupa para ella, para su hermana siempre está ella. (*Well, yeah I would like that but either way I understand because my daughter she knows and she is the one who helps me with everything. She's the one who's always with me; she always goes to the school with me. We come and go together and everything that is needed for her, for her sister, she is always there.*)

Dalia is listed as the home contact for Teresa for school communication, so all phone calls, emails, or letters home are addressed to Dalia, not Ariana, and are in English, not Spanish. I asked if that designation was their choice, and Dalia said, "They [the school] asked if that would be easier," so they set the communication up to come to her.

Teresa, Dalia, and Ariana all expressed frustration with confusing communication from the school, especially regarding Teresa's progress in her classes. During the first semester, Dalia had received several notices from school that Teresa was missing assignments or failing classes, but Teresa was unaware of missing work. These notices were coming mainly from Teresa's math and science classes, where Teresa, according to Dalia, did not understand the content or the language: "She was just seeing it and she was just copying down notes and that was it, but she wasn't understanding what she had to do and all that stuff 'cause she didn't have anybody to help out." Dalia also said that Teresa

would often take pictures of the whiteboard in these classes with her phone and text them to Dalia to translate into Spanish for her so that she could complete her assignments in class.

At the end of the school year, Teresa still struggled with her math class, admitting that it was her least favorite class that year: "Because is little hard 'cause some things that we do I don't understand and the others I understand and when I check my grades it say I have here bad, here good, bad, good, bad, good." However, she said that her math teacher improved in the second semester: "I think he's more good this semester because he explain little slow and she, no he (laughs), he pay more attention to the students." In her end-of-year Presentation of Learning, Teresa included both math and science as her struggles during the school year, as Figure 14 demonstrates. In general, Teresa felt that she was more successful in school during the second semester: "I talk with my mom and I say this semester I think the school is more easy than the other semester. Because, I don't know. I think it is because I learn more English and can see more things." Though learning more English will, of course, lead to an English-medium school making more sense, Teresa expressed that the school was becoming easier because she was changing, rather than the school changing to meet her needs.
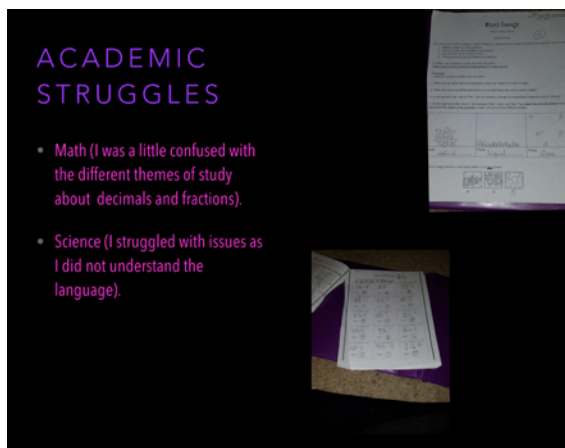
Figure 14. Excerpt from Teresa's Presentation of Learning.

Comfort and confidence in newcomer class. The newcomer classroom was the most comfortable space for Teresa at school, and Kristin was her preferred teacher. Teresa admitted that she does not talk much in her other classes, yet her presence in Kristin's class is participative, engaged, and often chatty and laughing. I observed her feeling comfortable enough with Kristin and the environment in her classroom to make jokes, express disagreement, ask questions, and even display silly eighth-grade behaviors, like checking Facebook on her phone or trying to perfect her minion voice. When I asked Teresa to compare her newcomer class to her other classes, she replied, "Como que ahí es, como que me siento más agusto que en las otras clases. (*There is like, like I feel more comfortable than in my other classes.*)" Teresa was very aware of how much more she learned from Kristin than from her other teachers:

> Está bien, yo me siento bien ahí con la maestra. Porque como me explica como más y me ayuda pues en diferentes cosas. (*It's good. I feel good there with the teacher. Because like she explains like more to me and helps me in different things*.)

Later in the year, Teresa also reflected on the comfort she found in having a class full of newcomers: "Good because nobody there know, like speak English, all are the same and

we try to help another." As one of the older and more mature students in this class, Teresa was able to articulate the differences in her learner identity, her peer group, and her teachers between her newcomer class and other classes.

My final interview with Teresa was mainly a conversation about her future, after this initial newcomer year. Not only would she be making the transition from newcomer ELD programming to non-newcomer programming, but she also would begin high school. Rather than nervousness about having a reduced amount of English support the following year, the things causing her anxiety around this transition were related to poor communication from the high school regarding registration and signing up for extra-curricular activities. Many of the same frustrations she and her family described about confusing communication from her middle school were beginning with the high school. For example, at a freshman orientation night in the spring, Teresa, Dalia, and Ariana were told that Teresa could not play on the high school volleyball team until she demonstrated a certain level of English proficiency. Whether that is actually what they were told or just how the three of them interpreted what they heard is irrelevant, because they left the event confused and given inequitable treatment. Despite confusion in getting a high school schedule determined, Teresa was excited to begin high school and felt prepared for that transition because of her newcomer year: "I think it will be kind of like the start of the year here, maybe, because I was scared at the start, but where I go and then it will be more relaxing and normal."

Leadership emerging with confidence. Of all the newcomers in her class, Teresa changed the most in her first year in the United States, or at least the identity that she performed at school changed. In contrast with her original description of Teresa as

being constantly nervous and academically "lost," Kristin later called Teresa a "leader," "mother figure," "very sensitive," and someone who "helps quieter students who struggle." During one of our later interviews, I relayed these descriptions to Teresa and Ariana. Teresa turned deep red and shifted in her seat, uncomfortable with this praise. Ariana, laughing and rubbing Teresa's shoulder, agreed wholeheartedly with those descriptions of her daughter: "Sí, siempre ha sido así. Le ha gustado hacer, ayudar siempre a los demás. Siempre está. (*Yes, she has always been like that. She has always liked to do, to always help others.*)" When asked why she likes to help other people, Teresa responded, "Because I don't like when they need help and I feel like nobody want to help me, so I want to help other people 'cause they feel how I feel when nobody help me."

As additional students joined the newcomer class throughout the year, Teresa was positioned as the anchor of support for them among their peers, both through her own agency and the positioning of her by her peers and Kristin. Teresa positioned herself to help students newer to the program than she, especially the sole Mandarin Chinese speaker, Ju, with whom she developed a friendship by the end of the school year. That friendship began forced, though, by Teresa's kindness and leadership being called upon, at times explicitly, by Kristin. Kristin would almost always pair Teresa with Ju during partner work because, according to Kristin, "Teresa is a leader, and she's like how can I help you make it, so her and Ju together, it's just beautiful." She described how the two girls were taking a long time to do an activity, and when she went to check on their progress, Teresa was pacing her own work to Ju's pace so that Ju could actively participate and be included. Though Teresa worked well with Ju, she did not initially

enjoy being partnered with her. Even in the middle of the school year, after Ju had been in class for several months, Teresa admitted that she only talked with Ju if it was part of classwork, whereas she spoke socially with all the other students in the class who are Spanish speakers. Furthermore, she said that she feels more comfortable working with her peers who speak Spanish and who have been placed in the higher level of English proficiency by Kristin's grouping: "Yo me siento como más cómoda con Cristian y Karla que con Ju. (*I feel like more comfortable with Cristian and Karla than with Ju.*)"

At times, Teresa participated explicitly in the exclusion of Ju, especially when in the presence of Karla, during the first several weeks after Ju's arrival. During a reading activity, Kristin paired all the girls together, and Karla and Teresa looked at each other and rolled their eyes. It was unclear if Ju noticed that exchange, but they were all at a table together in close proximity. Teresa and Karla worked huddled together on one side of the table, speaking mainly in Spanish to each other, while Ju worked independently on the other side of the table. They never interacted with her during this activity. After class, when Ju had left, Kristin talked to the girls about how it must make Ju feel to be left out of working with them and to not understand what they are saying when they speak in Spanish. Teresa looked ashamed and hung her head during this talk, and she later apologized to both Ju and Kristin.

The relationship between Teresa and Ju began to develop into collaboration and then friendship the more they worked together. The first time I observed Ju smile or laugh at all at school was while she was working with Teresa on a vocabulary activity one day. The two girls were making each other thoroughly confused because their accents were so different from each other's. Teresa took out scratch paper and began spelling out

what she was trying to say, and Ju then understood and wrote down what she was trying to say. They went back and forth and then started drawing silly pictures for each other and giggling. More than any other student in the newcomer class, Teresa made an effort to understand and authentically communicate with Ju.

Karla

Torn Apart; Hard Being so Sharp

In many ways, Karla was atypical in this group of newcomers. Though she entered the school at the beginning of the year having the same level of English proficiency as her newcomer peers, her English proficiency developed far beyond these peers within the first few months of school. Her rapid English development distinguished Karla as an outlier among the newcomer group in several ways that are important to explore individually and relative to each other. Karla expressed increasing frustration with her newcomer peers, her teachers, the school system, and her new life in the United States generally, because of how she perceived her position in her school and home communities.

Karla's internal frustration manifested externally in the form of verbal confrontations with peers and teachers, verbal and non-verbal separation of self from the identity of "newcomer," and an expressed desire to return to Mexico. As Karla positioned herself, and was positioned by peers, teachers, and her parents, as an outsider to the newcomer group, her metacognitive negotiation of language and identity developed in a way that I did not observe in the other participants. Figure 15, a work sample from early on in the school year, is an example of Karla's awareness of the linguistic, racial, and environmental differences between her life in Mexico and her life in the U.S. Karla's

transformation from an overwhelmed sixth grader new to English and the United States to an astute seventh grader with English proficiency nearly comparable to her native English-speaking peers was fascinating to observe.
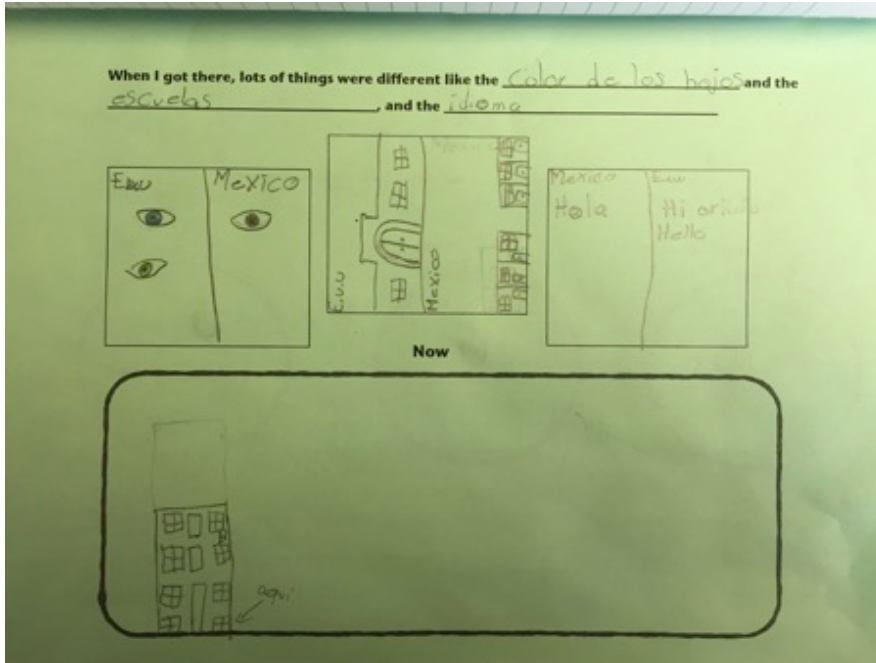
Figure 15. Karla's description of differences.

Positioned intelligence. Understanding how all of the complex pieces of Karla's newcomer year emerged must be framed within the context of her exceptional intelligence and ability not only to learn and develop an additional language, but also to consciously negotiate between two languages at a high level of social and academic use. Karla's English proficiency growth, measured by standardized and local English proficiency assessments throughout the school year, was well above her newcomer peers and well above the expected annual English proficiency growth of any student learning English. In August when she registered for school, she tested at an overall composite (listening, speaking, reading, and writing) and literacy (reading and writing) English

Language Proficiency (ELP) level of 1.0 on the standardized initial placement screener assessment used in the state of Colorado. On the standardized English proficiency assessment given in January throughout Colorado, Karla demonstrated an overall composite ELP level of 4.3 and a composite literacy ELP level of 4.4. Whereas a typical year's growth for a newcomer is one ELP level in one calendar year (1.0 > 2.0), Karla made 3.3 ELP levels of growth from August to January. I have never seen that rate of English proficiency growth in my professional experience.

Though Karla's intellect was obviously a contributing factor to her growth (Coleman & Goldenberg, 2009), she was also positioned from the beginning of the school year to use her intellect to higher levels than her newcomer peers. She experienced a slightly different ELD program than the rest of the newcomers, allowing her opportunities to develop more depth of knowledge and practice. She did not have the Oral Language Development class with Kristin, only the newcomer ELD class, and in place of the oral language block, she took Celeste's ELD class for ELP levels 2-5. This substitution occurred mainly out of a scheduling conflict at the school, but also because Kristin did not deem oral language development as a need for Karla. The difference in Karla's growth compared to her peers seems related to her having an additional non-newcomer ELD class with more English proficient peers, both because of the rigor of the language within the curriculum and because of the ability to produce and exchange high levels of language with classmates (Miller, 2000, 2003).

Because of her membership in both ELD classes, Karla was positioned to be in a nebulous space between newcomer and non-newcomer, and after her initial adjustment period to her new school and the influx of new students mid-semester, her frustration

with the newcomer identity began to emerge. Karla experienced the first few weeks of

the school year in much the same way as the other newcomers, knowing no one but each

other and trying to negotiate a new environment. She described similar experiences as

Teresa, including confusing communication and lack of understanding in her mainstream

content classes, especially at the beginning of the year, as Figure 16 demonstrates. Like

Teresa, Karla said that she never had science as a class in Mexico, so the content and the

language were totally new to her. Even several months into the school year, Karla said of

her science class, "Entonces en realidad como que no me ayudó en nada. No era muy

bueno en realidad. (*So, in reality, it didn't help at all. In reality, it wasn't great.*)" Her

math and science teachers would translate via Google Translate for her or pair her with

Spanish-speaking classmates, but Karla expressed frustration with their lack of

differentiated instruction for her.
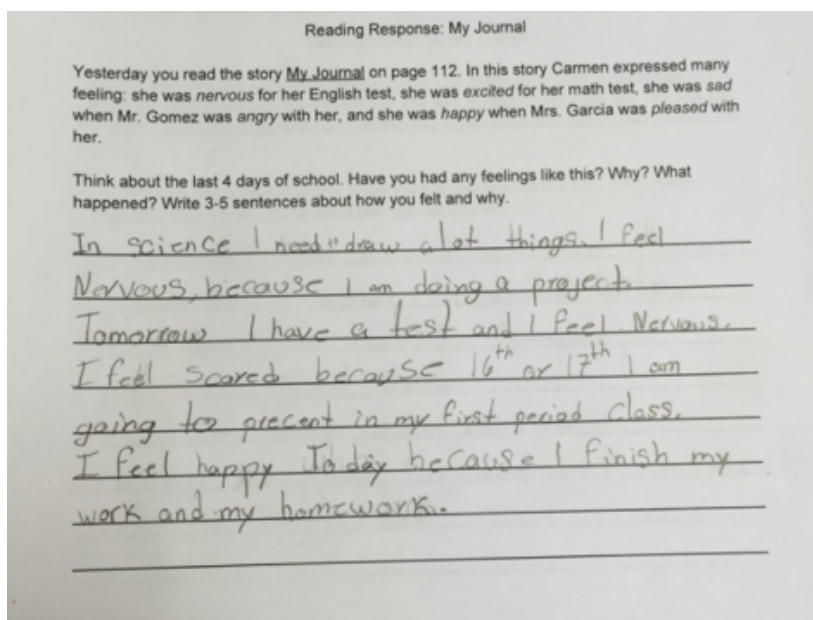
Figure 16. Karla's journal writing.

Frustration with change. Karla and her parents, Juan and Anita, shared Teresa's experience with confusing and frustrating communication from the school and the district. Mainstream teachers would email notices of missing assignments and failing grades early on in the year through the auto-message function in the student database with no explanation or way to respond. These messages were all in English as well. Despite selecting Spanish as their preferred communication method, Juan and Anita received phone calls and emails in English. Anita's sister lives in the same town and speaks English, but they said that sometimes several days would go by before they could connect with her to help translate messages. Furthermore, like Teresa's family, Juan and Anita expressed that even when they did understand the school's communication, they did not always know the channels for addressing the concerns (Gándara & Contreras, 2009). Juan joked about getting a notice that Karla was absent from a class and not knowing if he should choke the teacher or Karla: "No sabemos si ahorcar a un maestro o ahorcarla a ella. (*We don't know if we should choke a teacher or choke her.*)" They gave many examples of confusing, misleading, and absent communication from teachers, the school, and the district. One example that stood out was that Karla won an academic achievement award at one of the school's award ceremonies, and she and her parents did not know about the event at all, so they missed the ceremony and Karla received her certificate in class the next day.

Their frustration with unreliable communication was exacerbated by the transition to longer daily schedules for all three of them. Juan and Anita lamented not having the time in their work schedules to be as involved in Karla's school as they would like to be. Like Teresa's mother, Anita did not work in Chihuahua, and she was always very

involved in Karla's school. Karla also spent much more time away from home in order to ride the bus to and from the newcomer program. She said that she spent about an hour each way on the bus, which she found boring and sometimes stressful. The three of them were not able to spend as much time with each other as they were accustomed to in Mexico. Throughout the year in our informal conversations, Karla periodically expressed missing her parents. After a snow day in the spring when school was cancelled, I asked Karla what she did on her day off, and she broke into a smile and said that her parents did not go to work either, and they all just hung out on the couch watching movies. She told me, "It was fun, because we no all home much as late." She and her family also did not attend an event held in the spring for students in the English Language Development program and their families because both of her parents were working. When I asked Karla if she wanted to attend with another student, she said she did not want to go without her parents.

The change in their ability and access to be involved in Karla's school and have time together as a family guided many of our discussions throughout the year and their reflections on the differences between schools and life generally in the United States and Mexico. Anita described how their impression of the school system in the United States was very different from their experiences in Chihuahua, especially in terms of the community feel of schools. They said that the academic quality of U.S. schools is better, but that families have a huge role in Mexican schools, including volunteering in schools, helping teachers, and planning school and community events.

Karla did not elaborate much on the changing role of her parents in her academic life, but she expressed great awareness of her emerging role with them as a facilitator and

teacher. She explained that she translates English to Spanish for them all the time--at

stores, when driving, getting information, etc.:

> Well, when I go to the stores I have to speak in English with the other people and
> I have to speak Spanish with my friends and I have my manager [of their
> apartment building] here and I'm showing to him Spanish and he's like, showing
> to me something in English, and we're like, "Well, I show you this and you show
> me this." . . . I have to show it [English] to my mom because she have to use
> English, but my dad don't want to speak English.

This position as interpreter for her parents also may have contributed to her rapid English

development and her confidence in using English, because all the other newcomers had

an English-speaking family member who took on the tasks that Karla facilitated for her

parents.

Mature metacognition. As described in the above quotation, Karla also

developed an advanced metacognitive awareness of translanguaging (Poza, 2016) and

code-switching between English and Spanish: "I first think it in English and then I

translate it in my head to Spanish because that was my first language, so. And I'm like,

well here is English, here is Spanish." By the last interview of the year, Karla was

switching fluidly between English and Spanish, filling much of Nancy's role as the

interpreter between me and her parents. She often mixed languages within sentences, for

example in talking about how timid her mom is when trying to speak English: "Le decía

así como, 'How much this cost?' (*She would say it like, 'How much this cost?'*)" Unlike

the other students, Karla intentionally manipulated and played with both languages, for

example, saying "rope" as "rop-é" and "school" as "eschoola" with a heavy, quasi-

mocking accent. Her deep understanding of the similarities and differences between

English and Spanish emerged in her discussion of translated texts as well. She said that

she enjoys reading in Spanish if the text was originally written in Spanish, not a

translation from English. She said the Spanish-language books at the school library do not make as much sense as reading them in English because "that's the language other people write it actually."

Whether because of her opportunities at home and school to develop and apply English or because of her innate intelligence, or a hybrid of both, Karla demonstrated a growing awareness of the intersection between English proficiency and her identity as a student within the entire school context. Karla's dependence upon her parents and her emotional response to not having the same type of community feel in schools struck me as an interesting contrast to her resistance to being part of the newcomer community. Reflecting on this contrast, between strong emotional connections with her parents and her former classmates and little to no emotional connections with her current classmates, framed my lens of Karla. She seemed to thrive socio-emotionally the most when she felt understood and cognitively challenged. Of course, this is true with anyone, but Karla's resistance to the newcomer culture seemed directly related to her awareness that being a newcomer means being separate from the community of the school at large, as the following transcript demonstrates:

<div align="center">Transcript 2</div>

Megan	Do you feel like you're part of the school?
Karla	Yeah.
Megan	Yeah? Did you at the beginning of the year?
Karla	Umm, no. (laughs)
Megan	So, when did it change?
Karla	When I started speaking more English with the people, instead of just closing myself, like, by myself. When I start just working with other people.
Megan	So, do you feel like knowing English is the only way you can be part of school?
Karla	No.
Megan	How else could you be part of the school?

> Karla   Well, at the beginning of the year there were some people who they actually tried to like talk to me and tried to be my friend, because they have like kind of an idea of what it feels, but there were some people who they were like nah, he doesn't understand, let's just leave her alone. It was really weird.

Though Karla expressed that she feels like she is part of the school at large, I did not observe interactions between her and her peers to indicate inclusion. I never saw her interact with any other student, newcomer or non-newcomer, as a friend in a typical sixth-grade friendship.

There were peers with whom she was friendlier than others, but I did not observe her developing a group of friends that were a social anchor for her at school or outside of school. Whereas Teresa craved friendship and connection with her peers and struggled academically until she was more established socially in her new setting, Karla said that she prefers to be by herself:

> Well, I like to work with partners, but I don't like they. Leave me alone. . . . Because I do it all. I always go to school, I always work really alone, they just, let's say it's separate, okay? And we are like 5 people. And I have to do this, and they do this, it's like no!

Though she was describing her dislike of required partner work generally, she was expressing specific frustration about having to work with "they," which I interpreted to mean her newcomer classmates.

In particular, Karla disliked being paired with Ju, which she often was because they were both sixth graders, and resented the amount of support she perceived she was expected to provide Ju at school. At the beginning of the second semester, I asked Karla to reflect upon the previous semester, and her response immediately included Ju, as the following transcript demonstrates:

<div align="center">Transcript 3</div>

Karla	That was a weird semester.
Megan	It was a weird semester? What made it a weird semester?
Karla	Well, I have to help Ju, my class are going to change, and my teachers are so weird. (laughs)
Megan	Your teachers are weird? (laughs) So, do you have new teachers this semester?
Karla	I have one.
Megan	One new teacher, what class?
Karla	Oh no, I have Family and Consumer Science.
Megan	OK, instead of P.E. or art?
Karla	P.E.
Megan	Is Ju in there with you?
Karla	Yeah, she's in all of my classes.
Megan	She's in all of your classes? All day?
Karla	Yup.
Megan	Do you help her all day?
Karla	I have to.
Megan	You have to. Do you like to?
Karla	No. (laughs) . . . And she can't open the locker, I have to give it to her . . .
Megan	What is it that you don't like about helping her?
Karla	Well, sometimes I can't work with other people and I have to work with her because the teacher say, 'You have to work with her because you are the only person who she can talk,' and she don't talk, speak, in any class really.
Megan	Does she talk to you?
Karla	Nope
Megan	Even through her translator?
Karla	Yup…She won't speak Chinese or Spanish or English.

Karla had also complained to her parents about Ju. Juan said that it has improved, but that

he was concerned for a while about Karla's education being compromised by helping Ju.

Karla actively resisted being paired with Ju in Kristin's class and explicitly excluded Ju.

As described in Teresa's portrait, Karla would gravitate to other classmates in the

exclusion of Ju, but she would also resist her by herself. During one class period when

Karla and Ju were supposed to be reading something together but were still sitting apart,

Kristin asked them to work together, and Karla responded, "Well, she's already reading

it," as she rolled her eyes and dramatically moved over to Ju.

Outsider among newcomer peers. Though Karla expressed the most frustration about Ju, she felt held back by all of her newcomer peers: "I was like growing, like, faster than the other persons, and Mrs. McCarthy she was like keeping me on the space and I was like, but I know this!" Kristin's verbal and non-verbal reactions to Karla in class confirmed this sentiment, as she would often tell Karla to be patient, wait for others to finish, or give her a look or a touch on the arm that meant the same thing. Kristin was aware of Karla's frustration, saying, "If you put her with anyone who slows her down, she's just pissed." Kristin felt like she was trying to teach Karla patience and empathy, but keeping Karla on pace with the group produced the opposite effect. Karla increasingly talked over Kristin in class, interrupted her classmates, and verbally corrected both Kristin and her classmates, sometimes in ways seemingly intended to embarrass the other person. During the last week of school when students were presenting their end-of-year presentations, Karla asked Ju a question about her presentation that was intentionally to highlight a mistake Ju had made.

When reflecting upon the spontaneous uses of authentic language in her class, Kristin lamented that Karla's are not always productive and can be damaging to the other students, because "Karla is all the time, you know, loves to correct people, and that does happen a lot." From Kristin's perspective, Karla was impeding her growth and that of her peers by positioning herself as superior in relationship to them. However, the continued positioning of Karla as the same as her newcomer peers gave rise to Karla's external frustration and made her presence a palpable tension in Kristin's class. Karla referred many times in Kristin's class to what she was studying in Celeste's class, often in an attention-seeking manner, such as waving a novel around or showing her returned

assignments to her classmates. Karla was very aware of the difference between the two ELD classes, saying that she prefers Celeste's class: "Well, I like Mrs. Murphy's class because we work with everybody and we are not just with one people, more like four or five people." She increasingly behaved as a non-newcomer in a newcomer class, speaking and acting in ways that positioned her as an outsider to her classmates.

During one of my last days observing Kristin's classroom, I walked in to see Karla slouched in a chair, with her feet up on the desk and her ear buds in, while the rest of the kids were sitting in pairs working on an activity. I asked her what she and the rest of the kids were doing, and she said, barely looking up at me and still scrolling through her music on her phone, "Well, I'm finished. They're slow." Later in that same class period, she walked up to Kristin's desk, got a pen from her pen cup, and marked a correction on Kristin's paper displayed on the document camera. Kristin did not address these behaviors, as she was busily trying to address the needs of the other kids, except to chuckle and thank Karla for catching her error.

This class period demonstrated the positive aspects that Karla felt comfortable enough in this classroom environment to correct the teacher, that she was allowed at time to work at her own pace, and that she was given the freedom to choose her own next activity after finishing her work, however unproductive and non-academic that activity may be. This class period also demonstrated the vast difference in Karla's and her classmates' pace of completing work and the need for greater differentiation. Additionally, Karla's lack of a challenge positioned her, and/or allowed her to position herself, to be discontent, resentful, and not productive to her full potential. She was sending the message that she did not belong with this group of students, and Kristin

reinforced that message by allowing her to stop productivity at the end of newcomer material. Karla was still being held to the standard of the group, rather than an individualized standard that would challenge her intellectually, linguistically, and academically and continue her engagement (Ladson-Billings, 1995, 2014; Nieto, 2010).

Whereas the other newcomers described feeling more at ease and comfortable by the end of the year with some anxiety going into the next school year without the support of the newcomer program, Karla said that she was excited about the next year, as she wrote in her Presentation of Learning narrative: "I will miss my teachers but I am ready for 7th grade." When asked to describe her feelings about the next year, she responded, "Curious." Throughout the year, she described feeling like a little kid in all of her classes, ELD and content classes alike. At the beginning of the year, she said of her newcomer class, "En esa clase es como me imagino que es como para un niño pequeño aprender inglés (*In that class it's like, I imagine like that's how a little kid would learn English*)," and at the end of the year, she expressed the same sentiment, that "some teachers treat you like you are like a kindergarten kid." She specifically mentioned her math class, highlighting her awareness of being different from the "normal" kids: "Like in some classes, like in math, they were like teaching me like something like all the way at the bottom and I was like, I see this like too much time ago, and I'm like, give me something normal." Karla's desire to be "normal" drove her newcomer year, and she actively positioned herself apart from those she perceived as not normal.

Cristian

I Wonder, What Else to Discern?

Unlike the other newcomers in this group, who came to the U.S. with at least one of their parents, Cristian had to adjust to a new life in the United States without his parents or his siblings. His parents live separately from each other, but both stayed in Santiago de los Caballeros, Dominican Republic, with Cristian's younger siblings, while Cristian traveled alone to live in Colorado. Cristian has a grandmother who lives in New York, and his father plans to move to Boston within the next few years with his two-year-old sister, but no plans for his mother or other siblings to relocate to the United States were mentioned. Cristian lives with his aunt and uncle from his father's side, who said that Cristian would be staying with them at least through high school and that the reason he came to the United States was to study here and learn English.

Though I tried to refrain from projecting my own values onto Cristian's experience, I kept returning in my reflections upon our conversations and my observations to my feeling that Cristian was conducting himself at home and at school as a guest, like he was intentionally staying disconnected from his surroundings and not taking ownership over them as home. Both Cristian's aunt and uncle expressed contentment in having Cristian living with them, but they also talked about him as a guest, saying things like "he's not a bad boy" and "he don't bother me." As seen in Figure 17, his aunt wrote a letter for his end-of-year Presentation of Learning, pointing out how helpful he is around the house.

> **Letter**
> • He is good person in my house.He is good people because he help me and he help his uncle to cooking cleaning the house.
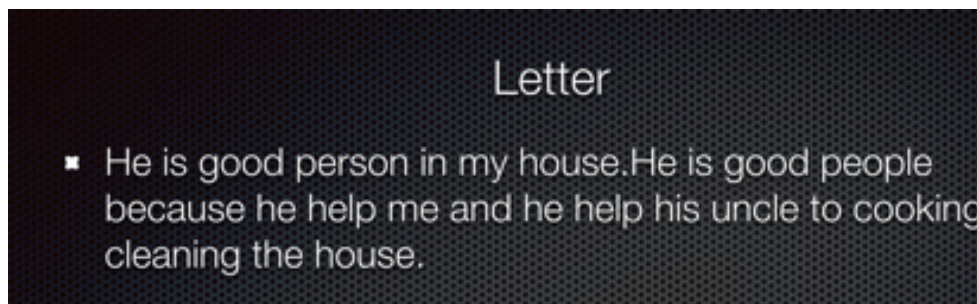
Figure 17. Excerpt from Cristian's Presentation of Learning.

They spoke of their roles in his life as facilitators of his education, particularly for him to learn English. His uncle described making him read, listen to music, and watch TV in English instead of Spanish to get the practice at home. And his uncle was also trying to teach him Portuguese and Italian, languages he knows as well. Cristian said that he really did not have any friends that he saw outside of school, and he talked about his life in the United States as just toggling between his house and school and not really any personal connections to anything.

Passivity. Although Cristian said that he was sad to leave his parents and siblings, he was excited about "todo (*everything*)" in the United States. This one-word answer, "todo" exemplifies Cristian's reluctance to share what he is thinking and feeling. He never really warmed to the idea of talking with me, even informally in class. Cristian would always answer my questions, but getting more than one-word answers was always a challenge. He also gave minimal answers in class, not wanting to elaborate, as Figure 18 demonstrates:

When I got there, lots of things were different like the _____ and the _____ language _____, and the _____

SPaniSH

brown

Now
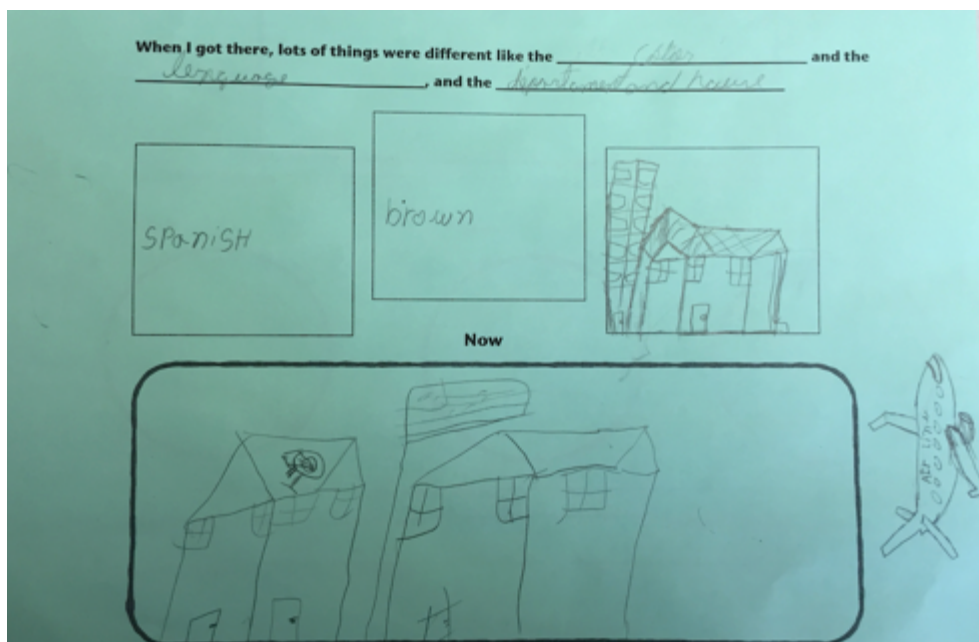
Figure 18. Cristian's description of differences.

According to his aunt and uncle, he is a very quiet person, even with them and even speaking Spanish. His aunt joked about his short answers during one of our interviews, saying, "No, yes, no, yes. He is the same in Spanish. I make a question, "sí, no, sí, no." Though this teasing was good-natured, his reservation positioned him disadvantageously in many ways at school and at home. He appeared content to take a passive position among other people and allow others to speak for him, which further positioned him into having a passive voice in his own education and home life (McVee et al., 2011).

Cristian's uncle, and occasionally his aunt, dominated our interviews by answering questions for Cristian when he did not respond or when he gave a short answer. For example, when I asked Cristian what has been frustrating for him at school, he said, "No sé (*I don't know*)," so his uncle answered for him, explaining how much he likes school and has changed since arriving, such as taking more of an interest in his

appearance and wearing cologne "to impress the girls." Much of my information about how Cristian was feeling and what the transition has been like for him was filtered through others' perspectives and through my own lens of observing him in class. Even when I was talking to Cristian individually, I rarely received additional elaboration.

The more I watched Cristian in class, though, his facial expressions and body language spoke volumes about his perceptions of his newcomer class and peers. At the beginning of the school year, when the group consisted of Karla, Teresa, Cristian, and José, Cristian was studious and seemed to enjoy learning from and with his classmates. As both Karla and Teresa described, the dynamic of their newcomer classroom changed as Ju and Raúl arrived and then went through an additional transformation when Jarome arrived later in the spring semester. Cristian's behavior followed similar transformations, changing as each new student arrived, and becoming increasingly passive as he felt decreasingly challenged.

As I have described, Cristian did not work well without direct engagement with either Kristin or Lizette, not because he was incapable of doing the work independently, but because he struggled to be self-motivated to do more than the minimum, especially when he found the work unchallenging and disengaging (Ladson-Billings, 1995, 2014; Nieto, 2010; Paris, 2012). Kristin and Lizette jokingly called Cristian "Mr. Finished," because he would complete assignments before anyone else and just raise his hand and say, "Finished." Figure 19, a writing assignment given early on in the year, demonstrates Cristian's earning of the name "Mr. Finished."
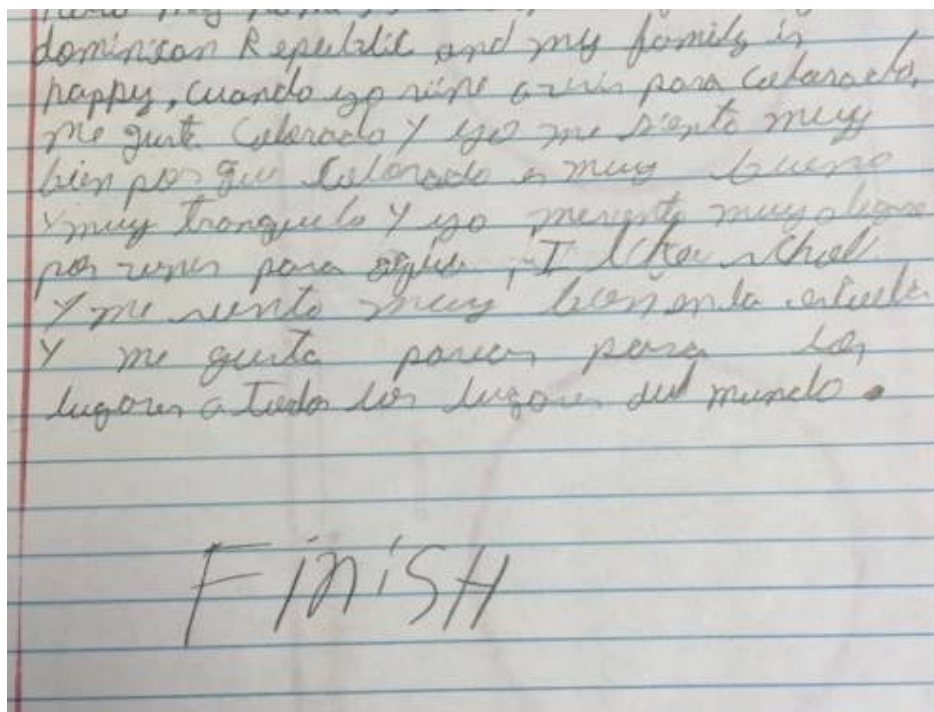
Figure 19. Cristian's writing sample.

He also had a habit of putting his head down on his desk when he was bored, especially while waiting on a peer to finish something, and Kristin constantly told him to sit up or tapped his shoulder to get his attention. At spring parent-teacher conferences, Kristin asked Cristian if he was enjoying school because "sometimes you seem a little sad." Cristian did not say that he was not sad, but just that he is "tired," with no elaboration. His uncle responded, "I don't see him sad at home or missing nothing." They neither elaborated, so the conversation ended.

Whatever the underlying reasons for Cristian's passivity, this and the division of the class into two groups seemed to have affected his English proficiency growth during the school year. Kristin said that she was surprised by his assessments scores, as he did not score nearly as high as she thought he would. Raúl scored the same on the Colorado high-stakes English proficiency assessment in January as Cristian did, despite having

nearly three months less instruction. Furthermore, Cristian's assessment scores made negative growth from January to May. By the time he took the May assessment, though, Jarome had arrived, which had negative effects on Cristian's behavior and engagement generally in school. Cristian seemed to struggle with reaching his potential, whether out of disengagement or lack of self-advocacy or both, I am not sure. Kristin stressed the same message to Cristian's uncle at spring parent-teacher conferences: "[Cristian] learns very quickly, and if anything, needs a challenge. I do want to see him push himself to that challenge, though."

Comfort, but frustration. The few elaborated comments Cristian shared with me were very insightful and helped to frame his experiences as a newcomer and confirmed how I interpreted his behaviors in class with his peers. In describing why he prefers Kristin's class, he said, "Porque me siento más comfortable en esa clase, porque no hay muchos, because there not much people. (*Because I feel more comfortable in this class, because there aren't many, because there are not much people.)*" He also praised Kristin's attention to her students: "Ella siempre nos supervise en lo que hacemos y los otros profesores solo van cuando levantan la mano a algo asi. (*She always supervises what we do and the other teachers only go when someone raises their hand.)*" In his other classes, he never talked unless he had to, and he said his teachers never pressured him to participate.

Despite feeling most comfortable in Kristin's class, Cristian admitted not feeling challenged in his newcomer class, especially when Ju and then Raúl joined the class. Whereas Karla was vocal with me and with Kristin about her frustration with the content

and instruction, Cristian was reluctant to express discontent. He said that he did need

English support, but that often they were learning things that he already knew:

> Bad, sad, porque muchas veces ella daba, como, ella daba algunas cosas que yo
> sabía mucho. Que yo sabía ya, me lo habían enseñado, entonces cuando la daba,
> me sentía, yo me sentía mal, porque querí a avanzar más adelante para las otras
> cosas. (*Bad, sad, because sometimes she would teach, like, she would teach things
> that I already knew a lot about. That I already know, that she had taught me, so
> when she taught it, I felt, I felt bad, because I wanted to move forward in the other
> things.*)

This response and the difference between how he and Karla expressed frustration made

me consider the effect of his passivity. He did not advocate for his need to have more of a

challenge, like Karla did, but the end result was the same for both students.

Reluctant leader, willing follower. Despite his quiet personality, Cristian was

the oldest male student in the newcomer class and quickly became the anchor for the

younger boys, José and Raúl. He is tall with broad shoulders for an eighth-grader, and he

seems to have one of those auras towards which his peers gravitate. José, in particular,

followed Cristian around in class and at lunch. He mimicked Cristian's mannerisms and

even his clothes and hairstyle. The two boys could often be seen laughing together or

making faces across the room to each other. When Raúl joined the class, Kristin sat him

next to Cristian and José and asked them to help Raúl. Beginning on that first day,

Cristian was positioned by Kristin to be Raúl's source of support and clarification. I

observed him repeatedly during Raúl's first month at school translating directions into

Spanish for him without being asked. It is difficult to say if Cristian would have become

this support for Raúl independently if Kristin had not positioned him to be, but he did

repeatedly clarify language and content for these younger boys without direction and

without nonverbal reactions that would suggest he resented or resisted helping them.

As Raúl and Ju arrived in the newcomer class, Cristian's behavior and engagement with class were interesting to watch transform. Ju started in the newcomer program almost a month before Raúl, and Cristian showed no more empathy for her than her other classmates did. He told me that he only talked to her if he had to, and he was often visibly annoyed and frustrated with her in class, tapping his finger impatiently, laying his head on his desk, and even verbally snapping at her sometimes when they were partners. When I asked him to describe the difference between his newcomer class and his other classes, he responded that he could speak in Spanish to his newcomer classmates: "Con mi clase de Ms. McCarthy yo hablo más con los amigos míos porque hablan español entonces no hablo con los otros. (*In my class with Ms. McCarthy I speak more with my friends because they speak Spanish and so I don't talk to the others.*) But, when I asked him specifically about Ju and if he has anything in common with her, he said, "No." I found his answer interesting, since this conversation was after Raúl's arrival where he seemed to understand the need to help students newer to school than himself, so I asked, "Nothing? What about learning English? Do you think you have that in common?" His aunt quickly responded, "Sí," while Cristian tilted his head to the side and said, "Maybe."

When Kristin decided to split the class into two instructional groups, Cristian was positioned with Karla and Teresa as part of the "advanced" group. The difference between the two groups was obvious to Cristian, who admitted that he liked the separation: "Teresa, Karla, and I, the projects are hard and the other people the projects are easy. Lo que le están dando ya no lo dieron a nosotros. (*What they are being taught was already taught to us.*)" He understood that the other group was going back to the

beginning of the curriculum, and he commented specifically on feeling sorry for José, who was placed with Ju and Raúl: "Triste porque ya él estaba empezando junto con nosotros y sabía más cosas de lo que le están enseñado ahora. (*Sad because he had already started with us and already knew things from what they are teaching him now.)*" The close relationship that Cristian and Jose had prior to the new students' arrival became strained after the groups divided. Cristian rarely interacted with José or Raúl, except in looks across the room, and Raúl was positioned to be a target of resentment for José.

When Jarome arrived, he fueled the targeting of Raúl and swayed Cristian's behavior to be aggressive and antagonizing towards Raúl when he had thus far been a sort of mentor. Whereas Cristian had been leader of the males in the newcomer group all year, Jarome quickly became Cristian's sidekick, and Cristian's positive leadership began to turn to negative behaviors that Kristin had to begin addressing. For example, Cristian and Jarome were caught at recess mimicking and making fun of a severely disabled student in a wheelchair, and the incident was reported to Kristin. When she discussed what happened with the boys, Cristian was ashamed and said he was just following Jarome. However, several other incidents of bullying involving Cristian occurred before the end of the school year, and whether led by Jarome or not, Jarome was seemingly able to have a profound impact on Cristian's behavior.

Conflated identity. As I reflected on Cristian's transformation from such a passive, quiet kid to a mischievous troublemaker with only the arrival of one new student, I began to consider the ways that Cristian's identity could have been misunderstood and conflated with his peers' identities throughout the year. Even though Cristian was from the Dominican Republic, he was categorized under the same blanket identity as all of his

Spanish-speaking peers, who were mainly from Mexico (Gándara & Contreras, 2009). Kristin did a lot of activities where students reflected on their home countries, and she tried to celebrate where they came from, but she also lumped all Hispanic students together frequently in subtle ways, such as suggesting that all Hispanic students can relate to the newcomer text and making assumptions about similarities between Dominican Republican and Mexican cultures.

Lizette, who is Puerto Rican and has mentioned her own experiences of identity conflation, is really the only adult from the ELD program at Carson Middle School who articulated an understanding of the differences between Cristian and his Mexican classmates: "I've seen a big difference between José, Raúl, and Cristian. They're all male and Hispanic, but their cultures are totally different, especially Cristian coming from the Caribbean and the other two coming from Mexico." For example, one day early on in the year, all of the kids were discussing what they like on their chilaquiles, and Cristian said he did not know what that food was. Kristin asked in surprise, "You don't know what chilaquiles are?" to which Lizette said, "Well, it's a Mexican dish."

Cristian never commented on identity conflation bothering him, but he did take opportunities to educate his classmates about the Dominican Republic, as seen in the Figure 20 from a culture project he completed in Kristin's class. I wonder if the lack of understanding that his experiences, culture, and even dialect of Spanish were very different from his Mexican peers contributed to his passivity, lack of engagement, and then being easily swayed by a peer who targeted scapegoats as outlets for Cristian's frustrations.

Figure 20. Excerpts from Cristian's culture project.

Ju

Oh Ju, How do You Feel?

Ju started into the newcomer program as a sixth grader in October, nearly two months after the beginning of the school year. Ju, her parents, and her 5-year-old sister moved from Hainan province, on the southern-most coastal tip of China, to live with her aunt and uncle, who described themselves as a sponsor family for them. Ju's aunt and uncle have lived in the United States for eight years and said that they feel responsible for the family's transition: "We really need to take a lot of responsibilities helping them after being there. So they pretty much knowing that go to work and we training them how to do work and all the kids, the school, we do everything." Ju's uncle, who speaks English, was listed as the school contact, and he accompanied Ju's parents to all parent-teacher conferences and school events. Since Ju's older cousin had been part of the high school newcomer program when the family moved to the United States, Ju's aunt and uncle knew the ELD program and how to get Ju where she needed to be for newcomer support. Unlike the other students in this study, who experienced some confusion about what

school to attend, why, and how to arrange transportation, Ju was enrolled in the middle school with the newcomer program from the beginning.

My interviews with this family were in the aunt and uncle's home and were completely new experiences for me that I will always treasure. I know enough Spanish to follow the conversation in my other interviews, but it was humbling to be a total outsider to the entire proceedings of interviews conducted in Mandarin Chinese. In addition to language, the whole experience of my first interview was an immersion in this family's culture, as Ju's aunt made green tea with rose buds in porcelain mugs and the entire family, including Ju's grandmother, sat around their dining room table to discuss my questions. My audio file from this experience is filled with the background noise of *Mickey Mouse Clubhouse* in Chinese with occasional laughter from Ju's sister and young cousins.

I am grateful that they allowed me to experience their home, because I gained a unique perspective of Ju from her family members and from seeing her among them. Ju is one of the most reserved, private people I have ever met, and she does not share information about herself. For example, she is so private that I did not know exactly where she was from until I talked with her family. Kristin had said that Ju told her she was from Shanghai, and Kristin asked Ju to make connections to her life back in Shanghai all the time. As far as I know, Ju never clarified this misunderstanding for Kristin. Also, Kristin admitted to me that everyone had called Ju by her last name for several weeks because they thought that's what she wanted to be called and Ju did not correct them until they did a project in class regarding their names.

It is difficult to determine how much of Ju's reservation is her personality and how much is cultural. Yan, the Chinese interpreter who accompanied me on these interviews, confirmed what Kristin's husband had said, that it is considered rude in Chinese culture to talk about yourself to someone outside of your family, but she added that it is unusual not to share your thoughts and feelings with your family. Ju's aunt and mother both expressed concern over Ju's lack of communication. Ju's mother said, "她不善于沟通. 她很少跟我说话. (*She is not good at communicating. She rarely talks to me.*)," and Ju's aunt added, "She is kind of a more quiet kid…Maybe some kids, if they get to certain ages, they don't want to talk to parents, I understand that. But before that age, they should be like to talk to the parents." They also noted that Ju does not really talk to anyone, including her cousins or friends.

It is important to note, however, that during my first interview with Ju, her entire family was present, plus Yan and I, who were strangers to her, so her reluctance to speak was understandable. Sixteen minutes passed in the first interview before Ju spoke, and her responses were limited, even what she answered in Chinese. Though she warmed up some to the idea of talking with me and having me observe her in class, Ju never gave me, or Kristin or her classmates, much direct information about her thoughts and feelings; therefore, Ju's portrait is largely a compilation of others' and my own perceptions of her. The work samples I have for Ju are also limited, as she did not complete the same quantity of tangible work as her classmates, as can be seen by comparing the students' writing samples in Figure 21. Ju also largely reproduced the language of the prompt or assignment and rarely provided much insight into her knowledge, thought process, or feelings.
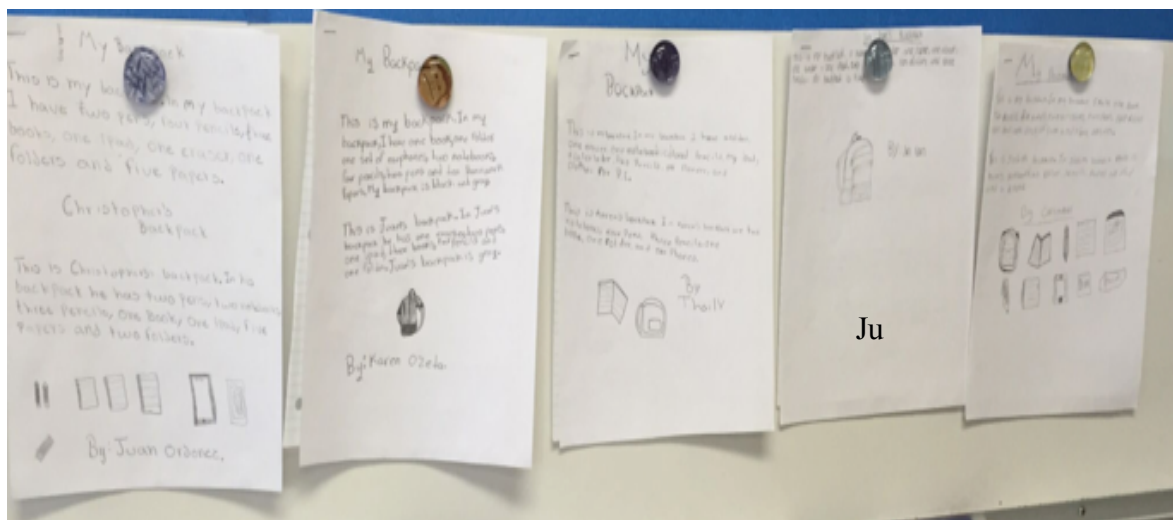
Figure 21. Class writing samples.

Exotic other. In my professional experience and supported by research (Case, 2015; Miller, 2003; Reeves, 2009), non-Spanish-speaking newcomers have a unique experience within an ELD program dominated by Spanish speakers, and I was interested to watch Ju and everyone who interacted with her negotiate her linguistic and cultural uniqueness in the school. Whereas several staff members at this middle school and a large percentage of students spoke Spanish and could help facilitate the transition for Spanish-speaking newcomers, no one in the school except Ju spoke Chinese. After a few weeks of having Ju in her class, Kristin commented to me, with a disappointed sigh, "How alone must she feel? I feel so bad for her everyday! I know she must be dying to talk to someone." Whenever there was a need to clarify something for Ju, such as needing to provide her own gym clothes, Kristin called Ju's uncle because there was no other means of communication in Chinese, except by utilizing Google Translate.

Everyone who interacted with Ju at school seemed unsure of how to communicate with her and relate to her, and she was received into the school community very differently than her Spanish-speaking peers. Celeste, who had been in the district for

several years and had seen many years of newcomers, commented that "the school treats

Ju better because she's not the stereotypical Spanish-speaking newcomer. She's the

different one." Since this was Kristin's first group of newcomers and first year in this

school, I was curious if she interpreted Ju's treatment differently. As the following

transcript demonstrates, Kristin did notice a difference in how Ju began school compared

to Raúl, but she and Celeste differed in their interpretations of why:

<div style="text-align:center">Transcript 4</div>

Kristin	So then Ju came, and Mr. Dyer (school technologist) came in with her iPad and said, 'I can put it in Mandarin if you want. What can I do to help?' And the vice principal came in and made sure she was comfortable. Um, the P.E. teacher emailed me and Celeste and asked what he could do. But, Raúl came in, and I didn't hear from one person.
Megan	What do you think is the difference?
Kristin	I think Celeste was looking at it like almost a negative thing, like, ugh, a Spanish student, we don't need to help them. But I was looking at it like, maybe they see it as just another student. Because we have such a large Hispanic population and we have so many resources for them, we have so many things translated into Spanish for them, so many adult and student who speak Spanish to help them. So, maybe they think, oh, it's just another student, Caucasian or Hispanic, it's all the same. But when someone else comes in, like Ju, who doesn't speak, who can't speak to anyone, and has no resources translated for her, that's when they go the extra mile to make her feel comfortable. Because she doesn't have, you know, like a family to go to at school. Um, I don't know. I'm trying to think of it positively.

Another important thing to note is in this one-to-one iPad school, Raúl did not receive his

iPad until the second semester, about a month and a half after he arrived, whereas Ju had

hers the day she began school. Ju was given priority as a new student, and her presence in

the school challenged Kristin, Ju's other teachers, and her newcomer classmates to find

ways to communicate with her without relying on first language translation or common

culture or experiences.

Kristin struggled to adapt her instruction for Ju, which ultimately led to the separation of the two groups. Ju's linguistic needs were totally different than the needs of her Spanish-speaking peers, since she was learning an alphabet-based language from a logographic language, so even when Raúl joined the group and needed the beginning of the curriculum as well, Ju was still developing the concept of phonemes. Additionally, her prior educational experiences were very different from her peers' experiences, at least how she and her family described them to me. They said that they lived in a small rural village with one school, and that the school schedule followed the needs of the community, with gaps in the middle of the day and at times throughout the year for students to help their families harvest crops, make goods, or participate in markets. Ju also told me that she never had science as a class, like the other newcomers described as well, but she also had little exposure to English prior to coming to the United States, whereas every other newcomer had studied some English.

Dually minoritized. Ju was an obvious outsider to the English-Spanish bilingual culture that had emerged in the newcomer classroom prior to her arrival in October. Kristin began to translate directions, vocabulary, and other various content into Spanish and Mandarin Chinese, though these translations often did not seem to help Ju. The Spanish-speaking students and Lizette would correct Kristin's Spanish translation if something did not make sense, but Kristin was relying on Google Translate for Chinese, and Ju would never say anything about the translations, but she often looked confused and like she wanted to provide a correction and did not know how or did not feel comfortable doing so. All of Ju's teachers and peers relied more heavily on Google Translate with Ju than with other students. Whereas the group of newcomers, Kristen,

and Lizette moved fluidly between English and Spanish and Spanglish, the use of

Chinese was limited to print and what could be produced via the iPad.

Although Kristin encouraged Ju to teach the class Chinese words, Ju rarely spoke

Chinese, so the other students had no exposure to hearing Chinese and having the

influence of a third language in their classroom. She would title her files in Chinese, as

Figure 22 demonstrates, but she would not include Chinese in her presentations, as the

other students would Spanish. However, Ju did begin to understand Spanish because of

her exposure to her classmates speaking to each other. One day in class when Lizette was

spelling something for Raúl and he was not hearing the difference between e and a in the

word, Ju rolled her eyes, leaned over to Raúl and said "ah," writing the letter "a." Lizette

looked at me and said, "This one's going to be trilingual!" Ju also appeared to understand

a lot of the conversations that her peers had in Spanish, as she often giggled to herself

when they were talking and turned her attention to whatever they were discussing.

Although Ju's distinguishing English from Spanish and being able to reference them both

in addition to Chinese shows sharp intellect and a positive exposure to language, it also

highlights her double foreclosure from meaningful production of language with her peers

(Case, 2015; Miller, 2003; Reeves, 2009). She had no peer to banter with in her primary

language and was positioned to observe discourse, not be a part of it.

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1   Inspirational Person:
     Yao Ming
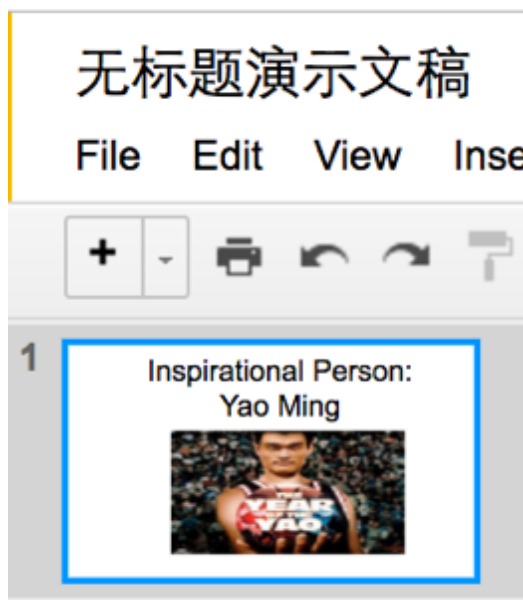
Figure 22. Excerpt from Ju's inspirational person project.

In addition to being foreclosed from authentic production of language, Ju was also positioned as a cultural and linguistic outsider by the curriculum, Kristin's methods of instruction, and idioms occasionally used in class for which she had no context. Lizette once called Ju "Speedy Gonzalez" when she finished an assignment quickly, and Ju was visibly confused by that comment. The newcomer curriculum consisted of recurring characters throughout the text, including one non-specified Asian character named Mei among a group of Hispanic characters. Supporting Kirkland's (2011) and Michael-Luna's (2008) claims about diverse characters in literature, Ju seemed no more engaged with the character of Mei than any other character. Furthermore, the text includes many words in Spanish as characters interact with each other, but Mei provides no language other than English. The mixture of English and Spanish created a double barrier foreclosing Ju from engagement with the curricula. For example, Ju did not recognize the word Carlos as a name in one of the stories and instead thought that the word was a plural noun because of

the "s" on the end. She could not even begin to comprehend the plot of the story without recognizing the name of the main character.

Kristin did recognize that the use of Spanish in the classroom excluded Ju and tried to encourage the use of English in their classroom as a way of being inclusive (Gándara et al., 2010). She admitted that she felt unsure about how to encourage multilingualism but discourage exclusion: "I'm trying to be open, and I'm trying to encourage them to use their language and to strengthen it and to, you know, clarify things in Spanish, and now that Ju's here, that's really difficult." Kristin explicitly talked with her students about being mindful of Ju in their classroom and to speak English instead of Spanish, but instead of having the effect of including Ju, Ju became a source of resentment among Spanish speakers who valued their constructed bilingual environment.

Social stigmatization. Whereas Ju's exoticism made her a priority for her teachers, it made her an outcast among her peers. Her stigmatization was obvious from her first day, as Kristin reflected: "Um, but it's very obvious the difference between Ju and Raúl, I mean, in comes Raúl and right away they sit with him at lunch and they help him out in class." According to Kristin, Ju sat alone at lunch and did not interact with any kids during the school day until well into the second semester. In general, kids did not know how to communicate with her, so they avoided her, even the other newcomers. Every newcomer student in this study said at some point in our interviews that they only talked to Ju if they had to, because a teacher made them.

Kristin, Celeste, and Lizette all commented that they struggled to get students to work with Ju for several reasons, they perceived. Kristin believed that working with Ju required an amount of maturity and patience that was beyond most middle schoolers, and

they did not want to have to figure out how to communicate with her when they were already trying to learn a new language themselves. Another perceived reason was that students "don't want to feel like they're grouped with her," according to Kristin. I observed her classmates actively resist being her partner in class, such as Karla and Teresa turning their backs to her, Cristian rolling his eyes, and students taking things away from her to just do it themselves. Since Ju was so quiet, she became the target of jokes among her classmates, both the newcomers and the other kids in Celeste's ELD classes. Kristin said that she has heard people refer to Ju as "the girl who doesn't talk." Celeste described that she feels "a lot of kids think that because she doesn't talk, that she's dumb."

I asked Ju in all of our interviews to reflect on how it felt not to have anyone at school to speak with in Chinese and to be left out of conversations in both English and Spanish, and she never articulated that it bothered her. When I asked her to just tell me one thing that she did not like about school or felt frustrated about, she responded, "我对一切都很满意. (*I am satisfied with everything.*)" She also told me that she feels like her classmates are her friends, and she never showed any nonverbal signs that she felt excluded. The only communication I received from Ju regarding feeling left out at all was in a series of questions I tried giving her in print to answer instead of having to talk to me in person, to see if she produced responses with more depth. She wrote the following responses using Google Translate:

> I am from China. My life in China was almost the same but except the schooling systems and the people around me. I think the huge influence for immigrants is that I need to accept a new environment. Also new friends and new language. The differences that I experienced so far is the schooling system and students here have more confidence to answer questions in class than in China. For the similarities, I came here for two months and fast food is the most familiar thing to me. I need to learn the language to fit in and that's hard. My English is still poor, but I will try my best to learn.

Her aunt and uncle also said that she has not mentioned anything to them except that she is happy and likes school.

Several months after being at school, an incident in the sheltered Social Studies class regarding another non-Spanish-speaking ELD student from Ethiopia created a position for Ju within a trio of friends. During a class period where Kristin and Celeste had left the room to allow the kids to form their own government in a simulation, everyone was speaking in Spanish to each other, and the Ethiopian student became very upset by being excluded completely from the conversation. Teresa was good friends with this student, and apologized to her, and talked with Kristin about what had happened. Kristin reminded Teresa that Ju was also in the room and probably felt the same way, and that's when Teresa began to make an effort to include Ju in class and socially. By the end of the year, Ju sat with Teresa and the Ethiopian student at lunch and played with them at recess, but I still observed the three of them mainly just sitting next to each other, not really talking.

Ju was, and still is, a mystery to me, and I have tried not to interpret her experiences how I would feel experiencing them. However, it is hard for me to believe that she never felt lonely or left out at school, or that she was never hurt by how her classmates treated her. Whether she was actually bothered by these things or not, she appeared un-phased and completely fine with being by herself working at her own pace.

Lower expectations. In an effort to shield Ju from embarrassment and being put in the center of attention in class, Kristin rarely called on Ju in front of her classmates. In general, Ju was held to a much lower standard of participation and performance than her peers in all of her classes except math, where she admitted that she is bored because she knows everything already. According to Ju's mother, Ju was at the top of her class in math at her school in China. Anything related to math was the only time I saw Ju truly look happy and proud at school. During the rest of her school day, though, she was not pushed to participate, and she seemed content not to be.

However, the fact that Kristin and Celeste allowed her not to participate perpetuated the belief among her peers that she was not capable of participating. For the first few months after Ju arrived, Kristin admitted that she was unsure how much Ju was understanding and therefore she would not pressure her to answer questions: "I would automatically say, like, oh, it's okay. I don't force her to say it. Um, the same with reading out loud in front of the class." Kristin also said that Ju's willingness to participate and her perceived comprehension varied day to day, so Kristin would just try again the next day to engage her instead of making her participate verbally. Sometimes, though, Ju would only finish a portion of written work, even that differentiated for her group, and she was excused from the rest, as Figure 23 shows.

Kristin's other verbal and nonverbal cues indicated that Ju was being held to lower expectations. Even until the end of the school year, Kristin always said "Ju" before addressing her, whereas she did not do this with the other students. She also always made eye contact with Ju before speaking to her. Kristin often paired herself with Ju for work in class, especially after Jarome arrived and the class had an odd number of students. I

asked Ju to describe how it felt to have Kristin work one-on-one with her while other

students were working together, and she just said "她帮助我. (*She helps me.*)."
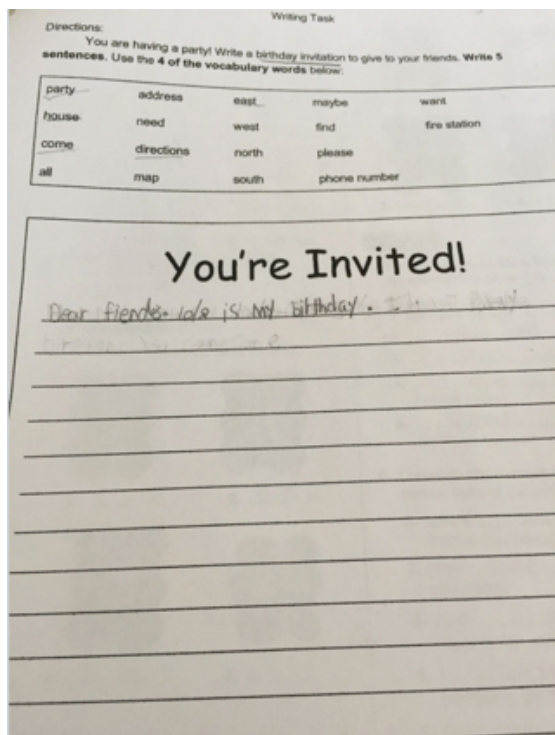
Figure 23. Ju's work sample.

However, as the school year went on, Kristin and Celeste felt that Ju was

intentionally behaving in certain ways to get out of doing work or participating. They

observed her deftly navigate apps on her iPad, look up information, find resources she

needed to figure things out on her own, and be able to complete assigned work to a high

level independently when she wanted to. Again, Kristin and Celeste differed in their

interpretations of why Ju was behaving this way, but interestingly, they both used the

word "defiant" to describe Ju. Celeste intended more of a negative connotation, as she

had caught Ju repeatedly playing games or chatting on her iPad (with whom, I don't

know) instead of doing online work as assigned, despite being redirected several times.

She also felt like Ju's tendency to shake her head and smile as if she did not understand

was a way for her to get people to leave her alone. Though Kristin agreed that Ju is

defiant, in that she resists what she does not want to do, she felt that most of the time Ju

was trying to understand and was just resisting what she did not know:

> Like, there are lots of moments when we are playing the translating game. . . .
> And sometimes finally she sees something I wrote, and she's like, "Oh!" So, I
> know there are things that she just does not know. I know that. However, I know
> that if she doesn't want to do something, she'll smile and shrug. Or go like this
> (blank stare, moving eyes side to side). I've been getting a little more strict and
> stern with her in terms of you need to do this, and you need to try.

Kristin and Celeste both began requiring Ju to participate verbally either in class or after

class, making it her choice, and she began to speak more. However, even at the end of the

year, they both felt that they knew very little about Ju and what she could and could not

be expected to do.

Raúl

Ignore, Let It Go; Just Flow

About a month after Ju arrived in the newcomer program, Raúl joined the class.

He moved from Chihuahua, Mexico, with his mother, Gina, and they lived temporarily

with his grandmother, aunt, uncle, older sister, and her young son. I first interviewed

Raúl and his family with people coming and going through their crowded, lively house,

brimming with Christmas decorations. Raúl and his mother moved into their own

apartment a few months later, so I was able to observe Raúl in two different home

environments. Conversations with his family were always fun, because his older sister

and her son were always present. Unknown to me until we met, I had talked to his older

sister many times regarding her first-grade son's placement in the ELD program. I had

been the one to give her son the placement test, and he remembered me, and was very

excited to know the stranger in their house.

Beginning this interview process light-heartedly with some connection already to the family seemed to help Raúl relax some. Reflecting back on my first experiences with Raúl, I feel a mixture of pity and awe for the overwhelming whirlwind of his first few weeks in the United States and how maturely he handled everything that happened. Raúl came to the district administration office, where I work, to register for school, so I discussed my study with him and his mother before he even stepped foot on his school campus. When he started school the next day, he seemed not to mind that I was in his class watching him, but I reflected on how strange of an experience his first day must have been. When Ju began, I talked to her and her family at fall parent-teacher conferences, and students had a subsequent four-day weekend, which meant that Ju had more time to wrap her head around having me in her life for a while.

In addition to being immersed in a new country, school, language, and becoming a participant in a study, Raúl had a physically and emotionally rough beginning at Carson Middle School. A snowstorm and frigid temperatures had blanketed most of northern Colorado just prior to Raúl's arrival, and ice still lingered on surfaces, especially in the shade, which was the majority of the basketball court at this school because the building blocked the sun. During recess on Raúl's second day of school, he slipped on ice and broke his leg. So, just after beginning into a new school, Raúl was absent the next two days to get a cast and crutches and manage his pain.

Raúl handled all of these changes in stride with maturity unlike most seventh-graders, especially in the ways that I observed him intentionally stay strong and carefree at school and then become more vulnerable and emotionally fragile at home. Figure 24 demonstrates his recognition of the many changes he was facing through his move to

Colorado, particularly in his distinction between "your" school, language, people, etc. in the United States and his life in Chihuahua. While getting to know Raúl and Gina over the months that followed, I began to see the struggle between stoicism and vulnerability within their relationship, in particular when they moved into their apartment separate from the rest of their family. Their closeness as mother and son was obvious, and they seemed to rely on each other both for comfort and strength.

your school	The culture the Colorado is very different at the
your lenguaje	Chihuahua because in colorado no celebrate things
your people	what the Mexico.
your homes	
your food	

Figure 24. Raúl's description of differences.

Highly visible, yet invisible. When Raúl spent his first several weeks on crutches and then in a walking cast after that, he became quite noticeable at school, but visibility did not necessarily lead to inclusion; at least, Raúl did not feel included in the school as a whole. When his accident happened at recess, a group of kids and the teachers on duty gathered around him to see if he was okay. According to Raúl's account of that day, the teachers did not know that he was a student at the school and thought he was a visitor, and he could not communicate with them to explain that he was a newcomer in Kristin's class. So, there was a lot of confusion before Kristin was contacted and then Gina. And, Raúl was embarrassed by the entire event.

Raúl felt disadvantaged by starting the school year late, and said that he often felt invisible at school, like no one knew he was there:

En las clases me siento cómodo pero a veces como así que yo estoy, voy en el pasillo así con mis amigos y me siento como si no estuviera en las escuela. (*In class, I feel like comfortable but sometimes like I'm, I'm in the hallway with my friends and I feel as if I wasn't going to the school.*)

Gina reacted with great surprise and concern to this feeling, wanting to know if he was being ignored and mistreated at school. Raúl said that he is not unhappy at school and does not feel intentionally ignored, just not integrated beyond Kristin's class. He felt comfortable in her class and enjoyed being able to understand everything:

Pos me siento más, como se dice, pos más agusto. Así como me siento. Se que pues hay manera de entender y todo. (Well, I feel more, how do you say it, well more comfortable. That's how I feel. I know that well, there's a way to understand and all.)

Whereas in Kristin's class, he felt like she always ensured that he understood what she was teaching, he only liked his other classes "si ellos intentan de explicar todo (*if they try to explain everything*)." Raúl specifically mentioned not liking substitute teachers who made him feel "weird."

Even within Kristin's class, he was positioned, along with Ju, to stand out because of the grouping configuration. Since his group began back at the beginning of the curriculum while the other group continued their progress, he was set up to perceive himself and be perceived as academically behind. Just as members of the "advanced" group knew the difference between the two groups, Raúl articulated that the other group "hacen como lo mismo que nosotros pero poco más avanzado (*they do like the same that we do but like a little bit more advanced)*," but he did not know exactly what work the other group was doing. He said that he enjoyed the pace of his group, though, and that the way Kristin taught helped him understand everything.

"Ideal student." Though it took a few weeks for Raúl and Ju to get used to working together, Raúl enjoyed working with Ju and recognized that they were at similar places in their English development. Next to Teresa, who developed a friendship with Ju, Raúl demonstrated the most empathy for Ju. When I asked him to reflect upon what he has in common with Ju, he responded:

> En común, pos que los dos estamos intentando de aprender el mismo idioma pos aprender el inglés ya para comunicarnos y entendernos a los otros o los dos. (In common, well that we are both trying to learn the same language to learn English to communicate and understand the others or the two of us.)

Kristin commented as well that she was glad that the pairing of Raúl with Ju worked so well and that he has always been really mature in working with her: "Raúl is so patient and helpful; he'll kinda help her out."

In addition to being a flexible and willing participant in class, Raúl was described by Kristin, Celeste, and Lizette as an "ideal student," because in many ways he represented the behaviors and values of a successful student in a traditional classroom (Ladson-Billings, 1995, 2014; Nieto, 2010; Paris, 2012). He loved to read and always had books with him, and he was diligent about getting all of his schoolwork completed to the best of his ability. Sometimes Kristin had to tell him to just leave work how it was and move on because he would work on something until it was perfect. Anything involving handwriting always took Raúl more time than was necessary, because he wanted the writing to be neat and look nice on the page, which always earned him the praise of his teachers, despite the content of his writing, as Figure 25 illustrates. At spring parent-teacher conferences, Kristin told Gina that Raúl is "a good role model for all the kids in class," and also assured Raúl that "we're all learning, and it's okay to make mistakes."
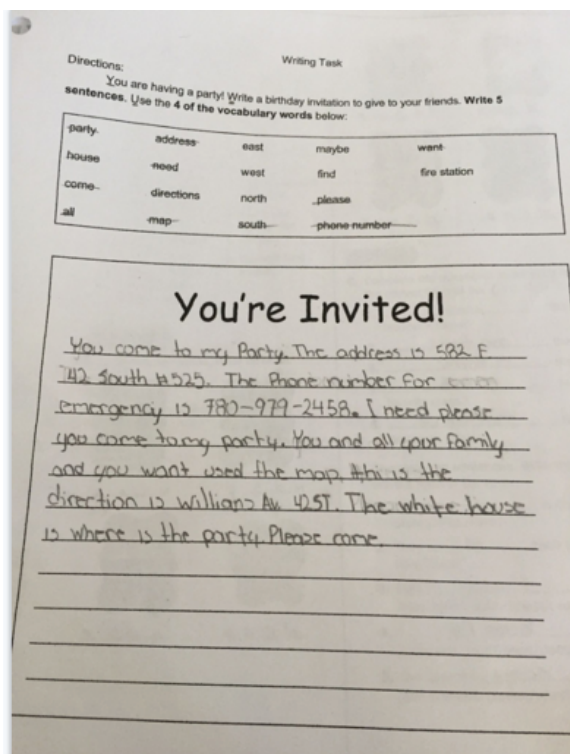
Figure 25. Raúl's writing sample.

When the kids were all setting goals for the fourth quarter of the school year, Raúl is the only student who set a goal for developing his English in his other classes outside of ELD, and he asked Kristin if he could take a textbook home with him to practice more. Kristin told me later, "I love that kid!" During one of my interviews with Raúl, he also said that he wished he had more homework. I laughed and said incredulously, "You want *more* homework?" Laughing also, he replied, "No mucha. (*Not a lot.*)"

Security and confidence. Raúl liked to learn and please his teachers, and that did not always make him safe from social ridicule (Case, 2015; Gándara & Contreras, 2009). He became a target of bullying from José, Cristian, Jarome, and another boy in Celeste's class. José seemed to resent Raúl for splitting the groups in Kristin's class and dividing

him from Cristian. He also scowled at Raúl any time Cristian was translating for him or helping him.

Lizette picked up on the explicit bullying first because the boys would make fun of Raúl in Spanish, but then Kristin began to notice how the boys would exclude Raúl or make faces at each other at Raúl's expense. One comment that especially upset Raúl that he actually reported to Kristin was that the boys had called him "white chocolate." Though Raúl said that he did not fully understand exactly what that meant, he felt like they were making fun of him for being studious. Kristin thought that the boys were likely making fun of him in a good-natured way, "but Raúl is so sensitive." Nonetheless, Kristin made a noticeable effort to pay closer attention to how his classmates were treating Raúl.

Whereas Raúl was usually reserved and quiet, one day in class he was outgoing, laughing, and interacting with everyone, and I commented to Kristin about how glad I was to see him so happy. She said, "Well, did you notice that José isn't here?" After class, she elaborated and said, "I wish Raúl would be more confident and like that all the time. I feel like that's his true personality. I wish he would let it out a little more, but like I said, I notice it when José is gone. It's like he feels safer, honestly." This day was prior to Jarome's arrival in the class, which only made Raúl increasingly reserved and introverted.

Self-advocacy. From my outside perspective, I found that Raúl's biggest transition during his newcomer year was developing the confidence to stand up for himself and get what he needs. Kristin was proud of him for reporting the "white chocolate" comment and not just letting it go, as he often did. Toward the end of the year, he began to remove himself as much as possible from situations that could be negative

for him, and made small stands against bullying. One day during a vocabulary activity towards the end of the year, when the students were all working from the same vocabulary list again, Jarome was struggling to visualize how to draw a picture of the word "structure," and Raúl was trying to help him by pointing out where the word was in the text and the images around it. Jarome looked at him and rolled his eyes, and Raúl said, "Figure it out then," and walked off with his book.

Raúl also began to advocate for his learning and physical needs, though he still kept a lot of needs to himself. He would ask his teachers questions if he did not understand something, which advocated for them to present the content differently for him. His broken leg also did not set correctly, and he was still in a lot of pain even months after the accident. Gina said that they could not afford the physical therapy he needed, so he was trying to work his leg into a proper range of motion on his own. He admitted that sometimes during the school day his leg would begin to hurt, and he felt like he needed to stretch it out or prop it up, but he did not want to ask his teachers to accommodate. He did, however, ask Kristin if he could pull another chair over to his desk to prop his leg up, which was a start to self-advocacy in the safe space of his newcomer classroom. However, he never asked his teachers, even Kristin, to have him sit closer to the whiteboard, even though he squinted all the time to see the board. Gina mentioned to me in one of our interviews that they could not afford glasses for him, and I took that concern to Kristin so that she could get him connected with the school nurse and services the district has for student glasses. If his poor vision had not come up in conversation, he may have squinted the rest of the school year with no one noticing.

Jarome

Jests are Jests, Unless . . . They're More

Jarome arrived in the newcomer class much later than the rest of the students and had a very different path to the program. He had attended school in this district previously in elementary school and had moved back to Mexico to live with his mother early in his sixth-grade year. When he returned to this district in March of his eighth-grade year, his overall English Language Proficiency level was 1.8, and he was placed in the newcomer program. His placement in the newcomer program rather than in another middle school with regular ELD courses was based on the recommendation to give him as much support as possible in the last few months of eighth grade to prepare him for high school. However, even in our first interview just two weeks or so after his arrival, Jarome was already frustrated with the newcomer class and said, "I just need to review what I already knew."

As both Ju's and Raúl's arrivals shaped the culture of the group before them, Jarome's presence brought change to their interactions, especially as Kristin increasingly taught the group as a whole toward the end of the year. Whereas the prior two arrivals of new students prompted Kristin to split the class into two groups because of their drastically different linguistic needs, Jarome made Kristin consider three groups, because he was correct that it only took him a few weeks to remember what he knew and then his linguistic level was far beyond a newcomer class. Instead of dividing the class more, as the linguistic levels of the now seven students in her class all became so varied, Kristin began to pull all of them together more for unified lessons with differentiation. Though in some ways unifying instruction reconnected the group, such as providing more

opportunities for Ju and Teresa to interact, which developed into a friendship, in other ways, the division between students was exacerbated, especially between Raúl and the other boys. The end of a school year tends to bring more disruptive behavior and lack of attention in general for all students, in my experience, so it is hard to determine how much of Jarome's seeming influence over the culture of the group would have happened toward the end of the year with or without his presence.

Conscious outsider. Much like Karla, Jarome actively removed himself from association with his newcomer peers, with the exception of Cristian, with whom he became fast friends. Jarome began into the newcomer program feeling like he did not need it, so he immediately began to behave in ways that placed him apart from his peers. On his first day in class, he over-exaggerated his responses and raised his hand to answer everything. Also on that first day, he made an origami swan out of an index card instead of listening to Kristin's lesson. Instead of watching Jarome that day, I tried to pay more attention to how the other students were reacting to his presence. Most of the students ignored the origami-making or tried to, but Cristian and José both laughed under their breath and gave Jarome their attention, rather than trying to refocus his attention on Kristin.

In general, Jarome's presence in the newcomer class was a distraction from instruction. As Kristin said of Jarome, "He likes a laugh." Whereas Kristin took his jesting as light-hearted, it seemed to me like the result of non-engagement and active resistance to the identity of newcomer. Furthermore, in his end-of-year Presentation of Learning, he showed an awareness of his behavior, which suggested that he was intentionally behaving in certain ways, as Figure 26 demonstrates. At times, I did see him

focused and engaged with work that he found interesting, especially his POL that all eighth graders produced and presented. He even dressed up for his presentation and had practiced it beforehand at home. However, most of the time in Kristin's class, the work was not challenging for him, which indicated that he was improperly placed in the newcomer program.
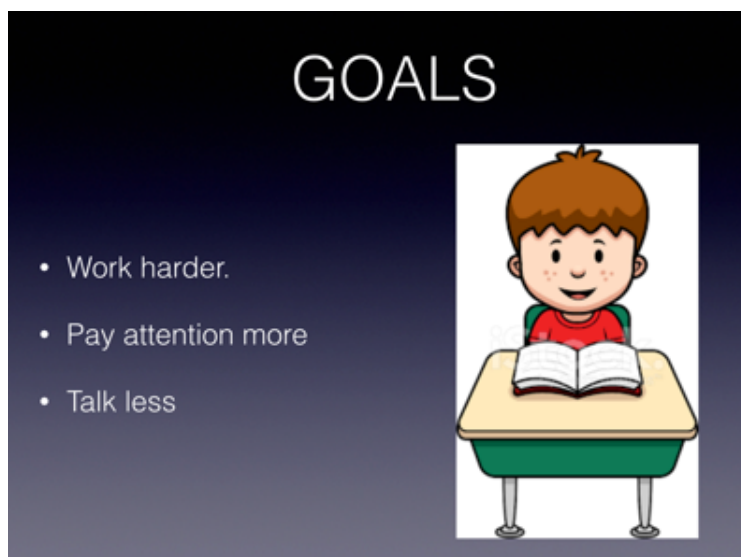
Figure 26. Excerpt one from Jarome's Presentation of Learning.

When Jarome was not engaged, he tended to distract others, especially Cristian, and stirred up trouble. One class period when the students were finishing up a writing assignment, Kristin said to raise their hands when they were finished so she could help them edit. This was a day when Lizette was absent, so Kristin was trying her best to get to all the students. As she was helping Raúl, Jarome finished his writing, raised his hand, and said "Ms. McCarthy" repeatedly, even after she told him she heard him. She finally had to go speak to him privately about how that behavior was disruptive.

Jarome's peers found him disruptive to their group culture as well. Besides Cristian and José, the other newcomers expressed that they did not really like to work

with Jarome. Teresa said that she finds his lack of participation frustrating: "He never

work together, like, but he never do anything. He just stay there and don't do anything."

Even Ju, in one rare personal comment I received from her, said that she would prefer not

to work with Jarome. However, when I asked Jarome about how he and his classmates

interact, he said that they are all friends and treat each other well:

<div align="center">Transcript 5</div>

Megan	How do you feel you're treated by your classmates?
Jarome	Good
Megan	Can you elaborate on that?
Jarome	Well, they never talk bad of me. We just say, "Hey, what's up? What did you do the weekend?" and like that.
Megan	How do you feel you treat your classmates?
Jarome	The same they treat me

Jarome either did not notice his classmates' frustration with him or did not care, but his

perception that he had a good relationship with everyone in his class was not supported

by my observations.

According to Jarome's father and stepmother, Jarome had lived in Colorado with

his dad for most of elementary school and then had lived in Mexico with his mother for

the previous few years before returning to his dad. They did not elaborate much on the

dynamics of their relationship or if Jarome's moves were by his choice or not, so any

connections to his behavior are projections on my part. The letter from Jarome's dad,

represented in Figure 27, in his POL suggested to me that the family was negotiating their

roles with each other. However, Jarome was positioned by starting a new school in the

last quarter of the year to come into his environment and quickly make a place for

himself, and I wonder if he was reacting to all of the changes in his life through attention-

seeking behaviors, even if that attention was negative.

Letter From An Adult

Jason is a kid that is making himself independent he did not used to be very helpful but now he does help me and he gets more interest to help me and he has helped me to do things like fix the car to plant in the yard. He does laundry by himself and sometimes he plays with his brothers.

SPANISH

Jason es que se esta haciendo un niño independiente de si mismo antes no era muy acomedido pero ahora si ya se interesa a ayudarme poco a poco me a ayudado a plantar plantas y lavar su ropa y a veces juega con sus hermanos.

Figure 27. Excerpt two from Jarome's Presentation of Learning.

Jester. The following transcript highlights an interesting conversation I had with Kristin regarding Jarome. Kristin interpreted Jarome's behaviors as just the silliness of an eighth-grade boy, but she did worry about his seeming inability to shape up when he needed to:

<div align="center">Transcript 6</div>

Kristin	Isn't he one (laughs) where you just shake your head and smile? Yes, so I worry a little bit for that one going into high school. Because Teresa and Cristian can be silly and stuff, but they can go into another situation, you know, and they know how to change their register, you know what I mean. They know when to sit up straight and get buckled down, and Jarome needs someone next to him holding his hand. He's very bright, and I think he could get very good grades in his classes, but his teachers need to have a lot of patience with him. Hopefully that will happen. And he's very easily um, he follows. If someone is doing something bad, he'll follow right behind them.
Megan	He seems to be an instigator of stuff in your class.
Kristin	Yeah, I know he just likes a laugh. I never get mad at him. He's too much of a charmer and he does a good job of following directions. But you know he likes to get a laugh out of them. And, if me or Lizette sit next to him, I mean, he's on fire doing what he needs to do. Without even helping him, just sitting next to him.

I was fascinated by Kristin's calling Jarome a follower, because I had seen all indications that he quickly became the leader of the boys in the class, Raúl excepted. Kristin did point out the attention-seeking quality of his behaviors and how Jarome was actually quite needy as a student, despite his positioning himself as a non-newcomer.

Jarome's attention-seeking behaviors were often at the expense of his newcomer classmates and other students in the school. As already described, Raúl became a particular target of comments that made the classroom not an emotionally safe environment for him. Jarome focused his attention on Ju as well and exacerbated her exclusion. During one class period, Ju was giving a presentation of some elements of her culture, which was difficult for her both because it involved speaking and talking about herself personally. One of her slides had a picture of Yao Ming, the basketball player, and the caption under the picture said, "Really fucking tall!" Ju must have searched Google Images and did not know what the caption said, and most of the kids either ignored it or did not understand either, because they had no reaction. Jarome began laughing and pointing, though, and then Cristian joined in. Kristin had to address them both in the moment and afterwards, and Ju had to give the rest of her presentation not understanding why they were laughing at her.

Though he never showed social aggression before Jarome, Cristian began to do everything with Jarome at school, including making fun of a severely disabled student in a wheelchair. According to the teacher who saw this occur at recess, Jarome and Cristian were standing closely behind the student calling him "retard" and making gestures to each other to mimic him. Both boys were in trouble with the teacher who saw it, Kristin, the Special Education teacher, and the principal. Cristian apologized and even wrote an

apology to the student, albeit because his uncle made him, but Kristin said that Jarome showed superficial remorse and still had sort of a smirk on his face while she was discussing the incident.

Jarome remains a mystery to me because I feel like I was not able to develop a rapport with him or his family before the end of the school year. Nancy and I were able to interview them twice between March and May, and I tried to talk to Jarome informally when I was observing, but I feel like I never really broke the surface with him. His tendency to be the jester in the room made it difficult to get deep reflection or serious answers from him. As I reflected on my data on Jarome, I realized how much I collected data for his portrait while largely having the other students' portraits written in my head. So, just as Jarome entered a newcomer culture already seven months in the making, this portrait of him is inevitably situated within months of getting to know the other students.

Emergent Group Themes

These newcomer student portraits have highlighted the themes within each student's story that were important to get a picture of each member of this newcomer group. Though I have explicitly made connections between the newcomers' stories within each portrait, five major themes emerged from among these stories that paint a picture of the culture of the newcomer program as a whole:

1. Anxiety (environment, family dynamics, communication, meeting academic expectations)

2. Comfort, but frustration

3. Isolation

4. Dependence (on peers, on newcomer teacher, on institution, on technology)

5. Relative Identity

Chapter V will explore each of these five themes, analyzing them through theory and research literature.

CHAPTER V

DISCUSSION

The previous chapter presented each of the participants' stories as separate

portraits contextualized within the group's story, but intentionally focused on the power

of the individual story in its own right. Since set criteria determine entry into the

newcomer program, students all began the program with basically the same level of

English proficiency, time in the United States, and knowledge of the U.S. school system.

The specialized nature of the newcomer program positions students to be considered a

homogenous group because they all begin the program relatively "the same." However,

as the previous portraits and the themes discussed in this chapter demonstrate,

newcomers' experiences, even shared ones, are distinctly individual in the ways that each

student positions him or herself and is positioned by others.

This chapter focuses on the newcomers as a group through a discussion organized

around five themes that emerged as common for these students. The exploration of both

the individuals and the group is crucial in a setting like this newcomer program, since

students shared most of their academic day and spent more time around each other, and

Kristin, than any other peers or teachers. Their being part of the newcomer group dictated

their schedules, their access to learning, and their opportunities, even before and after

school, so it is important to consider the ways that the group as a whole experienced their

newcomer year. This study involves both perspectives of each participant utilizing

portraiture and a group perspective of the newcomer program as a whole utilizing ethnography.

In both the individual and the group contexts of these individuals, I explore identities as multiple, relational, and constantly negotiated. Sociocultural Positioning Theory (Harré & van Langenhov, 1999; McVee et al., 2011) holds that identities are ever changing because positioning of identities, both internally and externally, is ever changing. Reeves (2009) summarized how identity negotiation is continual and relative: "As people negotiate identities, they take up, assert, and resist identity positions that define them. This negotiation of identity happens continually in sustained relationships as well as in brief encounters" (p. 35). Identity positioning also includes the role of agency in one's ability to resist, accept, or change identities imposed by external people, discourses, institutions, etc. Though participant portraits explored how individuals positioned themselves and were positioned by others and external elements, it is important to explore the identity negotiations of the group in relation to their common experiences.

Emergent Group Themes

Identifying common themes among the experiences of a group of people opposes postmodern thought in some ways because the process could be seen as conflating identities and highlighting commonalities instead of individual identities (Creswell, 2007; Derrida, 1968, 1986; Lyotard, 1984). Postmodernism resists categorization and binding identities to structures, but it also recognizes the "sociology of knowledge" (Noddings, 2012) that positions individuals within the multiple structures that are forming multiple identities. This study, and therefore all the themes that have emerged, focus primarily on

the identity of these participants as immigrant multilingual students new to the United

States and English. Through my methods and narrative, I have sought a more holistic

view of each participant, but it is the identity of newcomer that brought participants into

this study in the first place; therefore, despite efforts not to homogenize, this study

reinforces the grouping of these students and the common identity of newcomer.

However, postmodernists take the stance that social structures need to be deconstructed,

not just recognized and accepted, which is why a postmodern approach is productive for

traditionally subordinated populations (Crenshaw, 2009). Postmodernism does not seek

to strip individuals of their culture or group identity, but rather not to define them solely

by that or to take as natural the structures of meaning that created dominant and non-

dominant groups in the first place.

Throughout the following discussions of emergent group themes, I have tried to

indicate the ways that individuals have positioned themselves and been positioned within

shared experiences with a critical eye to the privileges or lack of privileges associated

with those positions. Since these individuals were grouped together by the identity of

newcomer, even by me in this study, it is crucial to deconstruct and explore that unifying

category. Avoiding themes relevant to the entire group would falsely position the identity

of newcomer as unimportant, when in fact it is the driving external positioning for all of

the individually nuanced identities.

The five themes discussed here emerged as common for the group of newcomers,

but each participant interfaced uniquely with these thematic contexts. These themes also

overlap and are not discussed in an order of emergence over time or importance. The

newcomer students and their families described all of these themes simultaneously and in

greater or lesser depth depending on their circumstances. For example, the theme of anxiety manifested in different ways for different participants and ebbed and flowed throughout their experiences of the entire year, even when they became more comfortable in their new lives.

A conceptual way to frame these themes is to consider the newcomer year as an upward spiral from being brand new to completing the school year, but it is not a straight continuum or a line starting from point A and ending up at point B. Instead, what this newcomer group demonstrated was that they together and individually grew, changed, and developed throughout the year, but it was a cyclical process with constant tension between stagnation and growth, boredom and challenge, frustration and comfort, constraint and freedom.

Anxiety

All participants, including the newcomer teacher and the families of the newcomer students, expressed anxiety in some form regarding their experiences during their first school year in the United States. Several common sources of anxiety emerged among the group of newcomers, all related to their negotiation of the many changes that a move to a new country and new language bring (Reeves, 2009; Short & Boyson, 2012).

Regarding environment. I inferred the overarching concept of environmental anxiety from many comments among the group describing visceral reactions to their home and school surroundings, to the physical and cultural elements of the community in which they live, and even to the climate and landscape of northern Colorado, a drastic change from Mexico, the Dominican Republic, and coastal China. Every student described how much bigger and more structured Carson Middle School was in

comparison to their schools in their home countries. They all, along with their families, also felt that the quality of education in the United States surpassed that of their home countries and was the driving reason to move to the United States.

On the contrary, the common sentiment regarding their home residences was that the move to the United States came with a decrease in the quality of their dwellings and an increase in work to afford them (Card & Raphael, 2013; Gándara & Contreras, 2009). Teresa, for example, lived on a ranch with horses in Mexico and described the transition to a mobile home within a crowded mobile home community as difficult because she misses having space. Karla's, Ju's, and Raúl's families also contrasted their houses in their home countries with their apartments and/or shared living spaces here. Another interesting recurring comment about the difference in participants' home lives was the noises they hear or do not hear in their homes. All of the participants from Mexico mentioned that they were used to hearing neighbors talking to them and each other through their open windows and doors, like a feeling of open community. Karla's family in particular described how quiet and lonely they find their apartment here. All participants said that they do not know their neighbors well or necessarily interact with anyone outside of work and school (Tucker & Santiago, 2013).

A sense of loneliness and isolation within their new communities pervaded these families' stories. These newcomer students and their parents, except Cristian and Jarome, were adjusting not only to English, but also to a new country, new currency, new jobs, etc., which all produced anxiety. Every student participant either lived with or had access to an English-speaking family member who in large part facilitated these families getting established in the United States, including getting the students enrolled in school. All

student participants and their families expressed anxiety at times regarding just getting through their daily routines, such as reading street and business signs, paying for items at stores and for their bills, and in general comprehending their surroundings, without the help of these family members (Lazar, 2011; Tucker & Santiago, 2013).

Regarding family dynamics. Dependence upon English-speaking family members and extended family in general emerged as a theme of anxiety as well as support among the participants. Each newcomer student lived at least a portion of his or her first year in the United States with extended family already established in the area. Students and their families all described adjusting to life with more and/or different people in their homes. Not only were these families living with relatives they potentially had never lived near or even seen for a long time, they also depended upon their support, which seemed to create anxiety around the changing role of the parents.

In situations like Teresa's and Raúl's, an older sibling assumed the role of the parent in many ways, especially as primary correspondents with school. Similarly, both Cristian and Ju were largely under the care of their aunts and uncles rather than their parents. Even though Ju's parents lived with her, her aunt and uncle claimed to take care of everything for Ju's life here. Karla and Jarome both lived with their parents, but even these relationships were undergoing changes. Karla and her parents had to adjust to less time together at home because of work and school schedules. Furthermore, as Karla learned more English, she acted increasingly in the role of parent for her parents, such as translating for them, communicating with their apartment building's superintendent, checking out at stores, etc. Jarome also played this translator role for his father and stepmother, in addition to adjusting to living with them rather than his mother.

The role of mothers held particular importance within these students' stories. The mothers of Teresa, Karla, Ju, and Raúl did not work in their home countries and described being more available to their families previously than they have been able to in the United States thus far. Cristian and Jarome both came to the United States without their mothers, yet referred to them frequently in their newcomer class when describing their families and homes. The change in the presence of their mothers was a recurring source of anxiety for these student participants.

Regarding communication. Even if families did not want to depend upon their English-speaking relatives, they were forced to seek support for school communication, which often came only in English, despite families indicating Spanish or Mandarin as the primary language. The district has a staff of translators to assist the district in sending communication home to families in the language indicated on their registration, but whether because of lack of commitment to ensuring accuracy or capacity to translate all communication, some information still goes out in English. As these mistakes were discovered through the course of my interviews, I checked the district's information systems to ensure that Spanish or Mandarin were listed as the families' language for district-wide mail and fixed the one incorrect listing, for Karla's family. However, even if district-wide emails and letters went home in the correct primary language, phone calls from the district and school, such as about snow days, were in English, as were missing assignment or failing grade reports that auto-populate from the online grading database for the district. Several families described feeling confused and anxious about district and school communications, not knowing exactly what they meant or whom to contact about them (Gándara & Contreras, 2009; Lazar, 2011; Nieto, 2010).

Most participants chose to put their English-speaking family members as the primary contact for school to "make it easier," as both Teresa's and Raúl's sisters said. However, even in those cases, emails, letters, and phone calls home were addressed to the parents and had to be communicated through someone else to them, which reinforced their changed role as parents. These siblings, aunts, uncles, cousins, etc. also accompanied parents to all meetings or conferences at school, even though the district provides oral interpretation, because these English-speaking family members became instrumental in the parenting decisions for these newcomer students. Ju's uncle was the most profound example of this hybrid role of uncle and father, as the school depended upon him solely to communicate with Ju's parents. At parent-teacher conferences both in the fall and the spring, I observed essentially a conference between him and Kristin with Ju's father present, but not really participating. There were many instances where Ju's uncle would answer on behalf of her father without translating the question to him or consulting him.

The need for oral interpretation to communicate with these families impacted the quantity and quality of communication with the school and district. Supporting the literature demonstrating limited school communication with culturally and linguistically diverse families in comparison with white, English-speaking families (Anderson, 2015; Reeves, 2009), these families were contacted only by the ELD staff, Kristin, Celese, and Lizette. Even though the district provides oral interpretation for all languages, it is the responsibility of the school/teacher to set it up. Whether because content teachers and school personnel lacked knowledge of the interpretation request process or because they did not consider the need for interpretation, no staff outside of ELD made direct contact

with the families of these newcomers. All missing assignment/failing grade reports emailed to parents came from content classes, though, so families found these reports difficult to address without relationships with the teachers (Lazar, 2011; Ovando & Combs, 2012; Reeves, 2009). Facilitating a resolution to these situations often fell to Kristin, who problem-solved with teachers on behalf of her students. Dalia, Teresa's sister, is the only participant who said she had communicated directly with Teresa's non-ELD teachers, in particular her math and science teachers early on in the year when Teresa was struggling, but she initiated the contact.

The newcomer students also lacked relationships with their non-ELD teachers and peers and felt anxious about participating in their mainstream classes (Gándara & Contreras, 2009; Lazar, 2011; Miller, 2000, 2003). All student participants, even those who were talkative in ELD, admitted that they only spoke in their other classes when required. During both fall and spring parent-teacher conferences, Kristin invited all of her students' teachers to have joint conferences while an interpreter was present, and the difference between how ELD and non-ELD teachers described these students was striking (Lazar, 2011; Reeves, 2009). Whereas Kristin could articulate exact English proficiency growth for each student and specific ways in which they have become more confident in all language domains, general classroom teachers had little data to give except grades on assessments and few anecdotes about students, and they were often conflicting with what Kristin had seen in her class. For example at Karla's spring parent-teacher conference in March, Kristin described how outgoing she is in class, which surprised her math and science teachers, who said that she is very quiet in their classes (Lazar, 2011; Moll & Diaz, 1987; Reeves, 2009).

Regarding meeting academic expectations. The most common source of anxiety for newcomer students and for Kristin was the desire to be successful in school and the difficulty in doing so because of various difficulties, chief among them the perceived inability to communicate with all of their teachers. Learning English and doing well in all content classes were expressed goals for all student participants, which is a difficult feat for adolescent newcomers because they "are just beginning to develop their proficiency in academic English while simultaneously studying core content areas through English" (Short & Boyson, 2012, p. 3). Much of the academic success of newcomers in content classes depends upon the teachers' understanding of appropriate and equitable instruction for these students (Mitchell, 2012; Reeves, 2009). Since these students all experienced academic success in their home countries and put in immense effort to succeed in classes here, anxiety and frustration emerged when they perceived that they were not meeting the expectations of their teachers here (Gándara & Contreras, 2009; Miller, 2003; Nieto, 2010; Paris, 2012).

Since these newcomers were all admittedly quiet in their core classes, they were not likely to approach teachers or peers independently to ask for assistance or clarification. An interaction between Cristian and his science teacher at spring parent-teacher conferences demonstrated his anxiety around not meeting the teacher's expectations, but being insecure about approaching him for help to meet them. The teacher mentioned that Cristian was missing an assignment in his class, and Cristian said that he had it in his locker, but he did not turn it in because he knew it was not correct and he felt he needed help. The teacher urged Cristian to ask him questions to let him know that he does not understand, but the responsibility for the missing assignment and the lack

of understanding remained on Cristian, not the teacher. Similarly, at Ju's parent-teacher

conference, her math teacher described with amusement how Ju completed an entire page

of math problems for homework instead of the odd numbers, which was the assignment.

Though Ju excels at math and enjoys it, and this particular over-exertion was probably

not a problem to her, but she still did not get a clear message about the instructions.

These interactions seemed typical of the experiences the other newcomers described

regarding confusion around routines and teacher expectations in their mainstream content

classes and supported research on lack of appropriate accommodations of protocols and

instruction in general classrooms (Lazar, 2011; Nieto, 2010; Ladson-Billings, 2014;

Paris, 2012).

Comfort, but Frustration

When reflecting upon their newcomer class and Kristin in comparison with their

other classes, all participants expressed that they felt most comfortable in Kristin's class

and that she was their favorite teacher. Their comfort in her classroom was apparent in

their verbal and nonverbal communication with her and with each other. Students often

moved about the room, obviously feeling at ease to get supplies or work in a different

location than their desks. They also spoke freely, for the most part, not always raising

their hands and waiting for permission to speak, nor were they discouraged from talking

to each other. Furthermore, students' speaking to each other in Spanish, and very rarely,

Mandarin, and having these languages present in the culture of the classroom were signs

of the type of comfortable, safe, and supportive learning environment effective for

multilingual learners (Mitchell, 2012; Nieto, 2012; Short & Boyson, 2012). Not only was

multilingualism a distinct presence in Kristin's classroom, so was the freedom to be

playful with language, as evidenced by students joking about Spanglish terms and sometimes trying to create Chinese-Spanish or Chinese-English hybrid words.

As has been explored through Ju, however, there were limitations to the multilingual environment of Kristin's classroom. Spanish had a much more dominant role in student interaction and instruction than did Chinese; therefore, the Spanish-speaking students established much of the norms of group behavior and interaction. It was not uncommon to hear as much Spanish as English in any class period, especially if students were working independently, and the two languages were often mingled. Furthermore, the Spanish-speaking students demonstrated group norms, such as interrupting each other, correcting each other, debating dialects of Spanish, and talking over each other, that did not apply to Ju. Ju was almost completely removed from the way the rest of the group functioned, because of her reserved personality as well as her linguistic and cultural difference. Kristin had to actively involve Ju in the activities of the classroom and encourage, and even require, that the other students involve her. From my outside perspective watching Kristin's class, it often seemed as if Ju was a class of one apart from the rest of the group.

Ju's arrival in the class brought about two main changes to the norms of the group, despite her tangential position. Her later entrance into the school year interrupted the learning trajectory of the class, requiring Kristin to re-integrate more basic English vocabulary and syntax that the other students had already learned. As the task of differentiating for Ju and then Raúl became too great for Kristin, she divided the class and therefore her time and focus, which largely served to isolate Ju further from her classmates. Raúl and José, despite being in her group, maintained a greater connection

than she did with the other group of students through speaking Spanish. The other change that Ju's presence brought to the culture of the class was that students were encouraged to speak more English than Spanish in order to be inclusive. However, the effect was further isolation of Ju as the Spanish-speaking students felt that they were adjusting their normal linguistic repertoires for her. Every Spanish-speaking student said that they spoke mainly in Spanish with their friends at school, but they spoke in English, or not at all, with Ju. As has been explored in both Teresa's and Ju's portraits, Teresa was the exception and developed a friendship with both Ju and another student from Celeste's class who also did not speak Spanish.

Though Ju received the brunt of the other students' frustrations in the newcomer group, there were tensions between all students as they began to develop English proficiency at differing rates within a cohort designed to be homogenous. These frustrations were related largely to the ability grouping of the entire newcomer program itself and of Kristin's decision to split the class into two proficiency groups. Kristin and Celeste both expressed the same frustration that manifested in impatience in Karla and Jarome, that there was no avenue for newcomers to bridge into ELD programming for more proficient students before the end of their newcomer year. In addition to frustration with the program model itself, and therefore their peers, students also expressed frustration with the newcomer curriculum, the amount of time they spent in ELD classes, lack of differentiation, and classroom norms, such as allowing wait time for peers to answer.

Despite their frustrations, though, every student participant expressed a sense of camaraderie within their newcomer group, supporting Case's (2015) findings that the

identity of newcomer often holds greater weight than differences in peer relationships. Even the tension between Karla and Ju was balanced with a sense of looking out for each other, as the two girls shared a locker and often reminded each other of needed materials or even brought each other forgotten items. Similarly, Jarome positioned himself as an outsider to the group almost immediately, but he still described that his friends at school were all the students in the newcomer group.

The sense of camaraderie included an appreciation for Kristin's classroom environment, as all students recognized, to different levels of detail, how her teaching style and learning space, including the presence of Lizette, differed from that of their other teachers and classrooms. Below are statements from student interviews that exemplify their comfort with their newcomer learning space and trust in Kristin and Lizette as educators:

<div align="center">Transcript 7</div>

Teresa	Yo me siento bien ahí con la maestro. Porque como me explica como más y me ayuda pues en diferentes cosas. (*I feel good there with the teacher. Because like she explains to me like more and helps me in different things.*)
Karla	Es como que me siento más fácil porque ay otro professor ahí que habla mi idioma entonces es como más fácil. (*Is like I feel like easier because there's another teacher there that speaks my language so it's like easier.*)
Cristian	Ella siempre nos supervise en lo que hacemos y los otros profesores solo van cuando levantan la mano o algo asi. (*She always supervises what we do and the other teachers only go when someone raises their hand or something like that.*)
Ju	老师非常耐心，她重复一切，直到我明白. (*The teacher is very patient and she repeats everything until I understand.*)
Raúl	Pues me siento mas, come se dice, pues mas agusto, asi como me siento, se que pues hay manera de entender y todo. (*Well, I feel more, how do you say it, more comfortable, that's how I feel, I know that there's a way to understand and all.*)
Jarome	All of my friends are in my class. We're all friends, and we speak mainly Spanish.

Teresa, Cristian, Ju, and Raúl all explained ways that Kristin's pedagogy helped them feel comfortable and confident, whereas Karla and Jarome both mentioned that comfort in Kristin's class was related to the ease of the class and the fact that many people, including Lizette, spoke Spanish. The variety of these statements typifies the contradicting feelings that students felt throughout the year about their newcomer class and peers, especially as English proficiency developed.

Isolation

The physical location of the newcomer classroom was isolated from the rest of the school building, and this group of newcomers spent approximately half of their school day within that classroom away from mainstream peers and even away from non-newcomer multilingual learners. The type of newcomer program in this district fits two different descriptions from Short and Boyson's (2012) survey of secondary newcomer program types: a program within a school and a separate site from the home school(s) (p. 14). Though in the program-within-a-school model, newcomer students have some time during their school day with mainstream peers, the time is generally limited to elective courses and few content classes, as is the case at Carson Middle School. Furthermore, Short and Boyson described this type of program as being offered in the student's home school, so students would be interacting with mainstream peers who are also their neighborhood peers, which is not the case at Carson Middle School. For that reason, this newcomer program also fits their description of a separate-site model where "districts or counties use a separate facility to house the newcomer program in order to serve a larger number of the area schools and pool limited resources more effectively" (p. 14). Since students come from across the district to Carson Middle for the newcomer program, they

experience isolation from the peers who attend their home schools and from mainstream peers at their school of placement for most of their day.

Even outside of the newcomer class, many of these students shared their mainstream classes throughout their school day. The decisions to have newcomers in the same content classes (math, science, etc.) were partly intentional, to enable the use of Lizette's presence in those classes and to maximize support for a smaller group of teachers. Decisions about the classes in which newcomer students were placed were also guided by the school's grade-level schedules, which put a greater restriction on these students' options, since their class times with Kristin were already set and were the anchor for their schedules. In other words, these students were scheduled into their ELD time slots first, and then other classes were added in around those times. Essentially, these students were tracked into a certain grade-level class schedule because of their participation in the ELD newcomers program, which is a form of academic tracking (Case, 2015; Gándara & Contreras, 2009; Mitchell, 2012; Nieto, 2010). For example, Karla and Ju had every class together throughout their school day, despite the vast differences in their backgrounds, languages, and English proficiencies.

The large amount of time that these students spent in each other's company in and outside of their newcomer class produced the complex, constantly-evolving culture of the group. Supporting their feelings of comfort, but frustration as well, all students stated that their newcomer peers were their friends and were the peers that they turned to for support and help more than non-newcomer peers. It was unclear, however, if this feeling stemmed from their isolation from other peers. They were positioned as dependent upon each other because of their isolation, but the amount of frustration that arose among the

group regarding their being grouped homogenously together suggests that the comfort they described with each other was a product of isolation and close proximity rather than authentic personal connection (Case, 2015).

This inference is supported by students' formal and informal comments throughout the school year regarding their feelings of isolation from non-newcomer peers. All participants made a comment at some point recognizing their time away from the main school building. These comments increased in frequency toward the end of the school year, especially from Karla, suggesting that as students became more proficient in English they became less dependent upon their newcomer peers and the newcomer program and therefore more frustrated with, and perhaps more aware of, their isolation from the rest of the school.

From a postmodern perspective of identity and the lack of autonomous agency regarding one's own identity, isolation within the newcomer program was in some ways chosen by students and families through their acceptance of the newcomer placement recommendation. However, isolation was largely imposed upon them, as students and families are traditionally positioned in a hierarchy to accept what the district recommends as best, including a schedule that kept them isolated from the rest of the school and district (Lazar, 2011; Suarez-Orozco, et al., 2008). The design of the district's program and the issues around isolation that arose seemed to echo Fritzen's (2011) argument that the concept of sheltered instruction is a metaphor for the underlying beliefs and values related to the education of multilingual learners. Though she studied sheltered content classes rather than ELD classes, her framework involving three basic connotations of "shelter" applies to the experiences of students in this newcomer program: sheltering as

protection, sheltering as nurturing, and sheltering as separation. She discussed how one concept can manifest into "multiple realities" (p. 206), as this study also has demonstrated in the multiple interpretations of the newcomer experience at Carson Middle School. The experiences of the students and Kristin in the newcomer program, at least how they were expressed to and interpreted by me, match Fritzen's three categories, and the view that isolation for multilingual learners is simultaneously comforting and frustrating.

Dependence

Isolation within the newcomer program and the identity of "newcomer" inhibited independence in many ways for these students and their families. One emergent theme already described is how these newcomer students and their families depended on their entire family, especially English-speaking members, for many aspects of their adjustment to life in the United States. Newcomer students were mainly dependent on their families for the connection between home and school. However, this group of newcomers and their families also expressed dependence upon several common entities within the school and the district.

Dependence on the institution. I asked every student participant and their parents/families to describe the process of enrolling in the district and accepting placement at Carson Middle School for the newcomer program to see how well they understood the difference between the ELD programs at Carson and the other middle schools in the district. The families varied in their levels of understanding the newcomer placement, those with previous experience with their own children, such as Ju's and Cristian's aunts and uncles, articulating more knowledge of the ELD program. However,

what was common about all of the families' descriptions was an implicit trust in the

school district (Short & Boyson, 2012; Suárez-Orozco et al., 2008; Vaught, 2011).

Though none of the families or students could tell me exactly what was different or better

for them at Carson, they all expressed the opinion that accepting the newcomer placement

was the right decision.

The only exception to that belief was Jarome, even though his family accepted the

placement recommendation at the time it was made. His situation was a great example of

implicit trust in the institution. There were many reasons not to place Jarome in the

newcomer program: his placement test score (ELP 1.8) barely qualified him; he enrolled

in March; and, he re-enrolled in the district after being years away in Mexico. Jarome

was not a typical newcomer and was placed in the program to give him an intense three

months of instruction at the end of eighth grade before beginning high school. However,

the family and Jarome accepted the placement, and even after noticing that Jarome was

inappropriately placed, did not question the placement, except with me during our

interviews.

Dependence on peers. Jarome's behavior at school demonstrated his resistance to

being grouped with the other students in the newcomer program, yet he still expressed the

belief that his classmates were all his friends and that he enjoyed their company more

than peers outside the program. Karla communicated the same belief about her newcomer

peers, even as she actively tried to distance herself from them. The newcomers were

positioned by the institution to depend upon each other, and positive and negative results

emerged from that dependence. Most notably, Ju and Raúl became targets of frustration

within the group because of their dependence on their newcomer peers. The isolated

nature of the newcomer program made dependence upon each other an inevitable outcome (Case, 2015).

Dependence upon non-newcomer peers emerged within non-ELD classes as well. All newcomers and Kristin described how general education teachers expected newcomer students to seek help from their classmates, especially multilingual ones. As Ovando and Combs (2012) explained, peer pairing can often produce negative reactions in newcomers who may perceive "that teachers are not doing their job when students are asked to teach one another" (p. 105). Though most of these newcomer students were in some of the same content classes and sometimes had the support of Lizette in these, they were all partnered strategically with classmates perceived by teachers to be helpful peers. Even Kristin sought the support of her students' classmates in mainstream classes, most notably for Ju. She said that Ju really struggled in her science class, so Kristin observed that class and established an expectation that Ju's classmates sitting near her help her understand what is going on in class:

> I'm really happy that she sits next to a really nice girl. I showed her how to use Google Translate to help her, and I told her you can draw pictures or show her what you're doing. And that whole group that Ju was sitting with was excited to help her.

Kristin and other teachers depended upon the "niceness" of peers to support newcomers, and therefore newcomers were socially positioned as being dependent upon those peers as well.

Cooperative or collaborative learning can be an effective strategy for multilingual learners, but not as a replacement for accommodated instruction (Coleman & Goldenberg, 2009; Lazar, 2011; Echevarria, Vogt, & Short, 2013; Ovando & Combs, 2012). Especially at the beginning of the year, these newcomer students described

depending on their classmates or Lizette almost entirely to comprehend directions on assignments and classroom protocols. For example, Raúl almost left his math class one day without turning in the test they were taking that class period. He had not understood the directions to turn it in and was putting the test in his backpack when a classmate noticed what he was doing and re-directed him in Spanish to turn the test in to the teacher. When I asked participants to describe what their teachers do to support their learning, every student mentioned a classmate who helps them, but that help tended to be procedural in nature--translating directions, explaining classroom protocols, etc. These newcomers struggled to describe other ways that their mainstream teachers accommodated their learning, besides answering student questions when they asked or checking in with them periodically to ensure they understood.

In addition to displacing responsibility from teachers to students, it is problematic to establish and encourage one-sided peer dependency. Instead of positioning newcomers as equal participants in cooperative learning, teachers and classmates tended to position newcomers as subordinates in need of assistance (Ovando & Combs, 2012). This deficit perspective persisted in Kristin's class as well, as she paired Ju with Teresa and Karla and then Raúl with Cristian as they entered school as newer newcomers. Although Kristin encouraged her students to value and share their individual knowledge, her pedagogy still largely positioned less English proficient peers as subordinate relative to more English proficient peers.

Dependence on technology. One support used throughout Carson Middle School, but especially with the newcomers, was student iPads. Since this school provides all students with an iPad, the devices are widely integrated into the learning culture. These

newcomers depended specifically on translation applications, such as Google Translate, on their devices, to communicate with teachers and peers at school. The school's immediate attention to equipping Ju's iPad with Google Translate and setting Chinese as the language for the device demonstrated the school's dependence upon first-language translation as a linguistic support. Since no one in the school could communicate with her in Chinese, the iPad became invaluable.

There are obvious flaws in depending upon translation apps for communication, such as inaccurate translations and dependence on an Internet connection and on the devices themselves, but the larger impact of this technological dependence was the belief that newcomers just need words translated for them without any other accommodations or specialized instruction (Faltis & Valdés, 2010; Gándara & Contreras, 2009; Nieto, 2010; Ovando & Combs, 2012; WIDA, 2014). This common misunderstanding of the needs of multilingual learners demonstrates that generally educators lack an adequate understanding of the development of language, especially regarding academic language, which requires that teachers move beyond vocabulary to the sentence and discourse levels of language (WIDA, 2014). The scope of reliance on translation differed for the Spanish speakers and Ju. For the most part, especially after some time in the newcomer program, Spanish speakers sought translation for select words and phrases, often related to instructions, but not usually for extended language. However, Ju and her teachers and peers often relied upon translation for the full content of what they were trying to express with her. For example, I observed Ju type an entire paragraph of a text being read in class into her translator to convert it from English to Chinese.

Kristin commented on how Ju's arrival challenged the reliance on translation, even in her own practice. She expressed having to be more creative and intentional in her strategies with Ju than with her Spanish speakers because she could not give clarification or quick support in the first language from her own knowledge of Spanish or with Lizette's help. Even though Kristin believed that the translations she was using with Ju were inaccurate and sometimes confusing for Ju, she continued to rely on them. Likewise, Ju used her iPad daily to communicate with everyone, despite her telling me in one of our interviews that Google Translate is "totally wrong."

In addition to dependence upon translation applications, newcomers and their teachers also depended upon online language acceleration programs, in particular one purchased by the English Language Development program. Especially at the beginning of the school year, the use of these programs often replaced core instruction, sustained reading opportunities, and advisory or elective time when students could potentially interact with mainstream peers. All newcomers worked on these programs during the school-wide sustained reading time that backed up to their lunch periods. Whereas other students had an assigned teacher within their grade level for this time, all newcomers were assigned to Kristin and worked online.

More than the other newcomer students, Ju used these programs in lieu of other opportunities, because teachers perceived that she needed for additional English instruction, causing increased tension between her, her classmates, and her teachers. Specifically, in Celeste's class, Ju was instructed to complete an online program on her iPad while all other students read silently at the beginning of class, and Ju repeatedly did other things on her device, such as social media. When Celeste confronted Ju about this

behavior, they agreed that Ju should do the online program at home and read with the rest of her peers at school, because Ju admitted that she disliked doing something different from the rest of the class.

Dependence on English Language Development staff. Since substantial and effective support for these newcomer students at school was limited outside of the newcomer program, students and their families depended heavily upon the ELD staff-- Kristin primarily, but also Celeste and Lizette, if Kristin were unavailable. If students or families had any questions regarding school, they approached Kristin first. For example, Kristin facilitated Raúl's family in obtaining eyeglasses for him through the district and his being excused from certain activities in P.E. following his injuries, rather than the nurse and P.E. teacher coordinating directly with his mother. Likewise, the rest of the staff at the school depended upon Kristin to support all aspects of the newcomers' experiences, as Kristin described in her interviews. Reeves (2009) found that content teachers are often portrayed in "unflattering and unidimensional" ways and as "insensitive to the identities, experiences, and needs of ELLs" (p. 35) when they are peripheral to studies of multilingual learners. This study is not intending to portray content teachers in any particular way, except in relationship to Kristin and her students. Kristin's descriptions of teachers approaching her instead of students about missing assignments, failing grades, etc. demonstrate that she was positioned by the staff at the school as being at least partially responsible for her students' success in all of their classes, and therefore the students were positioned as being dependent on Kristin.

However, Kristin was not always the primary contact with Spanish-speaking families or even with Spanish-speaking students themselves, since Lizette is English-

Spanish bilingual. Especially at the beginning of the year, these students would often direct their questions to Lizette instead of to Kristin. Students and families did not necessarily depend upon Lizette's bilingualism, especially since they all had means to communicate in English, but she was often a source of comfort and ease for them. In many ways, Kristin, Celeste, and other teachers depended upon Lizette, and in her opinion, sometimes took advantage of her bilingualism. Lizette provided written translations of notes and emails and made phone calls for Kristin and Celeste, instead of these teachers utilizing the district translation/interpretation processes. Additionally, Lizette functioned as an oral interpreter at parent-teacher conferences and other school events, not only for newcomers, but also for any Spanish-speaking families at Carson Middle School. That role was the most contentious to Lizette, as she felt that oral interpretation was not part of her job as an ELD instructional assistant, and that because she is bilingual, she was called upon to take on additional responsibilities for no additional pay or respect (Amos, 2013; Ernst-Slavit & Wenger, 2006).

Relative Identity

Lizette's primary complaint about her being placed in different roles was the position of those roles relative to other people and to privilege. She described feeling like she was highly valued for her bilingualism when it was needed by others, but then at other times, her professional value was perceived as negligible, especially in the presence of Kristin or Celeste, who were the identified ELD experts at the school. Lizette felt frustrated that her expertise and experiences were, in her view, frequently dismissed, despite her being in her position for over a decade and once being a newcomer herself. Kristin and Celeste also felt marginalized by the rest of the staff at Carson Middle, who

often left them out of conversations about school-wide issues, but wanted them available at all times to be ELD experts when such expertise was needed. Instead of collaboration between general and ELD staff, especially bilingual staff, that is critical for the success of multilingual learners (Mitchell, 2012; Ovando & Combs, 2012; WIDA, 2014), the ELD staff perceived themselves and were perceived as peripheral to the rest of the school. Their articulation of their identities relative to their situation and surrounding people stood out to me as a lens through which to consider the relative identities of the newcomer students.

Just as the ELD staff positioned themselves and perceived that they were being positioned differently depending upon the situation or need, newcomer students all performed different identities in different contexts (Case, 2015; Dimitriadis, 2004; Faltis & Valdés, 2010; Gee, 1990; Gillespie, 2007). One important aspect to consider with student identity is the lack of privilege granted students in comparison with adults, especially educators. District employees, even Lizette, enjoyed privilege relative to students, especially newcomers, who were positioned as having little independence and therefore little power (Reeves, 2009). Dependence upon external people, structures, and concepts links identity to those other entities and affects personal agency. All of the aforementioned themes in this chapter were influential in the identity negotiations of these students, as they actively positioned themselves and were positioned by each other relative to them.

The most powerful identity that students had to negotiate was "newcomer" and all the implications that identity entailed. Since the identifier of newcomer functioned as a label that dictated school enrollment, programming, and their entire school experience,

including their participation in this study, students were constantly viewed through others' and their own understandings of that label. Just as Lizette, Kristin, and Celeste described about their professional identities being privileged or marginalized depending upon structural circumstances, the identity of newcomer was privileged within the school in many ways--flexible scheduling, smaller grouping, the intrigue of exoticism--but those privileges were largely superficial. The prestige of linguistic and cultural difference did not permeate the school in significant ways, in the same way that Lizette's bilingualism and the pedagogical expertise of Kristin and Celeste were only privileged when needed.

Students did exert agency over their newcomer identity as well, embracing or resisting the identification of newcomer depending upon situations (Case, 2015; Faltis & Valdés, 2010; Fritzen, 2011). The more confident and comfortable students felt in an environment, the more resistance emerged to the newcomer identity. For example, Karla and Jarome acted in ways within Kristin's classroom that explicitly separated them from their peers, but they kept a low profile in their other classes, trying not to draw attention to themselves. Likewise, Kristin described Teresa as struggling early on in the school year until Ju and Raúl arrived and she was positioned as a more proficient peer in comparison to them. The confidence of being not a "new" newcomer changed Teresa's academic success and developed empathy for students in a position she perceived that she had transcended.

In other situations, students emphasized their newcomer identity because it was to their advantage. Ju stands out as the most adept at intentionally positioning herself so that she would not be held accountable for schoolwork. Both Celeste and Kristin perceived that Ju sometimes pretended not to be able to do things or to understand directions so that

she would not have to do the task. In my interactions with Ju, I sometimes perceived that she understood me and was not responding to me because she did not want to, not that she could not find the language. Similarly, I observed all the students intentionally use more Spanish than English upon Ju's arrival to avoid talking to her, saying that they did not know how to communicate with her. They were positioning themselves as Spanish-speaking newcomers who could all communicate with each other, but who lacked enough English to communicate with anyone outside of their group.

Through the newcomer program and Kristin's grouping configuration in her class, students were given degrees of status that afforded them hierarchical privileges. Every student had the identifier of newcomer with which to negotiate, but even within that category, Kristin made the students either high or low newcomers when she divided the groups. From a postmodern perspective, this division created an inequitable hierarchy instead of a system of teaching students "where they are," as Kristin believed she was doing. Postmodernists challenge the accepted interconnection and equality of sign/signified and argue that power and privilege always play a role in discourse, so the signification attached to a sign always holds consequence (Giroux, 2004). The sign and the signified exist in a dichotomy. They do not mutually construct each other's meanings on equal terms, but rather have meaning because they exist in contrast to each other. In the case of Kristin's classroom, the high and low groups existed in contrast with each other and *because* of each other, creating disparate consequences of opportunity.

Discussion of Research Questions

This study explored the ways that newcomer students and their teacher negotiated their multiple identities, both as individuals and as a collective group. The following four research questions guided this study's research design, data collection, and data analysis:

Q1   How do newcomer students position themselves in relationship to their newcomer peers?

Q2   How are newcomer students positioned by their peers, teachers, families, and the district?

Q3   How do newcomers' interpretations of their experiences prior to and during the newcomer program contribute to the negotiation of their multiple identities?

Q4   In what ways do individual identities shape the newcomer group culture?

Chapter IV analyzed the emergent themes for the individual students and Kristin and contextualized them within their individual portraits. This chapter has analyzed the themes common to the group, though I explored the individual nuances of these common phenomena as well. Utilizing portraiture and ethnography as complementary methods provided the lenses to analyze both the individual and the collective positioning and be able to explore identity negotiation in depth over an extended period of time. The findings presented in this study have emerged from the synthesis of these two methods.

The findings are also situated within the postmodern thought that there is a constant interplay between agency regarding the construction of one's own identity and lack of agency regarding any influence at all over the imposed identities that others' construct and perceive. Instead of being completely free to shape our own identities or constructing our identities through interaction with people and settings, postmodernists argue that the subject is constituted socially and has multiple identities (Crotty, 1998;

Noddings, 2012). Multiple meanings can be associated with any sign, which has only limited control over what those meanings are and what they imply and perform. In other words, these students did actively negotiate their identities, but all other external elements, in the form of people, institutions, and ideologies, were simultaneously positioning them with identities that they may or may not have accepted or perceived as correct. Even if students, like Karla and Jarome, actively resisted the identity of newcomer, they were limited in their ability to resist that identity because it was reinforced through their peers, the district policies, their school schedules, and the perceptions of the school at large.

My own position relative to these students further complicated their multiple identities further. Students necessarily behaved and spoke differently while I was present in their classroom than they would have when I was not there, and they were naturally selective in the information they chose to share with me in interviews. I also hold my own assumptions and expectations of newcomers through which I observed, heard, and interpreted interactions. Furthermore, because I do not share a primary language with any of these students, oral interpretation and written translations added an additional layer of interpretation. In this narrative, students are presented in the way that I understood them, and they will be read in the ways that readers understand my narrative.

Significance of the Study

The use of ethnography and portraiture as complementary methodologies is emerging in recent education and multiculturalism scholarship in various ways, and this study further explores the potential in the intersection of these methods. Carlock (2014) studied the lives of linguistically diverse immigrant mothers in a housing project and

found that "this layering of ethnography and portraiture is an important tool for conducting in-depth, longitudinal analysis of the complex social processes that lead to civic incorporation and the formation of panethnic partnerships" (p. iv). Supporting the use of ethnography and portraiture for longitudinal analysis, Miranda et al. (2007) studied pre-service teachers' interactions and learning from observations of music classrooms. Smyth and McInerney (2013) departed from ethnography as a tool for observation or understanding and instead argue that it can be a tool for advocacy, especially when utilized with portraiture to illuminate individual voices.

Though there is an extensive body of literature on newcomer experiences and identity (Case, 2015; Decapua & Marshall, 2010; Gándara & Contreras. 2009), this study brings a unique methodological and theoretical lens to the area of study through the utilization of portraiture and ethnography as complementary methods. Scholars have found the synthesis of these two methods productive, especially for exploring populations of people who are historically marginalized (Miranda et al., 2007; Smyth & McInerney, 2011). To my knowledge, however, the specific population of emergent multilingual immigrant students has not been studied through these two methodologies previously. Furthermore, utilizing a critical postmodern conceptual framework adds to the literature for deconstructing social structures that historically marginalize groups of people (Crenshaw, 2009).

Within studies of multilingual learners and school contexts, Reeves (2009) explained that there has been little research that has focused on the identity negotiations of teachers in relation to their students as opposed to students in relation to teachers. Her study explored content teachers' identities relative to their students without analyzing the

student identity negotiation. This study contributes to both student and teacher identity negotiation and extends the scope of teachers to include ELD-specific teachers, especially teachers who work directly with newcomers.

Another unique contribution of this study is the access to the ELD program and participants I had from my position within the school district. Both portraiture and ethnography require submersion in the lives of participants, and I was able to achieve a deeper level of integration into these lives than an outside researcher would. My access to participants allowed me to engage with them long-term with attention to cultural practices over time (Creswell, 2007; Nader, 2011; Spradley, 1979). I was able to begin my study from an existing intimate knowledge of the ELD program and the district, which allowed me to focus my attention on the participants' stories rather than having to also spend time trying to understand the context of the newcomer program. As I discuss in the next section, there would also be value in having an outsider's view of the program, but my position allowed me to identify and analyze interactions, especially with the institution, that an outsider might not have noticed.

This study has significance beyond adding to the research literature and utilizing methodologies in innovative ways, because these stories of immigrant students have emerged in a volatile political time regarding ideologies about immigration. In the conclusion section, I explicitly contextualize this study within the local, national, and international political climates that have changed dramatically from the beginning of the study to now.

Suggestions for Future Research

Since newcomer programs can take many forms (Short & Boyson, 2012), a direction for future studies of newcomer students and teachers could explore the effects of different program models on the identity constructions of individuals and groups of newcomer students. Program models are also responsive to the number of students and the demand for programming, so a larger district with a greater number of newcomer students would inevitably offer a different experience to newcomers. Larger districts in more urban areas would also likely produce not only a larger cohort of newcomers, but more linguistic and cultural diversity within that cohort.

Additionally, an interesting identity comparison would be newcomer students who accept placement in a newcomer program and newcomer students who choose not to accept that placement. In the district studied, these students would remain at their home schools, which may or may not have daily ELD instruction, but would definitely not offer the quantity or quality of support found at newcomer sites. The experiences of newcomer students negotiating their first year in the United States school system outside of a newcomer program would be interesting and important to compare with the findings of this study.

Though I contextualize these findings in national and local politics, additional intersections of newcomer's multiple identities with the politics of language, race, class, gender, religion, etc. are worth exploring. The politics of gender would be especially interesting to examine in a newcomer program, because students coming to the United States from other countries bring various cultural expectations for the performance of gender roles that may or may not be reflected in U.S. schools.

Conclusion

This study sought to understand the experiences of newcomer students as individuals and as a newcomer cohort, and both lenses problematized the homogenization of newcomers. The purpose of this study was not to critique newcomer program models or to offer suggestions for policy or program change in this district; however, there are important conclusions from this study that indicate the need to recognize the differences among newcomers, both in terms of what they know and how they learn (Decapua & Marshall, 2010; Leung & Cohen, 2011). Part of the difference among newcomers relates to when a newcomer ceases to be a newcomer and no longer needs the type of intensive support provided by a newcomer program. Kristin, Lizette, and Celeste all felt that the end of a "newcomer" period was nebulous, and they expressed frustration and confusion about the lack of guidance in how to transition students out of newcomer support. Their frustration is understandable, but it also stems from the traditional education model of establishing and maintaining clear categories for students, which this study has deconstructed and challenged. The distinction between a newcomer student and a non-newcomer student should be nebulous because every student comes with a different set of resources and develops at a difference pace.

Another finding of this study that confirms existing research is that what indicates transition out of needing newcomer support is how well students have learned how to "do" American school (Delpit, 2012; Nieto, 2010; Ovando & Combs, 2012). The students whose prior educational background most closely matched the behavioral and academic expectations at Carson Middle School were the most successful, supporting an extensive literature base on how schools traditionally function in ways that may not support or

sustain the backgrounds of multilingual students or students from non-dominant cultures (Delpit, 2012; Gay 2000, 2002; Ladson-Billings, 1995, 2014; Nieto, 2010; Paris, 2012). Karla is the most obvious example of having such a strong academic base, especially in Spanish literacy, that she learned English and her content material quickly with little need for differentiated support. However, even students who were not developing English or content proficiency at an exceptionally fast rate, but were attentive, participative, and worked hard, such as Raúl and Teresa, were praised as great students. Ju was described as the least ready to transition out of newcomer support, largely because of her linguistic and cultural difference from what was supported at school rather than her level of English proficiency. Her state assessment ELP level (2.1) measured in January was actually not significantly lower than Teresa's (2.4), Cristian's (2.6), or Raúl's (2.6), but she was consistently described as struggling to adapt to the expected identity of an American student, especially in terms of group participation and speaking in class.

One major finding of this study was that newcomers are viewed as a homogenous group because, traditionally, the goal for all multilingual students is homogenous--full English proficiency, particularly in academic language, comparable to monolingual English peers. In other words, newcomer programs exist, regardless of their design, because of the implicit belief that students need a sheltered period of intense English instruction in order to enter mainstream classrooms, and the ultimate expectation is assimilation to the language and norms of the given setting. These implicit beliefs have implications for the identities made available to newcomer students, the learning opportunities they have, and in a larger sense, teachers' ability to create, affirm, and sustain truly multilingual, multicultural places of learning (Nieto, 2010; Paris, 2012).

The fields of multilingualism and multiculturalism challenge the notion that full English proficiency should be the primary goal for multilingual learners, or at least the dominant goal. Of course it is necessary for students to develop academic language in English in U.S. schools where the vast majority of instruction and assessment are English-medium, but students should also develop and sustain their home languages, backgrounds, and cultural norms and beliefs as well (Paris, 2012). As Nieto (2010) described, multicultural and multilingual education is crucial for all students, monolingual English students included, because without the recognition that we are already a multilingual and multicultural society, then "diversity" will always be seen as "different":

> We might legitimately ask whether even the most ethnically homogenous society is truly monocultural, considering the diversity of social class, language, sexual orientation, physical and mental abilities, and other human and social differences that exist in all societies. (p. 83)

The goal of assimilation to a homogenous English-speaking norm is problematic not only because it is not in the best interest of multilingual students, but also because such a norm does not exist in reality. It is a pervasive grand narrative that educators have internalized and perpetuated.

Understanding the ideologies driving educational assimilation policies requires knowledge of the context of local, national, and international beliefs about linguistic, racial, and national identities, especially regarding immigrant students. When I began this project in the fall of 2015, the national and local political climates were very different than they are now in the spring of 2017. Kristin had the largest group of newcomer students that Carson Middle School has ever had, and despite confusing and frustrating communication with the school, none of the students or families expressed fear or

concern with coming to school or talking to teachers. Participants were also not hesitant about signing my consent and assent forms to participate in this study, and they all warmly welcomed me into their homes and answered my questions openly. I am thankful that I gathered data during the 2015-2016 school year, because I think the depth of data I collected would be challenging to obtain now.

Since my data collection ended in the spring of 2016, the country has been through a highly contentious presidential election and transition to a new administration that has already affected the district's ELD program and will continue to bring changes and challenges for the foreseeable future. Since the election in November 2016, my district has seen a greater number of multilingual students in the ELD program than normal move back to their home countries in the middle of the school year, most of them simply not returning after winter break in January. I suspect that our district will see fewer newcomer students and an overall decrease in the number of students self-identifying as multilingual and electing to participate in ELD programming. Since families complete a Home Language Survey upon registration into any school district, they can self-identify in whatever way they choose, and I am curious to see whether families keep their linguistic diversity under the radar.

In addition to pervasive fear and anxiety surrounding uncertain immigration policies and actions, local and national discourses regarding language, race, and nationality have manifested in my district in specific incidents targeting multilingual and/or racially not-white students. Not all of these students have been in the ELD program, but they have nonetheless been reported to ELD teachers and administrators as our responsibility to address. The conflation of English Language Development (i.e.,

emerging multilingualism) with every "diverse" student is problematic for the same reason that homogeneous newcomer expectations are problematic--because it reinforces the privilege of the "normal" Self from the "diverse" Other.

There is danger in conflating the identities of newcomer students in educational settings, in not deconstructing them and their constructions. This study has shown that it is crucial to recognize that the needs of newcomers are different from other students, even other multilingual students, but they are also different from each other. The label of "newcomer" subsumes all other identities, which this study complicates, showing that newcomer students, like all students, require and deserve a holistic view of their multiple identities as they negotiate changes in their worlds.

Stories of immigrant students and their families like the ones presented here, are imperative counter-narratives in the advocacy for more equitable education. The narratives of anyone different from the monolingual English norm in both school and U.S. society too often disappear, being viewed as less important. As Freire (1970/2007) described, these beliefs stem from both the oppressor and the oppressed, as both have internalized that the grand narrative is right and natural, and only explicitly transformative and critical actions can deconstruct that narrative. Voices of immigrant students, who will always be in our schools, are vital to hear and understand, especially when they are actively being silenced.

Epilogue: Portrait of the Portraitist

All Stories Write and Read Each Other

My interest in this study began when I taught my own group of newcomers at Carson Middle School and watched with awe and admiration as they faced one new

change after the next with dignity and an emerging sense of self in their new worlds.

Specifically, I was fascinated by the unique experiences of each newcomer I taught and

how every single student influenced the learning identities of the others and the dynamic

of our entire group. Similar to Kristin, I had students come and go throughout the year,

and I also had all Spanish-speaking students except one. Like Kristin, I was overwhelmed

trying to meet everyone's needs, both academic and non-academic, given the constraints

of time, space, and program expectations. I made many of the same pedagogical

decisions as Kristin, with both positive and negative effects, but all, as hers were, with

the best intentions for my students.

Since for the past five years of my career, I have toggled between my two realities

as an educator, first a teacher and now an administrator, and as a graduate student, I have

found myself in an almost constant state of conflict between theory and practice. I have

experienced first-hand in schools, both public and charter, and in district leadership how

many constraints discourage educators from being innovators. Even when policies,

programs, or curricula are not working and worse, are not equitable or right, teachers can

only depart so much from the way things are done in a certain school, district, institution,

etc. On the other hand, I also recognize that theory does not always work in practice,

even if there is the freedom to implement it. It has been a frustrating, humbling, and

enlightening experience to grow simultaneously as an educator and scholar.

My personal confliction between what I know and what I do was mirrored in

Kristin and in the narratives of these students and their families. Each participant went

through his or her own journey of discovering the disconnection between a newcomer

program in theory and in practice. Though I had lived this newcomer program in this

classroom with these curricula, my perspective as a teacher was very different from my perspectives as an administrator and researcher. As I have described, I became conscious of my complicity in the design of newcomer programming that was not working as intended and also constrained in my ability to do anything about it. Newcomer programming is necessary for the success of immigrant students, especially secondary students, but the compilation of these individual narratives pointed to the false grand narrative of homogeneity and the need for systemic re-imagining.

Just like the participants in this study, I also have identities beyond my roles in education, and I was surprised at the effect of this process on all aspects of who I am. As a mother, I felt especially moved by families who were or had been separated and for parents who were suddenly spectators in their children's educations. I also have felt an ongoing struggle with my own privilege and affluence relative to my participants, Kristin included, and how my privilege exists because of their lack thereof. These struggles have irreversibly shaped who I am and how I think, and to the participants in this study I am grateful to have shared a school year of our lives. My own multiple identities, as an educator, an administrator, a student, a researcher, a citizen, a mother, a wife, a daughter, a sister, and a friend will be forever changed by these stories.

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APPENDIX A

INSTITUTIONAL REVIEW BOARD APPROVAL LETTER

UNIVERSITY *of*
NORTHERN COLORADO

Institutional Review Board

DATE: October 6, 2015

TO: Megan Edmiston
FROM: University of Northern Colorado (UNCO) IRB

PROJECT TITLE: [791628-4] The Experiences of Students in a District Newcomer Program
SUBMISSION TYPE: Amendment/Modification

ACTION: APPROVED
APPROVAL DATE: September 27, 2015
EXPIRATION DATE: September 27, 2016
REVIEW TYPE: Expedited Review

Thank you for your submission of Amendment/Modification materials for this project. The University of Northern Colorado (UNCO) IRB has APPROVED your submission. All research must be conducted in accordance with this approved submission.

This submission has received Expedited Review based on applicable federal regulations.

Please remember that informed consent is a process beginning with a description of the project and insurance of participant understanding. Informed consent must continue throughout the project via a dialogue between the researcher and research participant. Federal regulations require that each participant receives a copy of the consent document.

Please note that any revision to previously approved materials must be approved by this committee prior to initiation. Please use the appropriate revision forms for this procedure.

All UNANTICIPATED PROBLEMS involving risks to subjects or others and SERIOUS and UNEXPECTED adverse events must be reported promptly to this office.

All NON-COMPLIANCE issues or COMPLAINTS regarding this project must be reported promptly to this office.

Based on the risks, this project requires continuing review by this committee on an annual basis. Please use the appropriate forms for this procedure. Your documentation for continuing review must be received with sufficient time for review and continued approval before the expiration date of September 27, 2016.

Please note that all research records must be retained for a minimum of three years after the completion of the project.

If you have any questions, please contact Sherry May at 970-351-1910 or Sherry.May@unco.edu. Please include your project title and reference number in all correspondence with this committee.

APPENDIX B

DISTRICT RESEARCH APPROVAL LETTER

Megan Edmiston <megan.edmiston

Dissertation IRB Approval

Jeri Crispe <jeri.crispe@
To: Megan Edmiston <megan.edmiston@
Cc: Carmen Williams <carmen.williams@

Thu, Sep 3, 2015 at 8:47 AM

Amber Wallace <amber.wallace@

Megan,

The external research review committee has reviewed and approved your application. Please send us a report of your final findings.

Thanks,
Carmen and Jeri

Jeri Crispe
Director, Secondary Education

APPENDIX C

PARENTAL CONSENT FORM (ENGLISH)

PARENTAL CONSENT FORM FOR HUMAN PARTICIPANTS
IN RESEARCH
UNIVERSITY OF NORTHERN COLORADO

Project Title: "Their Whole World at School": Portraits of Students, Their Teacher, and Emerging Culture in a Middle School Newcomer Program
Researcher: Megan Edmiston, Ed.D. Candidate, School of Teacher Education
Phone Number: (xxx) xxx-xxx
E-mail: edmi7664@bears.unco.edu
Research Advisor: Dr. Dana Walker, School of Teacher Education
Phone Number: (970) 351 2720
E-mail: dana.walker@unco.edu

Hello! I am working on a degree in curriculum and instruction at University of Northern Colorado. I study policies, instruction, and curriculum to help improve education for students and teachers. For a current project, I am interested in talking to your child about the experience of being a part of the English Language Development program for new bilingual students (newcomers). My purpose is to see how these students build the culture of language and literacy in this program.

If you give permission, I will observe your child's English newcomer classroom in person one or two times per week during the 2015-2016 school year and videotape these classes for me to analyze. Your child will not need to do anything different than normal class activity during these observations. The learning of the classroom will not be interrupted. As part of these observations, I will collect schoolwork and examples from home that show me your child's experiences with literacy and language.

I would also like to interview your child no more than five times during the school year. These interviews will take no longer than one hour and will be informal and casual. Interviews will be held at school, but I will make every effort to schedule them when your child will miss the least instruction, and all work and time missed from classes will be allowed to be made up or will be excused.

I will take notes during the interview and audio record the interview in order to get the conversation correct. I will not use your child's name in anything, though. I will use a fake name instead for your child and any people or places mentioned. Notes and recordings will be stored securely on my personal computer and in a locked file cabinet to which only I have access. I will also destroy the audio recordings, notes, and this consent form once I have finished the study.

Your child's grades, schoolwork, and daily activity will not be affected by this project. During interviews, your child will be asked to reflect on experiences before and during

involvement in the newcomer program, which may cause uncomfortable emotions. Counseling services can be referred if needed or desired.

I would be happy to answer any questions you have about the purpose of the project or any details of what your child will be doing to participate. Please call or email me to ask your questions, or I would be happy to meet with you and your child as well to discuss the project. Please keep one copy of this letter for your records.

Thank you very much for assisting me with my research!

Sincerely,

Megan Edmiston

Participation is voluntary. You may decide not to allow your child to participate in this study, and if he or she begins participation you may still decide to stop and withdraw at any time. Your decision will be respected and will not result in loss of benefits to which you are otherwise entitled. Your child's grades and academic standing will not be affected by this decision. Having read the above and having had an opportunity to ask any questions, please sign below if you would like to participate in this research. A copy of this form will be given to you to keep for future reference. If you have any concerns about your selection or treatment as a research participant, please contact the Office of Sponsored Programs, Kepner Hall, University of Northern Colorado Greeley, CO 80639; 970-351-2161.

Child's Full Name (please print)   Child's Birth Date
                                                     (month/day/year)

Parent/Guardian's Signature   Date

Researcher's Signature   Date

APPENDIX D

PARENTAL CONSENT FORM (SPANISH)

CONSENTIMIENTO DE LOS PADRES PARA LA PARTICIPACIÓN HUMANA EN LA INVESTIGACIÓN
LA UNIVERSIDAD *UNIVERSITY OF NORTHERN COLORADO*

Título del Proyecto: Las experiencias de los estudiantes en un distrito escolar en un programa para los recién llegados al país (*newcomer program*).

Investigadora: Megan Edmiston, Candidata Doctoral, Facultad de Educación

Teléfono: (xxx) xxx-xxxx

E-mail: edmi7664@bears.unco.edu

Asesora de Investigación: Dr. Dana Walker, Facultad de Educación

Teléfono: (970) 351 2720

E-mail: dana.walker@unco.edu

¡Hola! Estoy trabajando en un doctorado en currículo y enseñanza en la universidad *University of Northern Colorado* (UNC por sus siglas en inglés). Estoy estudiando políticas, enseñanza y currículo para ayudar a mejorar la educación para los estudiantes y maestros. Para el presente proyecto, estoy interesada en hablar con su estudiante sobre la experiencia de ser parte del programa del Desarrollo del Idioma Inglés para los nuevos estudiantes bilingües (los recién llegados al país). Mi propósito es examinar cómo estos estudiantes desarrollan la cultura de lenguaje y alfabetización en este programa.

Si usted da su permiso, observaré la clase de inglés para recién llegados de su hijo en persona, una o dos veces por semana durante el año escolar 2015-2016, y grabaré en video estas clases para poder analizarlas. Durante estas observaciones, su hijo no tiene que hacer nada diferente de lo normal en las actividades de la clase. El aprendizaje en la clase no será interrumpido. Como parte de estas observaciones, estaré reuniendo muestras del trabajo en clase y en casa que me muestren las experiencias de su estudiante en la alfabetización y el lenguaje.

También, me gustaría entrevistar a su hijo no más de cinco veces durante el año escolar. Estas entrevistas durarán no más de una hora y serán informales. Las entrevistas se llevarán a cabo en la escuela, pero haré todo lo posible para programarlas para que su estudiante pierda la cantidad más mínima posible de enseñanza, y todo el trabajo y tiempo perdido de clases se permitirán que sean recuperados o justificados.

Tomaré apuntes durante las entrevistas y haré grabaciones de audio de las entrevistas para asegurar que las tenga correctas. No usaré para nada el nombre de su hijo, sino que usaré nombres falsos para él/ella y cualquier persona o lugar mencionado. Los apuntes y las grabaciones serán guardados de forma segura en mi computadora personal y en un archivo bajo llave al cual sólo yo tendré acceso. También, destruiré las grabaciones, los apuntes y este formulario de permiso una vez que haya terminado el estudio.

Las calificaciones, el trabajo escolar y las actividades escolares diarias de su hijo no se verán afectados por este proyecto. Durante las entrevistas, le pediré a su hijo que reflexione sobre sus experiencias antes y durante su participación en el programa para los recién llegados, lo cual podría causar emociones incómodas. Se pueden recomendar los servicios de consejería si es necesario o deseado.

Estoy a su disposición para contestar cualquier pregunta sobre el propósito del proyecto o cualquiera de los detalles de lo que estaría haciendo su hijo para participar. Por favor, no dude en llamar o enviarme un email (correo electrónico) para cualquier pregunta; con mucho gusto, también estoy dispuesta a reunirme con usted para hablar sobre el proyecto. Por favor guarde una copia de esta carta para sus propios archivos.

¡Muchas gracias por ayudarme con mi investigación!

Atentamente,

Megan Edmiston

La participación es voluntaria. Usted puede decidir no darle permiso a su hijo para participar en este estudio; si él/ella comienza a participar, usted aún puede decidir retirarlo en cualquier momento. Su decisión será respetada y no resultará en ninguna pérdida de beneficios a los cuales tiene derecho. Las calificaciones de su hijo y su estatus académico no se verán afectados por esta decisión. Después de haber leído lo anterior y de haber tenido la oportunidad de hacer cualquier pregunta, por favor firme a continuación si le gustaría participar en esta investigación. Se le proporcionará una copia de este permiso para sus documentos. Para cualquier preocupación sobre su selección o tratamiento como un participante en la investigación, por favor comuníquese con la oficina de programas patrocinados: *Office of Sponsored Programs, Kepner Hall, University of Northern Colorado Greeley, CO 80639; 970-351-2161.*

Nombre y Apellido de su estudiante (letra imprenta)   Fecha de nacimiento de su estudiante (mes/día/año)

Firma del padre/madre/tutor   Fecha

Firma de la Investigadora   Fecha

APPENDIX E

PARENTAL CONSENT FORM (CHINESE-MANDARIN)

研究人员参与父母同意表
北科罗拉多大学

课题名称：	区域移民课题中的学生体验
研究人员：	Megan Edmiston（教育学博士在读），师范教育学院
电话号码：	(xxx) xxx-xxxx
电子邮箱：	edmi7664@bears.unco.edu
研究顾问：	Dana Walker 博士，师范教育学院
电话号码：	(970) 351 2720
电子邮箱：	dana.walker@unco.edu

您好！我是来自北科罗拉多大学课程与教学方向的在读博士。我的研究内容包括教育政策、教学、课程，目的是提升教育质量，惠及广大师生。目前，出于研究需要，我希望与您的孩子就参加英语语言发展课题的体验进行交流，该课题是专为新移民双语学生设立的。交流的目的是了解学生在该课题中是如何构建语言及读写文化的。

若您允许，我会在2015-2016学年亲自到孩子的英语课堂进行观察并录像，以供研究分析，频率为每周一至两次。观察过程中，您的孩子只需和往常一样上课即可。课堂节奏也不会被打乱。另外，我会收集大家的作业和在家的样本，以了解他们在读写和语言方面的体验。

我还希望能够在本学年内采访您的孩子，次数不会超过五次。采访时间不会超过一小时，也不会很正式，只是随便聊聊。采访地点设在学校，时间安排方面我会尽量不影响孩子上课，如果占用了课堂时间，我也会事先获得允许并尽力让孩子补课。

采访过程中，为了保证谈话内容的正确性，我会记笔记并录音。但是，在任何情况下我都不会使用孩子的真名。对您的孩子以及他/她提到的人和地方，我都会采用化名。笔记和录音都会存放在我个人电脑的加密文件包中，他人无法打开，十分安全。一旦研究结束，我会将录音、笔记和该同意表销毁。

您孩子的成绩、作业和日常活动皆不会因此研究而受到影响。采访过程中，我们会让您的孩子谈谈在参加移民课题前后的体验，这可能会导致他/她在情绪上的不适。此时，如有需要，我会为您的孩子提供心理辅导服务。

如果您对我的研究目的或研究过程中任何有关孩子的细节有疑问，我都乐意为您解答。您可以通过电话或邮件与我联系，我也乐意与您当面交流讨论。请留存此信的复印件以作备份。

非常感谢您对本次研究的帮助与支持！

此致，

Megan Edmiston

自愿参与。您有权拒绝让孩子参加此次研究，如果他/她已经参与其中，您也可以随时让孩子退出。我会尊重您的选择，且不会让它损害您在其他方面的利益，也不会对您孩子的成绩造成影响。在阅读以上内容并解决相关疑问后，若您同意参加此次研究，请在下方签名。本表复印件将会留一份给您，以备参考。如果您对自己的选择或对研究参与者的待遇有任何担忧之处，请与我们联系，联系方式如下：Office of Sponsored Programs, Kepner Hall, University of Northern Colorado Greeley, CO 80639; 970-351-2161。

孩子全名（请打印）   孩子出生日期（月/日/年）

家长/监护人签名   日期

研究人员签名   日期

APPENDIX F

**PARENT/GUARDIAN PARTICIPANT CONSENT
FORM (ENGLISH)**

CONSENT FORM FOR HUMAN PARTICIPANTS IN RESEARCH
UNIVERSITY OF NORTHERN COLORADO

Project Title:	"Their Whole World at School": Portraits of Students, Their Teacher, and Emerging Culture in a Middle School Newcomer Program
Researcher:	Megan Edmiston, Ed.D. Candidate, School of Teacher Education
Phone Number:	(970) 685-9049
E-mail:	edmi7664@bears.unco.edu
Research Advisor:	Dr. Dana Walker, School of Teacher Education
Phone Number:	(970) 351 2720
E-mail:	dana.walker@unco.edu

Hello! I am working on a degree in curriculum and instruction at University of Northern Colorado. I study policies, instruction, and curriculum to help improve education for students and teachers. For a current project, I am interested in talking to you about your child's experience of being a part of the English Language Development program for new bilingual students (newcomers). My purpose is to see how these students build the culture of language and literacy in this program and how each student's individual experiences contribute to that culture.

I would like to interview you no more than three times during the 2015-2016 school year. These interviews will take no longer than one hour and will be informal and casual. Interviews will be held at a time and place convenient for you. I will take notes during the interview and audio record the interview in order to get the conversation correct. I will not use your child's name in anything, though. I will use a fake name for you, your child, and any people or places mentioned. Notes and recordings will be stored securely on my personal computer and in a locked file cabinet to which only I have access. I will also destroy the audio recordings, notes, and this consent form once I have finished the study.

You and your child will not face negative consequences for participation in the study. During interviews, you will be asked to reflect on experiences before and during your child's involvement in the newcomer program, which may cause uncomfortable emotions. Counseling services can be referred if needed or desired.

I would be happy to answer any questions you have about the purpose of the project or any details of what you would be doing to participate. Please call or email me to ask your questions, or I would be happy to meet with you as well to discuss the project. Please keep one copy of this letter for your records.

Thank you very much for assisting me with my research!

Sincerely,

Megan Edmiston

Participation is voluntary. You may decide not to participate in this study, and if you begin participation you may still decide to stop and withdraw at any time. Your decision will be respected and will not result in loss of benefits to which you are otherwise entitled. Your child's grades and academic standing will not be affected by this decision. Having read the above and having had an opportunity to ask any questions, please sign below if you would like to participate in this research. A copy of this form will be given to you to keep for future reference. If you have any concerns about your selection or treatment as a research participant, please contact the Office of Sponsored Programs, Kepner Hall, University of Northern Colorado Greeley, CO 80639; 970-351-2161.

Child's Full Name (please print)   Child's Birth Date
                                                     (month/day/year)

Parent/Guardian's Signature   Date

Researcher's Signature   Date

APPENDIX G

**PARENT/GUARDIAN PARTICIPANT CONSENT
FORM (SPANISH)**

**CONSENTIMIENTO PARA LA PARTICIPACIÓN HUMANA
EN LA INVESTIGACIÓN
LA UNIVERSIDAD *UNIVERSITY OF NORTHERN COLORADO***

Título del Proyecto:	Las experiencias de los estudiantes en un distrito escolar en un programa para los recién llegados al país (*newcomer program*).
Investigadora:	Megan Edmiston, Candidata Doctoral, Facultad de Educación
Teléfono:	(xxx) xxx-xxxx
E-mail:	edmi7664@bears.unco.edu
Asesora de Investigación:	Dr. Dana Walker, Facultad de Educación
Teléfono:	(970) 351 2720
E-mail:	dana.walker@unco.edu

¡Hola! Estoy trabajando en un doctorado en currículo y enseñanza en la universidad *University of Northern Colorado* (UNC por sus siglas en inglés). Estoy estudiando políticas, enseñanza y currículo para ayudar a mejorar la educación para los estudiantes y maestros. Para el presente proyecto, estoy interesada en hablar con usted sobre las experiencias de su estudiante en ser parte del programa del Desarrollo del Idioma Inglés para los nuevos estudiantes bilingües (los recién llegados al país). Mi propósito es examinar cómo estos estudiantes desarrollan la cultura de lenguaje y alfabetización en este programa, y cómo las experiencias individuales de cada estudiante contribuyen a esa cultura.

Me gustaría entrevistarlo(a) a usted no más de 3 veces durante el año escolar 2015-2016. Estas entrevistas durarán no más de una hora y serán informales. Se llevarán a cabo durante una hora y lugar que sean convenientes para usted. Yo tomaré apuntes durante las entrevistas y haré grabaciones de audio de las entrevistas para asegurar que las tenga correctas. Usaré nombres falsos para usted, los estudiantes y cualquier persona o lugar mencionado. Los apuntes y las grabaciones serán guardados de forma segura en mi computadora personal y en un archivo bajo llave al cual sólo yo tendré acceso. También, destruiré las grabaciones, los apuntes y este formulario de consentimiento una vez que haya terminado el estudio. Solamente mi asesora de investigación en UNC y yo misma tendremos acceso a los datos.

Usted y su estudiante no enfrentarán ninguna repercusión negativa por su participación en este estudio. Durante las entrevistas, le pediré que reflexione sobre las experiencias antes y durante la participación de su hijo en el programa para los recién llegados, lo cual podría causar emociones incómodas. Se pueden recomendar los servicios de consejería si es necesario o deseado.

Estoy a su disposición para contestar cualquier pregunta sobre el propósito del proyecto o cualquiera de los detalles de lo que usted estaría haciendo para participar. Por favor, no dude en llamar o enviarme un email (correo electrónico) para cualquier pregunta; con mucho gusto, también estoy dispuesta a reunirme con usted para hablar sobre el proyecto. Por favor guarde una copia de esta carta para sus propios archivos.

¡Muchas gracias por ayudarme con mi investigación!

Atentamente,

Megan Edmiston

La participación es voluntaria. Usted puede decidir no participar en este estudio; si comienza a participar, aún puede decidir retirarse en cualquier momento. Su decisión será respetada y no resultará en ninguna pérdida de beneficios a los cuales tiene derecho. Las calificaciones de su hijo y su estatus académico no se verán afectados por esta decisión. Después de haber leído lo anterior y de haber tenido la oportunidad de hacer cualquier pregunta, por favor firme a continuación si le gustaría participar en esta investigación. Se le proporcionará una copia de este permiso para sus documentos. Para cualquier preocupación sobre su selección o tratamiento como un participante en la investigación, por favor comuníquese con la oficina de programas patrocinados: *Office of Sponsored Programs, Kepner Hall, University of Northern Colorado Greeley, CO 80639; 970-351-2161.*

Nombre y Apellido de su estudiante (letra imprenta)

Fecha de nacimiento de su estudiante (mes/día/año)

Firma del padre/madre/tutor

Fecha

Firma de la Investigadora

Fecha

APPENDIX H

**SCHOOL PERSONNEL PARTICIPANT CONSENT
FORM (ENGLISH)**

CONSENT FORM FOR HUMAN PARTICIPANTS IN RESEARCH
UNIVERSITY OF NORTHERN COLORADO

Project Title: "Their Whole World at School": Portraits of Students,
                               Their Teacher, and Emerging Culture in a Middle School
                               Newcomer Program
Researcher: Megan Edmiston, Ed.D. Candidate, School of Teacher
                               Education
Phone Number: (xxx) xxx-xxxx
E-mail: edmi7664@bears.unco.edu
Research Advisor: Dr. Dana Walker, School of Teacher Education
Phone Number: (970) 351 2720
E-mail: dana.walker@unco.edu

Hello! I am working on a degree in curriculum and instruction at University of Northern
Colorado. I study policies, instruction, and curriculum to help improve education for
students and teachers. For a current project, I am interested in talking to you about your
students' experiences of being a part of the English Language Development program for
new bilingual students (newcomers). My purpose is to see how these students build the
culture of language and literacy in this program and how each student's individual
experiences contribute to that culture.

I would like to interview you no more than three times during the 2015-2016 school year.
These interviews will take no longer than one hour and will be informal and casual.
Interviews will be held at a time and place convenient for you. I will take notes during the
interview and audio record the interview in order to get the conversation correct. I will
use fake names for you, students, and any people or places mentioned. Notes and
recordings will be stored securely on my personal computer and in a locked file cabinet
to which only I have access. I will also destroy the audio recordings, notes, and this
consent form once I have finished the study.

I would also like to videotape the newcomer classroom while I am conducting
observations to help keep my notes and reflections accurate. In addition to interviews and
observations, I would like to collect examples of literacy in your classroom, including
curricular materials and work samples.

You and your students will not face negative repercussions for participation in the study.
During interviews, you will be asked to reflect on the culture of the newcomer program,
which may cause uncomfortable emotions. Counseling services can be referred if needed
or desired.

I would be happy to answer any questions you have about the purpose of the project or any details of what you would be doing to participate. Please call or email me to ask your questions, or I would be happy to meet with you as well to discuss the project. Please keep one copy of this letter for your records.

Thank you very much for assisting me with my research!

Sincerely,

Megan Edmiston

Participation is voluntary. You may decide not to participate in this study, and if you begin participation you may still decide to stop and withdraw at any time. Your decision will be respected and will not result in loss of benefits to which you are otherwise entitled. Your child's grades and academic standing will not be affected by this decision. Having read the above and having had an opportunity to ask any questions, please sign below if you would like to participate in this research. A copy of this form will be given to you to keep for future reference. If you have any concerns about your selection or treatment as a research participant, please contact the Office of Sponsored Programs, Kepner Hall, University of Northern Colorado Greeley, CO 80639; 970-351-2161.

Participant Signature   Date

Researcher's Signature   Date

APPENDIX I

SCHOOL PERSONNEL CONSENT FORM (SPANISH)

**CONSENTIMIENTO PARA LA PARTICIPACIÓN HUMANA
EN LA INVESTIGACIÓN
LA UNIVERSIDAD *UNIVERSITY OF NORTHERN COLORADO***

Título del Proyecto:	Las experiencias de los estudiantes en un distrito escolar en un programa para los recién llegados al país (*newcomer program*).
Investigadora:	Megan Edmiston, Candidata Doctoral, Facultad de Educación
Teléfono:	(xxx) xxx-xxxx
E-mail:	edmi7664@bears.unco.edu
Asesora de Investigación:	Dr. Dana Walker, Facultad de Educación
Teléfono:	(970) 351 2720
E-mail:	dana.walker@unco.edu

¡Hola! Estoy trabajando en un doctorado en currículo y enseñanza en la universidad *University of Northern Colorado* (UNC por sus siglas en inglés). Estoy estudiando políticas, enseñanza y currículo para ayudar a mejorar la educación para los estudiantes y maestros. Para el presente proyecto, estoy interesada en hablar con usted sobre las experiencias de su estudiante en ser parte del programa del Desarrollo del Idioma Inglés para los nuevos estudiantes bilingües (los recién llegados al país). Mi propósito es examinar cómo estos estudiantes desarrollan la cultura de lenguaje y alfabetización en este programa, y cómo las experiencias individuales de cada estudiante contribuyen a esa cultura.

Me gustaría entrevistarlo(a) a usted no más de 3 veces durante el año escolar 2015-2016. Estas entrevistas durarán no más de una hora y serán informales. Se llevarán a cabo durante una hora y lugar que sean convenientes para usted. Yo tomaré apuntes durante las entrevistas y haré grabaciones de audio de las entrevistas para asegurar que las tenga correctas. Usaré nombres falsos para usted, los estudiantes y cualquier persona o lugar mencionado. Los apuntes y las grabaciones serán guardados de forma segura en mi computadora personal y en un archivo bajo llave al cual sólo yo tendré acceso. También, destruiré las grabaciones, los apuntes y este formulario de consentimiento una vez que haya terminado el estudio. Solamente mi asesora de investigación en UNC y yo misma tendremos acceso a los datos.

También, mientras realizo observaciones me gustaría grabar en video el salón de clases de los recién llegados para ayudar a mantener exactos mis apuntes y reflexiones. Además de las entrevistas y observaciones, me gustaría reunir ejemplos de la alfabetización en la clase, incluyendo materiales del currículo y muestras de trabajo.

Usted y sus estudiantes no enfrentarán ninguna repercusión negativa por su participación en este estudio. Durante las entrevistas, le pediré que reflexione sobre la cultura del programa para los recién llegados, lo cual podría causar emociones incómodas. Se pueden recomendar los servicios de consejería si es necesario o deseado.

Estoy a su disposición para contestar cualquier pregunta sobre el propósito del proyecto o cualquiera de los detalles de lo que usted estaría haciendo para participar. Por favor, no dude en llamar o enviarme un email (correo electrónico) para cualquier pregunta; con mucho gusto, también estoy dispuesta a reunirme con usted para hablar sobre el proyecto. Por favor guarde una copia de esta carta para sus propios archivos.

¡Muchas gracias por ayudarme con mi investigación!

Atentamente,

Megan Edmiston

La participación es voluntaria. Usted puede decidir no participar en este estudio; si comienza a participar, aún puede decidir retirarse en cualquier momento. Su decisión será respetada y no resultará en ninguna pérdida de beneficios a los cuales tiene derecho. Las calificaciones de su hijo y su estatus académico no se verán afectados por esta decisión. Después de haber leído lo anterior y de haber tenido la oportunidad de hacer cualquier pregunta, por favor firme a continuación si le gustaría participar en esta investigación. Se le proporcionará una copia de este permiso para sus documentos. Para cualquier preocupación sobre su selección o tratamiento como un participante en la investigación, por favor comuníquese con la oficina de programas patrocinados: *Office of Sponsored Programs, Kepner Hall, University of Northern Colorado Greeley, CO 80639; 970-351-2161.*

Firma del Participante   Fecha

Firma de la Investigadora   Fecha

APPENDIX J

STUDENT PARTICIPANT ASSENT FORM (ENGLISH)

ASSENT FORM FOR HUMAN PARTICIPANTS IN RESEARCH
UNIVERSITY OF NORTHERN COLORADO

Hi!

My name is Megan Edmiston and I am a student at the University of Northern Colorado. I do research in education. That means I study what is best for students and teachers in schools. The project I am working on right now involves talking to students who take English Language Development classes at your school. I would like to talk with you about your experiences before and during these classes and come to your English class sometimes to watch how the class runs.

If you want to talk with me, I will come into your English class several times during the school year to watch, but I will not interrupt your class. I might talk with you sometimes during class or at other times during the school day, but I will not interfere with your day. If you are comfortable with talking to me one-on-one, I would like to meet with you a few times during the school year to just have a conversation about your experiences. I will ask you some questions, but we can just sit down and talk. I will write down notes about what you say and audio record the conversation so that I can make sure I get your words right, but I won't include your name in anything. I will use fake names for you and any people or places you name. This conversation will take no longer than one hour, and if you miss any class time, you will be allowed to make up work with no penalty.

I will also have you share examples of your experiences with language and literacy from home and school. For example, you could share books, songs, or pictures from home and school in English and/or your first language. We might have conversations during the school day about these examples so that I can understand your experiences.

All audio recordings, notes, and images will be securely stored on my personal computer and in locked files to which no one but me has access. I will use a fake name to save all of this information as well. Everything will be destroyed after I have finished the project.

Talking with me will help make English Language Development better for students. Your parents have said it is okay for you to talk with me, but you don't have to. It's up to you. Also, if you say "yes" but then change your mind, you can stop any time you want to. Your decision will be respected, and your grades and academic standings will not be affected in any way. If you need to discuss any emotional discomfort you experience in talking with me, I will find a counselor for you.

Having read the above, if you want to be in my research and talk with me about your experiences in your English class, sign your name below and write today's date next to it. Thanks!

Student   Date

Researcher   Date

APPENDIX K

STUDENT PARTICIPANT ASSENT FORM (SPANISH)

**CONSENTIMIENTO PARA LA PARTICIPACIÓN HUMANA
EN LA INVESTIGACIÓN
LA UNIVERSIDAD *UNIVERSITY OF NORTHERN COLORADO***

¡Hola!

Me llamo Megan Edmiston y soy una estudiante en la universidad *University of Northern Colorado*. Realizo investigaciones en el área de la educación. Eso significa que estoy estudiando qué es lo mejor para los estudiantes y maestros en las escuelas. El proyecto en el que estoy trabajando en este momento consiste en hablar con los estudiantes que están tomando clases del Desarrollo del Idioma Inglés en tu escuela. Me gustaría hablar contigo sobre tus experiencias antes y durante tu participación en estas clases y venir a veces a tu clase de inglés para observar cómo funciona la clase.

Si te gustaría hablar conmigo, yo vendría a tu clase de inglés en varias ocasiones durante el año escolar para observar, pero no voy a interrumpir tu clase; estaría haciendo grabaciones de video en tu salón para asegurarme de no perderme nada mientras observo la clase. Podría hablar contigo a veces durante la clase o en otras ocasiones durante el día escolar, pero no voy a interferir con tu día. Si estás a gusto en hablar conmigo de uno en uno, me gustaría reunirme contigo algunas pocas veces durante el año escolar simplemente para conversar sobre tus experiencias. Te haré algunas preguntas, pero podemos simplemente platicar. Yo tomaré apuntes de lo que me dices y haré grabaciones de audio de nuestras conversaciones para asegurarme de captar bien tus palabras, pero no voy a incluir to nombre en nada. Voy a usar nombres falsos para ti y cualquier persona o lugar que menciones. Estas conversaciones no van a durar más de una hora, y si pierdes algún momento de clase, se permitirá que recuperes el trabajo sin ninguna penalización.

También te pediré que compartas conmigo algunos ejemplos de tus experiencias con el lenguaje y la alfabetización (lectura/escritura) en casa y la escuela. Por ejemplo, podrías compartir conmigo libros, cantos, o fotos/dibujos de tu casa o la escuela, en inglés y/o tu idioma materno. Puede que tengamos conversaciones durante el día escolar sobre estos ejemplos para que yo pueda comprender tus experiencias.

Todas las grabaciones en audio, apuntes e imágenes serán guardados de forma segura en mi computadora personal y en un archivo bajo llave al cual nadie tiene acceso sino sólo yo misma. También voy a usar un nombre falso para guardar toda esta información. Todo va a ser destruido después de que haya terminado el proyecto.

Hablar conmigo va a ayudar a mejorar el Desarrollo del Idioma Inglés para los estudiantes. Tus padres han dicho que está bien que hables conmigo, pero depende de ti. También, si dices que "sí" pero después cambias de opinión, puedes dejar de hacer esto en cualquier momento. Tu decisión será respetada y tus calificaciones y estatus académico no se van a ver afectados en lo absoluto. Si necesitas hablar sobre cualquier

incomodidad emocional que sientes al hablar conmigo, yo te puedo encontrar un consejero.

Después de haber leído lo anterior, si quisieras estar en mi investigación y hablar conmigo sobre tus experiencias en tu clase de inglés, a continuación firma tu nombre y escribe la fecha de hoy día. ¡Muchas gracias!

Estudiante   Fecha

Investigadora   Fecha

APPENDIX L

**STUDENT PARTICIPANT ASSENT FORM
(SIMPLIFIED CHINESE-MANDARIN)**

研究人员参与同意表
北科罗拉多大学

您好！

我叫 Megan Edmiston，目前就读于北科罗拉多大学。我的研究领域是教育学。研究内容则是探索对学生和老师最有利的教育方式。目前我的课题需要学校英语语言课的同学参与。我希望在课前或课上与您交流，并到班级观摩，了解上课方式。

如果您愿意，本学年我会去听几次英语课，但不会扰乱课堂秩序。听课过程中，我会在教室架摄像机，确保不遗漏任何细节。或许我会在课上或教学日的其他时间跟您谈话，但不会打扰您的日常生活。如果您愿意，我希望能够在本学年跟您进行一些面对面的交谈，了解您在英语课上的体验。交谈时我会问您几个问题，但只是坐下随便聊聊。在此过程中，我会作适当的笔记，并将谈话内容录下以确保正确理解，但不会泄露您的隐私。对于您本人以及您所提到的人物和地点，我都将采用化名。我们的谈话时间不会超过一小时，如果在此期间耽误了上课，我保证您不会受到惩罚，并且可以补课。

我还需要您分享一些语言及读写方面的体验。例如，无论是在家里还是在学校，您都可以跟我分享一些书籍、歌曲或图片，可以用英语也可以用汉语。我们可以在教学日针对您分享的内容进行交流，便于我理解。

所有录音、笔记和图片都存放在我个人电脑的加密文件包里，别人无法打开，十分安全。储存信息时我也将采用化名。一旦课题结束，我会立即删除所有相关信息。

我们之间的交流将有助于提升英语语言发展课的教学质量。虽然您的父母已经同意，但最终选择权在您。此外，如果您中途反悔，可以随时退出。我尊重您的决定，您的成绩也不会因此而受任何影响。如果在跟我交流的过程中，您出现任何情绪上的不适并希望就此进行讨论，我会为您找一名辅导人员。

在阅读以上内容后，如果您愿意加入研究课题，跟我分享英语课上的体验，请在下方签名并写上今天的日期。谢谢！

学生   日期

研究人员   日期

APPENDIX M

STUDENT PARTICIPANT INTERVIEW GUIDE
(ENGLISH)

STUDENT PARTICIPANT INTERVIEW GUIDE

These questions are to be used as loose guidance for the interviews with single students and are written in student-friendly language. Additional questions will arise as the culture is observed throughout the school year.

1.   What is your home country? Can you tell me about it and what life was like for you there?

2.   Can you describe what the move to the U.S. has been like for you?

3.   What are the biggest differences and similarities you see between your home country and the United States?

4.   How do you feel about moving to a new country?

5.   What languages do you speak? What languages have you studied or practiced?

6.   How has using and learning English been for you so far? What has been easy or challenging?

7.   What were your school experiences like in your home country?

8.   What have your school experiences been so far in the United States?

9.   What seems similar and different between schools in the U.S. and in your country?

10.   Can you describe the beginning of the school year? How did you get registered for school? Who set up your schedule? Who helped you on the first day?

11.   What is your school schedule? Do you like your classes? Your teachers? Your classmates?

12.   How many of your classes are English Language Development classes? What types of things do you learn in these classes?

13.   How do these ELD classes affect your other classes during the school day (Schedule? Classmates? Help , hinder, or indifferent?

14.   Can you tell me about your classmates in your ELD classes? Your teachers?

15.   Can you tell me about your classmates in your non-ELD classes? Your teachers?

16. Who are your friends at school? What do you enjoy about them?

17. Who are the adults in the school that you feel the most connected to? Why?

18. Tell me about the things you read and write at school. Can you show me some examples?

19. What languages do you use at school? With whom and where?

20. Tell me about the things you read and write at home. Can you bring me some examples?

21. What languages do you use at home? With whom?

22. What do you like to do when you are not at school?

23. Tell me about your ELD classmates. Where are they from? What languages do they speak? How do you feel about having class with them?

24. How do you and your ELD classmates interact in class? How do you learn from each other?

25. Besides learning English, what do you feel is the biggest thing you have had to learn so far this school year?

APPENDIX N

STUDENT PARTICIPANT INTERVIEW GUIDE
(SPANISH)

STUDENT PARTICIPANT INTERVIEW GUIDE

These questions are to be used as loose guidance for the interviews with single students and are written in student-friendly language. Additional questions will arise as the culture is observed throughout the school year.

1. ¿Cuál es tu país de origen? ¿Me puedes contar acerca de tu país y cómo era la vida allá para ti?

2. ¿Me podrías describir cómo ha sido para ti haberte venido a los Estados Unidos?

3. ¿Cuáles son las mayores diferencias y similitudes que observas entre tu país de origen y los Estados Unidos?

4. ¿Cómo te sientes acerca de haberte mudado a un nuevo país?

5. ¿Qué idiomas hablas? ¿Qué idiomas has estudiado o practicado?

6. Hasta este momento, ¿cómo ha sido para ti usar y aprender el inglés? ¿Qué cosas han sido fáciles o difíciles?

7. ¿Cómo fueron tus experiencias escolares en tu país de origen?

8. Hasta este momento, ¿cuáles han sido tus experiencias escolares en los Estados Unidos?

9. ¿Qué cosas parecen ser similares y diferentes entre las escuelas en los Estados Unidos y en tu país?

10. ¿Me puedes describir el comienzo del año escolar? ¿Cómo te inscribiste a la escuela? ¿Quién programó tu horario escolar? ¿Quién te ayudó el primer día de clases?

11. ¿Cuál es tu horario escolar? ¿Te gustan tus clases? ¿Te caen bien tus maestros? ¿Tus compañeros?

12. ¿Cuántas de tus clases son clases del Desarrollo del Inglés? ¿Qué tipos de cosas aprendes en estas clases?

13. ¿Cómo afectan estas clases de ELD tus otras clases durante el día escolar? ¿el horario? ¿los compañeros? (¿ayudan, obstaculizan, indiferente?)

14. ¿Me puedes contar acerca de tus compañeros en tus clases de ELD? ¿Acerca de tus maestros de ELD?

15. ¿Me puedes contar acerca de tus compañeros en tus otras clases, que no son de ELD? ¿Acerca de tus maestros en tus otras clases, que no son de ELD?

16. ¿Quiénes son tus amistades en la escuela? ¿Qué es lo que disfrutas de ellos/ellas?

17. ¿Quiénes son los adultos en la escuela con los que sientes una mayor conexión? ¿Por qué?

18. Cuéntame sobre las cosas que lees y escribes en la escuela. ¿Me puedes mostrar algunos ejemplos?

19. ¿Qué idiomas usas en la escuela? ¿Con quién y dónde?

20. Cuéntame sobre las cosas que lees y escribes en casa. ¿Me puedes traer algunos ejemplos?

21. ¿Qué idiomas usas en casa? ¿Con quién?

22. ¿Qué te gusta hacer cuando no estás en la escuela?

23. Cuéntame de tus compañeros de ELD. ¿De dónde son? ¿Qué idiomas hablan? ¿Cómo te sientes acerca de tener clases con ellos/ellas?

24. ¿De qué forma se interactúan/se relacionan tú y tus compañeros de ELD en clase? ¿Cómo aprenden los unos de otros?

25. Aparte de aprender el inglés, ¿qué sientes que es la cosa principal/más grande que has tenido que aprender hasta este momento en el año escolar?

APPENDIX O

STUDENT PARTICIPANT INTERVIEW GUIDE
(SIMPLIFIED CHINESE-MANDARIN)

附录 I—学生参与者采访指南

以下是采访单个学生的问题指南，语言风格符合学生习惯。随着我对学生文化背景了解的加深，我会在本学年提出其他问题。

1.   您的原籍国是哪里？能否谈一谈您的原籍国以及您在那里的生活？

2.   能否描述一下移民到美国给您带来的影响？

3.   您的原籍国与美国之间最大的差异和相似之处分别是什么？

4.   来到一个新国家，您的感觉如何？

5.   您使用何种语言？您曾经学习或使用过何种语言？

6.   到目前为止，您的英语学得怎么样？在此过程中，哪些方面比较容易，哪些又具有挑战性？

7.   您在原籍国的学校里表现如何？

8.   您在美国学校里的表现如何？

9.   您的原籍国学校与美国学校之间的相似和不同之处分别是什么？

10.   能否描述一下本学年开学之初的一些情况？您是怎样报考学校的？谁给您制定的计划表？开学第一天，是谁给您帮忙的？

11.   您在学校的计划表是什么？您喜欢您的课程么？喜欢老师么？喜欢同学么？

12.   您的课程当中有多少属于英语语言发展课？在这些课程中，您学到了什么？

13.   这些英语语言发展课对您的其他课程影响如何（计划表？同学？是有益，阻碍还是没有关系？

14.   能跟我谈一谈您在英语语言发展课的同学么？能谈一谈老师么？

15.   能跟我谈一谈您在非英语语言发展课的同学么？能谈一谈老师么？

16.   您在学校的朋友有哪些？您喜欢他们哪些地方？

17.   您跟学校中哪个工作人员的联系最为密切？为什么？

18.　您在学校都读些什么书？写些什么东西？能否给我看一些例子？

19.　您在学校使用什么语言？使用此种语言跟何人交谈？在哪儿交谈？

20.　您在家中都读些什么书？写些什么东西？能给我带一些例子过来么？

21.　您在家中使用何种语言？使用此种语言跟何人交谈？

22.　放学后您喜欢做什么？

23.　跟我聊聊您在英语语言发展课上的同学吧。他们都来自哪里？他们使用什么语言？跟他们一起上课，您的感觉如何？

24.　您跟这些同学在课上怎样交流？您们怎样互相学习？

25.　除了学习英语，您觉得今年最大的收获是学会了什么？

APPENDIX P

**PARENT/GUARDIAN PARTICIPANT INTERVIEW GUIDE
(ENGLISH)**

PARENT/GUIDARIAN PARTICIPANT
INTERVIEW GUIDE

These questions are to be used as loose guidance for the interviews with parents/guardians and are written in understandable language. Additional questions will arise as the culture is observed throughout the school year and as topics arise from prior interviews with the guardians and the students.

1. What is your home country? Can you tell me about it and what life was like for you there?

2. Can you describe what the move to the U.S. has been like for you? For your child?

3. What are the biggest differences and similarities you see between your home country and the United States?

4. What languages do you speak? What languages have you studied or practiced?

5. How has using and learning English been for your child so far? What has been easy or challenging?

6. What were your child's school experiences like in your home country?

7. What have your child's school experiences been so far in the United States?

8. What seems similar and different between schools in the U.S. and in your country?

9. Can you describe the beginning of the school year? How did you get your child registered for school? Who set up his/her schedule? Who helped you with this process?

10. What is your child's school schedule? Does he/she like his/her classes? Teachers? Classmates?

11. What is your knowledge of the English Language Development newcomers program? What has been your and your child's experiences with the program and ELD classes?

12. How do these ELD classes affect your child's other classes during the school day (Schedule? Classmates? Help, hinder, or indifferent?

13. What has your child told you about his/her newcomer classmates? His/her ELD teachers?

14. What has your child told you about his/her classmates in his/her non-ELD classes? Non-ELD teachers?

15. Who are your child's friends at school? Outside of school?

16. Who are the adults in the school that you feel the most connected to? Why?

17. Tell me about the things your child reads and writes at school. Can you show me some examples?

18. What languages does your child use at school? Do you know with whom and where?

19. Tell me about the things you and your family read and write at home. Can you show me some examples?

20. What languages do you use at home? With whom?

21. What types of activities does your child participate in outside of school?

22. What has been the biggest challenge for your child since arriving in the U.S.? What has been the biggest success?

23. What types of feelings about school has your child shared with you? How does this make you feel?

APPENDIX Q

**PARENT/GUARDIAN PARTICIPANT INTERVIEW
GUIDE (SPANISH)**

PARENT/GUIDARIAN PARTICIPANT
INTERVIEW GUIDE

These questions are to be used as loose guidance for the interviews with parents/guardians and are written in understandable language. Additional questions will arise as the culture is observed throughout the school year and as topics arise from prior interviews with the guardians and the students.

1. ¿Cuál es su país de origen? ¿Me puede contar acerca de su país y cómo era la vida allá para usted?

2. ¿Podría describir cómo ha sido para usted haberse venido a los Estados Unidos? ¿Para su hijo?

3. ¿Cuáles son las mayores diferencias y similitudes que observa entre su país de origen y los Estados Unidos?

4. ¿Qué idiomas habla usted? ¿Qué idiomas ha estudiado o practicado?

5. Hasta este momento, ¿cómo ha sido para su hijo usar y aprender el inglés? ¿Qué cosas han sido fáciles o difíciles?

6. ¿Cuáles fueron las experiencias escolares de su hijo en su país de origen?

7. Hasta este momento, ¿cuáles han sido las experiencias escolares de su hijo en los Estados Unidos?

8. ¿Qué cosas parecen ser similares y diferentes entre las escuelas en los Estados Unidos y en su país?

9. ¿Me puede describir el comienzo del año escolar? ¿Cómo consiguió inscribir a su hijo en la escuela? ¿Quién programó su horario escolar? ¿Quién le ayudó a usted con este proceso?

10. ¿Cuál es el horario escolar de su hijo? ¿Le gustan a él/ella sus clases? ¿Le caen bien sus maestros? ¿Sus compañeros?

11. ¿Qué conocimiento tiene usted acerca del programa del Desarrollo del Inglés para los que son recién llegados al país? ¿Cuáles han sido sus experiencias, y las de su hijo, con el programa y las clases de ELD?

12. ¿Cómo afectan estas clases de ELD las otras clases de su hijo durante el día escolar? ¿el horario? ¿los compañeros? (¿ayudan, obstaculizan, indiferente?)

13.   ¿Qué le ha contado su hijo acerca de sus compañeros en sus clases para los recién llegados? ¿Acerca de sus maestros de ELD?

14.   ¿Qué le ha contado su hijo acerca de sus compañeros en sus otras clases, que no son de ELD? ¿Acerca de sus maestros en las otras clases, que no son de ELD?

15.   ¿Quiénes han sido las primeras amistades de su hijo en la escuela? ¿Fuera de la escuela?

16.   ¿Quiénes son los adultos en la escuela con los que usted siente una mayor conexión? ¿Por qué?

17.   Cuénteme sobre las cosas que su hijo lee y escribe en la escuela. ¿Me puede mostrar algunos ejemplos?

18.   ¿Qué idiomas usa su hijo en la escuela? ¿Sabe usted con quién y dónde?

19.   Cuénteme sobre las cosas que usted y su familia leen y escriben en casa. ¿Me puede mostrar algunos ejemplos?

20.   ¿Qué idiomas usa usted en casa? ¿Con quién?

21.   ¿En qué tipo de actividades participa su hijo fuera de la escuela?

22.   ¿Cuál ha sido el mayor reto para su hijo desde que llegaron a los Estados Unidos? ¿Cuál ha sido el mayor éxito?

23.   ¿Qué tipos de sentimientos sobre la escuela ha compartido su hijo con usted? ¿Cómo se siente usted acerca de eso?

APPENDIX R

**PARENT/GUARDIAN PARTICIPANT INTERVIEW GUIDE
(SIMPLIFIED CHINESE-MANDARIN)**

PARENT/GUIDARIAN PARTICIPANT
INTERVIEW GUIDE

附录 L—家长/监护人参与者采访指南

以下可作为采访家长/监护人的采访指南，问题描述浅显易懂。随着我对受访者文
化了解的加深，以及采访话题的深入，我会在本学年研究期间提出其他问题
。

1.　　您的原籍国是哪里？能否谈一谈您的原籍国以及您在那里的生活

2.　　能否描述一下移民到美国给您带来的影响？对您孩子的影响？

3.　　您的原籍国与美国之间最大的差异和相似之处分别是什么？

4.　　您使用何种语言？您曾经学习或使用过何种语言？

5.　　迄今为止，您的孩子学习和使用英语的情况如何？在此过程中，哪些方面比
　　　较容易，哪些又具有挑战性？

6.　　您的孩子在原籍国学校的经历如何？

7.　　到目前为止，您的孩子在美国学校的经历如何？

8.　　您的原籍国学校与美国学校之间的相似和不同之处分别是什么？

9.　　能否描述一下本学年开学之初的一些情况？您是如何让孩子报考学校的？谁
　　　给您的孩子制定计划表？在此过程中谁曾给您提供帮助？

10.　 您孩子的学校计划表是怎样的？您的孩子喜欢现在的课么？喜欢老师么？喜
　　　欢同学么？

11.　 您对英语语言发展新移民课题的了解是什么？您和孩子在该课题和英语语言
　　　发展课的体验如何？

12.　 英语语言发展课对您孩子的其他课程影响如何（计划表？同学？是有益，阻
　　　碍还是没有关系？

13.　 您的孩子是如何跟您描述他/她在新移民课的同学的？如何描述英语语言发
　　　展课老师的？

14. 您的孩子是如何跟您描述他/她在其他课上同学的？如何描述其他课程老师的？

15. 您的孩子在学校有哪些朋友？在学校外又有哪些朋友？

16. 您跟学校中哪个工作人员的联系最为密切？为什么？

17. 请告诉我您的孩子在学校里阅读和写作的内容。能否给我看一些例子？

18. 您的孩子在学校使用何种语言？您知道他/她使用此种语言在哪里跟何人交谈么？

19. 请告诉我您和家人平时在家中阅读和写作的内容。能否给我看一些例子？

20. 您在家中使用何种语言？使用此种语言跟何人交谈？

21. 您的孩子在课后会参加何种类型的活动？

22. 您的孩子来美国之后面临的最大的困难是什么？获得的最大的成就是什么？

23. 您的孩子跟您分享的在学校中的感受都是什么样的呢？他/她的感受让您觉得如何？

APPENDIX S

**SCHOOL PERSONNEL PARTICIPANT INTERVIEW
GUIDE**

SCHOOL PERSONNEL PARTICIPANT INTERVIEW GUIDE

These questions are to be used as loose guidance for the interviews with teachers, instructional assistants, and district personnel. Additional questions will arise as the culture is observed throughout the school year and as topics arise from prior interviews with the guardians, the students, and school personnel.

1.   What is your position in the ELD department? How long have you been associated with this department? This district?

2.   Can you explain the mission and guiding principles of the ELD department?

3.   In your own words, what distinguishes the newcomers program at this middle school from other middle school ELD programs?

4.   What is your role in assessing, placing, and monitoring newcomer students?

5.   What languages do your current newcomers speak? What countries are they from?

6.   What languages do you speak? What languages have you studied or practiced?

7.   How do you differentiate for students in your class? What role does translation/interpretation have in your class?

8.   How do you perceive other teachers differentiate for newcomers?

9.   Tell me about your students. What do you know about their lives prior to and since arriving in the United States?

10.   What challenges and successes have you observed in your students this year?

11.   Can you describe how students interact with each other and with you in class? How do they interact with other teachers and instructional assistants?

12.   With whom do your students interact outside of class (lunch, recess, etc.)?

13.   With what adults do your students seem most connected at school?

14.   Can you describe the beginning of the school year? How did students get registered for school? Who set up their schedules? Who helped them with this process?

15. Tell me about the curricula and materials you use in your newcomer program.

16. What types of things do your students read and write in class? Can you show me some examples?

17. What types of things do your students read and write outside of school? Can you show me some examples?

18. How do ELD classes affect students' other classes during the school day? (Schedule? Classmates? Help, hinder, or indifferent?)

19. Tell me about your students' strengths.

20. How do you monitor student progress? What are the goals you have for students, and how do you know when they have met them?

21. What feelings have students shared about being in a new country with a new language?

22. What conflicts have arisen in class? How were they handled?

23. Describe your classroom environment. What have you established, and why?

24. Describe the interaction you have had with your students' parents/guardians.

25. Describe the qualities of an effective newcomer/ELD teacher.

26. Describe an effective newcomer/ELD class/classroom.

APPENDIX T

DATA COLLECTION MATRIX

DATA COLLECTION MATRIX

Research Question	Types of Data	Example of Concepts
1. How do newcomer students position themselves in relationship to their newcomer peers?	• Semi-structured interviews with students, teachers, instructional assistants, administrators, and student families • Informal conversations with students and teachers on site • Fieldnotes from participant observations in classrooms, recess, lunch, and other school-based settings • Student work samples from school and literacy artifacts from home/community	• Individual culture negotiation • Group culture negotiation • Discourse and discourse use • Identity construction • Sociocultural positioning • Power and privilege negotiation • Agency • Ontological pluralism • Literacy, language, and identity as mutually constructed
2. How are newcomer students positioned by their peers, teachers, families, and the district?	• Semi-structured interviews with students, teachers, instructional assistants, administrators, and student families • Informal conversations with students and teachers on site • Fieldnotes from participant observations in classrooms, recess, lunch, and other school-based settings • Student work samples and examples of home/community literacy versus school literacy • District policies • Student cumulative files	• Individual culture negotiation • Group culture negotiation • Discourse and discourse use • Identity construction • Sociocultural positioning • Power and privilege negotiation • Agency • Ontological pluralism • Sociocultural positioning of policy and systemic manifestations • Literacy, language, and identity as mutually constructed

Research Question	Types of Data	Example of Concepts
3. How do newcomers' interpretations of their experiences prior to and during the newcomer program contribute to the construction of their literate and linguistic identities?	• Semi-structured interviews with students, teachers, instructional assistants, administrators, and student families • Informal conversations with students and teachers on site • Fieldnotes from participant observations in classrooms, recess, lunch, and other school-based settings • Student work samples and examples of home/community literacy versus school literacy	• Individual culture negotiation • Group culture negotiation • Discourse and discourse use • Identity construction • Sociocultural positioning • Power and privilege negotiation • Agency • Ontological pluralism
4. In what ways do individual identities shape the newcomer group culture?	• Semi-structured interviews with students, teachers, instructional assistants, administrators, and student families • Informal conversations with students and teachers on site • Fieldnotes from participant observations in classrooms, recess, lunch, and other school-based settings • Student work samples and examples of home/community literacy versus school literacy	• Individual culture negotiation • Group culture negotiation • Discourse and discourse use • Identity construction • Sociocultural positioning • Power and privilege negotiation • Agency • Ontological pluralism

APPENDIX U

EXCERPTS FROM RESEARCHER JOURNAL

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* Still judged by how well they assimilate to U.S. school norms
- reciting, raising hand, etc.

1/21/16 The warm-up topic is to write about an important day in their life.
- JL is sitting there, and Kt has her think of possibilities, such as when she moved from China, and she just stares
- 5 min. later she still hasn't written anything, so Kt goes over + asks questions again + draws what she is saying
- Kt has a sentence frame for them →
The most important day for me was when ____. This day was important because ____.
- all the kids can say theirs by memory of what they wrote and using the sentence frame, but JL has to read hers off her journal w/ Kt's help

- Kt asks JL what page they were on, and she just stared at her

- ccdc
- interview
- next wk.

- Kt: "I'm going to say two sentences. Tell me what you think." I am helping he, or I am helping him?
- T: "I am helping him."
- Kt: "Right so you don't have to change everything around, just this word."

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R + J work together, + Kt works with JL

much
different
output

- JL, J, + R work on workbook grammar +
writing/asking questions, while K, C, + T
work on writing an original skit about
an important day in their lives

1/27/16 - playing a vocab/spelling review game in teams

The groups are
mixed up

- using the word in a sentence + get a pt. for
the correct use + spelling
- the teams help each other out — talk about
the answer + shouting out responses
- R is walking away + K + J shout out
"el punto" + he goes back to put the
period
- JL hesitates going up to the board + C + T
say "go!"
- Kt said that she had JL drop FCS to
be in OLD + she has ~~~~~ her
paired w/ R
- she said it changed her lunch too,
so now she eats w/ T + Meaza
who are "friendly"
- the two groups are working on the
same concepts with different stories
- prediction + comprehension questions

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"make sure your work is right"
- when they are finished, she has
them check their work against an answer
sheet

trad.   - one of the stories is called "Late Again"
stereotypes + the predictions are based on the title
of school + the teacher looking angry
- encourages the groups to read the story
together
- Kt. asks R, J, + JL if they want to read
as a whole group or in partners; J answers
partners + then she asks JL if she wants
to be partners w/ her today — her look is
blank + the boys look relieved
- C, T, + K discuss in spanish who will read
which part
- C keeps losing his spot b/c he is trying
to do the wks. before reading

very   - Kt. has to help JL understand text features
traditional + translate the questions
task + the - even though the pairs/groups must read the
mood of the text together, all conversation stops when they
class is are answering questions
traditional - J seems to be waiting on R to catch up
* - Kt. never checks on T, C, + K, yet she goes
back + forth between R + J + JL — all of
them seem not to be able to work w/o
her direction
- When C, K, + T are finished, they have
to come up with actions for 3 vocab.
words + teach them to the group
- Kt — "Christopher, don't look too
excited"
- C — doesn't even look up + sighs heavily
- T + C seem confused about what to do + K is
explaining

brings up questions about ability grouping + the assumption that people will get along b/c their language levels are the same

- K says, "She's saying the words!"
  T is very frustrated + says, "No! I trying to explain"
  · Kt. has to intervene
- while C is "teaching," only K is paying attention + participating
- T appears to be very upset
- Kt. talks to K after class individually about how she speaks to T
  - models how the two sentences sound to someone

APPENDIX V

EXCERPTS FROM WEEKLY REFLECTIONS

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March 20, 2016

The class went to their weekly library visit, which I have never observed before. They are required to check out one book in English, and they may check out another in Spanish/Chinese. The boys all walk through the library and sit together in a huddle. T and K select their books pretty quickly and then sit in the butterfly chairs reading and giggling. Kr. and L separately and then collectively hover around J while she is picking a book. She had picked a book on the Galapagos Islands that was sort of a mini encyclopedia-type book, and Kr. redirected her to get something else in addition to that book. What does this say about Kr.'s impression of what counts as reading? They have time in class to begin their homework assignment regarding these books--a worksheet "report" on their text, due Friday. Tying the book selection, trip to the library, etc. to a worksheet removes something from the love of reading, it seems.

March 27, 2016

I joined the class for a field trip to Subway this week, where they had to order and pay themselves to practice their English. Kr. role-played the Subway worker before they left the classroom, and they all previewed the menu and practiced ordering. C was stoic and stood up very straight when ordering. T, J, and K ordered and paid with no problems. J leaned to Kr. and said, "I don't know how to start the conversation." Ju's order had to be repeated by Kr. so the worker could hear it. R was visibly nervous about the whole process. He had practiced his order for his sandwich, but did not know until he was in line that you could get a drink and chips too. He was very concerned about the cost and if he had enough money. On the way to and from the restaurant, they had a vocabulary activity to do to earn no homework the following week. I found this interesting, that they had to have busy work (a worksheet to write on) in order for the trip to be educational. And that she had to bribe them with the possibility of no homework. Reinforcement of traditional classroom, even when not physically in the classroom.

April 5, 2016

Interviewing C was again challenging to get him to say more than a few words. I asked him if he feels anxious about high school next year and not having the level of support he has had this year, and he didn't seem to even understand why I would ask that. His responses remind me of Ju, because there seems to be a lack of emotion from both of them. It would be interesting to consider how they are positioning themselves by being quiet, what is being withheld? What is the silent discourse? What is displayed by body language instead--C visibly bored, Ju looking around. I feel like I have more information about these two students from others' perspectives of them rather than from them, and I wonder about that phenomenon in terms of postmodernism and the impossibility of controlling your identities.

April 7, 2016

I completed transcriptions of Kr. and C today, and the idea that newcomers are struggling students seems pervasive. Both teachers equated English proficiency with being high/low or achieving/struggling. Kr. also talks about language rather than English language, and that makes for a strange conflation of English as the only indicator of language--a postmodern hierarchy? She also stresses foundational skills, that newcomers need those before they can do anything else--what to make of this?