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First Language Status and Second Language Writing

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FIRST LANGUAGE STATUS AND SECOND LANGUAGE WRITING

by

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ABSTRACT

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In spite of growing numbers in high schools and colleges, US-resident adolescent bilingual learners, sometimes termed “English as a second language” (ESL) or “Generation 1.5,” are not succeeding academically in proportion to their monolingual English-speaking peers. This achievement gap is evident in their writing as they enter college. Depending on the elementary and secondary schools they have attended, bilingual learners may have received no extra English learning support (often termed “immersion”), ESL support classes, or bilingual education. In addition, depending on school and community resources, bilingual learners have varying knowledge of their first language (L1): some may only speak it, others may have basic L1 literacy, others may have studied their L1 as a school subject, while others may have studied in the medium of their L1, either in their family’s home country or in a bilingual education program in the US. The purpose of this study is to determine which kind of English learning support and which kind of L1 education are more likely to prepare bilingual learners to write English successfully at college.

This study uses three sources of data: a survey on language background, a writing sample, and an optional interview. Twenty-nine college undergraduate bilingual learners participated. Their survey responses develop a profile of the varied kinds of English and L1 education they received. Each participant's communication course placement composition, written as she was applying to college, is analyzed with 12 different measures: six for surface features, four for discourse/rhetorical features, and two for coherence. The writing analysis scores are correlated with the survey data and enriched with interview excerpts to discover which forms of English and L1 education correlate with high or low writing analysis scores.

The results for this group of participants show that bilingual education and ESL support correlate most often with highly-rated communication placement compositions. Moreover, formal education in the L1 explains the writing analysis scores more accurately than the kind of language learning education the participants received. Interview data suggests that bilingual education and formal L1 education may assist students' English composition skills by helping them develop metalinguistic awareness.

Dedication

To my students: past, present, future

Acknowledgements

With gratitude to my advisors and committee
and
with heartfelt thanks to my family

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LIST OF NOMENCLATURE, ABBREVIATIONS, AND SYMBOLS

Abbreviations and terms used in this dissertation, in alphabetical order

AOA – "Age on arrival"; how old an immigrant child is when her family enters the US

Bilingual learner – bilingual students whose families reside in the US

CPA – Communication Placement Assessment

C/T – clauses per T-unit

Coord – coordination markers

DC/C – dependent clauses per clause (shortened to %DC for summarizing tables)

%E – percentage of errors

EAP – English for academic purposes, "[grounding] English language teaching in the cognitive and linguistic demands of academic target situations" (Benesch, 2001, p. xv)

%EFC – percentage of error-free clauses

EFL – English as a foreign language (when English is taught as a school subject in a non-English-speaking country)

EL – English learner

ELL – English language learner

ESL – English as a second language

Generation 1.5 - "those who immigrate as young children and have life experiences that span two or more countries" and/or students who negotiate "between two cultural and linguistic identities" (Roberge, 2009, p. 4)

Heritage language – a phrase used in many schools to denote L1 classes offered to bilingual learners, who have often learned oral dialects of their L1 but may have little literacy or acquaintance with academic forms of their language

LEP – limited English proficient

Logi – logical and exemplification markers

L1 – first (or native) language

L2 – second language

NLPLMCY – National Literacy Panel on Language-Minority Children and Youth

NNS – nonnative speaker (of English)

NS – native speaker of English

Newcomer – A term used in elementary and secondary schools to denote recently arrived immigrant children who know little or no English

%P & EP – percentage of T-units in either parallel or extended parallel progression

Rhet – rhetorical control

%SWT – percentage of sophisticated word types (lexical sophistication)

TESL – Teaching English as a second language

TESOL – Teachers of English to Speakers of Other Languages, the international association for professionals in the field of English language teaching

%Topi – percentage of T-units with a different topic

#W – number of words

%WT – percentage of different word types (lexical diversity)

SYMBOLS USED IN SUMMARIZING TABLES

H – a score ranked in the highest 33rd percentile

m – a score ranked in the middle 33rd percentile

- – a score ranked in the lowest 33rd percentile

Hm – a score that falls between the highest and middle 33rd percentiles

m- – a score that falls between the middle and lowest 33rd percentiles

* – scores or averages that are tied

~ – scores or averages that differ by fewer than 3 percentage points

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY

The purpose of this chapter is to provide an introduction to the study "First Language Status and Second Language Writing." I present my motivation for choosing US-resident bilingual students as the participants for my study, and bilingual education as my focus. Next, I detail my research questions and hypotheses. In the following part of the chapter I list a number of the different labels that have been used for this group of students and explain my choice of the phrase "bilingual learner." I then turn to a review of how bilingual learners have fared in US schools. I describe barriers to bilingual learners' academic success and explore the idea that their lack of success is due, in part, to discrimination that is part of the fabric of our society. Finally, I conclude the chapter with an overview of the remaining chapters of the dissertation.

1.1 Rationale for the focus of this study

In this part of the chapter I will describe why I chose US-resident bilingual college students as the participants of my study and how my interest in them led me to focus on bilingual education.

My interest in the group of students who are the participants of this study originated when I first began noticing them in my freshman writing classes at a large state university in the South. Unlike international students, who came to the university for an American degree after finishing high school in their own countries, the students that caught my attention had spent most or all of their lives in the US. Yet, similar to their

international peers, they seemed to be struggling with comprehending and using academic English.

As I began to gather information about the US-resident bilingual students, I discovered that their numbers on college and university campuses are growing. Historically, they began entering US colleges and universities in appreciable numbers in the 1950s and 60s, due to the GI Bill and the Civil Rights Movement (Matsuda & Matsuda, 2009). Their numbers continued to increase in the 1970s, especially at schools with open admissions policies (Matsuda, 2005). Since then, the number of bilingual learners on college campuses has continued to increase, with growth becoming dramatic in the 1980s and continuing to the present (Roberge, 2009).

A quick look at a few population statistics explains this trend. In 2000, there were 31.1 million foreign-born people in the US, 57% higher than there were in 1990 (Drucker, 2003). By 2009, 20% of the US population under 18 was comprised of children of immigrants (both US- and foreign-born), and it is estimated that the portion will rise to 30% by 2015 (Louie, 2009). At the level of school enrollment, it is estimated that US-resident bilingual students will make up 40% of elementary and secondary schools' population by the 2030's (Thomas & Collier, 2001, p. 1).

These students, consequently, are "fast becoming the largest 'minority' group in U.S. schools" (Thomas & Collier, 2001, p. 10). The fastest-growing ethnic group is Hispanic; the population of Hispanic children from ages 5-13 is predicted to expand by 47% from 2000-2020 (Williams, 2001). US-resident bilingual learners are concentrated in secondary schools, where they comprise one-third of the student population. It is predicted that by 2014, 20% of graduating seniors will be Hispanic, and seven percent

will be Asian American (Harklau & Siegal, 2009). Overall, “one in five children in the U.S. is now the child of immigrants” (p. 25). Ultimately, many more of these students will enter higher education. I have chosen, therefore, to study a group of students who are becoming ever more important to university educators and administrators.

As I noted, US-educated bilingual students came to my attention because, although they had attended American schools, they were having difficulty with college-level English skills. I began to wonder about the kind of education they had received *before* entering my university writing classes. What were their elementary and secondary schools doing to prepare them for the demands that would be placed on their language abilities in college? From talking with the students, I gathered that their education had emphasized rapid acquisition of English; few of them had formally studied their native language. Yet, the few who had, seemed to me to be doing better in English. At teachers’ conferences and in the press, I began to hear arguments about the effectiveness of bilingual education as opposed to all-English education. The more I read and reflected on my experiences with bilingual students, the more convinced I became that maintaining and developing students’ L1 through bilingual education might be a more effective approach than complete immersion in English.

As a result, I designed a study to test the claim that “bilingual education (in its many forms) [is] an educational structure that optimizes access to English literacy” (Fránquiz, 2003, p. 420). The claim is put most boldly by Thomas and Collier, who conducted a five-year longitudinal study from 1996-2001 of the effects of a variety of language learning support services on the long-term academic achievement of bilingual students in US schools. Thomas and Collier’s study was conducted at the district level

and included data for bilingual learners in K-4 through 12th grade. Their 2001 report focused on the data from "five urban and rural research sites [districts] in the northeast, northwest, south-central, and southeast U.S," and it included 210,054 student records. At the end of their report, Thomas and Collier state:

> bilingual education…programs…are the only programs we have found to date that assist students to fully reach the 50th percentile in both [first language] and [second language—English] in all subjects and to maintain that level of high achievement, or reach even higher levels through the end of schooling (2001, p. 333).

None of the other models of education for language minority students was able to support such positive, long-term attainment in either the students' first languages *or* in English. Thus, language minority students in Thomas and Collier's study who did not receive bilingual education were less likely than those who had received it to attain and maintain high levels of academic achievement in English.

These findings are supported by other studies. For example, in 2006, Francis, Lesaux, and August reviewed 20 studies conducted between 1968 and 1991 of the effectiveness of bilingual education in North America. They summarize their findings by stating, "[I]t seems reasonably safe to conclude that bilingual education has a positive effect on English reading outcomes that are small to moderate in size" (p. 392). The note of caution in their conclusion is due to the complex nature of second language skills. After a review of the literature on the relationship of first language (L1) reading skills to second language (L2) reading comprehension, Bernhardt explains: "After 20 years of study, it was clear that the variables involved are significantly more complicated than the set involved in the general L1 reading, the general L1 literacy research literature" (2005, p. 135).

This complexity was sometimes ignored in earlier studies. For example, Francis, Lesaux, and August found that studies they reviewed did not account for selection bias—the fact that children were placed in bilingual or monolingual programs for different reasons. In some studies, it was the parents who had chosen the placement for their children; in others, it was the schools that had assigned the children to the educational treatment they received (p. 396). Yet, parental and school attitudes toward bilingualism are part of the complex set of influences on a child's success in bilingual education.

In another study, Baker chose to review international as well as North American studies of the effectiveness of bilingual education. He also conducted a study of his own in Canada. His endorsement of bilingual education, while stronger than that of Francis, Lesaux, and August, still does not exhibit the confidence expressed by Thomas and Collier. Baker states that "strong" forms of bilingual education (where students receive long-term education in both languages) "are no guarantee of success, but do appear from 40 years of research to increase the probability of student achievement" (2003, p. 98).

The complexity of bilingual learning creates a need for ongoing study so that researchers can continue to account for the many factors that influence student achievement. The political climate in the US adds urgency to this need. Baker explains:

> Bilingual education…is not just about a school with a dual language policy, provision for children who speak an immigrant or minority indigenous language, or how two languages are distributed in teaching and learning in classrooms. Bilingual education is a central part of national or regional language planning that, on some occasions, seeks to assimilate indigenous and immigrant minorities, or integrate newcomers or minority groups. On other occasions, bilingual education is a major plank in language revitalization and language reversal….These developments ensure that politics is rarely absent from debates about bilingual education (2003, pp. 95-96).

Politicians and political interest groups often seize upon research findings that support their agenda and "pitch such research into the cauldron of political competition and controversy" (p. 105). As a concerned citizen and educator, I undertook this study in order to make my own contribution to the debate.

1.2 Research questions and hypotheses

This section presents my research questions and my hypotheses about the answers I might find. My research questions are:

> 1) What forms of language learning support did this group of college students experience?
>
> 2) How accurate and complex are the surface features of the English writing of this group of students?
>
> 3) What levels of discourse/rhetorical and coherence control are seen in the English writing of this group of students?
>
> 4) What is the relationship between the forms of language learning support experienced by this group of students and the accuracy and complexity of the surface features, and the discourse/rhetorical and coherence control exhibited in their English writing?
>
> 5) What kinds of L1 education has this group of college students experienced?
>
> 6) What is the relationship between the kinds of L1 education received by this group of students and the accuracy and complexity of the surface features, and the discourse/rhetorical control exhibited in their English writing?
>
> 7) What are the relationships between the language learning support experienced by this group of students, their L1 knowledge, and the accuracy and complexity of the surface features and the discourse/rhetorical and coherence control exhibited in their English writing?

In designing these questions to test claims about the efficacy of bilingual education and my own observations about the importance of a thorough grounding in the L1, I had expectations, or hypotheses about what kinds of answers I would find. In relation to the first research question, I expected, of course, that the participants in my study would have experienced diverse kinds of language learning support and that this diversity would be made even more complex when I took into account the different ages of the participants when they arrived in the US—a variable that I will discuss in more detail in Chapter 2. On the other hand, given the kinds of schools that existed in Milwaukee at the time that the participants in my study would have been attending elementary and secondary schools, I hypothesized none of the participants would have attended a dual language program[1]. I expected to find widely diverging results for my second and third research questions regarding the accuracy and complexity of the surface features and the discourse/rhetorical and coherence control exhibited in the participants' compositions. Yet, I expected these widely diverging results to show a pattern. Namely, I hypothesized that the writing analysis scores would be higher for participants who had received more or more effective kinds of language-learning education—in this case, bilingual education.

Likewise, in relation to the fifth research questions, I expected the kinds of L1 education the participants had received to vary widely. Similar to my hypothesis for the participants who had received bilingual education, in relation to the sixth research question, I expected the writing analysis scores to be higher for participants who had

[1] At the time the participants of my study were in secondary school, only two dual language schools existed in the city: one for French (Milwaukee French Immersion School, 2010) and the other for German (Milwaukee German Immersion School, 2012). However, they went up to only the fifth grade.

received longer and more formal L1 education. Finally, in response to the last research question, I expected to see the highest writing analysis scores for participants who had received bilingual education *and* longer and more formal L1 education.

This study will help flesh out the sketchy picture we have of US-resident late adolescent and early adult bilingual learners. Moreover, the study will provide evidence that can be used in the national discussion of the merits of bilingual education. Before turning to a review of current literature on these topics, however, it is important to establish an understanding of the participants of the study: who they are, and why we should strive to learn more about them.

1.3 Rationale for the label, "bilingual learners"

I will now explain why I have chosen to call the participants in my study "bilingual learners" even though several other more common labels are available to me. Spack remarks, "Students are remarkably diverse, and thus no one label can accurately capture their heterogeneity. Yet that does not stop teachers and researchers from labeling" (1997, p. 765). She also warns that we need to be wary of labels because, "in the process of labeling students, we put ourselves in the powerful position of rhetorically constructing their identities…[Labeling] can lead us to stigmatize, to generalize, and to make inaccurate predictions about what students are likely to do" (p. 765). Yet, labels of some sort are necessary for communication. They also can serve a political function by making a group of individuals visible and thus more likely to receive the benefits that they may have been denied (Skutnabb-Kangas, 2000).

Already in this chapter, we have seen four labels for the participants in this study: "language minority," used by Thomas and Collier and by the reports of the National Literacy Panel; "ELL," used by Short and Fitzsimmons; "ESL," used in my discussion of the research questions; and the term I prefer, "bilingual learner." The label, "language minority," may be appropriate when we consider US society as a whole, with English as the native language of the majority of the population. But, in many schools, English is the native language of only a minority of the students. In addition, the words "minority" and "majority" may conjure a win/lose mentality, hardly a helpful metaphor for educational settings. The ELL designation is commonly used by elementary and secondary educators in the state where I teach. Yet, this label is problematic. After all, at the elementary and secondary (and, indeed, tertiary) levels of education, aren't *all* students English language learners? The "ESL" label is used more frequently by college educators to denote both the students and the kind of English they are studying. To many college educators, however, ESL students are international students—not young people who have been educated in US elementary and secondary schools. Also, it is unusual to call a group of students by the name of a subject they study unless it is their major. Other labels appear in the literature, including "EL" (English learner), "Generation 1.5" (between first and second generation Americans), "LEP" (Limited English Proficient), etc.

Instead of the conventional labels, I have chosen to use the phrase suggested by the National Association for Bilingual Education (NABE), "bilingual learners." In a memorandum to the Senate Health, Education, Labor and Pensions Committee, NABE recommends this phrase in place of

> derogatory terms used for identifying non-English Speaking students (i.e., LEP, ELL). These terms do not respect theses students as **academic**

> **learners**, but rather emphasize a *limitation* and English as the sole purpose of their education. The continued use of these inaccurate terms, not only stigmatizes these students, but also perpetuates an erroneous emphasis on English as the sole purpose for schooling. A more fitting term better suited to describe the **academic** and **linguistic** behaviors of these students in *any* instructional model is ***Bilingual Learner***, which reflects learning in both languages that will yield bilingualism and biliteracy and higher academic achievement (Ruiz-Escalante, 2010, p. 3).

Of course, even the label "bilingual learner" is problematic. When we call students "bilingual learners," we are drawing attention to what supposedly sets them apart from the pool of undifferentiated learners; we are highlighting their *bilingualness*. We don't usually call attention to the rest of the learners with labels like "single-language" or "monolingual learners." Indeed, the current political climate of No Child Left Behind legislation "marginalizes and penalizes [ELLs] in U.S. schools," creating "a de facto [English-only] language policy" (Menken, 2009, p. 113).In this climate, the phrase "bilingual learner" would seem to be a tool for identifying and subsequently marginalizing the very students for whom I have conducted this study.

On the other hand, one can argue that Ruiz-Escalante's choice of "bilingual learner" is a signal to change our views of bilingualism. Viewed from the point of view of monolingualism, bilingualism is "an exception" that causes problems like "language interference" for bilingual learners (Grosjean, 1989, pp. 4-5). This monolinguistic orientation leads to the deficit view of bilingual learners. Seen from the point of view of the majority of English speakers in the world, however, bilingualism—if not multilingualism—is the norm: "English is the first language of about 400 million people," while there are another "billion people who speak it as a second language…or as a foreign language" (Weiss, 2005, p. xii). For the majority of English speakers, as for roughly half of the inhabitants of the globe, bilingualism is a way of life. Thus,

monolingual speakers of English are the exception. With this in mind, I choose to use Ruiz-Escalante's label "bilingual learners" to identify a group of students who are *more* than monolingual. The word "bilingual" indicates a second set of strategies that they bring to bear on the task of their cognitive development, either instinctively or with the help of training.

1.4 Bilingual learners and academic success

In this section, I describe the lack of academic success many bilingual learners experience in our nation's schools. In general, bilingual learners are not succeeding in proportion to their monolingual English-speaking counterparts.

> Historically, schools have been unsuccessful in bringing students of diverse backgrounds to the same levels of literacy achievement as their mainstream peers, resulting in a literacy achievement gap. This gap is evident in the results of reading and writing tests administered by the National Assessment of Educational Progress and in the standardized test scores obtained by states (Au & Raphael, 2000, p. 173).

For example, statistics on eighth grade bilingual learners on the National Assessment of Educational Progress include these figures: only four percent of students who were currently receiving ESL or bilingual education scored as proficient or advanced in reading. In addition, only 20% of students who had previously received ESL or bilingual education scored in the proficient or advanced range (Short & Fitzimmons, 2007). As they continue into high school, many bilingual learners do not persist in their education. In her Preface to the *Report of the National Literacy Panel on Language-Minority Children and Youth* [NLPLMCY], August reports that in 2004, ten percent of native speakers of English dropped out of high school. The figure was 31% for English-

speaking bilingual learners and 51% for bilingual learners who speak English with difficulty (August, 2006, p. xii). Of the various groups of bilingual learners, Hispanic youth have the highest dropout rates (Rivera & Huerta-Macías, 2008, p. ix). For bilingual learners who manage to stay in school, the picture is still bleak. Thomas and Collier (2001) found that bilingual learners who received no bilingual support but managed to stay in school through 11th grade averaged at the 12th percentile on national reading tests. In 2007, the Center for Education Policy reported significant gaps between pass rates of bilingual learners and overall pass rates on state high school exit exams (Short & Fitzsimmons).

The achievement gap for bilingual learners at the elementary and secondary levels continues to be evident in college. For example, it is seen in college enrollment statistics. Nationally, while the numbers of Hispanic students enrolling in college has increased, "their enrollment as a proportion of the population showed little improvement" (Harklau & Siegal, 2009, p. 28). In fact, Texas, experiencing a decrease in the number of students enrolling in higher education, developed an initiative to increase the number of bachelor's and associate's degrees and college certificates from 95,000 in 2001 to 163,000 by 2015. In a progress report, they noted that, "White and Black student participation targets for 2005 have been met," but there was a "shortfall in Hispanic enrollment growth" (Stein, 2005, p. 83).

When bilingual learners apply to colleges, they tend to pass writing placement exams at a lower rate than their monolingual English-speaking peers (Mott-Smith, 2009, p. 120). A California data-sharing consortium of community colleges, colleges, and universities found that whereas only 16% of bilingual learners in their schools began their

freshman year in college level English (as opposed to developmental or pre-college English), 27% of the total population went straight into college level English classes (Patthey et al., 2009).

Bilingual learners continue to experience a less straightforward path toward graduation than their monolingual peers. For example, the California data-sharing consortium found that community college "ESL students, who tend to pass their first [composition] course in higher numbers than [basic skills] students, do not go on and progress through the college-composition curriculum at equivalent rates" (Patthey et al., 2009, p. 141). They add, "In fact, once [bilingual learners] reach AA- and Transfer-level English, their low group GPAs in those classes indicate struggle with the material" (p. 147).

Retention is an associated issue for bilingual learners at college; their graduation rates are lower than those for their monolingual peers (Harklau & Siegal, 2009). Louie terms this the "increasing stratification" of higher education: "Asian and White immigrants are more likely to attain bachelor's degrees…Blacks [are] the most likely to get a certificate or associate's degree. Finally, Latino immigrants face…substantial rates of dropping out of high school and college, and low rates of college completion." (2009, p. 43). In fact, "Hispanic students persist at half the rate of White students and made no gains in persistence between 1989 and 1995 while Whites gained" (Harklau & Siegal, 2009, p. 29).

1.5 Barriers to success

Many reasons are given for the lower success rate of bilingual learners in our schools. I will review the general barriers faced by bilingual learners at all levels of education and then narrow my focus to the barriers bilingual learners experience at the college level.

1.5.1 General barriers to success

Economics is one of the first factors mentioned in discussions of the disproportionate lack of academic success experienced by bilingual learners. Short and Fitzsimmons comment that the rapid growth of the bilingual learner population in the US "raises important concerns about whether states have resources…and infrastructures to accommodate these students" (2007, p. 7). Unfortunately, the schools that have the highest percentages of bilingual learners often do not have many resources. According to a 2005 report for The Urban Institute's Program for Evaluation and Equity Research, "nearly 70 percent of the nation's LEP students are enrolled in 10 percent of its schools. These schools…are predominately located in urban areas, and LEP students are largely minority and economically disadvantaged" (De Cohen, Deterding, & Clewell, 2005, p. 1). In her article on the demographic characteristics of bilingual learners, Louie reports that a quarter of the nation's bilingual learners are from low-income families (2009, p. 35). She lists key features of the neighborhoods where many bilingual learners' families live: "urban, native minority neighborhoods already struggling with the departure of the middle class, industrial jobs, and investment on the part of the state" with "under-resourced and struggling public K-12 schools" (2009, p. 39).

De Cohen et al. categorize schools as either “high LEP” (having a high percentage of bilingual learners—another phrase for this is “high incidence”) or “low LEP.” Each kind of school presents its own set of disadvantages and advantages. In high incidence schools, “poverty is cited as a ‘serious problem’ by more than 40 percent of principals and teachers…versus 20 percent or less of staff at other schools” (2005, p. 6). High incidence schools have more difficulties filling teacher vacancies, making them more reliant on substitute teachers, teachers with fewer than three years of experience, and teachers who lack certification. In addition, inexperienced teachers tend to change schools several times until they become established, leading to even less stability for schools that rely on them to fill vacancies.

Associated with economics, another disadvantage for bilingual learners is that many of them attend schools with high concentrations of other bilingual learners. The end result is that they may have almost no interaction with native speakers of English, thereby gaining little practice with the language. As Dutro, Levy, and Moore comment, “Often the only person in class using complex language is the teacher” (2012, p. 340). A second negative outcome for high incidence schools is that they may become overly focused on basic language skills, unwittingly neglecting instruction in complex academic language and critical thinking (Au & Raphael, 2000); and students may not be taught the important skill of articulating problems (Bernstein, 2004). All students, including bilingual learners, who come up through these kinds of programs tend to “lack access to a curriculum that gives them the language skills they need for advanced level work” (Frodesen, 2009, p. 91).

On the other hand, teachers and principals at schools with high numbers of bilingual learners tend to be more diverse. Due to their large populations of bilingual learners, “standardized procedures for identifying ELLs are more prevalent in High LEP schools” (De Cohen et al., 2005, p. 8), and the schools are more likely to provide ESL or bilingual support for their bilingual learners (p. 7). They also are more likely to offer L1—often called “heritage language”—classes for their linguistic minority students (p. 7). Schools with many bilingual learners usually provide teachers and staff more professional development on English language learning issues than low incidence schools. Teachers at high incidence schools who are certified are more likely to have ESL certification along with their other credentials. While class sizes are larger at high incidence schools, the schools are more likely to offer support and remediation for struggling students. They are also more likely to be involved in “parental outreach and support activities” (p. 8).

Low incidence schools tend to have smaller class sizes, more experienced principals, and better qualified teachers; however, they usually have fewer resources for bilingual learners and their teachers. Bilingual learners may, in fact, be overlooked in schools with few bilingual learners, or they may receive attention because of their ethnicity or poverty, without extra support for their language learning (De Cohen et al., 2005, p. 17).

If we look at the nation’s two largest immigrant groups, Latinos and Asians, we can see how De Cohen et al.’s high/low incidence division plays out in the population. Latinos are more likely to attend larger schools that also have minority populations of over 88%. These schools have higher student-to-teacher ratios and larger numbers of

economically disadvantaged students. As Au and Raphael note, “school poverty depresses the achievement scores of all students when at least half are from low-income families, and this effect is even stronger when more than 75% of the students are from such families” (2000, p. 174). Asians are also likely to be at larger schools, but only 14.8% of Asians attend schools with more than 88% minorities. Also, the economic level of the students is slightly better at the large schools Asians attend (fewer than one third of the students qualify for free lunch) (Louie, 2009, pp. 41-42). Attending schools with high percentages of bilingual learners is not the only reason for poor academic achievement at college, but it forms part of the complex interrelations between economics, race, and geography that affect academic outcomes.

Another barrier to bilingual learners’ success is that there is “a bewildering variety of programs, classroom placements, and instructional approaches” for bilingual learners (Roberge, 2009, p. 13). This multiplicity begins with placement practices: “Most K-12 schools assess incoming immigrant students to determine whether they need specialized language support. However, the quality of the assessment varies considerably between states and between school systems within a given state” (p. 13). Each state, in fact, determines its own criteria for identifying bilingual learners (Mace-Matluck, Alexander-Kasparik, & Queen, 1998). In addition, “each state has the freedom to develop its own assessment system” for documenting federally mandated (No Child Left Behind) yearly progress in English and mathematics, (Mencken, 2009, p. 104). This patchwork of placement and testing practices makes it difficult for anyone to get a clear idea of just what is happening with English language education across the nation. It also adds

"disruptions and discontinuities" to bilingual learners' schooling, should their families move out of a district or across state lines (Roberge, 2009, p. 12).

Also affecting immigrant students' academic performance are emotional and identity issues. After two years of observing Latino/a students in school, Valdés commented, "What has become increasingly clear to me is that, in coming to this country and in adjusting to American schools, immigrant students and their families travel very long distances. These distances are physical, emotional, and psychological. And for many of these individuals, the journey from where they came from to becoming 'American' will take a very long time indeed" (2001, p. 9). For example, anxiety and depression, normal reactions to leaving behind a homeland (Roberge, 2009, p. 10), can affect new immigrant students' performance, whatever their level. These emotions may be more intense and last longer if the family fled war or persecution. Home responsibilities for bilingual learners may impinge on their study time and, at times, add emotional strain. Immigrant children, especially girls, often have child care and housework responsibilities at home (Fu, 1995). Many bilingual learners spend time in "language brokering and literacy mediation" for their parents (Roberge, 2009, p. 10). In addition, due to parents' and older siblings' work schedules and the struggle to survive economically while adjusting to the new culture, there may be little opportunity for students to share their hopes and frustrations with their families (Townsend & Fu, 2001).

Moreover, children of immigrants face thorny identity questions. If they identify with their heritage language, but don't speak it fluently, they face questions such as, "Am I a *real* Chinese?" (Chiang & Schmida, 1999, p. 85). Or they may struggle with institutional labels and their implications. For example, a Dominican child may wonder if

she is Dominican, American, Latina, or Black (Roberge, 2009). Within their own ethnic group, newer immigrants may be shunned as "too backward," or American-raised immigrants may be considered "too Americanized" (pp. 10-11). In developing an identity, a young immigrant student also has to navigate how success (or failure) in school relates to the identities she is trying on.

1.5.2 Barriers to college success

Economic factors impact bilingual learners' school success in a general way, but they also have a particular impact on those who wish to attend college. Today's economic climate has "eliminated many well-paying skilled industrial jobs…cutting off traditional routes of economic integration and upward mobility" (Roberge, 2009, p. 9). At the same time, college costs are rising; yet, aid is moving away from need-based awards. Also, ethnicity and income level affect a family's willingness to use loans (Harklau & Siegal, 2009).

Standardized testing creates an especially frustrating barrier to entering college. Tests such as the SAT and ACT "have persistently shown bias against non-White and non-middle-class groups" (Harklau & Siegal, 2009, p. 28). Aside from the cultural bias that persists in standardized tests, the vocabulary of some prompts may be difficult for bilingual learners to understand. For students who must mentally translate parts of the English test questions into their L1, the test time limits may be unrealistic. As Anstrom observes, to meet state or school standards, bilingual learners "have to perform at much higher cognitive and linguistic levels than their native-speaking peers." While their monolingual peers are able to focus most of their attention on the cognitive tasks of the test, bilingual learners must also focus on the language of the test (1997, p. 100).

Like all incoming freshmen, bilingual learners must adjust to the cognitive, social, and self-management demands of college. Unlike the majority of their monolingual peers, however, bilingual learners must manage cultural and linguistic differences as well. At times, it may seem as though they must suppress their own cultural values and understandings if they wish to meet the demands of their college courses. Hyland, quoting Bizzell (1987, p. 131), explains why adjusting to tertiary education may be so difficult for bilingual learners:

> Not only does it confront them with a more complex and relativistic style of learning than they knew at school, but they also have to "employ cultural and discourse literacies very different from those of 'standard English' varieties." These difficulties are compounded for second language speakers, particularly as success is principally judged by the display of competence in a specialist [disciplinary] written genre. (2000, pp. 146-147)

To "help" bilingual learners, colleges may give them extra support, like "remedial" courses or tutoring, "often referred to as 'fixing up' their language problems, which is fondly believed to then facilitate learning" (p. 147).

If an immigrant student is the first in her family to enter higher education, she may feel isolated from both her family and the university culture, an experience common to many first-generation college students but exacerbated by bilingual learners' minority status (Harklau & Siegal, 2009). If this student or anyone in her family is undocumented, the isolation may be more severe. Besides not qualifying for federal financial aid, undocumented students or their families may fear the school or school officials as an "arm of the state" (Louie, 2009, p. 44). Colleges tend to be unaware of how they may be viewed by bilingual learners' families or, if they are aware, may not know how to allay such fears.

Upon entering college, bilingual learners often find little language-learning support because, at the post-secondary level, extra English language support is mainly designed to help international students. The differing needs of resident ESL students traditionally have been overlooked because "the college TESOL community did not include resident ESL students within the scope of its work" (Matsuda & Matsuda, 2009, p. 58). Bilingual learners, therefore, were shunted into developmental writing classes designed for monolingual students at the basic skills level.

Developmental writing instructors, as well as college professors, are often ill-equipped to deal with the challenges presented by resident bilingual learners' particular needs. Instructors and professors may lack "multicultural knowledge" and may be unaware that "previous experience with institutionalized racism, stereotyping, and sheer lack of faith in their abilities" is part of the background these students bring to their college experience (Stein, 2005, p. 84). Teachers may find it nearly impossible to "get beyond [the students'] language problems when evaluating their work" (Forrest, 2006, p. 107). Also, most faculty are unaware of the principles of second language development. For example, they may not realize that, for bilingual learners who have learned English predominately orally (through mass culture, older siblings, and peers), their L2 writing may still rely heavily on their L2 speaking. College courses, on the other hand, focus more on reading and writing without building on oral skills (Makalela, 2004). The students, themselves, may be as unaware as their professors that there are problems ahead:

> What camouflages and complicates the problem for Generation 1.5 students is that they have graduated from American schools. These students *expect* to do well because they have gone through, at least in part, the American school system and have graduated, usually

> with a high grade point average, from this system. Likewise, faculty *expect* these students to do well precisely because they have graduated from American high schools" (Goldschmidt & Ousey, 2006, p. 17).

Bilingual learners—especially those who are first-generation college students—may not "have clear notions of how college learning might differ from what they [experienced] in high school" (Allison, 2009, p. 86). While this is a problem for all first-generation college students, it can be intensified by linguistic and cultural mismatch with the college community when faculty are as unaware of bilingual learners' expectations as bilingual learners are of the expectations of college-level work.

1.6 Bilingual learners and institutionalized discrimination

I will now explore the role that (often unconscious) discrimination plays in the lack of success bilingual learners' experience. Discussing the plight of inner city African American children in our schools in the 1960s and 70s, Labov wrote, "It is traditional to explain a child's failure in school by his inadequacy; but when failure reaches such massive proportions, it seems to us necessary to look at the social and cultural obstacles to learning, and the inability of the school to adjust to the social situation" (1969/1972, p. 208). This section of the chapter looks at the social and cultural barriers bilingual learners experience in their education.

At the interpersonal level, many "post 1965 immigrants are 'visible minorities;' their 'newcomer' status is more readily apparent and thus they are more vulnerable to racial and ethnic discrimination" from peers or bigoted individuals in society (Roberge, 2009, p. 8). Less obvious, and therefore harder to recognize or combat, is institutionalized

discrimination. As Auerbach explains, “power…is exercised by the dominant groups in two main ways: through coercion (the use of force) or through consent (willing acquiescence). Consent, however, is not always the result of conscious choice” (Auerbach, 1993, p. 11). Some families acquiesce to institutional discrimination out of lack of understanding of the US school system and/or the role of education in a developed economy. For example, Valdés describes the case of Lilian, who immigrated from Mexico at the age of 12 with her siblings and mother to rejoin her father in Mission Vista, California. Several months later, Lilian’s mother realized that she would have to find work because her husband’s salary, which had seemed princely when he was sending it back to his family in Mexico, could not cover the family’s expenses. “Life in Mexico had not prepared [Lilian’s mother] to deal with Mission Vista. She felt guilty that she was letting her children down [by working so many hours], that she did not know how to help them, and that she did not have time to go to school and to learn English” (2001, p. 63). At the end of Valdés’s two-year study, Lilian had joined a gang and “turned into an angry and rebellious young adolescent” (p. 83). Commenting on the loss, Valdés explains that “neither [Lilian] nor her family really understood why doing well in school was important for her future” (p. 83). Such a lack of resources and understanding leads some immigrant families to acquiesce to educational practices that they might otherwise choose to resist.

On the other hand, some parents eagerly embrace these practices because they believe them to be in the best interest of their children. For example, Au and Raphael explain that “parents may prefer an English immersion approach because of anxiety about their children’s opportunities to master the codes of the culture of power” (2000, pp. 173-

174). Indeed, in spite of the many objections to the federal No Child Left Behind Act, some bilingual citizen groups see its policies as a method for calling attention to bilingual learners' needs, forcing schools with unacceptable student scores to examine their programming and eliminate ineffective educational practices. Among these groups are "two major Latino civil rights organizations in the United States, the Mexican American Legal Defense and Educational Fund and the National Council of La Raza" (Menken, 2009, p. 111)[2].

Some families resist bilingual education because of the American mythology of individuals of exceptional fortitude who managed to learn and succeed in their adopted language in spite of no language learning support whatsoever. It is easy to develop a rosy view of the past, believing that all bilingual learners in that mythical, simpler time acquired English with less "coddling." As Lippi-Green points out, that myth demonstrates "an inability or perhaps even an unwillingness to keep separate the written and spoken languages" (1997, p. 107); acquiring oral fluency in a language is not the same as acquiring academic-level literacy skills.

Also, it is easy to forget that the language skills required of today's workforce are not the same as those required a generation ago. For example, consider how reading has developed from the act of decoding and understanding little marks on paper to an act that now "includes photovisual literacy, reproduction (creation of products) literacy, branching (nonlinear navigation) literacy, and socio-emotional literacy…[as well as] real-time thinking, which is the ability to process information, such as in chat rooms" (Sandberg, 2011, p. 91). Given the sophistication of communication skills needed for the

[2] In 2012, the state of Wisconsin was granted a waiver from certain requirements of the NCLB law ("Federal Waiver," 2012).

21st century workforce, the old sink-or-swim approach to bilingual learners, which was probably less successful than we tend to believe, is now counter-productive and discriminatory: “Parents who refuse bilingual/ESL services for their children should be informed that their children’s long-term academic achievement will probably be much lower as a result, and they should be strongly counseled against refusing bilingual/ESL service when their child is eligible” (Thomas & Collier, 2001, p. 333).

Systemic discrimination—intentional or not—that occurs “between dominant and subordinated groups” (Cummins, 2009, p. 261) can take the form of misguided educational practices. At the elementary and secondary levels in the US, for example, mechanisms for identifying and assessing bilingual learners’ needs vary from state to state and even between districts within the same state. Thus, if an immigrant family relocates after several years in the US, it may add to the educational “disruptions and discontinuities” already caused by immigration (Roberge, 2009, p. 12). Also, as resident ESL students move up through the education system they may be designated as ESL, then “English proficient,” then redesignated as “English learner” multiple times (p. 13).

Sometimes bilingual learners are mistakenly diagnosed as having learning or perceptual disabilities. Figueroa & Newsome (2006) analyzed nineteen learning needs assessment reports written by elementary school psychologists for bilingual learners who had been diagnosed as learning disabled (LD). Sixty-eight percent of the tests were administered in English. In spite of this fact, none of the reports judged any of the tests to be invalid; consequently, none used any of the alternative assessments that were permitted. In addition, 95% of the psychologists did not cross-validate the test results (p. 208). Figueroa and Newsome conclude that the school psychologists did “not assess or

investigate the possible confounding effects of bilingualism on tests, testing, and diagnoses" (p. 211).

Another way that discrimination becomes institutionalized is through decision-making processes that effectively vitiate programs that are designed to rectify the situation. Doubtless, few school administrators set out to undercut research-based recommendations for best practices in education. Yet, budgetary constraints and the pressures of special interest groups may lead to unintentional neglect of bilingual learners. Such neglect translates into bilingual and even ESL programs that cannot live up to their promise, in large part because they have not continuously developed according to best-practice models:

> Unfortunately, the two most common types of U.S. school services provided for English learners—English as a Second Language (ESL) pullout and transitional bilingual education—are remedial in nature. Participating students and teachers suffer often from the social consequences of this perception (Thomas & Collier, 1997-1998, p. 23).

Ultimately, because "language is one criterion for determining which people will complete different levels of education," the end result of inefficient and inadequate treatment of bilingual learners is that facility with the English language becomes "a means for rationing access to jobs with high salaries" (Tollefson, 1991, pp. 8-9). Bilingual learners whose English-learning needs are underserved in elementary and secondary school are less likely to continue on to college, perpetuating their overrepresentation in lower paying jobs and on the nation's poverty roles. Figures from the 2010 census indicate that 15.3% of the general US population lives below the poverty line; however, 18.8% of the foreign-born population in the US lives below that line. The breakdown by ethnicity is more telling: 10.6% of the non-Hispanic Caucasian, 12.5% of

the population of Asian descent, and 24.8% of the Hispanic population live below the poverty line (US Census Bureau, n.d.).

Certainly, inadequate education is not the only or even the primary cause of poverty. Yet education is one of the routes out of poverty: “Built on the cornerstone of literacy, education is commonly understood to be the key to success of all kinds” (Lippi-Green, 1997, p. 104). However, the way bilingual learners are educated in our schools often means that “inequality and disadvantage are perpetuated—for the most part unwittingly” (p. 106); discrimination has become institutionalized.

1.7 Overview of the remaining chapters

The purpose of this study is to explore relationships between the English composition skills of bilingual learners and their previous education in English and in their L1. The next chapter describes two kinds of gaps: real world gaps experienced by bilingual learners as they go through the educational system, and the gaps in our knowledge that make it difficult for us to address the real world gaps. Chapter 3 details the design and methods of this study. The fourth and fifth chapters describe the results of the analysis of the participants’ compositions in relation to the research questions. The sixth chapter focuses on the interview transcripts in order to develop a sense of the participants’ experiences of L1 and L2 education. Finally, the seventh chapter explores implications and limitations of the study and outlines directions for future research.

CHAPTER 2: REAL WORLD AND RESEARCH GAPS

I have undertaken this study in order to help flesh out the current understanding of bilingual learners. The sketchiness of our current understanding of adolescent bilingual learners is evident not just in the intellectual world of research but also in the real world, where bilingual learners experience several gaps in their education. Thus, the first part of this chapter describes the real world gap many bilingual learners experience in their English language education. The second part of the chapter shows how the real world discontinuities of their experience are mirrored in the lack of research. The third part of the chapter examines the role of L1 knowledge in bilingual learners' academic development and describes the lack of research on this aspect of bilingual learners' educational careers. I close the chapter with reflections on the confluence of real world and research gaps.

2.1 Education for bilingual learners

This part of the chapter describes the various models of educational programs schools use to support bilingual learners' acquisition of English and access to education and details the gap most of these models leave in bilingual learners' English language learning. As with the labels for bilingual learners, the diverse labels for these programs can be very confusing. Table 2-1 gives an overview of the three main models of language learning support for bilingual learners in US public schools: immersion models, transitional models, and dual language models.

Table 2-1: Educational Models for Bilingual Learners

Model Names	Description
Immersion Models[3] "Non-Forms" (also called "submersion" by advocates of bilingual education)	Students are placed in ESL classes part of the day and spend the rest of the day in English-instructed classes. After several years they are mainstreamed into all-English instruction. In rural and under-resourced schools, students may receive ESL instruction only several times a week or not at all.
Transitional Models "Weak (Subtractive) Forms" (also called "transitional bilingual education" or simply "bilingual education")[4]	Students begin with 90/10 or 50/50 (or less, e.g. 20/80) bilingual education (see below). The percentage of L1 instruction is lowered over several years until the all classes are taught in English, although students may continue to study their own language as an elective "heritage language[5]" class. ESL methodologies are used for English class and possibly for other English-instructed classes.
	Students are placed in ESL classes and a heritage language class for part of the day and spend the rest of the day in English-instructed classes. After several years, students are mainstreamed into all English instruction, but may continue taking a heritage language class. It is unlikely that ESL methodologies are used for anything other than the ESL class.
Dual Language Models[6] "Strong (Additive) Forms" *50/50 Dual Language* (also called "dual language immersion," developmental bilingual," "50/50 bilingual," or simply "bilingual education")	Students receive 50% of their instruction in each language every year that they are in the program. The language of instruction for particular subjects is usually changed after a specified period of time; e.g., science may be taught in the L1 for the first year, and in the L2 for the second year, etc. ESL methodologies are used for the English-instructed classes.
90/10 Dual Language (also called "90/10 bilingual" or simply "bilingual education")	Students begin with 90% of the instruction in their dominant language; the percentage of native language instruction is lessened over several years in order to ease students into the 50/50 model. ESL methodologies are used for the English-instructed classes.

[3] A bilingual learner who attends a school that offers transitional or dual-language bilingual education may still experience immersion if the school is unable to offer instruction in her L1.

[4] One of the difficulties faced by people who wish to discuss the merits of the various models is fact that the phrase "bilingual education" may denote any of the dual language and transitional models.

[5] Classes designed to develop bilingual learners' L1 are called "primary language" classes in the field of bilingual education; throughout this study, however, I will refer to them by the more generic name of "heritage language" classes.

[6] Thomas and Collier (2001) refer to "two-way" and "one-way" dual language programs. In two-way programs, all students in the school learn in both languages. In one-way programs, only the bilingual learners learn in two languages; classes for monolingual English speakers are conducted only in English.

2.1.1 Immersion models

Historically, of course, many immigrant children in the U.S. entered American schools and received no special treatment—a de facto immersion model. Children who could accommodate quickly to the new language and culture of their classes stayed in school if their families could afford it. Others dropped out after several years—if they ever attended school at all. Skutnabb-Kangas calls this lack of English language instruction a "non-form" of support (2000, p. 579), and it still exists, especially in rural areas where there are few resources and few bilingual learners[7]. This kind of English language education is also called immersion or mainstreaming because the bilingual learner is completely immersed into all-English schooling. Other phrases for this form of English language education are "subtractive education" or "submersion" because the result for the learner is often that the L1 remains undeveloped and may even be "lost" or forgotten as she becomes integrated into the language and culture of her American peers. Immersion is the weakest of the eight kinds of English language education identified by Thomas and Collier. They state, "English language learners immersed in the English mainstream…showed large decreases in reading and math achievement….The largest number of dropouts came from this group" (2001, p. 327).

Today, however, many schools offer English learning support for linguistically diverse students, especially for "newcomers," children or teens who may speak little or no English because their families have just immigrated into the US.

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[7] Technically, immersion programs that take no or inadequate measures to assure that bilingual learners are able to access academic content as readily as their monolingual English-speaking peers are not compliant with the law: "Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, *Lau v. Nichols*, the Equal Educational Opportunities Act of 1974, *Castañeda v. Pickard*…make clear that districts have a dual obligation to teach English and to provide access to academic-content instruction" (Valdés, 2001, p. 14).

The minimal kind of support for bilingual learners is ESL instruction. ESL is usually delivered as a “pull-out,” a class that bilingual learners attend while their NS peers are in English/language arts classes. The advantages of pull-out ESL classes are that they are relatively inexpensive for schools because, like music or art, ESL can be taught by a single teacher several times a week to different groups of students at different grade levels. Also, trained ESL teachers are able to accommodate students from diverse language backgrounds in one class. Another advantage of pull-out ESL instruction is that for most of the day bilingual learners are integrated with monolingual English-speaking peers, thus increasing their opportunity to pick up English quickly from peer-to-peer interactions. A disadvantage of pull-out ESL is that being pulled out for “special classes” tends to segregate ESL students from the others. Also, being pulled out of class for special lessons tends to stigmatize the students receiving the services. Furthermore, several hours of ESL each week are not enough to help students master the language skills they need to understand their textbooks and succeed at school (Conklin & Lourie, 1983).

Besides pull-out ESL classes, there is a “push-in” model of delivery, in which an ESL teacher who is assigned to either a particular classroom, subject, group of students, grade, school, or even group of schools either team teaches a class with a content teacher or is in a content teacher’s classroom as a resource for the bilingual learners in the class. When two teachers work well together, this arrangement can greatly enhance the educational experience for all students in the class. However, working relationships and power relations between the two teachers can make this model potentially problematic. Also, bilingual learners in this situation can feel conspicuously singled out.

The optimal form of ESL instruction is often delivered via "sheltered" methodology. Sheltered instruction methods (SI) originated at the university level in response to the "'transition problem,' the dilemma of what to do with students who possessed intermediate proficiency in the language of instruction yet weren't ready to be optimally successful in regular academic courses" (Fritzen, 2011, p. 187). It later made its way into K-12 teaching with a subtle change in emphasis. Instead of being a kind of temporary, protected instruction that prepared intermediate or advanced students for their future entrance into mainstream monolingual classes, "SI at the K–12 level was particularly concerned with making the mainstream curriculum *accessible* to ELLs even before their language skills were fully developed" (pp. 187-188).

By now, SI in K-12 education is a "research-based and validated instructional model" in which trained "teachers are able to design and deliver lessons that address the academic *and* linguistic needs of English learners" (Center for Applied Linguistics, 2012). Sheltered instruction assists bilingual learners in continuing their learning in academic subjects while also learning the English vocabulary and structures needed for those subjects. Often sheltered instruction uses textbooks that have been adapted for bilingual learners, with controlled vocabulary and extra exercises or questions to focus attention on language as well as on content. For example, a sheltered unit on the scientific method might also include an exercise on the grammatical formation of conditional statements: "If we add salt to the mixture…" Sheltered instruction can benefit other students as well as bilingual learners because many students struggle with language structures used to communicate disciplinary knowledge. Although sheltered instruction is a best practice form for delivering ESL instruction, it does not support continuing

development of bilingual learners' L1. When used without any bilingual education, it is still a subtractive model of English language education.

The placement of sheltered instruction in the category of subtractive models is not meant to lessen the value of sheltered methodologies. Even if the US had a robust bilingual education system, many schools would still find it impossible to provide bilingual education for every bilingual learner inside their doors. For instance, how can a rural school provide bilingual education for the children of a single family from Burma? In such cases, sheltered education combined with good school-parent relations is a best-practice option. However, it may not seem practical to schools with low numbers of bilingual learners if these schools assume it must be delivered to a class that consists of only bilingual learners. In addition, it is often considered too expensive (Anstrom, 1997) because teachers usually need dual certification (e.g., ESL and secondary science) as well as training in sheltered methodology.

All forms of ESL support, while preferable to immersion, are still considered subtractive when bilingual learners' L1s are not being maintained or developed. As a result, as bilingual learners become more comfortable and proficient in English, it is probable that they will simultaneously lose facility in their L1s. Even with no loss of L1 facility, it is unlikely that the students' L1s will continue to develop and grow so that they can speak equally comfortably in both languages about what they are learning in school.

2.1.2 Transitional models

The least effective kinds of bilingual education are transitional programs. Thomas and Collier explain that the goal of transitional bilingual education differs from the goal of the stronger forms of bilingual education:

> Transitional Bilingual programs are moving towards the goal of all-English instruction while students in… [Dual Language] Immersion are moving into half a day in each language. The goal in the Transitional Bilingual Program is to mainstream students into the all-English curriculum; whereas the goal in…[a Dual Language] Immersion Program is to promote bilingualism and biliteracy. (2001, p. 126)

Skutnabb-Kangas states that the goal of both weak and non-forms of English language education is "assimilation and strong dominance in the majority language" (Skutnabb-Kangas, 2000, p. 593). In a less polemical description of transitional bilingual education, Tong, Irby, Lara-Alecio, & Mathes (2008) state, "Early-exit [transitional bilingual education] is the most common first language (L1) instructional model in the United States, with the goal being a strong command of English and quick mainstreaming into English-only classrooms in a certain period of time" (p. 501).

Transitional programs are offered primarily for the first two to three years of schooling, after which bilingual learners are mainstreamed (Short & Fitzsimmons, 2007). Thomas and Collier find that students who receive transitional kinds of support "do not close the achievement gap after reclassification and placement in the English mainstream. Instead they maintain or widen the gap in later years" (2001, p. 333). As minimal as they are, transitional bilingual programs are an option for only a small percentage of bilingual learners; for example, before California abolished bilingual education, only 29% of the state's bilingual learners were enrolled in transitional bilingual programs (Valdés, 2001, p. 14).

2.1.3 Dual language and developmental bilingual education models

Dual language and developmental bilingual education programs are said to promote "strong" forms of bilingual education because students emerge from these programs speaking, writing, reading, and understanding two (or more) languages

(Skutnabb-Kangas, 2000). The difference between the two kinds of programs has to do with who the students are. A dual language program "involves both native English speakers and native speakers of another language in the same classroom, with the goals of (a) full academic language proficiency in L1 and the second language (L2) and (b) high levels of academic performance and cross-cultural understanding" (Tong et al., 2008, p. 501). The students in developmental bilingual classrooms, on the other hand, are only or primarily bilingual learners. Developmental bilingual education is termed "one-way" bilingual education, while dual-language programs are "two-way."

Short and Fitzsimmons explain that these models of bilingual education teach content as well as language classes in both L1 and L2, ideally through 12th grade (2007, p. 30). Based on the results from their study, Thomas and Collier state

> …90-10 and 50-50 one-way and two-way developmental bilingual education…programs…are the only programs we have found to date that assist students to fully reach the 50th percentile in both L1 and L2 in all subjects and to maintain that level of high achievement, or reach even higher levels through the end of schooling. The fewest dropouts come from these programs (2001, p. 333).

As opposed to the subtractive models of immersion and transitional education, dual language programs are termed "additive" (Cummins, 1989) because instruction in the L2 is added to continuing L1 instruction. Unfortunately, strong forms of bilingual education are rare in the U.S. Part of the problem is staffing a bilingual program, since teachers must be capable of teaching various subjects in students' L1. In addition, teachers must be able to use sheltered instruction methodologies when teaching content classes in students' weaker language. Other obstacles to creating dual language programs are the current political climate and community perceptions of the relative values of

English and the other language(s) in the program. Based on the experience of the rural schools in the northeast that were attempting to put a 90-10 model into place, Thomas and Collier state, “Politically, it was difficult to promote the 90-10 model to some of the principals and parents.” They explain, “The pressure to teach more in English is strong” (p. 57).

2.1.4 The case of newcomers

It is important to remember that bilingual learners experience yet another complication that must be added to the English language learning gap: immigration. To be sure, many bilingual learners are born and raised in the US, but many also arrive after they have already begun school in the home country. Immigration after schooling has begun creates a discontinuity between the home country (its language, its culture, and its methods of education) and the US (its language, culture, and methods of education). A child’s age upon arrival (AOA)[8] and whether she has studied English (or even studied *in* English) are variables that must be taken into account when sketching the complex picture of her education. In addition, Wright (1992) discovered an additional layer of complexity for some of the bilingual learners in her study: whether they were born in the country or arrived at a later date, some of the students were sent back to the family’s

[8] Because of the significant difference AOA may make in their results, different researchers studying bilingual learners choose different AOAs to limit their sample of participants. For example, Bosher (1995) limited her study to bilingual learners who had been born outside of the US; Khirallah (1999) stipulated that the bilingual learners in his study have at least 3 years of US secondary schooling (AOA would be probably be <16); for Joo (2005) the country of origin (and therefore AOA) did not appear among the criteria, but the students had to be literate in their L1; etc. Thus, the bilingual learner subjects for one study may not be comparable to those of another. For this study, I am defining a bilingual learner simply as any student who has graduated from a US high school and who also considers a language other than English as an L1 (AOA = “0” to about 17).

home country for a year or two during their education in order to maintain family relationships and strengthen the children's L1 skills and culture.

Superimpose this complex picture of country of origin, immigration, and migration onto the chart of the different models of education for bilingual learners, and you have an incredible array of possible educational scenarios: a 16-year-old (late AOA) bilingual learner with no English skills may be immersed into an all-English program at the high school in the rural town her family has immigrated to; an eight-year-old (early AOA) war refugee who has never attended school arrives in a dual language school that does not offer her first language; a 14-year-old (late AOA) who has studied English as a foreign language in her country arrives in a school that has a well-developed ESL program, but every summer she is sent back to the home country to live with her grandparents because she is betrothed to the son of her father's business associate (studying at a Canadian university, the young man is expected to return to the home country to take over his father's share of the business).

To understand the educational implications of this complexity, it helps to imagine a worst case scenario, such as the first scenario given in the list above. For late AOA newcomers who land in immersion or transitional programs with only minimal ESL support, Thomas and Collier estimate that the abrupt jump into English is like a one-to-two year interruption of schooling because, until they learn enough English, they cannot access the content-area teaching they would have been receiving in their own country (2001, p. 334). Bilingual learners who experience this educational scenario "have to make more gains than the average native-English speaker makes every year for several

years in a row to eventually catch up to grade level, a very difficult task to accomplish within the remaining years of K-12 schooling" (p. 334).

In fact, for any bilingual learner who enters school with little or no English language skills, there is a lag time as she acclimates to the language and the culture of the school. How long is the "lag"? Unfortunately, there is no simple answer. "Individuals who attempt to learn a foreign language differ dramatically in their rates of acquisition…This is perhaps the clearest fact about [second language acquisition] that we currently have" (Sawyer & Ranta, 2001, p. 319). Added to the language-learning and acclimation lag is the time a learner will need to move forward in the curriculum once she can understand it. Cummins explains, "English L1 speakers are not standing still waiting for English language learners to catch up…Thus, English language learners must catch up with a moving target" (1996, p. 63).

In his analysis of data on 1,210 newcomers to Canadian schools, Cummins found that "it takes at least five years on the average, for immigrant children who arrive in the host country after the age of six to approach grade norms in L2" academic language skills (1981, p. 148). Cummins does not describe the English language learning models used in the programs from which he drew his participants. Collier, on the other hand, specifies that the newcomer students she studied were in a well-developed East coast ESL program that even offered several sheltered classes at the secondary level. Over a nine-year period, Collier studied the academic progress of 1,548 lower- to middle-income newcomers who had little or no English skills but tested at grade level in their L1 upon entry into their US school. She found that, on average, the students needed "4-8 years or more to reach the 50^{th} [normal curve equivalent] on standardized tests across all subject areas" (1987, p.

637). Finally, Thomas and Collier found that bilingual learners who were bilingually schooled reached parity with their monolingual English peers in four to seven years (2001, p. 334), but they do not make it clear whether the bilingual learners were beginning their educational career in the US, or whether they had begun school in another country. In spite of the unknown factors in each study, we can see that immigration adds another significant gap to a bilingual learner's educational experience.

2.1.5 Educational models for bilingual learners and the real world gap

As described in Chapter 1, different states—even different districts—have different criteria for identifying bilingual learners. In addition, different states have different mechanisms for testing bilingual learners' yearly progress. Even bilingual learners whose families do not relocate during their children's school years may experience sudden shifts in educational policies and methods as administrations, sources of funding, and local politics change. The transitions from elementary to middle to high school may cause a bilingual learner to cross district lines and experience a shift in the educational model she experiences. All schoolchildren, of course, experience shifts in educational philosophies and practices as they move from school to school or class to class and as administrations come and go, but monolingual English-speaking children seldom experience shifts that place them into classrooms using a language they are unfamiliar with or have only partially mastered. Bilingual learners, on the other hand, are much more likely to experience sharp gaps between the language they are capable of and the language they need in order to learn the content of their lessons.

Valdés's case study of Lilian (mentioned earlier in Chapter 1) demonstrates the kinds of educational gaps bilingual learners regularly experience. At the age of 12 Lilian

experienced her first educational gap when her mother moved the family from Mexico to the US. Valdés tested Lilian's Spanish language skills shortly after Lilian began her US schooling at Garden Middle School. Although Lilian's Spanish skills were not advanced, "She had a good notion of what texts were and how to read them as well as a clear sense of what writing involved. She had basic L1 academic skills upon which to build" (2001, p. 66). Garden Middle School, however, had no bilingual program and was therefore unable to build on those skills, causing Lilian to experience her second educational gap. With no English skills, Lilian was placed in the lowest of the school's three ESL classes. She did not prosper in the program, partly because neither she nor her family understood the importance of education in the US (a third gap involving cultural awareness), but also because Lilian's English was so weak that even the lowest ESL class was too advanced for Lilian to understand (a fourth gap).

During the summer after her year at Garden Middle School, Lilian's family moved across town, which transferred her into a different district (a fifth gap). Her new school, Crenshaw School, had few ESL students, so the only language learning support was a class for newcomers. Valdés' describes the newcomers' class, which Lilian attended all day, except for PE and lunch: "All who were enrolled in grades 5 through 8 (about 25 students) were placed in the newcomer classroom. Therefore Lilian, who was a well-developed eighth-grader, was placed in the same classroom with very small fifth-graders who still behaved and looked like little children" (p. 76). The developmental difference between Lilian and the other students (the sixth gap) seemed to solidify Lilian's defiant demeanor. Probably, by now she is one of our nation's drop-out statistics. Perhaps even in a strong dual language program, Lilian would not have prospered;

however, the gaps she experienced in her education have assured that we will never know.

2.2 Adolescent bilingual learners and current research

In this section of the chapter, I describe the lack of research on adolescent bilingual learners and discuss reasons for this lack.

Research on the effectiveness of the different educational models for bilingual learners has focused mostly on the elementary school level. While this focus is understandable, it is time to extend our studies in order to begin to develop a sense of the long term effects of the differing educational models for bilingual learners.

Thomas and Collier's study was unique in that it followed the academic careers of bilingual learners through the end of high school. Most studies of the efficacy of the various educational interventions used for bilingual learners have been done at the elementary level. This fact is evident from research reviews done by various teams of the NLPLMCY, whose charge was to "identify, assess, and synthesize research on the education of language-minority children and youth with respect to their attainment of literacy, and to produce a comprehensive report evaluating and synthesizing this literature" (August & Shanahan, 2006, p. 1). The team reviewing studies of the effect of bilingual education on English reading achievement found 20 studies written mostly in the past 20 years (they included several earlier studies), only two of which were conducted at the post-elementary level—one in seventh grade, the other in ninth (Francis et al., 2006). The team reviewing studies of the influence of students' L1 literacy skills and habits on their L2 reading achievement found the numbers similarly limited; of the

31 studies published in the previous 20 years only four had been conducted at the post-elementary school level—all four at the tenth grade level (Dressler & Kamil, 2006). In 2007, Short and Fitzsimmons published a report to the Carnegie Corporation concerning adolescent English language learners (ELL) in the US and pointed out that "On the whole, the research for adolescent ELLs is spotty. The current knowledge base is much more extensive at the elementary level than it is at the middle and high school levels" (2007, p. 39).

The scarcity of studies on older bilingual learners is understandable and even necessary in the development of second language education research. Looking back in history, we know that bilingual education has always existed in the US. As our nation began, bilingual education was nothing extraordinary; it was simply the way groups of immigrants who had fled religious persecution prepared their children to be productive members of their communities and their nation—a nation unique for its principles of religious tolerance (Schiffman, 1996). By the late 1800s, however, the predominant immigrant groups were no longer fleeing religious persecution. This shift occurred concurrently with the emergence of public education: "The rise of the common school movement, which led to the formation of public schools as we know them today, was partly grounded in the mission to Americanize the immigrant, and more importantly, the immigrant's children" (Louie, 2009, p. 36). The result was that by the 1920s bilingual education in public schools had all but disappeared, and American linguistic culture had become English-monolingual (Schiffman, 1996). There was no need to study bilingual education because, officially at least, it did not exist.

Bilingual education regained the national spotlight with the passing of Title VII in 1968, also known as the Bilingual Education Act. Bilingual education in this first version of the act was designed to be temporary, just enough to help non-English-speaking children transition into English (Levy, 1982). It is natural that research began at the elementary school levels, where bilingual education was being instituted in order to transition US-resident bilingual learners entering Kindergarten and first grade into all-English education before they had finished elementary school. The history of bilingual education in this nation has favored research at the elementary school level.

In addition, methodologically, it is easier to isolate the effects of educational interventions in the early elementary years before children have additional factors influencing the outcomes, including past experiences with school, experiences with other educational innovations, favorable or unfavorable emotional associations with the languages in question, attitudes of influential peers, questions of ethnic identity, etc. Moreover, Portes and Hao, who conducted a study of over 5,000 eighth and ninth grade children of immigrants in Miami-Fort Lauderdale, Florida, and San Diego, California., state that they chose middle school children “because of the dearth of school dropouts” (1998, p. 273). If researchers wish to represent the ethnic minorities attending the nation’s schools accurately, they are practically limited to the lower grades “because of the steeply rising rate of school attrition, particularly among certain ethnic minorities” (p. 273).

The huge influx of immigrants in the wake of the Immigration Act, however, has made itself felt, especially as newcomer children are now entering schools at levels higher than Kindergarten and first grade. The question of how best to educate all

bilingual learners—US- or foreign-born, pre-school, elementary, middle, high school, or college—has become a hotly debated issue, causing researchers to turn their attention to the effects of bilingual education and bilingualism on educational attainment. Yet, as Short and Fitzsimmons conclude, “Because of the paucity of research demonstrating outcomes for [adolescent] students, programs wishing to make research-based reforms have little published or definitive work to guide them” (p. 39). I undertook this study to increase the available research on older adolescent and young adult bilingual learners and the effects of the various English language education models they have experienced.

2.3 L1 knowledge and current research

Next, I will describe research supporting the stance that continuing education in the L1 is necessary for bilingual learners. I will also explore the role a student’s L1 can play in her L2 schooling and the explanations for that beneficial role. I will then enumerate the ways bilingual learners can continue the development of their L1. Finally, I will relate the real world gap bilingual learners experience in their L1 development to the scarcity of studies of the effects of L1 knowledge on L2 academic performance.

2.3.1 Incomplete acquisition and attrition of the L1

In this section, I describe the second real world gap experienced by many bilingual learners, the gap in the development of their L1 knowledge. Although they and their families are often unaware of it until it is too late, many bilingual learners experience slower development in and even loss of their L1. For the eldest child in an immigrant family, L1 loss usually begins when she enters L2 preschool or kindergarten. For subsequent children, the slower L1 development and L1 loss often begin as soon as

they interact with their older siblings (Fillmore, 1991; Merino, 1983). For many bilingual learners, the result is a widening chasm between the L1 spoken by children and their parents (Fillmore 1991, 2000; Kouritzin, 1999) that may be exacerbated by the gulf between the language of the home and the language of the schools. The resulting lack of communication affects the continuing acquisition of bilingual learners' L1 and ultimately may impact their academic success.

An example was reported by Merino in a1983 article about a longitudinal study she had designed to "focus on the acquisition of two languages simultaneously" by Hispanic school children in the San Francisco Bay area (p. 278). Her study began with 41 "balanced bilinguals, that is, they [were identified by parent, teacher, student, and school records as children who] could speak and understand English and Spanish with equal or near-equal proficiency when they entered school at the age of five years" (p. 281). Two years later, she studied 32 of the same children (the others had moved away) and discovered that for 50% of them, "Spanish production deteriorated to a significant degree," and, for another 25% of the children, their Spanish production "[demonstrated] no gains" (p. 286). Merino was surprised by the finding because "The original intent was not to study loss but to focus on the acquisition of two languages…Language loss was an unexpected byproduct" (p. 278).

A little over a decade later, Portes and Hao, whose study of language adaptation in over 5,000 middle school students was described earlier, found that "English is alive and well among second-generation youths, but the languages their immigrant parents brought with them are not" (1998, p. 288). Portes and Hao add that "general trends

observed in these data are the near-universal knowledge of English; the almost equally strong preference for English; and the dearth of fluent bilinguals" (p. 290).

Fillmore explains that in the US, formerly "the loss of the ethnic language occurred between the second and the third generations because second generation immigrants rarely used the ethnic language enough to impart it to their children." Now, however, "the picture has changed dramatically…Few current second generation immigrants can be described as bilinguals" (2000, p. 203). While I quibble with Fillmore's restriction of the word "bilingual" to mean only dual bilinguality, I agree that few bilingual learners today can be called "balanced bilinguals," a term that has been used to describe people who have approximately equal facility in two (or more) languages.

In her recent study of what happens to the "weaker"[9] of a bilingual child's two languages, Montrul addresses the question of whether the child actually loses L1 knowledge, or whether her L1 acquisition has simply been arrested or delayed before it is able to become complete. After a review of recent studies, she concludes that both loss and delayed development occur: "children who speak a minority language that is not well represented in the larger speech community…are at high risk of language attrition *and* [italics added] eventual incomplete acquisition" (2008, p. 123). Furthermore, the long term effects of incomplete acquisition on a child's L1 are "more dramatic" if the socially stronger L2 is acquired simultaneously with the L1.

Long before the publication of the studies that Montrul reviewed, in 1979 Cummins hypothesized that these dramatic effects could also be seen in a child's L2: "the

[9] "Weaker" is a technical term referring not to the merits of the language itself but, instead, to the speaker's less frequent and less fluent use of the language. For most immigrant children whose "family language is not fully supported in the community," their L1 is the weaker language (Montrul, 2008, p. 93).

level of L2 competence which a bilingual child attains is partially a function of the type of competence the child has developed in L1 at the time when intensive exposure to L2 begins" (p. 233). In her book, Montrul supports her hypotheses with evidence from recent empirical studies. Cummins' hypothesis has yet to be empirically supported, but evidence of the value of a strong L1 to achievement in the L2 lends it credence.

2.3.2 The role of a strong L1 in L2 academic achievement

In their introduction to the volume reporting the findings of the NLPLMCY, Diane August and Timothy Shanahan state that there is "ample research evidence…that well-developed literacy skills in the first language can facilitate second-language literacy development to some extent" (2006, p. 14). Genesee, Geva, Dressler, and Kamil were responsible for the section of the NLPLMCY about cross-linguistic relationships. In their introduction, they summarize major conclusions of the studies in that section of the report, including that

> reading comprehension ability in the first language was found to correlate significantly with reading comprehension in the second language under most conditions (typological distance, language status, direction of transfer, age of learner, and tasks). The evidence also suggests a facilitative effect, in that processes underlying reading comprehension, when developed in one language, are predictive of reading comprehension in the other (2006, p. 165).

Reading is not the only language function that benefits from a strong L1. For example, in a special project in California to improve school readiness skills for low-income Spanish-speaking children, the district created "a strong [preschool] programme in school readiness skills in their dominant language, while [providing] at least 20 minutes a day of English as a second language instruction" (Campos & Keatinge, 1988, p. 299). Historically, the Hispanic children had averaged two standard deviations below

the mean on the district tests, while English-monolingual children had scored above the mean. By the end of the three-year program, the Spanish-speaking children's scores were the same as the English-speaking children's scores (p. 302). While the project results do not conclusively demonstrate that the support for the Hispanic children's L1 caused them to score higher on the district test, they do show that strengthening the children's L1 did not hurt their scores and may, in fact, have helped.

A longitudinal study of Portuguese-speaking immigrant children in Canada provides an example of the benefit of a strong L1 for L2 reading and interaction skills. The study documented that "both literate and conversational skills in [the Portuguese-speaking immigrant] children's L1 are significantly related to the development of literate and conversational skills in L2" (Cummins, 1991, p. 95). A strong L1 can also benefit the acquisition of English writing skills. For instance, at the community college level, Patthey et al. found that students who came to their school with "better academic literacy, even in another language, are more likely to acquire the written communication skills they need and succeed in college coursework." (2009, p. 146).

A final example demonstrates the global academic value of a strong L1 for bilingual learners. The study by Portes and Hao revealed that "fluent bilinguals retained a strong advantage in all measures of academic performance. For example, the bilingual students had a net 8 percent advantage in standardized mathematics and reading scores over their monolingual peers, and their GPAs were significantly higher" (1998, p. 290).

2.3.3 Reasons that a strong L1 is academically beneficial

Various explanations have been given for why strong L1 skills often correlate with stronger L2 academic performance. In the area of reading, Genesee et al. found

explanations that related the ability to decode printed L2 words to L1 phonological awareness. Note, however, that phonological awareness is not the only factor they mention, nor is improved word recognition the only result:

> the strong correlations found between first- and second- language word reading performance across studies show that students who are better at word reading in one language are also better at it in the other. This relationship could be a result of factors specific to reading in the first and second languages, but there is some evidence of influence of nonlinguistic skills related to general cognition (2006, p. 165).

For processes of text comprehension, Genesee et al. found that "bilingual students who read strategically in one language also read strategically in their other language" (p. 165). The evidence in the studies they reviewed suggests that this result was a facilitative effect of knowing how to read in the L1: if a student knows *how* to comprehend reading selections in her L1, she can apply her strategic knowledge to L2 reading selections.

Montrul's work on the effects of "unbalanced development" of bilingualism in immigrant children provides another possible explanation for how a strong L1 can aid L2 academic performance. Montrul finds that in unbalanced bilingual development "the grammatical system of bilingual children in either language…can be dramatically compromised" (2008, p. 93). A compromised grammatical system may not prevent a child from learning in school, although it is hard to imagine that it would not negatively impact reading comprehension. Certainly, compromise to an underlying understanding of a language's grammatical system must make it more challenging for a child to demonstrate her knowledge in writing. Unfortunately, in academia "writing is perhaps the central means by which our individual life chances are enabled or restricted" (Candlin & Hyland, 1999, p. 3).

Genesee et al. point to the facilitative effect that knowing how to write in the L1 can have on composition in the L2: “skills associated with the writing process developed in one language appear to be available for application to the other and thus demonstrate facilitation” (2006, p. 166). Kibler describes the facilitative process: “L1 use can be an important scaffolding strategy in solving problems, managing tasks and task goals, and accessing language forms” (2010, p. 123). For the students in her study, “The opportunity to use their first language provided an important opportunity to draw upon a range of existing linguistic resources to accomplish the writing task with which they were presented” (p. 137).

Given the benefits of a strong L1 to L2 reading and writing tasks, it is not surprising when Thomas and Collier find that “The strongest predictor of L2 student achievement is amount of formal L1 schooling. The more L1 grade-level schooling, the higher L2 achievement” (2001, p. 334). What is surprising is how little schools are doing to harness that facilitative effect.

2.3.4 How to maintain and develop students’ L1

Thomas and Collier’s findings about the value of a well-developed L1 were based on the best practice schools they had been researching, dual immersion schools, where all children’s L1 was developed daily along with their L2. Dual language models, thus, attempt to build L1 in order to also increase L2 academic achievement. Currently, however, few bilingual learners are able to attend such schools. Some bilingual learners are able to maintain, if not continue developing, their L1 through the other bilingual education model, transitional bilingual education. Their L1 development will be minimal, however, especially after they transition into the mainstream program.

Aside from participating in bilingual education, bilingual learners may receive L1 education in several other ways. Attending school in the home country, where the language of instruction is the L1, is an obvious way to receive grade-level schooling in the L1. Unfortunately, the grade-level L1 schooling comes to an abrupt halt when the family immigrates, which can happen at any point in a student's education. An additional problem with this way of obtaining grade-level L1 education is that the home country schools probably are not dual language immersion schools. The L2 (in this case, English) is, at best, a foreign language class that takes place for one hour a day.[10] As a result, although newly arrived immigrant students will have obtained grade-level education in their L1, their English may be undeveloped or non-existent. Another way for students to receive home country L1 education occurs when parents send their children back to the home country for a year or two. Unless the home country schools the children attend, however, provide dual language education, the children's English will suffer. In addition, without coordinated effort on the part of their families and their schools, children are likely to suffer academically from the disruptions of their academic programs.

Another way to receive schooling in the L1 is to take heritage language classes in the US. However, in elementary and secondary schools, this option is available to only a small percentage of the nation's bilingual learners; in the early 2000s, only seven percent of US secondary schools offered heritage language courses (Brecht & Ingold, 2002). In addition, attending a heritage language class one hour a day will not offer the same advantages as a dual language immersion program. Still, using Thomas and Collier's statement about the value of formal schooling in the L1 as a baseline, an hour a day in a

[10] A percentage of newcomers who enter our nation's schools have attended schools with dual immersion or dual immersion-like programs, but they are the exception, not the rule.

heritage language class, especially over a number of years, is certainly better than *no* schooling in the L1.

Bilingual learners may receive "schooling" in their L1s through private organizations. In her study of immigrant children and academic achievement in England, Wright (1992) briefly examines the L1 education programs provided by extracurricular programs, religious institutions, and volunteer organizations. She points out that, unlike heritage language classes offered for academic credit, these classes have no quality control standards. The teachers may not be trained in heritage language education; in fact, they may not even be trained as teachers. Also, in general, there are no attendance restrictions for these classes, which may affect how thoroughly the instructors are able to teach the language. When a religious institution offers the classes, the L1 may be a classical version of the language rather than the version spoken by the students and their families. Wright surveyed her participants who attended such classes, asking for their impressions. The responses ranged from "very useful" and "fun" to "time-wasting" and "propaganda" (p. 138). Wright concludes that it is unlikely that a child attending such classes will develop the kinds of skills that will allow her to do L1 academic work at her grade level.

A final method for developing L1 literacy skills outside of school is self-teaching—with or without the support of concerned family members. Clearly, independent language learning requires concerted and well-informed action on the part of parents and the student. Given the economic situation of many bilingual learners' families, parents' time and energy are not available for this kind of endeavor. In addition, while some of the family's economic status may be due simply to the parents' inability to

speak English, many immigrant parents must work at low-paying jobs because they have not received much education themselves, making it even more unlikely that they can conduct the L1 education of their children. As for a student conducting her own L1 education, this endeavor cannot begin until she is old enough to make the decision to study. She will also need to access resources consciously—even if they are only the adults around her—for her instruction. In short, because of the conscious and concerted effort required for self teaching, it is unlikely that active, busy parents or young people will be able to teach or learn the L1 to levels equivalent to Thomas and Collier's "grade-level schooling in the L1."

2.3.5 The gap in studies relating L1 knowledge to academic achievement for college-level bilingual learners

As we have already seen in the discussion of the lack of research on bilingual education and older adolescent bilingual learners, there is a concomitant lack of research on the relationship between L1 education and L2 academic performance for bilingual learners at the college level. In this case, however, there have been studies done at the college level, but they have been focused on the relationship between the L1 knowledge and L2 performance of international ESL students—not bilingual learners. Murphy and Roca de Larios recently reviewed studies from the previous two decades that focused on college writers' use of L1 during L2 composition (Murphy & Roca de Larios, 2010). According to their data, the past two decades have seen 21 studies of L1 use during L2 composition. However, participants in only two of the studies are resident bilingual learners, and both of these studies are based on the same data set (Cumming, 1989, 1990).

The lack of TESOL studies of college level bilingual learners began to change in 1999 with the publication of the book, *Generation 1.5 Meets College Composition: Issues in the Teaching of Writing to U.S.-Educated Learners of ESL* (Harklau, Losey, & Siegal). The editors gathered and published the articles in their book "to initiate a dialogue on the linguistic, cultural, and ethical issues that attend teaching college writing to U.S. educated linguistically diverse students" (p. vii). Ten years later, articles that continued the dialogue were collected and published in *Generation 1.5 in College Composition: Teaching Academic Writing to U.S.-Educated Learners of ESL* (Roberge, Siegal, & Harklau, 2009). The publication of these books has done much to aid our understanding of bilingual learners at the college level, but none of the articles in the two volumes has explored the relationship of the bilingual learners' L1 knowledge to their work at college. Although neither volume mentions L1-L2 effects, it is not a shortcoming because the books are not designed as research reports. Instead, they are intended to aid instructors of bilingual learners to "understand the breadth of scholarly approaches to the generation 1.5 topic, the current debates and controversies surrounding the topic, and most importantly, the variety of curricular and pedagogical approaches for working effectively with generation 1.5 students" (Roberge et al., 2009, p. vii).

Yet, if the relationship of L1 knowledge to L2 academic achievement is important at the elementary school level, it must also have some bearing on questions of academic success at the college level. Ortega accuses researchers in the area of second language acquisition of a "persistent lack of engagement with the language needs of linguistic minorities, which is reinforced by our largely monolingual approach to L2 learning and teaching" (2005, p. 325). Based on findings regarding the value of L1 knowledge for

achievement in the L2, I have designed this study to begin engaging the question of the L1 needs of bilingual learners that, if addressed, may facilitate their success at the college level.

2.4 Closing thoughts

It is my contention that gaps in research have real life consequences. We lack research about how knowledge of their L1 and the various kinds of language learning educational programs affect the academic performance of late adolescent and early adult bilingual learners. This lack of knowledge is partially responsible for the academic struggles some bilingual learners experience as they reach college. A number of good reasons can be given for the spotty knowledge we have: too many bilingual learners drop out of upper grades, making them a difficult population to study; initially, bilingual learners were not present on college campuses in numbers large enough to be noticed; the field of TESOL did not notice bilingual learners because it was focused on the task of educating international ESL students; the diversity of L1s and levels of L1 knowledge among bilingual learners makes it extremely difficult to study the L1-L2 relationship for college-level bilingual learners; etc. Such reasons are legitimate, but when used as excuses they play into the discrimination that all too easily creeps into our best intentions. Institutionalized discrimination is not any single person's fault, and often it is no one's intention, but it happens.

This study was designed to begin addressing two gaps in the research by examining compositions written by bilingual learners who are at the "entry to college" level. Having completed their preparatory education, they are poised to begin the more

advanced schooling of college. After collecting data on their language backgrounds, L1 knowledge and use, and educational history, I compared it to the results of the analysis of the placement compositions they wrote before beginning their college studies. This comparison revealed patterns in the relationships between their English language education, their L1 knowledge, and various aspects of their L2 writing. In short, I was looking for a kind of “shadow effect” of the participants’ L1 and L2 educations. Documentation of these shadow effects will be a contribution toward closing the research and, ultimately, real world gaps experienced by bilingual learners in our country.

CHAPTER 3: METHODS OF THE STUDY

This chapter presents the research design and methods I used to conduct my study. First, I discuss the rationale for my choice of qualitative methodology and the motivations behind my choice of study site (Alverno College) and participants (current undergraduate bilingual learners). When considered in light of my research questions, the site and participants I selected had implications for the particular methods that would be most helpful in that context. Accordingly, I describe the reasoning that led me to the choice of three methods: survey, writing sample analysis, and semi-structured interview. In the second, third, and fourth sections of the chapter, I present the instruments I used for each method and my methods of analysis.

Tables 3-1 and 3-2 provide an overview of the design and methods of my study. Each table presents a three-phase design: the preliminary phase, the primary phase, and the final, or follow-up, phase.

Table 3-1 summarizes the design and methods used for data collection.

Table 3-1: Overview of Study Methods: Data Collection

Data Collection		
Preliminary Phase	Surveys	Identify selection criteria Use selection criteria to identify potential participants from: ESL Coordinator's database and files, Admissions referrals, Faculty/Staff referrals, Ethnic/Cultural student groups, (later) names suggested by interviewees Conduct and analyze pilot survey Create participation request letter Create final survey on SurveyMonkey™
	Writing Samples	Create consent form
	Interviews	Create consent form Create interview protocol Modify interview protocol as needed based on early survey responses
Primary Phase	Surveys	E-mail participation request letters with link to survey Attend ethnic/cultural student group(s) to present and distribute paper version of survey Print and file consent pages
	Writing Samples	Obtain placement essay and make a copy
	Interviews	Describe interview process and obtain consent Make a copy of signed consent and give it to the participant Conduct and record interview
Final Phase	Surveys	If needed, add follow-up questions to a participant's interview protocol If needed, mail or e-mail follow-up questions to participants who did not consent to an interview
	Writing Samples	No follow-up is needed
	Interviews	If needed, check ESL Coordinator's files to answer follow-up questions If needed, e-mail follow-up questions

Table 3-2 presents an overview of the design and methods used for the analysis of the data that were generated by the methods represented in Table 3-1.

Table 3-2: Overview of Study Methods: Data Analysis

Data Analysis		
Preliminary Phase	Surveys	Number printed consent pages with an individualized number for each participant Upon removing consent page, number remaining survey pages with the participants' individualized numbers
	Writing Samples	Replace participants' names with their numbers Number sentences Make 3 copies: for master file, myself, and a colleague-rater
	Interviews	Print participant's number and digital recorder's recording number at the top of the consent page and file Listen to interview and add field notes at the beginning of the file that will later include the transcription Transcribe first 5 interviews to develop a list of possible codes Work with colleague-rater to test codes and develop index If needed, add clarifying information from interviews as footnotes to charts of survey data
Primary Phase	Surveys	Create charts for raw survey data and transfer data (identified with participants' number') to the charts If needed, transfer participants' comments from the comment boxes into the charts as footnotes Assign numerical values for L1 use section of the survey Add and average numerical data Create a table for numerical survey data
	Writing Samples	Analyze placement essays for accuracy, grammatical complexity, rhetorical control, and coherence Work with colleague-raters to correct and refine above analyses Use computer programs with placement essays to obtain scores for lexical complexity, word count, and rhetorical markers Create tables for all analysis scores
	Interviews	Transcribe and code interviews Maintain and expand code index as necessary
Final Phase	Surveys	Add pertinent survey information to wall chart for interview themes (see below)
	Writing Samples	Using demographic and L1 data from surveys, create graphs and tables to display writing analysis results according to study variables
	Interviews	Organize index into themes on a wall chart Categorize citations from interviews under themes Add pertinent information from surveys and follow-up e-mails and letters under appropriate themes

Describing their "Framework" for the analysis of qualitative data, Ritchie and Spencer comment, "Although the process is presented as following a particular order—indeed some stages do logically precede others—there is no implication that [it] is a purely mechanical process" (1994, p. 176). This can be said for the information presented in Tables 3-1 and 3-2. Indeed, although data collection and analysis are presented on different tables, some of the actions overlapped and informed each other. For example, the first five interviews were transcribed and coded as part of the preliminary phase of interview analysis. Yet, at the time, I was still conducting interviews—part of the primary phase of data collection.

3.1 Choice of study site, participants, and methodology

After a brief description of the experiences that led me to this study, I will give the rationale and description for my choice of research site, participants, and methods.

3.1.1 History of my interest in the education of bilingual learners

My experiences as a teacher led to me to questions that became the basis for the research questions of this study, which, in turn, guided me into the methodology for the study. My professional training has permitted me to teach secondary English and French, college (monolingual) English/composition, and secondary, college, and adult EFL/ESL. During my years of teaching, I became interested in the communication skills of bilingual learners, especially as they make the transition from high school to college. More specifically, I wanted to know more about how bilingual learners' L1 knowledge and L2 learning experiences affect their L2 writing. This curiosity led to the research questions and hypotheses listed in the previous chapter.

In her article advising would-be L2 composition researchers, Ferris states, “the nature of the research question should lead you naturally toward selection of the appropriate research methodology to investigate it” (2005, p. 226). Yin corroborates, “the form of the question can provide an important clue regarding the research strategy” (2003, p. 7). Examining my questions, I see that they are focused on *how*: how students’ L1 knowledge and L2 learning experiences relate to their L2 writing. Yin advises: “‘How’ and ‘why’ questions are likely to favor the use of case studies, experiments, or histories” (p. 7). Case studies and histories are qualitative tools; thus, I chose to use qualitative methods for my study.

3.1.2. Study site

My current positions as the ESL Coordinator and a communication instructor at Alverno College offered me an excellent opportunity to pursue my research questions. As ESL Coordinator, I keep a database of all of the ESL applicants and students whose names come to my attention, either by referral from faculty or staff or by self-identification/referral on the part of students. This database gave me a ready-made pool of potential participants.

In addition, part of my job is to collect information about students who apply to the college. One part of the admissions process is Alverno College’s Communication Placement Assessment (CPA), an instrument used for several purposes, including ascertaining readiness for college-level work and determining first-semester communication course placement. One part of the CPA is a reading/writing assessment.

Based on applicants' performance on this part of the assessment, professional assessors[11] suggest three possible communication course placements: pre-college (a 0-credit course that must be passed before admission to the college), developmental (a three-credit course that develops communication skills and ends with a reassessment for communication course placement), or entry level (the first in a sequence of three required communication courses). In special cases, Admissions collaborates with other resources throughout the college for further placement recommendations, including higher communication course placements (possibly even by-passing communication courses altogether). When applicants are ESL students, I am one of the resources brought into the decision-making process. My role gives me access to CPA reading/writing assessments; with students' permission, I am able research a set of compositions written under controlled circumstances.

3.1.3 Study participants

In this part of the chapter, I describe the criteria I used to select participants for my study and how those criteria interacted with the context of Alverno College. I conclude with an overview of the methods I chose for the study.

3.1.3.1 Selection criteria

Participants were chosen from Alverno College's student body according to three criteria: 1) the participant is a current undergraduate student at Alverno College; 2) the participant comes from a non-English-language background; and 3) the participant has graduated from a US high school. These minimal criteria gave me several significant

[11] Alverno College uses an assessment-as-learning paradigm. It therefore has an Assessment Center that handles many assessments that are external to a single course; the Assessment Center is staffed with professional assessors.

assurances. The first criterion assured me that the participants and I were legally protected by Alverno College's Internal Review Board regulations[12]. The second criterion assured me of a wide variety of ESL participants, mirroring the variety of bilingual learners in the Milwaukee, Wisconsin, area. Finally, the third criterion limited my pool of participants to bilingual learners, eliminating international students who have come to the US for their tertiary education.

3.1.3.2 Implications of site for participant selection

Selecting Alverno College as the site for my study had two important implications: my participants would be all one gender, but they would be of many different ages. Alverno College is a women's college; when I chose to limit my participants to undergraduate students, it meant that they would all be female[13]. I chose to accept this limitation for the sake of the advantages of using Alverno College as my research site. I will consider the impact of this limitation when I explore the implications of this study in the final chapter.

Although Alverno College accepts only female students for the undergraduate degree program, it has worked very hard to create a curriculum and practice that is welcoming to non-traditional students. As a result, in the fall semester of 2010-2011 (the school year when I conducted my study), the average age of all undergraduates was 25.48 (Alverno College, 2010). This fact meant that the writing samples I would be comparing, while written under the same conditions and at the same point in the participants' academic career, would be written by participants with differing amounts of life

[12] The study is also approved by the University of Wisconsin – Milwaukee, but Alverno College is the host institution.
[13] By US law, graduate programs must be willing to admit male and female students.

experience. Desiring to maximize the number of participants, I decided to leave the inclusion criteria as originally planned. I would check for effects of age in the data analysis phase of the study; these effects will be discussed in Chapter 7.

3.1.4 Overview of methods

One source of data for the study was the compositions written for Alverno College's CPA. In addition, to obtain data about the participants' L1 use and knowledge and their English language education, I chose to conduct an online survey. Desiring to add depth to the survey data, I decided to also conduct an interview. Yet, I felt an interview might discourage the participation of certain kinds of students. It requires a lower level of commitment for a participant to respond to an online survey than to also agree to a 30-45-minute audiotaped interview. A mandatory interview might eliminate the more introverted and/or busy students. Indeed, due to its lack of anonymity, an interview might also discourage the participation of students who did not know me or did not care for me. Yet, such participants might be the very ones it would be most important to include. Not wishing to exclude the experiences of these participants, I chose to make the interview optional.

3.2 Survey collection and analysis

I will now describe the survey and my methods used for its distribution, collection, and analysis. I chose to conduct a survey because it would allow me to obtain demographic and language use information from each participant, it would be a vehicle for obtaining the participants' permission to use their CPA compositions in my study, and

it would provide a way for me to solicit participants for the interview portion of my study.

3.2.1 Survey preparation

I created an on-line survey using the Gold Plan capabilities of SurveyMonkey®. The survey had five sections: Consent Page, Background Information, Education Information, Language Knowledge, First Language Use, and Final Questions (see Appendix A for a complete copy of the survey).

3.2.1.1Consent page

On the consent page, each participant indicated that she had read the description of the study. She typed her name and the date into a box to grant me permission to access her CPA composition.

3.2.1.2Background information

I used this section to collect basic information about the participants and data that would enable me to examine intervening variables—variables other than language education that might affect the participants' L2 composition performance. To this end, I asked for demographic information such as participants' age, birth country, age of arrival in the US (if she was an immigrant), parents' countries of origins, etc. Items that were of significance for the examination of intervening variables were those that enabled me to calculate how old a participant was when she took the CPA and those that elicited information about a participant's parents' occupations, both in their home countries and in the US.

3.2.1.3 Education information

The items in this section of the survey were designed to give me information on each participant's L1 and English language education. I needed several kinds of information. First, I needed to know what country and language the participants began their schooling in. Second, based on a finding in Wright's study (1992) about students who experienced a back and forth kind of schooling (several years in England, several in the "home country," etc.), I needed to know if a participant had returned to her home country for schooling and, if so, for how many years. Wright found that, for students who experienced this shuttling kind of education, the more years they spent in schools in the home country, the lower their overall academic achievement tended to be. At the end of this section of the survey, I included a chart for the participants to fill in, indicating the kinds of English language education they had received (immersion, ESL support only, and/or bilingual) and the number of years they had received each.

3.2.1.4 Language knowledge

This section of the survey allowed me to obtain data about the extent to which the participants had studied their L1s and any other languages (besides English) and to gather data on one more intervening variable.

Due to the diversity of my participants and the probable diversity of other languages they had studied, I knew I must rely on a self-report tool for these data. Yet, I was concerned about the accuracy of the data I would receive. After all, participants may be mistaken or, in fact, may mislead the researcher (usually not consciously) based on "unconscious intentions, beliefs, concepts, and values" (Maxwell, 1992/2002, p. 50). Furthermore, Bosher points out that respondents' answers on a self-report instrument

regarding their language skills may be "based on their degree of self-confidence…there are individuals who are not confident about their right answers [ability to use the language competently] and those who are confident about their wrong answers" (1995, p. 317).

In her study, Bosher attempted to minimize the inaccuracy associated with self-report by asking about L1 *use* rather than for estimations of L1 *proficiency*. Bosher based her work on a model first used by Educational Testing Service to ascertain US college students' foreign language abilities (Clark, 1981). Clark and his team dubbed their creation a "can do" instrument. I accordingly followed the ETS "can do" model, using some of Bosher's adaptations and creating several of my own to fit the context of my study. After several items asking how many years and where the respondent had studied her L1 and other languages, I asked three "can do" questions about the participants' ability to accomplish a basic task in speaking, reading, and writing, respectively. For example, the item about writing asks, "What language(s) can you write at least well enough to write a note or short letter?" The participants are given a box in which to type their responses.

The final question of this section of the survey asks how often the participants translate for members of their family. A study by Dorner, Orellana, and Li-Grining (2007), demonstrates that language brokering for family and community members correlates with stronger English reading skills for upper elementary bilingual learners. I included the question about translating in case language brokering might also be related to stronger English writing.

3.2.1.5 First language use

The purpose of this section of the survey was to gather data about the participants' knowledge of their L1; it had two subsections: "Speaking Skills" and "Reading and Writing Skills."[14] Again, I used the "can do" model to design the items in this section of the survey. A participant rates a series of tasks by clicking a button that describes how frequently or easily she does the task in her L1. For example, in the Speaking Skills subsection, a participant reads a "can do" description of a L1 speaking task: "Describe your present job, studies, or other major life activities in detail, using appropriate vocabulary"; she then clicks a button corresponding to how easily she can accomplish this task in her L1: "Not Able," "With Great Difficulty," "With Some Difficulty," or "Easily." At the end of each of the subsections there is a comment box for participants to add explanations for answers they made and/or any other comments they wish to make.

3.2.1.6 Final questions

The last section of the survey allowed me to solicit participants for the interview and allowed the survey takers to make any final comments.

3.2.2 Survey distribution

I developed an initial list of names of potential participants from the class lists of ESL and communication courses I had taught, from the class lists of the other ESL instructor at the college, and from my ESL Coordinator files. However, I was concerned that this list would yield a fairly undiversified sample of the bilingual learners who attend Alverno College because those who are referred to our classes or to me as ESL

[14] Although the pilot survey had a subsection on listening skills, I excluded it from the final survey because listening is implicated in speaking and is less directly related to writing than the other skills on the survey.

Coordinator are generally experiencing some kind of academic difficulty. To diversify the pool of participants, I contacted the student leaders of each of the four ethnic/cultural clubs on campus about distributing the survey to their groups. Two of the groups responded. In addition, once the interviews began, I mined the interviewees' "network of friends or acquaintances" for names (Johnstone, 2000, p. 92) by asking them to recommend any peers they thought might be interested in participating in the study. Certainly, the friends' and acquaintances' names came from participants whose experience with the survey and the interview were positive (it is unlikely to recommend the name of a friend for an activity that we feel was unfair or a waste of time). Their positive recommendations may have added individuals to my sample who were predisposed to have positive feelings about the topic of my study. Yet, given my initial sources' bias toward students who had experienced academic difficulty, I hoped the participants' recommendations might turn up the names of bilingual learners I did not know because they had experienced no particular academic difficulty, thus balancing my sample. Indeed, this occurred; although the interviewees suggested students I had already contacted, they also gave me the names of others who had been unknown to me because of their unmarked progress through the curriculum.

Each potential participant, except for those in the student club who wanted an in-person visit, was e-mailed a request letter that included a link to the survey (see Appendix B for a copy of the letter). Students who were willing to participate in the study clicked on the link that took them to the SurveyMonkey survey. For the ethnic club that asked for an in-person visit, I had to adapt the consent and data collection techniques. I decided to present the information in the consent form orally as well as in writing. Furthermore,

although I used the same survey, it had to be adapted for a paper format. For example, instead of buttons to click on, there were blanks in which to make a check mark (see Appendix C). When I attended the club meeting, I handed out and orally highlighted the information in the participation request letter and answered the students' questions. Afterward, I distributed the paper surveys to the three students who asked for them.

In all, I e-mailed 79 requests for participation and presented the request for participation orally to four members of the club I visited in person. Due to privacy issues, I do not know how many request letters the two student clubs forwarded to their members. However, I know that I received survey responses from participants whose names were neither on my list nor recommended by interviewees, assuring me that the student clubs had followed through. Twenty-six students completed the on-line survey, and three students completed the paper survey, yielding a total of 29 participants. I estimate that this number represents nearly a 30% response rate.

3.2.3 Survey collection and analysis

I created a numbering system to keep track of the returned surveys. Each time an online survey was returned, the consent page, which included the participant's name, was printed, numbered, and filed in a master notebook along with the consent pages from the paper surveys. This system kept the survey data itself anonymous, yet allowed me to go back and connect it to a participant if I needed to ask a follow-up question. Later, when a participant was interviewed, I checked the master notebook and filed her interview under the same number as her survey, permitting me to connect the interview with her survey data.

I created charts to prepare the survey data for later analysis. Comments and explanations that participants had written in the comment boxes or that I had elicited in a follow-up e-mail were added to the charts as footnotes. I converted the data from the "can do" items on the survey into numerical scores. Each "can do" item is followed by a series of five tasks to each of which the participants assigned one of four ratings. During the primary phase of my analysis, I assigned a value to each of the four ratings, for instance: Not Able = 0, With Great Difficulty = 1, With Some Difficulty = 2, and Quite Easily = 3. If, for example, a participant rated her performance of each L1 reading task as "Quite Easily," she received three points for each of the five tasks, giving her a total of 15 points for L1 reading skills[15]. For all of the L1 use questions except one, I was able to compare the participants L1 use simply by comparing their total scores.

The exception to this simple comparison process was Question 21 (How often do you speak your native language?) because the respondents did not have to respond to each item listed below the question. Figure 3-1 shows Question 21 in its entirety.

[15] On the Background Information section of the survey, Question 20 (How often do you do translating and/or writing in English for members of the family?), also gave four choices of response. I used the same process to convert the participants' responses into a numerical value.

How often do your **speak** your native language

a. at home (your permanent address)?

____Not at all _____Sometimes _____Often _____Almost Always

b. with your friends?

____Not at all _____Sometimes _____Often _____Almost Always

c. in the classroom at school?

____Not at all _____Sometimes _____Often _____Almost Always

d. at work? *(If you don't have a job, leave this blank.)*

____Not at all _____Sometimes _____Often _____Almost Always

e. at church? *(If you don't attend church, leave this blank.)*

____Not at all _____Sometimes _____Often _____Almost Always

f. elsewhere? *(If you don't speak your first language anywhere else, leave this blank.)*

____Not at all _____Sometimes _____Often _____Almost Always

Figure 3-1: Survey Item #20 (paper survey format)

As can be seen from Figure 3-1, this question required one more step to make the scores comparable because participants who did not have a job and/or did not attend church were directed to leave those choices blank. As with the other questions, each response choice was assigned a numerical value between 0 (Not at All) and 3 (Almost Always), and the points were added to arrive at a total for Question 21. Depending on how many of the items a participant responded to, she could have a possible maximum of 18 (all six items were rated), 15 (five items were rated), or 12 (only four items were rated) points. Thus, each participant's score was calculated as a percentage of the possible total of 18, 15, or 12, depending on the number of choices she left blank.

3.3 Writing sample collection and analysis

In this part of the chapter, I will describe Alverno College's CPA writing prompt and how I collected and analyzed it and assured the accuracy of the various analyses.

3.3.1 Writing sample background

The cover page of the survey states, "I understand that by typing my name and the date in the spaces provided, I am giving Sheryl permission to read the essay I wrote for my Alverno College CPA…." The CPA, administered to most applicants wishing to attend Alverno College, consists of five assessments: Listening, Computer, Quantitative Literacy (math/algebra), Reading, and Writing (R. Brodie, personal communication, June 19, 2009). The reading and writing sections of the CPA are normally administered after all the other assessments have been completed. Although there is no time limit for completing the reading and writing assessments, almost all applicants complete the entire placement assessment in one day, "generally…in about 5 hours" (R. Brodie, personal communication, June 29, 2009). Applicants must complete the reading assessment before beginning the writing assessment because the writing prompts refer to the reading selection.

For the reading assessment, applicants are given a five-page article, "Consuming Nature" by Bill McKibben (1999) and must respond to various comprehension and analysis questions about it. When they have finished, applicants are given the writing assessment and asked to write a composition on one of two prompts:

> 1. Write a letter to Bill McKibben giving your opinion about keeping or getting rid of the blackflies. Be sure you explain why you feel the way you do so he will understand your position and your thinking on the topic.

> 2. Bill McKibben, a respected writer and environmentalist, cares about people and the issues that affect them. Write a letter to him telling him about an environmental topic that concerns you. Explain why you feel the way you do so he will understand your views and opinions (Alverno College, 2011).

Applicants may draft by hand or on the computer; those who draft by hand must then enter their compositions into a word processing program. After completing their compositions, applicants must fill out the "Writing Self Assessment," which prompts them to "Read over your letter once or twice…" and answer questions that will guide the applicants to revise/edit their compositions, if necessary, by reminding them of the qualities of effective writing. For example, one prompt asks, "In the body of my letter, do I put each new idea into a new paragraph?" (Alverno College Assessment Center, n.d.). The completed CPA compositions are assessed for placement purposes and then stored in students' permanent files.

3.3.2 Writing sample collection and preparation

The filed CPA compositions are the "essays" the survey respondents' signatures gave me permission to read. When a completed survey was returned to me, I pulled the respondent's CPA composition from her student file at Alverno College and photocopied it without her name. I wrote the number that I had assigned to her survey at the top of each page of the copy. I numbered the sentences in each composition and made two more copies so that one could go in my master file, another could be marked during analysis, and one could be used by another rater for inter-rater reliability testing.

3.3.3 Writing sample analysis

Using a single measure to analyze and compare written texts assumes "that there is a single profile of highly rated texts" (Jarvis, Grant, Bikowski, & Ferris, 2003, p. 378).

Instead, writing researchers must realize that “there may exist multiple profiles of highly rated texts” and, accordingly analyze them for a variety of traits (p. 378) such as “syntactic and semantic characteristics; prepositional structure; cohesion, coherence, and schematic structure; audience considerations; and sociolinguistic functions” (Ferris, 1994, 58). For this study, I have chosen seven different areas to measure: accuracy, grammatical complexity, lexical complexity, number of words, rhetorical control, rhetorical markers, and coherence.

For five of the seven areas, I have chosen two measures in order to obtain a more well-rounded picture of the skills I am attempting to measure. I was careful, however, to choose measures that are not directly complementary. In complementarity, some features replace each other; for example, when a writer uses more pronouns (a characteristic of highly rated texts), she will necessarily use fewer nouns (also a characteristic of highly rated texts) (Jarvis et al. 2003, p. 399).

Huckin points out that methods of text analysis have changed. Previous methods, focused on “what makes a text readable” (1992, p. 85), were carried out at the word, sentence, paragraph, and text levels. “The new style of text analysis. . .is more rhetorical” (p. 84) because we now see texts as “processes embedded within and influenced by community affiliations” (p. 85). Ferris corroborates by stating that researchers have been asking “for a more multidimensional approach to written discourse, one which would consider writers’ rhetorical and lexical choices in addition to their syntactic ones” (1994, p. 414). In other words, writing is more than the act of using some kind of technology to record words so that others can read them later. Researchers of writing also know that “writers have intentions or designs on readers”; rhetorical analysis “seeks to identify the

verbal means typically used to achieve these intentions or designs" (Fahnestock & Secor, 2002, p. 177). Thus, the measures I have chosen are designed to analyze both the surface features and rhetorical features of the CPA compositions.

3.3.3.1 Surface features

The surface features of the compositions that I analyzed are accuracy, grammatical complexity, and lexical complexity.

Accuracy

Many analyses of student writing include measures of accuracy. Accuracy is often chosen as a tool for writing analysis because accuracy, "the ability to be free from errors while using language to communicate" (Wolfe, Quintero et al., 1998, p. 33), comes first to the mind of most teachers who must read the writing of L2 students. Some bilingual learners seem to struggle with accuracy when writing (Ferris & Hedgcock, 1998; Doolan & Miller, 2012). Moreover, error gravity studies have found that "university faculty, in general, (a) are less tolerant of typical ESL errors than of typical native speaker errors, and (b) feel that students' linguistic errors are bothersome and affect their overall evaluation of student papers" (Ferris & Hedgcock, 1998, p. 199). Accuracy, therefore, is a significant skill for bilingual learners to develop.

There are fundamental challenges to measuring accuracy, however. Foremost is the objection that accuracy measures judge L2 use against native speaker use, which Ortega rightly terms a "largely monolingual approach to L2 learning and teaching" (2005, p. 325). Of nearly equal weight is the objection that L2 writers' accuracy may not be predictive of their ability to develop a thesis and marshal evidence to support it. Nevertheless, L2 teachers continue to spend many hours teaching it, perhaps partly

because they know that “there is clearly a vast gulf between what interests linguists [and L2 instructors] about language and what seems to interest everyone else about it” (Cameron, 1995, p. x). In fact, L2 teachers know all too well “the practice of excluding the few from the privileges of the many on the basis not of what they have to say, but of how they say it” (Lippi-Green, 1997, p. xv). Perhaps an unconscious reason for L2 instructors’ devotion to accuracy is that it places instructors in a position of power; they know the grammar of the language, and the students don’t. The logical result of this kind of reasoning is that instructors collude with the audience against whom they are so assiduously arming their students; instructors become gatekeepers, excluding students from the privilege of entering into the general curriculum simply on the basis of *how* they state their ideas.

A factor that makes accuracy measures popular among researchers of writing is that, compared to other measures, they are fairly straightforward. Even though decisions of correctness and error are not as easy as they seem (Polio, 1997), many L2 constructions are clearly inaccurate, making them easy to tabulate and quantify. Consequently, accuracy is an issue all L2 teachers and writers must grapple with, maintaining its place among the tools of L2 writing analysis. Wolfe-Quintero (1998) and her team of researchers studied various measures of accuracy and, among the most reliable, recommended the two used in this study: percentage of errors per the number of clauses in the composition (E/C), and percentage of error-free clauses in the entire composition (EFC/C).

Grammatical complexity

Another way to asses writing is to look at complexity, both the complexity of the sentence structure (grammatical complexity) and the complexity of the words used (lexical complexity). Wolfe Quintero et al. (1998) researched both types of measures of complexity and, in the case of grammatical complexity, were able to strongly endorse those measures that examined dependent clauses relative to some other grammatical unit (e.g., the sentence). Because sentence boundaries are sometimes difficult to establish in the CPA compositions, this study calculates the percentage of dependent clauses relative to the total number of clauses in each composition (DC/C). A second measure of grammatical complexity is used, the percentage of clauses per T-units (C/T)[16].

Lexical complexity

Lexical complexity occurs when "learners who have more productive vocabulary items available to them are able to vary their word choices" (Wolfe-Quintero et al., 1998, p. 69). Engber found that composition evaluators are more likely to highly rate compositions that demonstrate lexical variety (1995). Unfortunately, lexical complexity is far less straightforward to measure than grammatical complexity. Basically, a measure must calculate a kind of ratio between the number of *different* words used (word types) compared to the total number of words used (tokens). Yet, a simple comparison of ratios will not be accurate because a writer naturally repeats more of the words she has already used the longer she writes. In other words, the number of different word types decreases as a text lengthens. In order to count up word types and tokens while controlling for the effect of text length, this study uses a free computer program, Simple Concordance

[16] A T-unit ("minimal terminable unit") is a main clause and any subordinate clauses that go along with it (Wolfe-Quintero, et al., 1998, p. 70).

Program (SCP) (Reed, 2010). SCP counts the types and tokens in the CPA compositions and then, in order to control for length, divides the number of types by the square root of the number of tokens (WT/√W).

Another way to measure lexical complexity is to look at the "sophistication" of the words a writer uses. To be considered "sophisticated," a word would have to be on a list of "sophisticated" words or, more easily identified, *not* on a list of basic words. Wolfe-Quintero et al. found few studies of lexical sophistication. However, the few studies they found at the university level suggest that lexical sophistication may be more effectively measured if the basic word list contains *more* than the first 1,000 most commonly-used English words (1998). Wolfe-Quintero et al. finish their review of lexical complexity measures by recommending the measure SWT/WT (sophisticated word types divided by the total number of word types), with sophisticated defined as words not among either the 2,000 most frequently used words or the words on the "university word list" used by Batia Laufer in her study of lexical sophistication (Wolfe-Quintero et al., 1998, pp. 114-115).

Laufer worked with Nation to develop a free computer program VocabProfile (1995) that allows researchers to paste texts into the program for analysis. Before submitting texts to VocabProfile, it is necessary to "correct" them so that the counts will not be thrown off by extra spaces, misspellings, typos, etc. Once a corrected text is submitted to the program, VocabProfile gives a number of statistics about the words used. Among the resulting statistics are four that I used: (1) the number of different word types that were on the list of the 1,000 most commonly used English words; (2) the number of word types that were on the list of the second 1,000 most commonly used

English words; (3) the number of word types from the Academic Word List (Coxhead, A., 2000) that are not among the 2,000 most frequently used English words, and (4) the number of word types that are not on the three aforementioned lists. I added the numbers from (1) through (4) for a total number of word types (WT). Then I added the numbers for (3) and (4) for a total number of "sophisticated word types" (SWT). To obtain a final percentage score, I used Wolfe-Quintero et al.'s formula, dividing the SWT by the WT.

3.3.3.2 Rhetorical features

Writing a composition under assessment conditions has high stakes for a college applicant. Although she may not be able to imagine how her composition will be read and rated, she knows that something she wants may be attached to how successful her writing is. This knowledge creates a rhetorical situation in which the applicant must use her manner of expression to persuade her readers to admit her into the college, place her in "higher" composition courses, or grant her some other privilege she imagines can be gained by writing an effective composition. I chose three features for analysis that would show me what the participants were doing to help influence a favorable outcome: word count, rhetorical control, and rhetorical markers.

Word count

One manner of writing, or rhetorical strategy, many students have learned since elementary school is to write more words, rather than just a few. Indeed, when an Alverno College applicant hands her printed CPA composition to the proctor, if the composition is very short, the proctor will usually ask her if that is really all she would like to write. Most students who are asked this question will return to the computer and lengthen their essays (S. Witkowski, personal communication, August 17, 2011). Word

count, therefore, is an important analysis tool because it may indicate a writer's rhetorical awareness. Moreover, Jarvis, et al. (2003) demonstrated that higher word counts are related to higher ratings from college instructors of L2 writers. This finding provides a second reason for including word count in the analysis of the compositions. Simple Concordance Program, mentioned earlier, was used to provide a word count for each composition in this study.

Rhetorical control

Besides length, another way placement essay writers may arrange their writing to demonstrate their readiness for college is to use paragraph breaks and the organizational devices they have learned to use in secondary school: an overall thesis, topic sentences for the paragraphs, and a sense of introduction, development, and conclusion. Di Gennaro developed a rubric for holistically assessing the rhetorical control of these aspects of student compositions (2009, pp. 558-559). This study uses di Gennaro's rubric to score the writing samples holistically from 0 (no control) to 5 (excellent control) (see Appendix D).

Initially, I reread the compositions and assigned them a rhetorical control score. However, by the time I was doing this task, I had already read the compositions a number of times and in a number of different ways. My familiarity with the compositions made me doubt my ability to view the compositions with objectivity. To counteract this possible effect, I asked a group of Alverno College instructors who regularly assess CPA compositions for communication course placement to also read and score the compositions. I gave them a short training session to introduce them to DiGennaro's rubric and remind them that this session would differ from their regular work with CPAs

because they would be scoring the compositions for Rhetorical control *only*. Then I distributed the compositions; each composition was read and scored twice by different readers. The two scores assigned to a composition were then averaged. If the scorers disagreed by more than one point, a third instructor read and scored the composition; all three scores were then averaged. During this process, I took notes to ascertain which qualities of the compositions influenced the readers in their scoring choices. Later, I compared the scores to those I had assigned; in most cases, my scores were in line with my colleagues'. In the several cases where they were not, I took the composition back to our supervisor, who had created a process very similar to mine for scoring practice essays by education students preparing for PRAXIS exams. She and I looked at the scores and my notes from the scoring session; together, we chose the score we felt was most indicative of the rhetorical control exhibited by the writer.

Rhetorical markers

Writers use words and phrases to direct readers' attention to logical relationships in their argument. While these words have a grammatical function, they also help the reader follow the writer's line of reasoning. For example, in the previous sentence, the words *While* and *also* give semantic as well as syntactic information. *While* is adversative, signaling my readers that the clause *help the reader follow*… is being offered in contrast to *have a grammatical function*. *Also*, on the other hand, signals that my contrast does not replace the phrase, *have a grammatical function*, it is meant, instead, to be added to the act of having a *grammatical function* of the words. Acting syntactically as adverbs, *while* and *also* have semantically alerted my readers that the second clause gives information that both differs from and adds to the information in the first.

Hinkel (2002) calls these words and phrases “rhetorical markers” and categorizes them according to function into lists that can be searched with a computer. Based on Hinkel’s work, I chose to search the CPA compositions for two subsets of one of her categories of rhetorical markers: coordinating and logical conjunctions/prepositions. I included another of Hinkel’s categories, exemplification markers, with logical conjunctions/prepositions because words that signal exemplification also demonstrate a kind of logical relationship. Because coordinating, logical, and exemplification markers are “used significantly more frequently in NNS than NS texts” (p. 141) and are quite common, I searched for the two subsets separately: coordinating words and conjunctions (e.g., *and, but, both,* etc.), and logical (including exemplification) markers (e.g., *because of, except, like, for instance/example,* etc.). Ferris, in a small-scale but similar study found, as Hinkel, that NNS “relied heavily on the use of discourse markers to introduce their ideas, while native speakers used a greater variety of topic-focus strategies” (1994, pp. 47-58). Presumably, the participants in my study who had more schooling in their L1 would be likely to resemble NNS writers by using more coordinating and logical markers than their peers with less L1 schooling.

The SCP program allowed me to search the CPA compositions for these words and phrases. The total number of instances for each word/phrase in each category (coordination and logical) was divided by the total number of words in the composition to arrive at a percentage for each category.

3.3.3.3 Coherence

The final set of measures I use for analyzing the CPA compositions is a set of two coherence measures; coherence is in a category of its own because it is neither the

analysis of surface features, nor the analysis of how a writer interacts with the rhetorical situation surrounding her act of composing.

In her analysis of persuasive essays by international ESL students, Connor emphasized that "a comprehensive model…needs to consider both linguistic and discourse-level features of texts" (1990, p. 69). In her description of the measures she used, coherence is a "discourse-level feature" along with but separate from the "rhetorical features" of the essays she was analyzing. Connor goes on to explain that "Even though coherence has been of increasing interest to teachers and researchers around the world, it is still an elusive concept" (p. 72). Evensen (1990) points out that there are two kinds of coherence: local and global. Local coherence is the connection of words and phrases to each other in a sentence; for example, in the phrase *my mother's car*, the possessive marker on *mother* connects to the word *car* so that we know the car belongs to my mother. Global coherence, says Evensen, works at the level of the text; for example, students are taught to write a thesis statement and connect each paragraph and their conclusion back to that thesis so that the essay is unified.

Lautamatti (1978/1987) began to develop a method for analyzing how repetitions of a topic (or several topics) throughout a composition help create and sustain a sense of coherence. She stated, "The development of the discourse topic…may be thought of in terms of succession of hierarchically ordered sub-topics, each of which contributes to the discourse topic, and is treated as a sequence of ideas, expressed in the written language as sentences" (p. 86). The three kinds of idea sequences that Lautamatti focused on were: (1) *sequential*, where the new information presented in one sentence becomes the topic (the "given" information) of the next sentence; (2) *parallel*, where the topic of one

sentence is the same as the topic in the previous sentence, and (3) *extended parallel*, where the topic of two sentences is the same, but they are separated from each other by one or more sentences with a different topic.

Stephen Witte (1983a) used Lautamatti's method of topical structure analysis to compare the coherence of student revisions of a professionally-written text. He found that the student texts that were rated as less coherent had a higher percentage of different topics than the more coherent texts (p. 328). Witte's finding has been supported by analyses of coherence in completely student-generated texts (Ferris, 1994; Rogers, 2004). Moreover, Lautamatti, Witte, Ferris, and Connor, demonstrate that "high quality essays [have] more parallel and extended parallel progression than low quality essays" (Connor, 1990, p. 72). For this study, then, the topical structure of each CPA composition is analyzed to yield two scores: percentage of topics (per T-units) and percentage of T-units in parallel and extended parallel progression.

3.3.4 Assuring the accuracy of the analyses

To strengthen the integrity of my conclusions in the results and implications sections of this study, I collaborated with colleagues on the measures of writing not calculated by computer: accuracy, grammatical complexity, coherence, and rhetorical control. Because of her eye for detail and experience with editing, I enlisted the help of a retired librarian for the analyses of accuracy and grammatical complexity. Additionally, when disagreements led us to a grammatical quandary, I consulted the faculty of an advanced NS grammar course at Alverno College. For the coherence measures, due to her interest in the evaluation of Spanish compositions, a professor of Spanish language

was my interrater. As described earlier, my departmental colleagues assisted with the holistic ratings of rhetorical control.

3.4 Interviews

This part of the chapter describes the interview design, participant solicitation, the interview session itself, and the analysis of the interview data.

3.4.1 Interview design

Using Lincoln and Guba's (1985) classification of the purposes of interviewing, I identified four purposes for the interviews in my study: triangulation, reconstruction, obtaining here-and-now constructions, and doing member-checking. These purposes developed organically from the study methods and, in turn, had implications for how the interview was designed.

Due to the inaccuracy inherent in self-report instruments, I needed to use the interview as a strategy to check and correct the survey data. This purpose of *triangulation* affected the interview format because different participants' survey responses would require different clarification questions. I could not use a structured interview, in which "the questions have been formulated ahead of time, and the respondent is expected to answer in terms of the interviewer's framework" (Lincoln & Guba, 1985, p. 268). There were, indeed, core questions that I wished to ask each participant, yet, I also needed to add questions tailored to each participant to follow up on unclear or contradictory survey responses. I chose, therefore, a semi-structured interview format, where the script is not a word-for-word transcript. Rather, it "[includes] an outline of topics to be covered, with

suggested questions" (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009, p. 130). (For a transcript of the interview guide, see Appendix E.)

Secondly, because one writing sample produced at a single sitting in a high-stakes situation (admission/placement at Alverno College) is hardly the most accurate gauge of a student's writing abilities (Johns, 1991/2001), I wanted to add depth to my analyses of the participants' CPA compositions. The purpose of *reconstruction* allowed me to design a section of the interview to ask participants to recount their experience of writing the CPA. My intention was to aid the interpretation of anomalous writing analysis scores.

Lincoln and Guba explain that *here-and-now* constructions allow interviewers to obtain participants' "feelings, motivations, claims, concerns," etc. (1985, p. 268). I was very interested in students' perceptions of their language learning experiences: What did they think of bilingual education? Did they feel their ESL classes prepared them for their college level writing? Did they have anything they wanted to say about being bilingual that I hadn't asked them about? The interviewees' here-and-now comments would add depth to my understanding and to the results of the study.

Finally, *member-checking* is "verification, emendation, and extension of constructions developed by the inquirer" (Lincoln & Guba, 1985, p. 268). With this purpose in mind, near the end of the interview, I designed a question to elicit the participant's views on one of the central questions that had motivated my study: "How much, if at all, does being able to write their first language help a person write in English?" It was my hope that this question and, indeed, the entire interview, would give the participants, represented by survey data and writing analysis scores, a human presence—a voice in this study.

I had two reasons for wanting to hear the participants' voices. One is summarized by Sullivan when she mentions "[enlisting] the voices of others to guide us along the way, trusting the other to teach us what we need to know" (1996, p. 112). I hoped the participants' voices would give me some guidance and, consequently, make my research more true to the experiences of those who were informing it. I also wanted to conduct ethical research—"a type of research that is not only *about* the other but *for* the other, a research practice that is concerned at the level of methodology—and not simply in its implications—with the good that it might do" (p. 111). In other words, I hoped the interview would be part of a dialogue about education and L1-L2 language relationships that would perhaps continue outside of my office so that the participants would become more purposeful consumers of information about L1 and L2 and their relative importance in their own, their siblings', and their children's educational journeys. Later, several of the participants did, in fact, mention to me their conviction about the importance of their L1 to their own academic development, but I do not know if issues raised in the interview have informed their discussions at home.

3.4.2 Soliciting interview participants

The last questions of the survey asked if the respondent was willing to be interviewed about her "experiences of living and learning with two languages" and, if so, how I could contact her. In order to interview a participant while her survey experience was still "fresh," I contacted those who agreed to an interview as quickly as possible. My goal was for each interview to take place within several weeks of when the participant had returned the survey.

3.4.3 Conducting the interview

To prepare for each interview, I reviewed the participant's survey data, adding any clarification questions I needed to ask her into my template of the interview script. I added spaces between the questions so that I would be able to use the script during the interview for taking minimal notes. In the header of the script, I typed the number I had assigned to each participant's CPA and survey results; the participant's name did not appear on the script.

Before beginning the interview, I went over the "Consent to Participate in Taped Interview" with the participant (see Appendix F). I showed her the digital audio recorder, including how it saved files by number, not by name. I also explained that I would take a few notes by hand on my interview script in case the audio recorder didn't work properly. The audio recorder was not turned on until after the participant had asked any questions she had about the process and had signed the consent form. The interviews took place in my private office and generally lasted from 30 to 40 minutes. After an interview was finished, I wrote the file number from the digital recorder onto each page of the paper script so that I would be able to connect the script with the correct audio file.

3.4.4. Interview analysis

To guide my analysis of the interview data, I relied on several articles written explicitly to guide doctoral students and novice researchers through the phases of qualitative research (Brice, 2005; Doheny-Farina & Odell, 1985; Grant-Davie, 1992; Lauer & Asher, 1988; Ritchie & Spencer, 1994). Doheny-Farina and Odell (1985) pointed out that the goal of an interview is to find out what the participant thinks; therefore, while researchers may need to guide their informants' attention to the topic,

they shouldn't guide too much—not even by recasting what the participant has said because that adds our own interpretation into the interview.

Concerned that I might "guide too much," I listened to my first interview the evening after I had conducted it. This decision turned out to be serendipitous; not only was I able to improve my interviewing technique, I was also able to add notations to the notes I had already taken in order to clarify the participant's utterances and indicate sequences I found particularly interesting or unexpected. In fact, Doheny-Farina and Odell suggest that this method is the best way to begin the challenging process of developing the categories that will later be the basis of the codes. Besides making notes on the interview guide, I created a computer file for the interview and typed in a journal paragraph of "impressions" about the participant and the interview. Realizing how helpful this exercise had been for me, I continued the practice for all subsequent interviews. These two steps—listening to the interview to add notes and creating a journal entry for the experience—were essential because the interviews were conducted in the midst of a semester filled with teaching, administrative duties, and meetings. I knew I would not be able to transcribe the interviews until the end of the semester; by then I might forget characteristics of the interviewees and/or the thread of a conversation that was partially obscured by ambient noises.

I wanted to begin working with the interview data as soon as possible while it was at least somewhat fresh in my memory. Ritchie and Spencer cautioned, however, that preliminary to working with the data is a familiarization stage, which involves immersion in the data: listening to tapes, reading transcripts, studying observational notes, etc. (p. 177). In order to do become familiar with the data, Ritchie and Spencer suggest that when

researchers have conducted more than “a few interviews” (p. 178) they should select representative transcripts to immerse themselves in. I chose my first five interviews to transcribe in their entirety for the following reasons: the interviewees came from three different L1 backgrounds, they represented both US- and foreign-born bilingual learners, they came from three different age groups (19-20, 24, and 36), and they were at three different points in their Alverno College career (two freshmen, one sophomore, and two seniors).

I chose to transcribe the interviews in a format that Bucholtz identifies as “characteristic of the transcription of spoken discourse in non-linguistic research in the human and social sciences, which is carried out for the purpose not of analyzing discourse structure but of examining discourse content” (2007, p. 787). I am working within the field of applied linguistics; yet, the purpose of the interview data is for thick description and triangulation. For this study, a more detailed linguistic presentation would distract from the content of the speakers’ messages. Bucholtz cautions that even a simplified transcript should indicate “any talk that was omitted,” and I have done so with the use of ellipses. There are some distinct disadvantages to representing speech in this way. First, as careful as I try to be with my use of punctuation marks, they still add a layer of my interpretation to what the speakers were saying. In fact, by not rendering the transcripts in a linguistically detailed manner, I make it difficult for other scholars to challenge my interpretations of the speakers’ intended meanings. I also make it harder for other researchers to “discover new things in the data” (p. 794). Still, given the focus of this study, simplified transcription is the best choice.

After transcribing the five interviews and reading the transcripts, I began "the process of identifying units of analysis and classifying each unit according to the categories in a coding system" (Grant-Davie, 1992, p. 272). Grant-Davie explains that syntactic units (like T-units or sentences) are problematic for oral speech because they're often broken up and/or never finished. He prefers "episodic units," which last as long as a speaker "continues to make the same kind of comment" (p. 276). The vagueness of Grant-Davie's explanation suited me, giving me permission not to be overly fastidious about the end of one unit and the beginning of the next. I decided to use episodic units with the understanding that "single passages often contain a number of different themes each of which needs to be referenced" (Ritchie and Spencer, 1994, p. 182).

I read through the transcripts repeatedly, marking units and glossing them for the topic(s) the speaker was discussing. This process helped me notice recurring phrases and ideas. After several more readings, I was able to develop a list of themes or significant topics based on the frequency with which they recurred throughout the transcripts, or their cogency to my research questions, or their striking, unusual quality. Moreover, because of the triangulation purpose for the interviews, I also identified segments when participants answered the clarification questions and when they mentioned in passing a fact about their schooling and/or background that was pertinent to the survey data. These responses were immediately entered as footnotes into the charts of the survey data. In addition, a chart of interviewees' reconstructions of writing the CPA composition was created and appended below the writing analysis data chart to assure that qualitative information about the CPA compositions would be readily available when I was ready to interpret the writing analysis results.

My list of significant topics and ideas formed the preliminary index for coding the interview data. I coded two of the transcripts and then gave the index and uncoded copies of the same transcripts to an Alverno College communication instructor so that she could do the same thing. After our discussion, I modified the index and we re-coded the two transcripts together. This exercise led to more revisions of the index. We used the revised index to separately code the next three transcripts. Our subsequent discussion led to fewer instances of disagreement, making me feel more confident about the index. As Ritchie and Spencer observe, "applying an index is not a routine exercise as it involves making numerous judgements as to the meaning and significance of the data" (1994, p. 182).

At this point, Brice's description of her struggles with coding the transcripts of her interviews was very helpful. Brice found that some of the disagreements between her and her colleague occurred because her colleague, like mine, was not an experienced ESL teacher. The vocabulary and syntax errors of Brice's participants sometimes made it hard for her colleague to understand them. Brice, on the other hand, was accustomed to the way ESL students express themselves. Also, as their teacher, she knew more about the participants than her colleague did. These sources of knowledge "informed all of the interpretations I made" (2005, p. 167). Brice's discussion allowed me to maintain a more fluid notion of the index. I realized that I would have to make judgments. I also kept my index list open-ended, in case of a need to modify or add codes as other themes emerged from subsequent interviews. For example, several of the later participants spoke at some length about the support they received from English-speaking family and friends as they were trying to learn the language. After adding "ELL Support" to my index, I went back through the earlier transcripts, coding segments where such support was mentioned.

After transcribing and coding the remaining interviews, I reviewed all of the topics in the final index, searching "for patterns and connections and [seeking] explanations for these internally within the data" (Ritchie & Spencer, 1994, p. 186). As a sense of these connections emerged, I developed a wall chart with three major sections: "L1" "English Learning" and—the section that linked them—"L1-L2 Relationships." I organized the themes and topics from the index in the appropriate section of the wall chart. Finally, I added references to the coded interviews under the appropriate headings on the wall chart, identifying each by participant number and transcript page number.

3.5 Final thoughts

In a chapter on the philosophical bases for L2 writing research, Silva describes his own beginnings as a researcher: "Soon I came to the conclusion that a researcher's questions would determine the design [of the study]—this now seems patently obvious to me, but it was an epiphany then" (2005, p. 4). When I first heard Silva and others discuss this concept at the 2002 Symposium on Second Language Writing, it was definitely an epiphany for me. Then and there, I determined that my doctoral study methods—whatever they would be—would flow organically from my research questions—whatever they were going to be. Although "flow" is a more graceful word than the halting, recursive process one goes through to discover the rootlets leading from professional life to curiosity to professional study, in the end, the flow is there.

This chapter has documented that flow, demonstrating how my research questions led to my choice of methodology. The selection of qualitative methodology, combined with my choice of site and participants, led me from the choice of types of methods

(survey, writing analysis, and semi-structured interview) down to the last detail of design. A reader should be able to choose any particular result (e.g., a percentage of error-free clauses or a quotation from a participant about how an American boyfriend motivated her to learn English) and trace it back to its origins in this chapter. Ultimately, the methods and questions of this chapter are grounded in my teaching experiences on two continents and in numerous schools and the many bilingual learners I have encountered there.

CHAPTER 4: FINDINGS FOR ENGLISH LANGUAGE LEARNING MODELS

This chapter focuses on data related to the first research question: "What forms of language learning support did this group of college students experience?" I will begin by describing the multiple forms of language learning support the participants experienced. I will then detail the relationship between the participants' CPA compositions and the kinds of language learning support they received. After focusing, first, on results regarding surface features of the compositions, I will focus on results regarding rhetorical features and coherence. I close the chapter by summarizing the findings and their significance for my hypothesis about the relationship between language learning experiences and composition analysis scores.

4.1 The two large groups of participants

In this section, I will describe the participants of this study in terms of the models of language learning support they received during their schooling. All of the participants in this study are bilingual learners. As I explained in Chapter 2, I am using as broad a definition of bilingual learner as possible: I consider any non-English-language background student who has graduated from a US high school as a bilingual learner, regardless of her age upon arrival; whether she was born here or arrived in the US only in time for her senior year of high school, she was eligible to be a study participant. However, due to the educational disruption caused by moving from one country and language to another, I have divided the participants of this study into two groups: those who began school in a non-English-speaking country, and those who received all of their

elementary and secondary education in US schools. Each group is subdivided into smaller groups that I call "cohorts."[17]

Before describing the two main groups of participants and the cohorts I have subdivided them into, I must point out that there is another way to group the participants, which I will use from time to time. The participants can also be grouped according to the CPA writing prompt to which they responded. Recall that in Chapter 3 I described the two writing prompts: one asks students to respond to McKibben's argument for preserving the black flies, and the other asks them to describe an environmental issue they felt passionate about. Dividing the participants according to the writing prompt does not lend itself to exploring the differences caused by the kind of language learning support they received; however, at times it will be helpful for examining details about the compositions.

For the sake of convenience, I term the compositions that responded to McKibben's stance the "black flies compositions," and those that described another environmental issue the "independent compositions." Seventeen of the participants in this study wrote black flies compositions and 11 wrote independent compositions. Furthermore, in both main groups of participants—those who began school in the US and those whose schooling began outside the US—the black flies prompt was the preferred one: among the participants with some education outside the US, 69% wrote black flies

[17] I have chosen to label the participants by number, not by name because of the number of participants. I found it difficult to create 29 different aliases, especially since 16 of the participants do not use English names. I wished to avoid the conundrum of deciding whether to use ethnic names for these students and, if deciding to do so, choosing names appropriate to languages I do not speak.

compositions; among the participants educated only in US schools, 53% wrote black flies compositions[18]. I will explore the implications of prompt choice in my final chapter.

Also, before detailing the two main groups of participants, I wish to note that according to their descriptions on the survey and in the interviews, the ESL instruction received by all of the participants in this study was pull-out or push-in. Also based on the participants' descriptions of their education, none received sheltered content instruction. In other words, all of the participants who received ESL instruction received it for several hours a day or less; the rest of their classes (except foreign language/L1 classes) were taught in English. The only exceptions are participants 05 and 15, who both received several months of only ESL instruction in the summer prior to entering US public schools; during that time, they probably attended ESL classes every day and may have received some sheltered instruction to prepare them for entering school in the fall. Finally, according to their descriptions, none of the participants received dual language bilingual education.

4.2 Forms of language learning support received by the participants

I will now turn to answering my first research question:

> 1) What forms of language learning support did this group of college students experience?

4.2.1 Participants with education outside of the US

Thirteen of the 28 participants, or nearly half, began their education outside of the US in a country where English was not the language of instruction (see Table 4-1). Their

[18] The Assessment Center at Alverno College, has not detected a placement bias related to the essay prompt (P. Miller, personal communication, April 12, 2012).

information appears in Table 4-1 in descending order according to the number of years they received each kind of English learning support, taking into account their age at the time they entered the US. I am ranking the participants in this way based on my hypothesis that participants who have had more and/or more effective kinds of language-learning education are likely to write placement compositions that have higher writing analysis scores. Organizing Table 4-1 in this manner gives me a quick way to check the accuracy of my hypothesis. If my expectation is correct, the writing scores entered into a table in the same order should also descend as I read down the columns.

Table 4-1: Participants with Education Outside the US, According to Type of English Learning Support Received

	Years of School Outside US and Teaching Language		Years of Bilingual Education	Years of ESL Support	Years Mainstreamed
Early AOA					
Bilingual Education					
10	Spanish	4	4		4
25	Spanish	4	2		6
ESL Support					
04	Spanish	7		3	2
14	Urdu	2		2	9
Mainstreamed					
26	Spanish	7			5
08	Spanish	2			10
Late AOA					
Bilingual Education					
15	Spanish	7½	4		
19	Spanish	8	4		
23	Spanish	8	3	1 EFL	1
ESL Support					
05	Arabic	8		4 EFL ¼ ESL	4
21	Serbian	7		4	
09	Serbian	10		3	
03	Spanish	11		1	

Due to the importance of AOA described in Chapter 2, the participants in Table 4-1 are divided into two subgroups: Early AOA and Late AOA. To illustrate the importance of AOA, let me suggest two hypothetical students: Student A, who arrives in the US ready to begin tenth grade at a school where she receives bilingual support for all three of her remaining years at the school; and Student B, who arrives in another US school district ready to begin seventh grade and receives ESL support for only two years before being mainstreamed as she enters high school. Although student A has had both more and better English language learning support (three years of bilingual support as opposed to two years of only ESL support), student B's earlier AOA may give her an advantage.

Recall that, as described in Chapter 2, four to eight years are needed for newly arrived bilingual learners to catch up academically to their English-speaking peers. If both Students A and B apply to Alverno College during their senior year of high school, Student A will have had less than three years in the country when she writes her CPA composition. Her late AOA is likely to have an impact on how effectively she handles the language demands of the CPA composition. Student B, on the other hand, has the advantage of having been in the US for over four years before writing her CPA composition. It is possible that, in spite of the lesser quality and duration of her English language learning support, Student B will write a stronger composition due to the additional years of "practice" she has had. Thus, Table 4-1 reflects my expectation that participants who have earlier AOAs are likely to write placement compositions with higher writing analysis scores. Still, within each AOA cohort, participants who have had more and/or more effective kinds of language-learning education are likely to write more accurate, complex, rhetorically controlled, and coherent compositions.

Furthermore, I have arbitrarily chosen the entry into high school as my AOA point of division. I had to choose this number arbitrarily because research results do not identify a single number of years needed before a newcomer can catch up with her monolingual English-speaking peers. In his study, Cummins (1981) found an average of five years, Collier (1987) found an average of four to eight years, and Thomas and Collier (2001) found an average of four to seven years. Four years appears to be the minimum amount of time needed. In Table 4-1, therefore, if a participant began her US schooling before entering high school, she will be in the upper ("Early AOA") portion of the table, meaning that I expect the early AOA to give her an advantage when it comes to

writing the CPA composition. Participants who began their US schooling at or after entry to high school are listed in the lower ("Late AOA") portion.

In Table 4-1, the cohort who received bilingual educational support is placed at the top of each subgroup because bilingual education is a strong form of language education support, while ESL education and mainstreaming are non-forms. Among various kinds of bilingual education, dual language education was shown to be the strongest. Although none of the participants in my study attended a dual language bilingual program, some did at least receive bilingual education. The organization of the table reflects my hypothesis that a little bilingual support is still more beneficial than none at all.

The second cohort of participants in each subgroup group is made up of those who did not receive bilingual education, but did receive ESL support. It is difficult to know where to place participant 05 in her cohort. English as a foreign language (EFL) is often taught in the same way that we teach French or German as a foreign language to our students. When students learn a foreign language in upper elementary and middle school, they often learn it in an academic, grammar-based way, being tested on things like verb conjugations and reading comprehension. Students in other countries who study English this way must often pass grammar, reading, and sometimes writing exams to matriculate to the next level of study. The language of these exams usually bears more resemblance to the language of textbooks than to the language of everyday interaction. It is possible, then, that participant 05's years of EFL instruction in Palestine may have incorporated as much, or even more, academic English language learning support than participant 21's years of ESL support in the US. Due to living in the US, participant 21

may be better prepared to understand and communicate with her peers and teachers, yet participant 05 may be better prepared to read her English textbooks. For this reason, I placed participant 05 at the top of the list of her cohort of students.

The last cohort in the Early AOA subgroup is made up of the two participants who received no English language learning support. According to my hypothesis, their CPA composition scores should be lower than those of the other cohorts in their subgroup.

Because the participants were asked about only their primary and secondary education, the total number of years of education for each participant equals 12, except in four cases. Two of the participants, 09 and 14, repeated a year of school upon entering the US. On the other hand, two of the participants, 15 and 21, skipped all or part of a grade in the process of their transition to US schooling.

4.2.2 Participants educated only in US schools

The other half of the participants (15 out of the total of 28) received all of their education in US schools.[19] Their language education information appears in Table 4-2. They are listed in descending order, according to the number of years they received the various kinds of English language learning support. Again, participants who received bilingual support are listed first; next are those who received only ESL support, and finally are the participants who received no language learning support.

[19] I am using the phrase "US schools" to indicate that the participants' education took place in schools following the United States system of education. All of the US-educated participants received their education inside the continental US except for participant 06, who attended an American school in Palestine for two years.

Table 4-2: Participants Educated in US Schools, According to Type of English Learning Support Received

	L1	Years of Bilingual Education	Years of ESL Support	Years Mainstreamed
Bilingual Education				
11	Arabic	10		2
16	Spanish	3		9
ESL Support				
22	Hmong		5	7
30	Hmong		4-5*	7 or 8
20	Hmong		3	9
06	Arabic		3	10*
18	Spanish		2	10
28	Hmong		2	10
17	Arabic		2	10
Mainstreamed				
07	Spanish			12
24	Spanish			12
02	Spanish			12
13	Arabic			12
29	Hmong			12
27	Hmong			12

*30 could not remember how many years of ESL support she had received
**06 repeated a year of school

As with participant 05 in the previous group, three participants in this group are difficult to place into the table: participants 17, 22, and 30. Chapter 1 described how language learning support is not always delivered in a timely or consistent manner. Participant 30's schooling is a case in point. She entered school knowing no English, but did not receive ESL support until second or third grade (she could not remember exactly when it began). She continued with ESL pull-out support through fifth grade. There were no ESL classes at the middle school, but, when she was in eighth grade, the ESL teacher from the elementary school began traveling to the middle school to meet with the bilingual learners once or twice a week in order to provide them at least minimal support.

Although participant 17's support was less interrupted than participant 30's, participant 17 did not receive ESL support until she entered third grade.

Participant 22, moreover, did not receive ESL support initially because she was identified not as a bilingual learner but as a child with a learning disability. She recounts that she didn't speak in kindergarten because she didn't understand anything the teacher was saying. As a result, she was pulled out of class for speech therapy during first grade. The school did not correct its error until her second grade year, when she was finally given ESL support, although she was also kept in speech therapy through third grade (personal communication, July 19, 2011).

Except for participants 17, 22, and 30, all of the other participants who were given language learning support received it immediately and continuously for as many years as are indicated in Table 4-2. For example, participant 16 was placed in bilingual education from first through third grade, after which she was mainstreamed for the rest of her academic career. Due to the difficulty of factoring the inconsistent support received by participants 17, 22, and 30 into my analysis, I have decided to organize the table by the total years of ESL support, without specifying when in their academic careers the participants received it.

The data from the two major groups of participants supports the expectations I had about my first research question, namely, that the participants experienced a variety of forms of language learning support, but none of them attended a dual language program.

4.3 Relationships between language learning support and surface features of English composition

I will now describe the results of the study that relate to the following research questions:

> 2) How accurate and complex are the surface features of the English writing of this group of students?
>
> 4) What is the relationship between the forms of language learning support experienced by this group of students and the accuracy and complexity of the surface features, and the discourse/rhetorical and coherence control exhibited in their English writing?

4.3.1 Accuracy

Recall that the two accuracy measures I chose to use are: 1) the number of clauses that are free of error per the total number of clauses, which yields an average percentage of error-free clauses (% EFC); and 2) the average percentage of errors per clause, which yields an overall average percentage of error (% E). Table 4-3 shows that the accuracy scores for the compositions by the participants whose education began outside the US only partially support my hypothesis.

Table 4-3: Accuracy of Compositions by Participants with Education Outside the US

Cohort	Average % EFC	Average % E
Early AOA		
Bilingual	58	60
ESL	70	37
Mainstreamed	63	61
Late AOA		
Bilingual	52	57
ESL	53	72

As I hypothesized, early AOA participants averaged more error-free clauses (EFC) than participants who arrived in the US only for high school. However, the cohort

that wrote most accurately was not the bilingually schooled early arrivals; instead it was the cohort of early arrivals who received only ESL support. The writing in the compositions by this cohort was markedly more accurate than that of any of the other cohorts: the early arrivals who received only ESL support wrote 70% of their clauses without errors, and had an overall error average of only 37%[20]. Except for the unusually high percentage of error in the compositions by the late arrivals who had only ESL support, the rest of the scores are too close to each other to be of much significance. To summarize, among the participants of this study who began their schooling outside the US, as far as error is concerned, there seems to be an advantage to entering the US before high school and receiving ESL, as opposed to bilingual, support.

Now I will turn to the accuracy scores for the compositions by participants who received all of their education in US schools. First, I will show the results separately according to the writing prompt.

[20] It is important to note that, in spite of the fact that the scores of 70% and 37% appear to be complementary—mirror images of each other—the two measures are not complementary for this population, at least. The fact that the measures are not complementary can be most easily seen in the Late AOA ESL cohort: although a little over half of their clauses were error-free, the remaining clauses clearly contained multiple errors, giving them an overall error rate of 72%. I will return to this topic in Chapter 7.

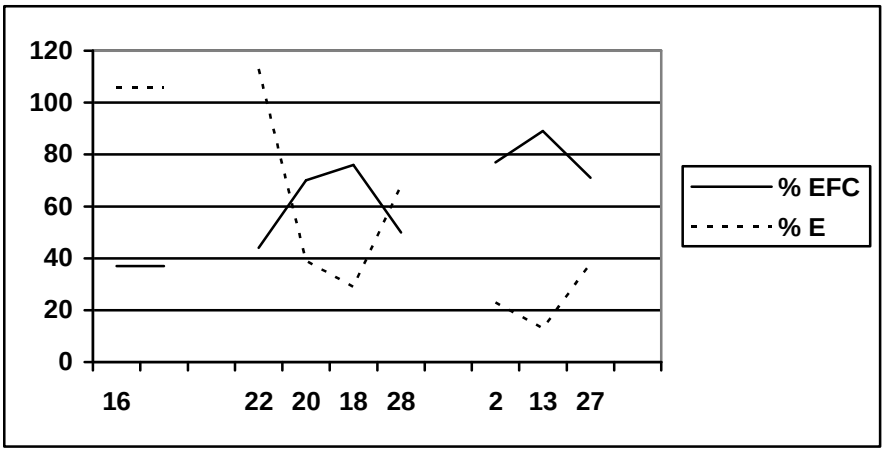

Figure 4-1[21]: Accuracy of Black Flies Compositions by Participants Educated in US Schools

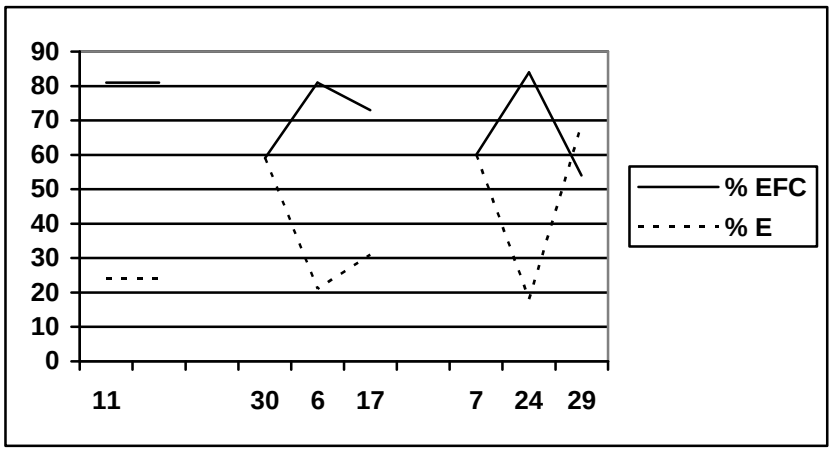

Figure 4-2: Accuracy of Independent Compositions by Participants Educated in US Schools

The black flies compositions by the participants who attended only US schools show accuracy results that are exactly contrary to my expectation. The participant who received bilingual education has the fewest error-free clauses, and the participants who were mainstreamed average the highest numbers of error-free clauses. In the figure for

[21] In all of the figures, the participants are identified by number along the bottom of the graph.

the independent compositions (Figure 4-2), on the other hand, the trend supports my hypothesis: the compositions demonstrate less accuracy as the kind of language support program becomes less optimal. However, the sizeable differences between the individual composition scores and the smallness of the sample size in each cohort make the decrease in accuracy less meaningful.

Figures 4-1 and 4-2 show several interesting individual cases. For example, the accuracy scores for the two participants educated solely in the US and who received bilingual education are nearly mirror images of each other. As predicted by my hypothesis, the composition by participant 11, who received bilingual education, (Figure 4-2) scores high for accuracy; along with two other compositions, it ranks third for the highest number of error-free clauses among all compositions by participants in both groups. In contrast, participant 16, who also received bilingual education, wrote a composition (Figure 4-1) that confounds my hypothesis; it ties with one other composition for the fewest error-free clauses out of all of the compositions in both major groups. Looking back at Table 4-2, we can see that participant 11 had ten years of bilingual education, but participant 16 had only three. The differences in the number of years of bilingual education may explain at least some of the difference in their performance.

Another observation that can be made about Figures 4-1 and 4-2 is that the percentage of error in the composition by participant 22 is unusually high. In fact, at 113%, it is the highest error percentage of all of the compositions in both main groups. Participant 22 is also unique in several ways. First of all, on the survey, she stated that her L1 was “broken English” because that is the language her parents used with the children.

From having taught her, I know that one parent is Chinese and the other is Hmong; it is possible that English is their only common language. On the other hand, because both of her parents were working before she began school, participant 22 spent the days with her aunt who spoke "only Hmong" to the children (personal communication, July 19, 2011). In addition, participant 22 was mainstreamed, then given speech therapy, and finally received ESL support as she entered second grade.

After viewing separately by task type the results for the participants who were educated only in the US, it is helpful to view them in a summarizing table.

Table 4-4: Accuracy of Compositions by Participants Educated in US Schools

Cohort	Average % EFC	Average % E
Bilingual	59	65
ESL	65	51
Mainstreamed	73	37

Overall, contrary to my expectation, the participants who had bilingual support do not write more accurately than their peers. Those who were mainstreamed average the highest number of error-free clauses and write with the lowest percentage of error. The participants who received bilingual education, on the other hand, write the fewest error-free clauses and have the highest percentage of error.

4.3.2 Grammatical complexity

Before examining the results for grammatical complexity, recall that each composition was analyzed according to two grammatical complexity measures: 1) the number of dependent clauses per the total number of clauses, which yields an average percentage of dependent clauses for the composition (% DC); and 2) the number of clauses per T-unit, yielding an average number of clauses for each T-unit (C/T). Table 4-

5 shows the grammatical complexity scores for the compositions by the participants whose education began outside the US.

Table 4-5: Grammatical Complexity of Compositions by Participants with Education Outside the US

Cohort	Average % DC	Average C/T
Early AOA		
Bilingual	49	2.4
ESL	46	1.9
Mainstreamed	46	1.8
Late AOA		
Bilingual	44	2.1
ESL	45	2.0

From the table we can see that the early arrivals who received bilingual education average the highest percentage of dependent clauses and clauses per T-unit, supporting my hypothesis. The rest of the scores are too close for any meaningful generalizations.

Table 4-6 gives the results of the analysis of grammatical complexity of the compositions by the participants whose education occurred solely in the US.

Table 4-6: Grammatical Complexity of Compositions by Participants Educated in US Schools

Cohort	Average % DC	Average C/T
Bilingual	53	2.2
ESL	43	1.8
Mainstreamed	46	1.8

Again, the compositions by the students who had bilingual support are more grammatically complex than those by the other cohorts. And, as with the compositions by the participants who began their schooling outside the US, the compositions by the US-educated participants who received ESL, as well as those by participants who were mainstreamed, have scores that are too similar to be of significance.

4.3.3 Lexical complexity

I used two measures to analyze for lexical complexity: 1) lexical variety – the total number of different word types in a composition divided by the square root of the total number of words, yielding a percentage of the different word types used (% WT); and 2) lexical sophistication – the total number of sophisticated word types divided by the total number of word types, yielding a percentage of the sophisticated word types used (% SWT). Table 4-7 summarizes the results for the compositions written by the participants who immigrated to the US after beginning school in their home countries.

Table 4-7: Lexical Complexity of Compositions by Participants with Education Outside the US

Cohort	% WT	% SWT
Early AOA		
Bilingual	54	8
ESL	57	13
Mainstreamed	53	10
Late AOA		
Bilingual	53	8
ESL	54	6

For all the cohorts of participants with education outside of the US, the scores for lexical complexity are nearly the same. The early AOAs appear to be at a bit of an advantage when it comes to the use of sophisticated word types. In addition the early arrivals who received ESL support use on average slightly greater word variety (%WT) and more sophisticated word types than the others. These slightly better results partially support my hypothesis, because I expected that earlier arrival in US schools would give participants more writing facility. However, I expected the participants who had received bilingual education to perform better than the other cohorts, which is not the case with

lexical complexity. Still, with such small differences in the averages and with such small numbers of participants in the cohorts, the results are not significant.

Table 4-8 presents the results for the participants who were educated in only US schools.

Table 4-8: Lexical Complexity of Compositions by Participants Educated in US Schools

Cohort	% WT	% SWT
Bilingual	70	17
ESL	61	12
Mainstreamed	62	15

For the participants educated solely in American schools, my hypothesis is partially supported. As I predicted, the participants who received bilingual education use more lexical variety and more sophisticated word types than the other two cohorts. However, contrary to my prediction, the participants who were mainstreamed slightly outperform those who received only ESL support.

4.4 Relationships between language learning support and rhetorical features and coherence strategies of English composition

Now I turn to my third research question:

> 3) What levels of discourse/rhetorical and coherence control are seen in the English writing of this group of students?

As in the previous section about surface features, the third research question naturally leads into the fourth:

> 4) What is the relationship between the forms of language learning support experienced by this group of students and the accuracy and complexity of the surface features, and the discourse/rhetorical and coherence control exhibited in their English writing?

4.4.1 Word count

The first rhetorical/discourse measure I use is a simple word count. Figure 4-3 shows the results for the compositions written by the participants with education outside the US.

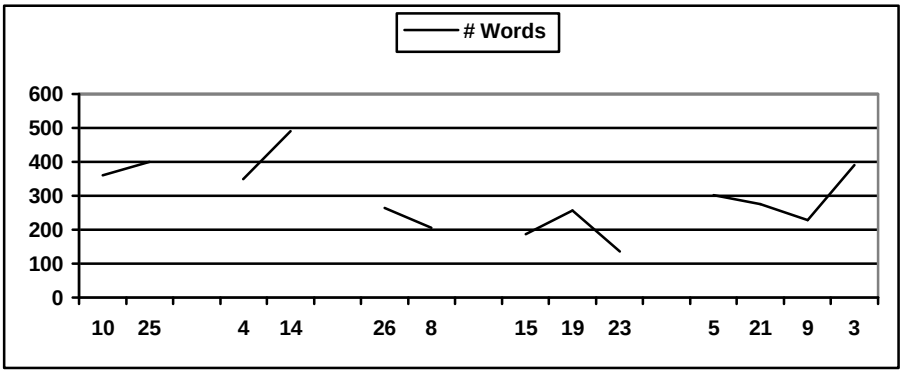

Figure 4-3: Word Count for Compositions by Participants with Education Outside the US

As we have seen before, on the whole, the EAOA participants write more than their late-arriving peers. The same is not true, however, for the group of early arrivals that received no language learning support. With the exception of the two participants who were mainstreamed (participants 26 and 08), the results so far support my expectation that immigrant students who have more time to practice their English language skills will tend to write compositions that score higher for rhetorical/discourse features at the entry to college level.

Among the late arrivals, those who received ESL support generally write more words than their peers who were placed into bilingual programs. These results do not support my hypothesis; I expected that the participants who received bilingual education would write more words.

Word counts for the participants educated in the US are close enough that their differences are not readily visible on a graph (see Table 4-9).

Table 4-9: Word Count for Compositions by Participants Educated in US Schools

Cohort	Average # Words
Bilingual	377
ESL	358
Mainstreamed	371

We see that the word counts are so close that little can be said about my hypothesis, except in the case of the participants who received only ESL support. Contrary to my expectation that mainstreamed students would tend to write compositions with the lowest scores, the cohort that had only ESL support wrote the shortest compositions.

4.4.2 Rhetorical control

Recall that rhetorical control was marked holistically on a scale from one to five. The results for the compositions written by participants who began their education outside the US are presented in Table 4-10.

Table 4-10: Rhetorical Control of Compositions by Participants with Education Outside the US

Cohort	Average Score
Early AOA	
Bilingual	3
ESL	4.3
Mainstreamed	2.3
Late AOA	
Bilingual	2.2
ESL	4.3

Among the early arrivals, the compositions by the participants who were mainstreamed show markedly lower levels of rhetorical control, supporting my

hypothesis. Contrary to my hypothesis, however, in both subgroups (EAOA and LAOA), participants who received ESL support write compositions that show more rhetorical control than those by participants who received bilingual education.

Table 4-11 presents the results for the participants who had all of their schooling in the US.

Table 4-11: Rhetorical Control of Compositions by Participants Educated in the US

Cohort	Average Score
Bilingual	3.9
ESL	3.6
Mainstreamed	3.8

All of the participants who were educated only in the US wrote compositions that showed similar levels of rhetorical control. Contrary to my hypothesis, there appears to be no appreciable difference between the differing models of language learning support.

4.4.3 Rhetorical markers

In the analysis of the participants' CPA compositions, I measured the occurrence of two kinds of rhetorical markers: coordinating markers (e.g., "and," "also," etc.), and logical markers (e.g., "however," "for example," etc.). When looking at the numbers in this next set of tables, recall that they represent the percentage of the particular kind of marker (coordinating or logical) out of the total number of words in a composition. Hinkel found that nonnative speakers of English tend to use more coordinating, logical, and exemplification markers in their writing than native speakers of English (2002). I expected the number of markers to increase as the participants had fewer years of and/or less optimal language learning support; in other words, for these measures, higher

numbers mean lower effectiveness of writing. Table 4-12 presents the results for the participants whose education began outside the US.

Table 4-12: Rhetorical Markers in Compositions by Participants with Education Outside the US

Cohort	% Coordinating	% Logical
Early AOA		
Bilingual	89	27
ESL	68	33
Mainstreamed	58	30
Late AOA		
Bilingual	69	27
ESL	51	31

Contrary to my hypothesis about the advantage of having had more time in US schools, the early arrivals use more coordinating and logical markers than the late arrivals. The use of coordinating markers within the two subgroups also confounds my expectations, with cohorts that had more and/or more effective language learning support using more coordinating markers than those with less and/or less effective support. The use of logical markers, on the other hand, is similar for all cohorts.

Table 4-13 presents the results for rhetorical marker usage by the participants educated only in US schools.

Table 4-13: Rhetorical Markers in Compositions by Participants Educated US Schools

Cohort	% Coordinating	% Logical
Bilingual	75	45
ESL	45	23
Mainstreamed	77	20

Again, my expectation is not met by the compositions written by the participants who received bilingual education. Instead of using the fewest rhetorical markers, they use

nearly the most. Other than that fact, there seems to be no pattern in the usage of rhetorical markers by the participants who had all of their education in the US.

4.4.4 Coherence

To analyze the coherence of the compositions, I chose two measures: 1) the total number of T-units with different topics divided by the total number of T-units, yielding a percentage of different topics (% Topics) for each composition, and 2) the total number of topics that were in either parallel or extended parallel progression divided by the total number of topics overall, yielding a percentage for the number of topics that were in some sort of parallel relationship (% Parallel & Extended). Recall that if too many new topics are introduced in a composition, readers experience the writing as incoherent. Therefore, *lower* % Topics scores tend to be indicative of more coherent compositions. On the other hand, when a writer composes several T-units in a row on the same topic (parallel progression) or refers readers back to a topic that has been previously discussed (extended parallel progression), she builds a sense of coherence; the composition seems "unified." Thus, *higher* % Parallel & Extended scores tend to indicate that compositions are coherent.

Table 4-14 presents the results of the coherence analyses of the compositions by the participants whose education began outside the US.

Table 4-14: Coherence in Compositions by Participants with Education Outside the US

Cohort	% Topics	% Parallel & Extended
Early AOA		
Bilingual	37	67
ESL	38	65
Mainstreamed	33	70
Late AOA		
Bilingual	59	49
ESL	39	64

Contrary to my hypothesis, in each subgroup (EAOA and LAOA), the compositions by participants who received the least and/or least effective forms of language learning support wrote more coherent compositions. For the early arrivals that were mainstreamed, the difference from the other two cohorts is not very large. However, between the two cohorts of late arrivals, the difference is more marked.

Table 4-15 shows the coherence results for the compositions by the participants educated only in US schools.

Table 4-15: Coherence in Compositions by Participants Educated in US Schools

Cohort	% Topics	% Parallel & Extended
Bilingual	44	56
ESL	42	62
Mainstreamed	38	66

Again, my expectations were not met. Among the participants who received all of their education in the US, those who received the least language learning support wrote the most coherent compositions, and those who received the most support wrote the least coherently.

4.5 Closing thoughts

In this chapter, I presented the writing analysis results in a way that explored my hypotheses in relation to the three models of language learning support received by the participants. It is important to remember that the bilingual programs experienced by the participants in my study were unlike the optimal programs represented in the research. Therefore, the cohorts that received bilingual education are unlikely to support my hypothesis that participants who received bilingual education will tend to write the highest-scored compositions. Indeed, in the tables presented later in this section of the chapter, the cohorts that received bilingual education will seldom meet my expectation.

Several of my expectations, however, were fully supported by the data. Specifically, as I expected, the participants of my study experienced diverse forms of language learning support. Also, as expected, none received dual language education. In addition, as I expected, the analyses of the compositions yielded a broad spectrum of accuracy, complexity, and discourse/rhetorical scores.

On the other hand, the writing analysis results in relation to my hypotheses regarding the beneficial effects of early AOA and strong forms of language education were less straightforward. Tables 4-16, 4-17 and 4-18 present a graphic overview of how this particular hypothesis of mine fared. In the tables, I rank the cohorts according to the averages of their scores. It is important to remember that a high *rank* is <u>not</u> necessarily the same as a high numerical *average*, because for some measures a “high” average means low ranking. For example, a high percentage of different topics meant that the composition lacked coherence; therefore, a cohort with the highest average in this area would receive the lowest ranking.

Table 4-16 is a hypothetical table. I have included it for two reasons. First, it presents the key for reading all tables of this type that will be used throughout the dissertation. Second, it demonstrates how the tables would appear if my expectation about the efficacy of strong forms of language education had been borne out by the data.

Table 4-16: Hypothesized Summary of Results Rankings According to Cohorts

Measures used in the analysis of the compositions
(Measures are presented in the order in which they were discussed in the chapter)
(Longer measure titles are abbreviated, e.g., P&EP = % of Parallel & Extended Parallel)

	EFC	E	DC	C/T	WT	SWT	#W	Rhet	Coord	Logi	Topi	P&EP
B	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H
E	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m
M	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

B = Cohort that received bilingual education
E = Cohort that received only ESL support
M = Cohort that was mainstreamed

H = highest ranking
m = middle ranking (in subgroups with only 2 cohorts, this ranking is omitted)
– = lowest ranking

Table 4-17 shows the rankings of the results for the group of participants who began their education in their families' home countries.

Table 4-17: Summary of Results Rankings According to Cohorts for Participants with Education Outside the US

	EFC	E	DC	C/T	WT	SWT	#W	Rhet	Coord	Logi	Topi	P&EP
Early AOA												
B	-	m~	H	H	m~	- ~	m	m	m~	H	m~	m~
E	H	H	-*	m~	H	H	H	H	-	-	-	- ~
M	m	- ~	-*	- ~	- ~	m~	-	-	H~	m	H~	H
Late AOA												
B	- ~	H	- ~	H~	- ~	H~	-	-	-	H	-	-
E	H~	-	H~	- ~	H~	- ~	H	H	H	-	H	H

~ = averages differ by fewer than 3 percentage points
* = averages are the same

For both subgroups (early and late arrivals) of the participants whose education began outside the US, ESL, rather than bilingual support seems to result more frequently in stronger placement compositions. As described earlier, this finding goes against my hypothesis about the efficacy of bilingual education. On the other hand, my expectation

that mainstreaming would correlate with the weakest CPA compositions is generally upheld by the data for the early arrivals. (Recall that no late arrivals were mainstreamed.)

Table 4-18 presents the data summary for the participants who were educated only in US schools.

Table 4-18: Summary of Results Rankings According to Cohorts for Participants Educated in US Schools

	EFC	E	DC	C/T	WT	SWT	#W	Rhet	Coord	Logi	Topi	P&EP
B	-	-	H	H	H	H~	H	H~	m	-	-	-
E	m	m	-	-*	- ~	-	-	- ~	H	m	m~	m
M	H	H	m	-*	m~	m~	m	m~	-	H	H~	H

Table 4-18 shows that my expectation is somewhat supported, as far as the relative effectiveness of bilingual education. The American-educated participants who received bilingual support often wrote more highly ranked CPA compositions than those in the other cohorts. On the other hand, the lowest-ranked CPA compositions by participants educated only in American schools were often written by those who received ESL support. This result is contrary to my hypothesis that the participants who were mainstreamed would write the lowest-ranked CPA compositions.

In comparing both Tables 4-17 and 4-18, one set of correlations is consistent. In both main groups of participants, the compositions by the participants who were mainstreamed consistently scored highest for both coherence measures.

When summarizing how the results in this chapter relate to my hypotheses, it is important to remember the small number of participants in this study, especially once that number is divided into eight cohorts. Still, for the participants in this study who began their educational careers in a different country and language, ESL language learning support generally correlates with more highly-ranked CPA compositions. By contrast, the

immigrant newcomers in this study who were mainstreamed generally wrote the lowest-ranked compositions. For participants educated only in the US, bilingual education correlated with more highly rated CPA compositions more often than either ESL support or mainstreaming. Finally, in both groups of participants, those who were mainstreamed tended to write more coherent compositions than participants in the other cohorts. I will discuss the findings about mainstreaming and coherence in greater depth in Chapter 6.

CHAPTER 5: FINDINGS RELATED TO L1 KNOWLEDGE

This chapter focuses on data related to the research question: "How much instruction in their L1 has this group of college students experienced?" The first major part of the chapter describes the different ways a student's L1 can be developed, and divides the participants of this study into groups and cohorts based on how formally they were instructed in their L1. After describing the participants' L1 instruction, the chapter details the results of the analysis of the participants' CPA compositions in relation to the kind and amount of L1 instruction they received. These results are displayed in two separate parts of the chapter: one focusing on the results of the analysis of the surface features of the compositions, and the other focusing on the results of the rhetorical features and coherence analyses. I close the chapter with final thoughts summarizing the findings and their significance for my hypothesis about the relationship between L1 knowledge and L2 composition scores.

5.1 The two large groups of participants

This part of the chapter describes the participants of this study in terms of the status of their L1 knowledge. Montrul (2008) explores the effects of being a speaker of an unsupported minority language, finding a number of possible outcomes: the L1 develops more slowly than the language of monolingual children in the home country; the L1 development may be arrested at a certain point; the bilingual learner may actually lose some of her L1 knowledge; and her confidence in her L1 abilities usually decreases.

Therefore, as in Chapter 4, the participants who went to school outside the US are treated separately from those who attended only American schools. Living and attending school in the milieu of one's L1 is very different from living in a country where the family language is not supported by the larger society[22].

I will describe data from the analysis of the compositions by each group of participants in relationship to the following research questions:

> 5) What kinds of L1 education has this group of college students experienced?
>
> 6) What is the relationship between the kinds of L1 education received by this group of students and the accuracy and complexity of the surface features, and the discourse/rhetorical control exhibited in their English writing?

Similar to my expectations about the participants' language learning education, my expectations are that the participants will have experienced a variety of kinds of L1 education and that those who have received more formal L1 education will write more highly-rated CPA compositions.

5.1.1 Participants with education outside the US

The focus of this chapter is how the writing analysis data relate to the participants' knowledge of their L1.This new focus means that, to test my hypothesis that participants with more L1 education will write more highly-scored compositions, I must reorganize the participants' ranks in the tables. Participants who received more years of and more formal forms of L1 education are now placed at the top of their cohorts. Consequently, as shown in Table 5-1, the participants whose education began outside the

[22] Although several of the participants in the study are refugees from war-torn areas, none of them has experienced the extreme disruption that happens to many refugees. All of the participants of this study who began their education outside the US progressed normally through their countries' educational systems and continued speaking and studying in their L1 at school until immigration, except for participant 15, who dropped out of school while living in Mexico.

US are listed in descending order according to the number of years of education they had in the home country.

Table 5-1: Participants with Education Outside the US, According to Amount of Formal L1 Education

#	L1 & # Years		# Years Bilingual Ed (+ Heritage)	Total Years US Schools	Home Country Stays >1 mo
L1 into High School					
03	Spanish	11		1	
09*	Serbian	10		3	
L1 into Middle School					
19	Spanish	8	4	4	
23	Spanish	8	3 (+1)	4	
05	Arabic	8		4	
15**	Spanish	7½	4	4	
26	Spanish	7		5	4
04	Spanish	7		5	
21**	Serbian	7		4	2
L1 Elementary School Only					
10	Spanish	4	4	8	
25	Spanish	4	2 (+2)	8	
08	Spanish	2		10	3
14	Urdu	2		11	

*Recall that participant 09 repeated tenth grade upon arrival in the US.
**Recall that participants 15 and 21 skipped some schooling upon arrival in the US.

Montrul states that "even though linguists consider that the basis of native speaker competence is acquired between the ages of 3 and 4, children's knowledge of language in all areas continues to develop and goes through significant changes after the age of 4" (2008, p. 132). In fact, certain aspects of adult literate language use are learned into adolescence. Montrul describes studies of adolescent L1 development demonstrating that older monolingual children are still in the process of acquiring syntactically complex features of their L1, especially if these features are more characteristic of written than oral varieties of the L1. These findings would not be surprising to high school teachers who help their students learn to write term papers, argue effectively in debates, and read

classic literary works. With this later linguistic and metalinguistic development in mind, I have divided the participants in Table 5-1 into three cohorts: those who studied in their home country into their high school years (L1 into High School), those who immigrated right after or during middle school (L1 into Middle School), and those whose families immigrated to the US while they were still in elementary school (L1 Elementary School Only).

When several participants had the same number of years of education in the home country, those whose education continued in bilingual programs upon their arrival in the US are listed before those who were supported with only ESL or were simply mainstreamed[23]. Several of the participants also studied their L1 as a heritage language in high school, and that is noted in the table. In addition, simply to complete the academic record, I include a column in Table 5-1 giving the total number of years each participant spent in US school. For example, we see that participant 19 had four years of bilingual education upon entering the US, and she had a total of only four years of US education; therefore, all of her high school years were spent in a bilingual program. In contrast, participant 10 also had four years of bilingual education, but she studied in US schools for a total of eight years; thus, her bilingual education began and ended before she entered high school.

Finally, recall that in Chapter 2 I noted that in Wright's study some families sent their children back to the home country to attend school there for several years. While

[23] Because none of the bilingual programs used dual immersion, I am not "adding" the years in the home country to the years of bilingual education to arrive at a total number of "years of L1 education." In the home country, students generally study all subjects (except foreign language) in the L1. In the bilingual programs experienced by the participants in this study, they may have studied several humanities subjects in the L1 (literature or history, for example), but this would not allow them to develop the academic vocabulary and conventions of *all* subjects in their L1. Essentially, for the participants in this study, much of their L1 academic language development was arrested when they entered the bilingual programs of their US schools.

none of the families of the participants in this study chose to send their daughters back to school in the home country, a number of them did take their children home for extended stays during summer vacations. None of the participants in this study took L1 classes while vacationing in the home country, but, especially for participants whose families immigrated to the US when they were young, the months of being surrounded by the L1 may have added to the development of the language. The last column in the table records the number of times the participants returned to their families' home countries for stays of longer than one month.

5.1.2 Participants educated only in US schools

Table 5-2 presents the participants who were educated only in US schools, according to if and how they have studied their L1.

Table 5-2: Participants Educated in US Schools, According to Amount of L1 Education

#	L1	# Years Mid+HS Bilingual Ed	# Years Mid+HS Heritage L1	L1 Study at Church	L1 Studied Independently Prior to CPA	Home Country Stays >1 mo
L1 in School						
11	Arabic	2 + 2	0			1
07	Spanish	0	2 + 4			
02	Spanish	0	2 + 2			5
24	Spanish	0	.5 + 3			
16	Spanish	0	0 + 2			
18	Spanish	0	0 + 2			
13	Arabic	0	1 + 0			2
L1 at Church Only						
17	Arabic	0	0	4		4
29	Hmong	0	0	2		
30	Hmong	0	0	1		
No Formal L1						
27	Hmong	0	0		Y	
06	Arabic	0	0		Y	4
20	Hmong	0	0			
28	Hmong	0	0			
22	Hmong	0	0			

Recall that in the second chapter I described the various ways bilingual learners in the US are able to receive formal instruction in their L1. The most obvious ways would be through school bilingual education or heritage language programs. Because I am interested in the development of formal, academic L1 skills, I am most interested in bilingual and heritage language education conducted after elementary school. For the bilingual education and heritage language classes, therefore, I will note only the number of years of middle school (Mid) and/or high school (HS) that the participants attended such classes.

Another way bilingual learners can receive instruction in their L1 is through after-school community and/or church-based L1 classes. Probably one of main the goals of

church-based L1 classes is the ability to read the congregation's scriptures and hymnals, which are generally written in more formal, literary registers of the language. Consequently, Table 5-2 notes the participants who attended such programs, even if they did so during their elementary school years. Of the 15 participants in this study who were educated only in American schools, eight had studied their L1 at a religious institution. None of the participants in my study was as cynical about her classes as some of Wright's participants whom I quoted in Chapter 2 as calling their community-based classes "time-wasting" and "propaganda" (1992, p. 138), but neither did they indicate that they had attained high levels of literacy from the classes. For example, participant 30 began classes at her church when she was about nine because

> 5-a: I wanted to read Hmong so bad so that I can read the Bible and the songbook. [The classes taught me] to recognize…the letters and how to pronounce them and how the vowels are used (lines 51-62).

Participant 30's opportunity to attend L1 classes ended several years later when her family left the church. Similarly, participant 13 describes the simple textbook used in her Arabic class as

> 5-b: a side of pictures and then a side of just Arabic, and it would say, 'Connect the lines' and…simple things like…'this person ate an apple' in Arabic…It wasn't very expanding my vocabulary (lines 60-64).

Finally, some bilingual learners do not want or do not have the opportunity to study their L1 formally. Among the participants who did not study their L1 formally at school or at a church, several had still managed to study their L1 as a subject independently (usually with the help of family members). However, only participant 27 appeared to have worked persistently at developing her L1 independently with any seriousness *before* she took the CPA. Although during the interviews I was impressed at

the effort some of the participants were currently putting forth to develop their L1, the L1 knowledge they were in the process of gaining at the time when I interviewed them would not have influenced their performance on the CPA composition. In contrast, participant 27 indicated that her independent language learning lasted for about two years. Her father, who had been a teacher in Laos before immigrating to the US, insisted that his children learn to read and write Hmong. He therefore spent several years teaching his children to read and write their L1. I do not know the quality of the L1 education he gave his children. Still, I have ranked her first in the cohort that never studied their language formally because the kind of independent L1 instruction she received was similar to formal L1 education and may have given her a grasp of more formal registers of Hmong (used primarily but not exclusively in Hmong churches).

As in Table 5-1, I have noted only middle school and high school years of bilingual education in Table 5-2. In fact, it was noted in the previous chapter that just two of the US-only educated participants—participants 16 and 11—received bilingual education. Participant 16's bilingual education occurred from first through third grades; ended at such an early age, the academic register of Spanish she was beginning to gain in third grade probably did not continue to develop. At the other end of the bilingual education spectrum is participant 11. She began her education outside of Wisconsin and attended the most rigorous bilingual program of any of the participants in the study. She was in the program for ten years before her family moved to Milwaukee, where she was mainstreamed. She explained that, although she never studied math or science in Arabic in the bilingual school, she was required to study both Arabic language and Arabic literature. In the Arabic literature classes, they read all kinds of literature—not just the

Koran, but stories, articles, etc.—and had to write papers about them in Arabic (personal communication, March 29, 2012). For this reason, participant 11 is placed at the highest rank on the chart; the program she attended was designed to give her strong L1 academic language skills in the humanities.

The column in Table 5-2 that gives information about the participants' L1 learning outside of school is more detailed for the participants who studied their L1 only at a religious institution. I added the number of years each participant attended a church-based L1 program because, for these participants, it was the only formal L1 training they had. In an analysis of the impact of their L1 knowledge on their L2 writing, it is important to know how many years these participants studied at their respective church-sponsored schools.

In the cohort of participants who have not formally studied their L1, participant 06 is ranked second due to the four times she has returned to Palestine. Like the participants ranked below her, participant 06 is unable to read or write her L1. However, her four stays in Palestine totaled more than four years (she attended an all-English high school for Americans while she was there for a two-year stay). She commented,

> 5-c: I actually studied the numbers. The numbers were easier for me to study, so I'm great at reading the numbers, great at writing my name, but that's about it. (lines 23-28)

For her minimal literacy in Arabic, therefore, I placed participant 06 just below participant 27.

Clearly, Tables 5-1 and 5-2 support the first hypothesis for this chapter, that "the participants of my study will have experienced diverse forms of L1 education, ranging from no L1 training to formal L1 education in the home country."

5.2 Relationships between L1 knowledge and surface features of English composition

I now turn to the writing analysis data to demonstrate how the scores for the various measures relate to my hypothesis that participants with more formal knowledge of their L1 will write more highly-scored CPA compositions. As a corollary, I expected the writing analysis scores to decrease as participants had fewer years of formal L1 education and fewer L1 literacy skills.

5.2.1 Accuracy

Recall that I measured accuracy by the percentage of error-free clauses (% EFC) and the percentage of error (% E). Table 5-3 shows the accuracy averages for the compositions by the participants whose education began in another country.

Table 5-3: Average Accuracy of Compositions by Participants with Education Outside the US

Cohort	Average % EFC	Average % E
L1 into high school	51	76
L1 into middle school	53	63
L1 in elementary only	68	45

The averages in this table are contrary to my hypothesis. I hypothesized that the cohort that received the most education in their own country would write the highest-rated compositions; however, their compositions were the least accurate. Instead, the cohort that came to the US in elementary school wrote the most accurate compositions.

Table 5-4 shows average accuracy scores for the CPA compositions written by the participants who were educated only in US schools.

Table 5-4: Average Accuracy of Compositions by Participants Educated in US Schools

Cohort	Average % EFC	Average % E
L1 in school	72	39
L1 at church only	62	53
No formal L1	63	56

Table 5-4 supports my expectation for the US-only educated participants who studied their L1 formally in school. Their CPA compositions score higher for accuracy than the compositions by the participants in the other two cohorts. The accuracy scores for the participants who studied their L1 in a church-sponsored program and the participants who did not study their L1 are too similar to indicate any difference between the cohorts.

5.2.2 Grammatical complexity

Recall that grammatical complexity was measured by the percentage of dependent clauses (% DC) and the average number of clauses per T-unit (C/T). Table 5-5 presents the average grammatical complexity scores for the participants who began their schooling in another country.

Table 5-5: Average Grammatical Complexity of Compositions by Participants Educated in US Schools

Cohort	Average % DC	Average C/T
L1 into high school	55	2.2
L1 into middle school	42	2.0
L1 in elementary only	46	2.1

The averages for the percentages of dependent clauses shown in Table 5-5 partially support my hypothesis. The cohort that received the most education in their L1 wrote compositions with the highest percentage of dependent clauses. On the other hand, the cohort that I predicted would use the least complex grammatical structures, the

participants who entered the US during elementary school, actually wrote with more grammatical complexity than the participants who entered during middle school. The scores for the average number of clauses per T-unit are too similar to be of significance.

Table 5-6 shows the results of the grammatical complexity analysis of the compositions written by the participants who were educated only in the US.

Table 5-6: Average Grammatical Complexity of Compositions by Participants Educated in US Schools

Cohort	Average % DC	Average C/T
L1 in school	47	1.9
L1 at church only	51	1.9
No formal L1	40	1.8

The numbers in the table are fairly close. However, the averages in the table mask several interesting comparisons between the individual scores for the participants who were educated in the US. They are displayed in Figure 5-1.

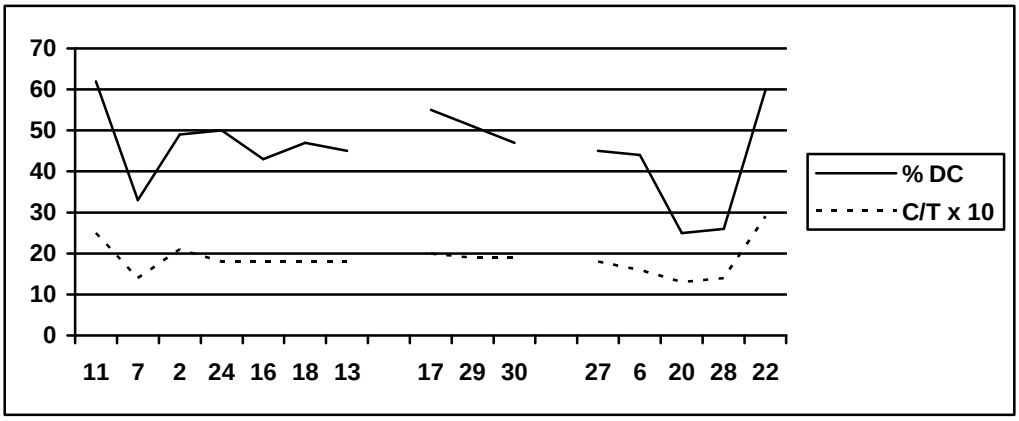

Figure 5-1: Grammatical Complexity of Compositions by Participants Educated in US Schools

I would like to make several comments about Figure 5-1. In the cohort with no formal L1 education, we see that participant 27 and 06 wrote markedly more grammatically complex compositions than their peers—except for participant 22, whose

case I will discuss next. Recall that participant 27's father taught her and her siblings to read and write Hmong. Participant 06, while not literate in Arabic, had studied the rudiments of Arabic literacy while living in Palestine. In contrast, neither participant 20 nor participant 28 had learned to read or write Hmong. In addition, while participants 27 and 06 wrote more grammatically complex compositions than participants 20 and 28, their scores on this measure were not as high as those of the participants who had studied their L1 at a religious institution. These small data points support my expectation that more formal L1 education will result in more highly-rated L2 writing.

The only two participants whose compositions scored unusually high for grammatical complexity are participants 11 and 22. According to my hypothesis, participant 11's composition should be exceptionally strong because she is the only participant who attended a rigorous bilingual education program. In addition, participant 11's high score is not surprising because her composition generally receives high scores. Table 5-7 compares the writing analysis scores for the compositions by participant 11 and participant 22.

Table 5-7: Comparison of Scores on Measures of L2 Writing by Thirty-third Percentiles for Participants 11 and 22

#	EFC	E	DC	C/T	WT	SWT	#W	Rhet	Coord	Logi	Topi	P&EP
11	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	-	-	m-	-
22	-	-	H	H	-	-	H	m	-	-	m-	-

H = ranked in the top 33rd percentile
m = ranked in the middle 33rd percentile
- = ranked in the lowest 33rd percentile
m- (or any two symbols) = ranked between the two percentiles

From Table 5-7, it is clear that while the high grammatical complexity scores are not unusual for participant 11, they are surprising for participant 22. I will discuss this discrepancy in Chapter 7; for now, I will create a new table (5-8) that eliminates

participant 22's anomalous scores from her cohort's averages. Recall that participant 22 is somewhat of an enigma; the extremes in her scores and the way her parents' two different languages forced the family to use primarily English make her situation unique. Eliminating her scores may skew the results for her cohort, but keeping her scores in the overall average also may skew the results.

Table 5-8: Average Grammatical Complexity of Compositions by Participants Educated in US Schools – Modified by Eliminating Participant 22's Scores

Cohort	Average % DC	Average C/T
L1 in school	47	1.9
L1 at church only	51	1.9
No formal L1	35	1.5

When participant 22's scores are eliminated, the difference is more pronounced for the grammatical complexity averages of the cohort with no formal L1 education. The modified table now tentatively and partially supports my hypothesis that participants who had not studied their L1 at all would write with less grammatical complexity than those who had studied their L1. Unlike my prediction, however, there is little difference in scores between those who had formal L1 education and those who studied their L1 in religious settings.

5.2.3 Lexical complexity

I used two measures of lexical complexity: 1) lexical variety, meaning the percentage of different word types (% WT); and 2) the percentage of different sophisticated word types (% SWT). Table 5-9 presents the averaged results for the participants whose education began outside the US.

Table 5-9: Average Lexical Complexity of Compositions
by Participants with Education Outside the US

Cohort	% WT	% SWT
L1 into high school	54	4
L1 into middle school	52	8
L1 in elementary only	58	12

The results for this group of participants are contrary to my hypothesis. I hypothesized that the participants who had the most L1 education in their own country would write higher scoring compositions; instead, the participants who had no formal education in their L1 used the most lexical variety and the highest percentage of sophisticated words.

Table 5-10 presents the lexical complexity results for the participants who were educated only in US schools.

Table 5-10: Average Lexical Complexity of Compositions
by Participants Educated in US Schools

Cohort	% WT	% SWT
L1 in school	65	18
L1 at church only	60	14
No formal L1	61	11

While the lexical variety averages are all too close to each other to be particularly meaningful, the use of sophisticated vocabulary shows a spread of averages that supports my hypothesis. As I had expected, the participants educated in their L1 used more sophisticated vocabulary than the participants without any formal L1 education. The scores for the compositions by the cohort who studied their L1 at religious institutions average between the two extremes, but the differences are not great enough to support or refute my hypothesis.

5.3 Relationships between knowledge of L1 rhetorical features and coherence strategies of English composition

I turn now to the results of my analysis of the rhetorical and coherence features of the compositions. As a reminder, the rhetorical and coherence results will be examined in relationship to the hypothesis that "the writing analysis scores for the compositions in this study will be higher for those participants who have had more years of formal L1 education."

5.3.1 Word count and rhetorical control

In this section of the chapter, I am going to discuss the results for both word count and rhetorical control analysis. Because each of these analyses yields a single number for each composition and the results for each are similar, it is unnecessary to present them separately. Before turning to the tables, remember that the compositions were rated holistically on a five-point scale for rhetorical control. Table 5-11 summarizes the results for the participants whose education began outside the US.

Table 5-11: Averages for Number of Words and Rhetorical Control for Compositions by Participants with Education Outside the US

Cohort	# Words	Rhet Control
L1 into high school	310	2.7
L1 into middle school	253	2.6
L1 in elementary only	364	3.3

The results in Table 5-11 do not support my hypothesis because the participants who received the least L1 education wrote the most words and demonstrated the most rhetorical control. However, the cohort I expected to write the highest-rated compositions had higher average scores than the cohort of participants whose families immigrated while they were in middle school.

Table 5-12 presents the results for the compositions by participants whose education took place solely in the US.

Table 5-12: Averages for Number of Words and Rhetorical Control in Compositions by Participants Educated in US Schools

Cohort	# Words	Rhet Control
L1 in high school	360	3.7
L1 at church only	311	3.2
No formal L1	408	4.1

The average scores for this major group of participants show the same trend as those for the participants whose education began outside the US. The cohort I expected to write the lowest-rated compositions—the participants with no formal L1 education—actually wrote the highest-rated compositions, confounding my hypothesis. On the other hand, the cohort I expected to write the strongest compositions (those who studied their L1 in high school) wrote more highly rated compositions than the cohort who had studied their L1 in church-sponsored programs.

5.3.2 Rhetorical markers

To examine the participants' use of rhetorical markers, I analyzed the compositions for the percentage of each of two kinds of markers: coordinating and logical. Recall that higher percentages of markers tend to correlate with compositions that overuse these markers to signal thought relationships. The results for the participants who began their schooling outside the US are presented in Table 5-13.

Table 5-13: Averages for Rhetorical Markers in Compositions by Participants with Education Outside the US

Cohort	Coordinating %	Logical %
L1 into high school	41	34
L1 into middle school	61	25
L1 in elementary only	82	36

The results for the coordinating markers support my hypothesis. The cohort with the most L1 education was able to coordinate ideas without overusing words and phrases such as “and,” “but,” “and so,” etc. The cohort with the least L1 education relied on coordinating markers more heavily than the other two cohorts. The results for the use of logical markers, on the other hand, do not support my hypothesis: the cohorts with the most and the least L1 education average nearly the same percentage of logical markers. The middle cohort uses fewer logical markers than either of the other two.

The results for rhetorical marker use by the participants educated in only US schools are displayed in Table 5-14.

Table 5-14: Averages for Rhetorical Markers in Compositions by Participants Educated in US Schools

Cohort	Coordinating %	Logical %
L1 in high school	63	24
L1 at church only	80	26
No formal L1	50	25

We see very little difference in the use of logical markers between the three cohorts, but the differences between the use of coordinating markers is marked. Contrary to my hypothesis, the cohort with no formal L1 education wrote compositions that used the fewest coordinating markers. The cohort that used the most was the one that had studied their L1 outside of school.

5.3.3 Coherence

Recall that for a composition to be considered coherent, it must not introduce too many new topics (% Topics); therefore, compositions with lower percentages of topics are considered to be more coherent. By contrast, higher percentages of parallel and extended parallel T-units (% Parallel & Extended) indicate that a writer has succeeded in semantically signaling connections between the various topics she has discussed. The coherence results for the compositions by the participants who began their education outside the US are presented in Table 5-15.

Table 5-15: Averages for Coherence in Compositions
by Participants with Education Outside the US

Cohort	% Topics	% Parallel & Extended
L1 into high school	37	66
L1 into middle school	45	59
L1 in elementary only	39	65

The results for coherence partially support my hypothesis. The participants who studied in their L1 into high school average the highest scores, as my hypothesis predicted. However, the participants who had the least education in their L1 also wrote compositions that averaged nearly the same score. The cohort that wrote the least coherent compositions was the cohort that immigrated to the US during or just after middle school.

Table 5-16 displays the results for the participants who received all of their education in US schools.

Table 5-16: Averages for Coherence in Compositions
by Participants Educated in US Schools

Cohort	% Topics	% Parallel & Extended
L1 in high school	42	62
L1 at church only	43	61
No formal L1	35	61

From the table we can see that all of the averages are similar. The only cohort that stands out is the cohort with no formal L1 education. Contrary to my hypothesis, their compositions are more coherent because they introduce fewer new topics as they are writing.

5.4 Closing thoughts

Tables 5-17 and 5-18 summarize the findings in relation to my expectation that the more years a participant was educated in her own language, the more highly-rated her composition would be.

Table 5-17: Summary of Results Rankings According to Cohorts for
Participants with Education Outside the US

	EFC	E	DC	C/T	WT	SWT	#W	Rhet	Coord	Logi	Topi	P&EP
L1 HS	- ~	-	H	H	m~	-	m	m	-	m~	H~	H~
L1 MS	m~	m	-	-	- ~	m	-	-	m	-	-	-
L1 Ele	H	H	m	m	H	H	H	H	H	H~	m~	m~

~ = averages differ by fewer than 3 percentage points
* = averages are the same

The results for the participants whose education began outside the US do not support my hypothesis. According to my hypothesis, the participants who arrived in the US when they were in elementary school would have written compositions that consistently received the lowest scores. Instead, their compositions never averaged the lowest scores and, in fact, usually averaged the highest scores. Interestingly, however, the

cohort that averaged the most grammatically complex and coherent compositions was the one I had predicted would write the strongest compositions: the cohort of participants who had studied in their home countries into high school. Finally, it is surprising that the cohort that generally wrote the weakest compositions, according to the measures I used, is the cohort made up of participants whose families arrived in the US while their daughters were in middle school. Their years of schooling in their family's home country should have given them a good foundation in their L1, and their AOA should have given them enough time to catch up with their monolingual English-speaking peers.

Table 5-18 summarizes the overall results for the participants who were educated only in US schools.

Table 5-18: Summary of Results Rankings According to Cohorts for Participants Educated in US Schools

	EFC	E	DC	C/T	WT	SWT	#W	Rhet	Coord	Logi	Topi	P&EP
Formal	H	H	m	H*	H	H	m	m	m	H~	m~	H~
Church	- ~	-	H	H*	- ~	m	-	-	H	- ~	- ~	-*~
None	m~	m	-	-	m~	-	H	H	-	m~	H	-*~

The results for the participants educated only in US schools partially support my hypothesis. The participants who received bilingual education (and, therefore, the most formal L1 education) average the highest writing scores. In fact, the averages for this cohort were never the lowest of the three groups. The strong averages for the participants who received bilingual education support my hypothesis that more formal knowledge of the L1 correlates with stronger CPA compositions. However, my hypothesis predicted that the participants that received no formal L1 education would average the lowest scores. Instead, the cohort that received some L1 instruction through religious institutions averaged the lowest scores.

CHAPTER 6: THE PARTICIPANTS' EXPERIENCES

In Chapter 4, I explored the language learning support (bilingual, ESL only, or mainstreaming) received by the participants in this study in light of my hypothesis that participants who received more as well as more effective language support would write more highly rated compositions. Then, in Chapter 5, I explored the participants' formal L1 education (at school, at church, none) in light of my hypothesis that those with more as well as more formal knowledge of their L1 would write more highly rated compositions. My last research question brings these two factors (language learning support and L1 knowledge) together:

> 7) What are the relationships between the language learning support experienced by this group of students, their L1 knowledge, and the accuracy and complexity of the surface features and the discourse/rhetorical control exhibited in their English writing?

In this chapter, I examine the writing analysis data in relation to my hypothesis about the positive value of bilingual education (the best practice language learning support) and my hypothesis about the positive value of formal education in the L1. In order to do this, I devote one section to each of the kinds of language learning support: mainstreaming, ESL support, and bilingual education, respectively. I use the writing analysis data and the participants' descriptions of their experiences to develop an understanding of the role L1 knowledge can play for students in each kind of language learning support. After discussing the three kinds of language learning support, I turn to an examination of the value of L1 knowledge for the bilingual learners in this study and then end the chapter with some closing thoughts.

6.1 Mainstreaming

In this section, I examine how mainstreaming relates to the participants' writing analysis scores in light of my two hypotheses.

Only two of the 13 participants (15%) who had begun their schooling outside the US were mainstreamed; in contrast, of the 15 participants who attended only US schools six (40%) were mainstreamed[24]. Interestingly, the participants who were mainstreamed were less interested in being interviewed than the other participants. Of all of the participants from both major groups who were mainstreamed, only two (7%) wished to be interviewed. In contrast, interviews were given by six (86%) of the participants who had bilingual education and nine (69%) of the participants who had received only ESL support. The difference in interview participation does not seem to be based on personal acquaintance with me. I knew 50% of the mainstreamed participants before they participated in the study, and I knew one of the two mainstreamed participants who agreed to an interview. It is possible that the mainstreamed participants were not interested in being interviewed because they felt the least identification with the population named in the participation request letter, "students who are immigrants or children of immigrants." Or, perhaps the title of my study ("First Language Status and Second Language Writing"), which appeared in the first line of the request letter, discouraged their participation. Whatever the cause, the lack of interview data for the

[24] The fact that so many US-raised participants were mainstreamed may lend support to an observation made by Wright (1992) that bilingual learners born in the L2 country are more invisible and therefore are less likely to receive language learning support.

mainstreamed participants means my understanding of them must be less nuanced than for the other groups of participants.

6.1.1 Mainstreamed participants whose education began outside the US

As we saw in Chapter 4, for participants who began their schooling outside the US, mainstreaming appeared to be the least effective means of support. The two mainstreamed participants who began their schooling outside the US were participant 08 and participant 26. In Chapter 4, I showed that, among the cohorts whose education began outside the US, the averaged writing analysis scores for the two mainstreamed participants ranked lowest on 50% of the measures.

Yet, individually, the compositions by participants 08 and 26 scored very differently. Participant 08's family immigrated to the US from Mexico after she had finished second grade; participant 26, on the other hand, attended school in the Dominican Republic through the end of seventh grade before moving to the US. Given my hypothesis regarding the value of L1 knowledge for effective L2 composition skills, I expected participant 26's composition to be more highly rated than that of participant 08, and, indeed, it was more highly rated, even if only marginally so. Table 6-1 compares the rankings of their scores.

Table 6-1: Comparison of Rankings on Measures of L2 Writing by Thirty-third Percentiles for Participants 26 and 08

#	EFC	E	DC	C/T	WT	SWT	#W	Rhet	Coord	Logi	Topi	P&EP
26	-	-	m	-*	-	m-	m	m-	Hm	H	H	H*
08	H	H	m-	-*	Hm	H	-	-	m	-	m	H*

As we can see, participant 26's composition ranks in a higher percentile than participant 08's for six measures, while participant 08's composition ranks in a higher percentile for

only four measures. Interestingly, for the two measures where their rankings are the same (C/T and P&EP), their scores are tied.

Because my first hypothesis predicts that participants who were mainstreamed would write compositions that generally ranked low in all of the writing measures, both participants' high rankings are a bit puzzling, especially because the high rankings are for different measures (except for P&EP). Having been mainstreamed may, therefore, may not be the *primary* reason for the high rankings—if it were, I would expect both participants to rank high in the same areas (as they did with the use of parallel and extended parallel references for coherence). Using survey data, I speculate that AOA may have played a role in the high rankings that 26 and 08 received. With most of her years of schooling in English in the US, participant 08 wrote a composition that scored in or near the top 33rd percentile for accuracy and lexical complexity. Longer exposure to English and more time to practice it may have been beneficial for her accuracy and English vocabulary development. Yet, given the way the lag time of immigration works—diverting children's attention from academic learning as they focus on acquiring English and, thus putting many of them permanently behind their monolingual English-speaking peers (Collier, 1987; Cummins 1981; 1996; Thomas & Collier, 2001), participant 08 may not have been placed in the more rigorous college preparatory classes. In fact, due to their lack of grade-level English skills, bilingual learners are often shunted into lower-track classes (Fu, 1995; Hoffer, 1978; Lay, Carro, Tien, Niemann, & Leong, 1999; Townsend & Fu, 2001; Valdés, 2001; VanHorne, 2009) where "linguistic input…is generally poorer, tasks are more mechanical, and classroom interaction tends to be minimal" (Roberge, 2009, p. 14). Participant 08's access to and practice with sustained academic

writing, therefore, may have been limited, making it less likely that she would write a composition that would score high in areas like grammatical complexity, word count, and rhetorical control.

On the other hand, participant 26's low accuracy scores but more highly rated use of rhetorical markers and coherence devices may be explained by her late AOA and, therefore, stronger L1 development. Staying in the home country through the end of seventh grade would have given participant 26 less practice with accuracy (24% of her errors are with verb marking for tense or number). On the other hand, the longer period of time before immigration may mean that participant 26 had begun learning how to develop a topic in an academic paper. Her L1 experience of writing and reading academic compositions may have led her to produce a relatively more unified placement composition that fulfilled rhetorical expectations and signaled relationships between ideas without over-reliance on rhetorical markers.

From participant 08 and 26's cases, I speculate that mainstreaming, while not generally helpful for newcomers, may still offer several some advantages for younger newcomers who will have time to develop a broader vocabulary and more of an intuitive feeling for correctness. Also, a broader vocabulary is an asset for creating coherence in compositions because a writer can refer to her main topics with synonyms. This may explain the strength of the mainstreamed participants' use of parallel and extended parallel references in their compositions. Overall, however, for the two participants in this study who began their schooling outside the US, the disadvantages of mainstreaming outweighed the slight advantages associated with an early AOA. In addition, older newcomers who are mainstreamed may be in a better position (relatively speaking) than

their early AOA mainstreamed peers because the late AOA students bring to their L2 tasks more knowledge of how to use language in academic settings.

6.1.2 Mainstreamed participants who were educated only in US schools

For bilingual learners in this study who attended only US schools, on the other hand, mainstreaming, while not as effective as bilingual education, seemed more effective than ESL support at preparing students for entry-level college writing. Two of the six mainstreamed participants who had been educated only in American schools agreed to be interviewed, and a third participant wrote a letter to explain several of her answers on the survey. All three of these participants described a relatively easy transition into English. Participant 13, who considers English as her L1 although mostly Arabic is spoken at home, stated,

> 6-a: Honestly, I feel like that was just a natural…I went to school, I went to Head Start early. My mom put me into it before I—before my age…she put me in earlier. So, right when I couldn't even start talking I was in English school (lines 46-56).

Participant 02, whose parents both arrived in the US as children, explained,

> 6-b: I was introduced to both languages through my parents…My mother spoke an equal amount of spanish and english to me, and my father spoke spanish more than english to me. I learned english through my mother because she grew up with english (personal communication, May 31, 2011).

Participant 07 wrote,

> 6-c: Being raised in my grandmother's household, my elder aunts + uncles spoke English, + upon entering school, I spoke English (personal communication, November 27, 2011).

It would appear that these participants, with early acquisition of both their L1 and English, were ideally situated to be mainstreamed. Yet, as Table 6-2 shows, their writing

score rankings do not completely bear this out when compared to the score rankings of the other US-only-educated mainstreamed participants.

Table 6-2: Comparison of Rankings on Measures of L2 Writing by Thirty-third Percentiles for Mainstreamed Participants Educated Only in the US

#	EFC	E	DC	C/T	WT	SWT	#W	Rhet	Coord	Logi	Topi	P&EP
07	m	-	-	-	m	H	-	-	-	-	Hm	H
02	H	H	m	H	-	-	m	m	H	H	m	m
24	H	H	Hm	m	Hm	m-	H	H	H	H	H	H
13*	H	H	m	m	-	H	-	m	-	m	m	m
29	-	-	H	m	H	m	H	H	-	-	m-	-
27*	m	m	m	m	-	-	m	H	-	m	H	H

*These participants have the same numbers of low, middle, and high rankings

If mainstreaming were an ideal placement for participants who begin school with knowledge of two languages, we would expect participants 13, 02, and 07's rankings to resemble those of participants 24. Instead, out of all 28 compositions, participant 07's is one of two tied for receiving the most low rankings. The compositions by both participant 13 and 02 fare better, ranking in the top and middle 33rd percentiles most of the time.

In Table 6-2, I list the participants in descending order according to my hypothesis that more formal L1 knowledge facilitates L2 writing. Participant 07 therefore, who studied Spanish as a heritage language from seventh through 12th grade, is at the top of the table, while participants 29 and 27, who did not study their L1 at school, are at the bottom of the table. Participant 07's very low rankings are surprising, given the extent of her L1 education. In addition, participant 24's very high rankings are also a surprise, given my first hypothesis that mainstreaming would tend to correlate with low scores. In order to speculate about these anomalies, I turn to data collected by the survey. Table 6-3 presents the survey data about L1 use that I gathered from the mainstreamed participants who were educated only in US schools.

Table 6-3: L1 Use Factors for Mainstreamed Participants
Educated Only in US Schools

#	Frequency Speaking L1	Frequency of Language Brokering	Languages that Participants' Parents Speak	Read	Write
07	33%	not at all	Spanish English	Spanish English	Spanish English
02	39%	not at all	Spanish English	Spanish English	Spanish English
24	78%	almost always	Spanish Basic English	Spanish Basic English	Spanish *
13	28%	often	Arabic English	Arabic English	Arabic
29	78%	often	Lao, Thai, Hmong, English	Hmong English	Hmong English
27	33%	often	Hmong English	Hmong English (♂)	Hmong English (♂)

*Participant 24 wrote: "a few English with mistakes"
♂ = applies only to the father (i.e., although both of participant 27's parents speak Hmong and English, only her father is able to read and write English. Her mother reads and writes only Hmong)

Participant 07 did not wish to be interviewed; however, from the survey question about the participants' ages, I discovered that participant 07 was a nontraditional student who wrote her placement composition when she was approximately 54 years old[25]. By that time, she had her own life and home and estimated that she used Spanish only 33% of the time. Thus, when she wrote the placement composition, composing in either her L1 or her L2 was probably seldom practiced,[26] possibly impacting her performance on the CPA.

In light of my hypothesis regarding the value of formal L1 education, it is not surprising that participants 02 and 24, who had both studied their L1 in middle school and

[25] The survey asked the participants for their ages, not their birthdates. Knowing their age at the time when they took the survey and the date when they wrote their placement assessment, I was able to estimate their age at the time that they wrote their placement assessment. Depending on a participant's birth date, however, my estimate may represent their age by one year too many or one year too few.
[26] Montrul's study suggests that adults do not lose—as in "forget"—their L1; "rather, attrition in adults may decrease or simply slow down the resources necessary for the implementation of the available knowledge" (2008, p. 90).

for part of high school, wrote compositions that had more high rankings than their peers who had little or no formal L1 study. In addition, although participant 24 did not consent to an interview, on the survey she noted that neither of her parents was able to write English, and both of them were able to speak and read only "basic English." Furthermore, she estimated that she used Spanish about 78% of the time and noted that she "almost always" translated for her family members.

In their longitudinal study of the academic effects of language brokering (translating for others who speak less English), Dorner, Orellana, and Li-Grinning demonstrated that elementary school students who frequently engaged in language brokering scored significantly higher on standardized reading tests by the time they were in the upper elementary grades than their peers who did only moderate or no language brokering (2007). Indeed, translating encourages the development of metalinguistic awareness, which is helpful when writing compositions. Although Dorner et al.'s study was conducted with elementary children, it is possible that frequent language brokering is beneficial for older students as well as for younger, or that the advantages accrued in her early years (if participant 24 also translated for her parents as a child) gave participant 24 a "boost" that continued to pay off in a cycle of higher comprehension, higher test scores, higher self-confidence, etc. If this is the case, it may not be mainstreaming that was particularly beneficial for participant 24; rather it may have been the continued development of and interplay between the L1 and the L2, favoring my hypothesis regarding the value of L1 knowledge for L2 composition.

6.1.3 All mainstreamed participants

The survey and interview data from the participants in this study who were mainstreamed revealed another drawback to mainstreaming: students who are mainstreamed are unlikely to maintain and to continue developing their L1 and, therefore, may lose confidence in their L1 abilities. Table 6-4 presents the results of the "can-do" responses on the survey, where respondents rate how easy or difficult it would be for them to accomplish certain tasks in their L1. Because the participants were not asked to *do* the task (e.g., "Introduce yourself and talk to elders using appropriate, respectful language") but merely to indicate how easy or difficult it *would be* for them to accomplish the task in their L1, I interpret the resulting percentages as revealing more about the participants' confidence in their L1 skills than their actual L1 abilites.

Table 6-4: Percentages of L1 Confidence for "Can-Do" Tasks
for Participants who were Mainstreamed

Participant	Speaking	Reading	Writing
26	93	67	73
08	93	93	73
07	100	93	73
02	80	93	93
24	87	87	87
13	80	27	0
29	100	100	100
27	100	40	33

I wish to make two observations about the data in this table. First, the data comes from responses to a self-report instrument. As several of the percentages indicate, self-report is not particularly reliable. For example, participant 29, who has studied her L1 for only two years in a church-sponsored program, has more confidence in her L1 reading and writing abilities than participant 26, who attended school in her native country through the end of seventh grade.

The second observation relates directly to the hypotheses of this study. In general, the participants express less confidence in their L1 reading and writing skills than in their speaking skills[27]. The reading and writing tasks listed in the survey are not extremely difficult (e.g., "Read and understand personal letters and notes," "Read popular novels or stories without using a dictionary," "Write a party announcement," "Write an essay describing your own or your family's journey to this country," etc.). While a monolingual English-speaking college student might feel a little less confident about her ability to write an essay describing her ancestors' journey to the US, most of the tasks would not cause her to rate her skills much lower than 100%. The bilingual learners, however, lack such confidence in their L1 abilities.

This lack of confidence was also expressed by the two mainstreamed participants I interviewed. Participant 13, whose role as a teacher of basic Arabic to children in the program at her mosque gave her reason for more rather than less confidence, said,

> 6-d: I'm from Raam in Palestine—…they speak Fallahih Arabic…so this kind of Arabic, it's, um, it's kind of informal, so it's very—it's hard. I can speak that kind of Arabic, but when you want to speak with formal…you know, sometimes it's very difficult for me. So, I can do small talk but couldn't talk from my heart… (lines 114-123).

Participant 02 commented,

> 6-e: I think I kind of learned English more than Spanish, so I do have more difficulty like just speaking it a little bit, I think, because I have more of an accent… If I'm in Mexico like and they're talking to me in Spanish…and I think I need more confidence just to speak back (lines 6-8, 67-70).

After exploring the backgrounds of the two participants who had begun their education outside the US and who were mainstreamed upon arrival in the US, I

[27] Participant 02 is the exception. I speculate that this is because of a trip to Mexico, which she reminisced about during the interview: "I remember…I was helping my cousin with her homework, and she was kind of in the same level as I was. So then I would read to her…" (lines 38, 43-46)

concluded that it was possible to explain the late AOA participant's higher scores as a possible effect of her longer years of L1 education. Similarly but with more certainty, I found that, for the mainstreamed participants whose education was only in US schools, more L1 knowledge generally correlated with higher L2 composition scores. Given the value of L1 knowledge for the mainstreamed participants in this study, therefore, it is unfortunate that mainstreaming appears to undermine one of bilingual learners' advantages for academic achievement: their L1 confidence and skills.

6.2. ESL Support

In this section of the chapter, I explore reasons for the contrasts in the writing scores of the two main groups of cohorts that had experienced ESL support. After discussing possible reasons for the differences, I use interview and survey data to enrich my understanding of the compositions. Then I describe the participants' attitudes toward ESL support and end the section with concluding thoughts about ESL support.

The relationships between ESL support and the writing analysis scores were nearly the opposite for the two main groups of participants in my study. Bilingual learners who began school in another country and who received ESL support in the US wrote CPA compositions that scored in the top 33rd percentile more often than their peers who were mainstreamed or placed in bilingual education programs. Conversely, bilingual learners who experienced the entirety of their academic careers in US schools and who received ESL instruction wrote CPA compositions that scored in the lowest 33rd percentile more often than their peers who were mainstreamed or placed in bilingual

education programs. How can ESL classes be so helpful to one group of students and of so little help to another?

Part of the answer to this question may have to do with the historical focus of TESOL and the differing needs of the two groups of students. Recall that I explained in Chapter 1 that TESOL's main focus was international students: "the college TESOL community did not include resident ESL students within the scope of its work" (Matsuda & Matsuda, 2009, p. 58). This focus led to what Matsuda and Matsuda call "the erasure" of bilingual learners to the profession. Elementary and secondary ESL administrators and lead teachers who attended TESOL would have attended sessions on theories and methods appropriate for international learners. Such methods assume the learner has studied her L1 in a traditional, grammar-based way and has probably also been introduced to English in a grammar-translation fashion. It also assumes that international learners have seldom interacted with native speakers of American English and therefore need communicative strategies and training in American cultural practices and preferences.

Methods based on these assumptions would work fairly well with newcomer students who have little or no experience with American culture, but who have a foundation of education in their own country. Traditional ESL methods, however, would be less well-suited to students who do not have an educational foundation in their L1, who have not studied English from a grammar-translation standpoint, and who, being raised in the US, are already familiar with the spoken language and the culture. Thus, the group of participants who began their education in their own countries would tend to fare

better with ESL support: the methods traditionally used by ESL teachers would be more compatible with their needs.

6.2.1 ESL support and participants whose education began outside the US

Recall that in Chapter 5, for the participants whose education began outside the US, those who had more years of formal L1 tended to write compositions that averaged lower scores than those who had fewer years of formal L1 education. This trend was contrary to my hypothesis about the positive value of L1 education. Now I wish to examine more closely the internationally-educated participants who had ESL support (the most effective form of language learning support) in relation to their years of L1 education. Table 6-5 shows the score rankings for the ESL-supported participants whose schooling began outside of the US.

Table 6-5: Rankings on Measures of L2 Writing by Thirty-third Percentiles for Participants with Education Outside the US who Received only ESL Support

#	EFC	E	DC	C/T	WT	SWT	#W	Rhet	Coord	Logi	Topi	P&EP
L1 into High School												
03	-	-	H	m	Hm	-	H	m	H	Hm	m	m
09	m	m	H	H	m-	-	-	-	m	-	m	Hm
L1 into Middle School												
05	H	H	-	-	m	m	m	m	H	H	H	H
04	Hm	m	m	m	-	m	Hm	Hm	m	m	Hm	H
21	-	-	-	m	m	m-	m	m-	-	m-	-	-
L1 Elementary School Only												
14	H	H	m	m	H	H	H	H	m-	m-	m-	m-

Based on my hypothesis that more education in the L1 will be related to stronger L2 writing, I expected a downward trend as we read down the columns; however, this is not so, except, to a degree in the scores for logical markers (Coord and Logi) and, perhaps, in the column for grammatical complexity (DC). This table shows several other surprising results.

First, considering the short time participants 03 and 09 were in US schools (one and two years, respectively), it is surprising that their compositions scored as high as they did. Participant 03 did not consent to an interview, but as a 17-year-old immigrant from Mexico, it is likely that she had some exposure to English at school and through the media before her arrival in the US. Participant 09, on the other hand, had not studied English before coming to the US—she was studying German, instead. In spite of participant 03's probable exposure to English, it is possible that the two participants' years of L1 education may be part of the explanation for how well they wrote. When asked if it had been helpful or more difficult for her "coming into a new language already having one that [she] knew really well," participant 09 answered;

> 6-f: For me it is obvious that it's so much easier because I knew something. The good example of this is my friends—my best friend…she came 15 years ago. (I came seven years ago.) She is the one who is really really strong and really good in writing essays, but I'm the one who is really really really good in applying ideas, being creative because I *have*[28] ideas… It is Serbian—it's not English. I can apply all that I learned there in English. …I can't apply the *vocabulary* because it's different, but I apply techniques… (lines 361-381).

Perhaps, having experience with thinking and writing in their L1, the late-arriving newcomers were able to write compositions that scored higher than those of students who had immigrated a few years before them.

Participant 14's high scores are another surprise. With only two years of education in her home country, she would tend to write a low-scoring composition according to my hypothesis. However, having arrived in the US so young, she had ample time to work on bridging the achievement gap that occurs with the disruption of immigration. Also, participant 14 also clearly enjoyed languages; she reported that her

[28] I use italics to indicate when the participant emphasized a word while she was speaking.

parents had multilingual friends so that she was used to interacting in Urdu, Punjabi, and Hindi at home. While several of these languages may be so similar as to be mutually intelligible, she also loved Spanish and had studied it for six years.

Participant 14's strong rankings in Table 6-5, in fact, can divert attention from participant 21's unusually low scores, especially when we consider that she, like participants 05 and 04, arrived in the US after finishing seventh grade. One interesting fact about participants 14 and 21 is that participant 14 repeated a year of schooling either upon arrival in the US or after her first year in American school, while participant 21 skipped a year of schooling as she entered the US. Although repeating or skipping a year of school doubtlessly is not the only explanation for these two participants' unusually high or low scores, it may have played a role.

In conclusion, although more L1 knowledge does not translate into higher L2 writing scores for the newcomer students in this study, it is possible that the late arriving newcomer students are able to bring more academic meta-knowledge to their L2 tasks, allowing them to write stronger compositions than newcomers who have been in the US a few years longer. Only early arrivals with their many years of L2 exposure seem to be able to surpass the late arrivals.

6.2.2 ESL support and participants who were educated only in US schools

In Table 6-6, we see the rankings for the participants who received ESL support and were educated only in US schools. As with the participants whose education began outside the US, I have organized the table according to the participants' years of formal L1 education.

Table 6-6: Rankings on Measures of L2 Writing by Thirty-third Percentiles for Participants Educated Only in American Schools who Received only ESL Support

#	EFC	E	DC	C/T	WT	SWT	#W	Rhet	Coord	Logi	Topi	P&EP
L1 in School												
18	Hm	m	m	m	H	m	m	m	m	H	-	-
L1 at Church Only												
17	m	m	H	m	-	Hm	-	m	m	m	-	-
30	m-	m	m	m	-	m	-	-	H	m	m	m
No Formal L1												
06	H	H	m-	-	Hm	-	m	H	m	-	H	H
20	m	m	-	-	m-	m	H	m	H	Hm	m-	m-
28	-	-	-	-	-	m	m	m	H	H	H	Hm
22	-	-	H	H	-	-	H	m	-	-	m-	-

The first four columns in Table 6-6 show rankings that are somewhat consistent with my hypothesis; as the years of formal L1 education decrease, the accuracy and grammatical complexity of the participants' compositions tend to decrease. The participants with no formal L1 education (06, 20, 28, and 22), for example, have a number of rankings in the lowest 33rd percentile in the first four columns, while the participants with more formal L1 education (18, 17, and 30) do not have any low rankings in the accuracy and grammatical complexity columns.

In addition, the composition by participant 18, who is the only ESL-supported US-educated participant to have studied her L1 at the middle school or high school level, has fewer low rankings than any of the other participants in her cohort. Although none of the last four participants in Table 6-7 had received any education in her L1, participant 06 had picked up a small amount of literacy during the times she lived in Palestine. Interestingly, she had also been held back a year in elementary school. These two facts may be part of the reason that her rankings are slightly higher than expected, given her lack of formal L1 education.

6.2.3 Participants' attitudes toward ESL support

Interestingly, although no interview question directly requested a description of ESL classes, the participants had quite a bit to say about them. Table 6-5 summarizes the kinds of comments about their classes made by different groups who received ESL support.

Table 6-7: Comments about ESL Classes from Interview Data

Group	% Positive	% Equivocal	% Negative
Began school outside US; had only ESL support	53	12	35
Educated in only American schools; had only ESL support	21	21	58
Educated in only American schools; had bilingual education and ESL support	29	8	63

Looking at Table 6-7, it is important to remember that ESL instruction may be the only form of support given to bilingual learners, or it may be offered as part of a bilingual education program, which is why I include the comments from the participants who received bilingual education. As can be seen from the table, ESL classes never receive an overwhelmingly high rating. However, more than half (53%) of the comments made by the participants who began their education outside the US are positive. In contrast, more than half of the comments (58% and 63%) made about ESL classes by participants educated only in US schools are negative. If the methods used by ESL teachers are more compatible with international students and newly arrived immigrants, it is not surprising that the group of participants who had been newcomers would have more positive ESL class experiences and, therefore, would make more positive comments about ESL support.

6.2.3.1 Positive comments about ESL support

Comments made during the interviews provide insight into internationally-educated students' experiences with ESL support. For newcomers—especially late arrivals, ESL classes were a lifeline. ESL teachers often helped them navigate the overwhelming adjustment to American school. To illustrate how overwhelming that adjustment is, participant 21 described the first hour of her first day in her US school:

> 6-g: I had no clue; I just knew how to say "Hi." And I remember that day I went to my school—I was ninth grade. And my teacher…she told me, do I have money for lunch. And all of sudden I was staring at her; I had no clue she was asking me. And then she tried to explain to me, write on the board, still I couldn't get it. Then she grabbed me for hand and took me to cafeteria and then I understood (lines 1-15).

For many newcomers, their ESL teacher was the adult they turned to for explanations—academic and cultural. Participant 09, who arrived at the age of 16, explained,

> 6-h: ESL was the onliest [class] where you run when you're stuck, when you don't know anything. Miss M was the teacher. You just go to her; she always knew how to help (lines 131-136).

Because of the assistance and understanding newcomers receive at a time when they are particularly vulnerable, many become attached to their ESL teachers, classes, and peers. Participant 21, who said of her ESL teacher "I loved her" (line 46), explained,

> 6-i: I kind of was more familiar with her, and she was spending more time with me if I need it. So then later we were good friends (lines 53-57).

Participant 14, who arrived in the US after only two years of school in Pakistan, explained that she liked her ESL classes so much that she didn't want to give them up:

> 6-j: When I came here I was six, and that's when I learned [English]…I had to repeat first grade. I just didn't feel comfortable speaking English, and so my ESL teacher suggested that I should stay an extra year. . .In third grade they started taking me off of it…but I liked to skip class for it, anyway [*laughter*] (lines 1-11) .

Participant 09 felt grateful for the help she received from ESL peers:

> 6-k: Somebody was always there who knew English and Serbian—kids who came before us. So they would always help us…I didn't had a tutor, but I had my friends and they helped me a lot (lines 127-130, 137-139).

As indicated in Table 6-5, the comments about ESL support were less positive for the participants whose entire schooling was in the US. This is not to say that they had only negative experiences with ESL support; on the contrary, participants acknowledged that ESL support was helpful for them. For example, participant 30 reminisced,

> 6-l: During the individual meetings that I can remember, like in second or third grade…she only had two or three of us at once. So that was really nice that we had that particular time with her…that really helped (lines 40-48).

Participant 17 commented about the helpfulness of her elementary school ESL classes:

> 6-m: They made it a point to have us to do hands-on activities for us to understand different concepts…it definitely made it easier (lines 122-127).

6.2.3.2 Negative comments about ESL support

All of the participants—those who had been educated solely in American schools as well as the newcomers who received ESL support—had a number of negative things to say about ESL classes as well. Some of the reasons for their negative comments were global issues that are not necessarily within the control of ESL teachers, but other criticisms may be important for ESL professionals to heed.

For some US-educated bilingual learners, ESL support came too late and/or intermittently, as we saw in Chapter 4 with the participants who did not receive ESL until later in their school careers in spite of entering school with little knowledge of the language. Or, too little ESL support may have been provided. Participant 06 commented,

> 6-n: There was like once a week I'd get pulled from class and taken aside, but, I don't think that helped much (lines 52-56).

Sometimes ESL classes were too crowded. Participant 21 explained:

> 6-o: Actually, I wasn't that happy because ESL teacher didn't pay that much attention. Even though I loved her, at first she didn't pay much attention…because…we were big group and she couldn't focus just on—more time—on one person (lines 44-51).

Other problems with ESL were more particular to the local situation. For example, two of the participants in the study, 17 and 28, experienced push-in ESL support. Participant 28 did not seem to have a strong opinion, negative or positive, about the push-in support:

> 6-p: There was an ESL Hmong teacher there, but he was in the class with us. So then sometimes we'll just split up into groups, and then…we would speak to him, and then switch back and forth (lines 39-43).

Participant 17 is the Arabic-speaking participant who had positive memories about the hands-on activities in her early ESL class. In later years, however, she was embarrassed by the push-in ESL support she received.

> 6-q: My fifth grade year, where they just had basically an assistant stay with me in my class *[the assistant was there for a few other ESL students, too—none of them were Arabic speakers]* which, I mean, at the time it just felt so, like—I felt so, uh, alienated in a way, just because, like compar—you know, all the other kids are fine, and I'm sitting with an assistant right next to *[laugh]* me! (lines 78-96)

The mismatch between traditional ESL methods and US-raised bilingual learners' needs that I mentioned earlier also may have played a role in participant 17's negative experiences with ESL support.

> 6-r: Ironically, at the time I was a very good writer, I was a very strong reader, but it was my speaking that was the issue. So when they test me, they test me on my reading and writing. And I was like, "I don't have a problem with this. This is what I understand." So then they were, "Oh, then, you don't need…ESL." I'm like, "No, but I still have a problem with

> speaking."…I'd feel like they didn't know what to target. What they were trying to help me with was what I already knew…I think they just made the assumption that all of us who did have English as a second language at the time, we all had the same barriers and the same issues. They didn't take so much into consideration what were my weak points (lines 135-149, 108-118)

Other criticisms made of ESL support had to do with what went on inside ESL classrooms, something ESL teachers can control and change, if necessary. For example, recurring criticism of ESL classes was that they were not rigorous enough. Participant 01[29] began her US studies in eighth grade, where she received ESL support which

> 6-s: helped me—I cannot say they didn't (lines 68-69).

However, after the first quarter of ninth grade, she dropped her ESL class because

> 6-t: they mostly focused on my homework…which I wasn't looking for that. I didn't want them to do my homework, I wanted to *learn* English (lines 71-77).

Participant 17 opted out of the ESL push-in support she was receiving

> 6-u: because I noticed it didn't really—it wasn't much of an assistance, her being next to me. I think it was just kind of like she'd go over my work with me. But it was like, 'I can read!' (lines 100-106).

When asked how well her ESL and mainstream English classes prepared her for college, participant 15 laughed.

> 6-v: I don't feel that they prepared for college at all. Not even ten percent! (lines 49-50).

Perhaps this lack of rigor, along with the general practice of pulling struggling students from class for remediation, leads to the impression that students who get pulled out for ESL can't handle things on their own. Eight of the nineteen interviewees (42%)

[29] I did not use Participant 01's writing analysis data in this study because, unlike the other participants, she was biliterate before learning English. However, I saw no reason to exclude her interview data about her experiences.

made statements that implied that ESL support is for students who "need help," who "can't do it on their own." For example, participant 01 explained,

> 6-w: I said that I want to try it on my own and see how I do. So I got out of ESL, and I did very good" (lines 62-64).

The participants in this study spoke admiringly of International Baccalaureate (IB) high schools. They seemed to feel that IB schools had the strongest educational programs in the city and held their students to the highest standards. Knowing about this high opinion, I interpret participant 05's remarks as an implication that ESL support is for students at "lesser" schools:

> 6-x: I went to P_____ [High School] and they have ESL, of course, there…Then I went to R_____ [High School], but they don't have ESL there—it's a IB school" (lines 21-29).

Participant 14, who loved her ESL class so much that she skipped her mainstream classes to attend it, suggests that struggling students end up staying in ESL a long time[30].

> 6-y: [In my ESL class] it was just five of us, and they didn't…know any English at all. Like, they were still in English even when I stopped in third grade, so they were probably having a really hard time (lines 17-21).

Finally, ESL support is perceived as something for students who are somehow different. In an e-mail, participant 02, whose mother spoke English fluently because she had spent most of her life in the US, suggested that ESL support may be for children whose parents don't speak English well:

> 6-z: I didn't attend ESL classes because my parents spoke English well; therefore, I did not need any additional help (personal communication, July 11, 2011).

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[30] Although participant 14 was referring to her peers in elementary school, Valdés explains that it is very difficult for slightly older children to exit ESL classes: "All too often, students who enter school in the middle school years become what some practitioners have referred to as ESL 'lifers.' They will remain in ESL for the rest of their academic lives" (2001, p.17). For some of these students, Valdés suggests that "*not learning* is perhaps a milder, less oppositional form of resistance" (p. 3).

Participant 30's words suggest that ESL support is for minorities:

> 6-aa: They didn't have enough minority then, and they didn't have a ESL program yet (lines 20-22).

Even participant 06's phrase for her ESL pull-out support is indicative of difference:

> 6-bb: I'd get pulled from class and *taken aside* [italics added] (lines 53-54).

One reason ESL classes may lack rigor is the kinds of activities that are used far too often—although ESL instructors are not the only ones that resort to seatwork and workbook pages as a means of controlling the class and preparing students for high-stakes standardized testing. For instance, participant 28 described her ESL class:

> 6-cc: I just remember that…every day for a couple of hours we'd just go to the ESL class, and there we were just taught the English…and go through the punctuation and all the nouns and pronouns (lines 24-29).

Participant 30, while describing why she liked her ESL class, mentioned several activities that tend to make classes less rather than more rigorous,

> 6-dd: So that was really nice that we had that particular time with her to…work on worksheets and going through things (lines 44-47).

After reading over her placement composition, participant 23 explained why it was (in her opinion) so weak:

> 6-ee: what I can say is…all my years in high school…we never do big writing—like never—only had questions in reading, never [*laughing*], never writing! (lines 63-70)

At its worst, the lack of rigor in ESL classes as well as in the low-track courses ESL students are often shunted into because of their lack of English skills (Fu, 1995; Valdés, 2001; Roberge, 2009; Dutro, Levy, & Moore, 2012), plays into the sexism and racism interwoven into our social institutions. Three participants alluded to this in their comments about their ESL and other classes. Both participants 15 and 23 arrived from

Mexico and began high school in the US. As "traditional" Mexican girls, neither had expected to continue her education after high school; they were planning simply to get married and raise a family. Both participants expressed the feeling that their teachers had not tried hard enough to open their minds to other possibilities. Participant 23 described how slowly she progressed in her English classes and then speculated that part of the reason for this may have been the teachers' low expectations for her (she applied to college based on her father's urging, not her teachers').

> 6-ff: For some people it's easier to learn other languages. Like, one student in one year he did *four* levels. *[Laughing]* And it took me *three* years to do the four levels!...It might have been, I think I was kind of *slow [laughing]* learning. *[Not laughing]* Maybe I wasn't sure if I was going to college. I wasn't expecting to going…because I'm from a little village in Mexico, so I never kind of dream about going to college. I said, like, "Impossible!"…I never have that dream. … And I don't feel like I was *so* prepared, maybe because *[pause]* I wasn't expected to come to college (lines 21-34, 41-43).

Participant 15, who had dropped out of middle school in Mexico only to find she was required to attend high school in the US, later became an advocate for higher education. After several years at college, she returned to her US high school to urge teachers to raise their expectations for bilingual learners:

> 6-gg: I think a lot of times the schools are responsible for this. Just because we don't—I didn't take the initiative, I didn't know that I was going to need it, I didn't realize it until I came to the real world. And then I realized; I wished I would have gone back to those days and change it, but I couldn't. So I try to go back to the school and I try to present. Well, I presented my paper to them and explained to them how it affected me. And the ESL teachers were in agreement with me and they actually—once I showed them the paper—they encouraged me to present it to the principal so they can change that. Because that's something that has affected a lot of people (lines 125-142).

Participant 18 echoed participant 15's criticism and suggested that racism may play a role in less-than-rigorous curricula. She reminisced about how little she

comprehended of the CPA reading passage because of her lack of strong English reading skills:

> 6-hh: A lot of it stemmed from my grade school. We were predominantly Hispanic and…I felt like because of that we were taught at different—I guess—academic standards…I think that…the fundamentals of my English learning still wasn't as strong as others' (lines 114-130).

6.2.4 ESL support and the two main groups of participants

Finally, it is interesting to compare the ESL-supported participants across the two main groups. According to my hypothesis regarding the value of formal L1 education, I expect that the participants whose education began outside the US will have higher rankings than the participants educated only in the US. Table 6-8 compares the percentages of high, medium, and low rankings for each group[31].

Table 6-8: Comparison of Percentages of High, Middle, and Low Rankings for All Participants who Received only ESL Support

Participants with Education Outside the US			Participants Educated Only in the US	
Rank	Percentage		Rank	Percentage
H	25%		H	20%
m	32%		m	36%
-	22%		-	31%

Reading across Table 6-8 we can see that, as predicted, the compositions by the participants who had more global exposure to their L1 ranked in the highest thirty-third percentile more often than the compositions by the participants who lived only as linguistic minorities in the US. Furthermore, the compositions by the participants who began their schooling immersed in their L1 received markedly fewer low rankings than those by the participants schooled only in the US.

[31] I did not include mixed rankings (i.e., Hm, m-) in the participants' percentages. I wanted to compare the numbers of clearly high, middle, and low rankings only.

6.2.5 ESL support conclusion

To summarize, while participants made a number of positive comments about their ESL support, especially in regard to their ESL teachers, their comments also revealed that ESL support often lacks rigor. This lack of rigor ultimately colludes with the institutionalized racism in our society, preventing a number of bilingual learners from reaching their potential. Specifically, for the participants in this study, ESL support was most beneficial for those who began their schooling outside the US and, therefore, for participants who had the most global and formal knowledge of their L1.

6.3 Bilingual Education

Now I turn to a consideration of the differing writing scores for the two main groups of cohorts that received bilingual education. Again, I explore possible reasons for the contrasts in their writing scores. Then I consider the connections between writing analysis scores, bilingual education, and education in the L1.

According to my hypothesis about the value of bilingual education, the compositions by the participants who received bilingual education should average the highest writing analysis scores in both major groups. Chapter 4 demonstrated that my hypothesis was not upheld for the participants who began their schooling outside the US; instead, the participants who received ESL support averaged the highest writing analysis scores. On the other hand, my hypothesis was upheld by the results for the participants who were schooled only in the US; those who received bilingual education did, in fact, average higher scores than the other two cohorts in their group. Again, the question arises, why is the same kind of education effective for one group but not for the other?

This question will be answered as we examine the data for the participants who did not benefit as expected from bilingual education—the participants who began their education outside the US.

6.3.1 Bilingual education and the participants with education outside the US

Bilingual education was not as effective for the participants whose education began outside the US for several reasons. One reason has to do with AOA. The best-practice bilingual education programs described in Chapter 2 use the dual language model. Recall that in dual language programs, the best practice is for children to begin school in a bilingual program, preferably with more of the instruction in their stronger language (L1) until they ultimately receive 50% of their instruction in each language. Yet, none of the participants in this study who began their education outside the US had participated in bilingual education in their home country. Therefore, the US bilingual programs they entered were their *first* experiences with bilingual education. A newcomer entering a bilingual program in ninth grade (as participants 15 and 19 did) will not have the benefit of easing into the L2 as did her US-educated peers who began their bilingual education at age five or six.

This explanation, however, brings up another possible explanation for why the compositions by the bilingually-educated participants who began school outside the US did not score as high as I hypothesized they would. The explanation is, simply, that none of the bilingual programs attended by the participants in this study were dual language bilingual programs. All of the participants who had begun their education outside the US and who entered bilingual programs upon arrival in the US were speakers of Spanish. Their main complaint about the programs they entered was that there was too much

Spanish and not enough English being taught or spoken. It is possible that some of the participants had unknowingly entered developmental bilingual programs designed for older newcomer students and were therefore supposed to receive most of their instruction in Spanish. If this is the case, it seems an odd curriculum design. Will older newcomers have enough years to taper from 90% Spanish instruction, to 75%, to 50%? Also, if the predominance of Spanish is by design, shouldn't the rationale be communicated to the students and their families so that their cooperation will facilitate the beneficial effect of the school's program? It is possible that such communication did take place; students sometimes listen selectively, and parents with limited knowledge of US educational practices may not be able to comprehend the school's intentions.

Whatever the cause, the internationally-educated Spanish-speaking participants who entered bilingual programs felt that too much Spanish was spoken in their US schools. Participant 15 described her experience of entering high school after a preparatory summer of intensive ESL in another city:

> 6-ii: Then we moved to _____. I went to S_____ High School and [*lengthening words dramatically*] then I [*quickly*] didn't speak English at all! [*Laughter*]…The only…classes that I had that were English—and that they taught English—was the ESL classes. But even my…English class was in Spanish. ...The last year in high school, I took an English class. …That was the only one…that was English-English, and, but that was it. …That was hard when I came to college (lines 20-39).

Participant 10's description of her bilingual program was ambiguous and equivocal. I will include my questions in this transcript.

> 6-jj: Participant 10: I was put in fifth grade, and the classes were, you know, taught in English and Spanish. So, you know, I got a little bit of both, but I was still, you know, learning English at the time.
> *Sheryl: So they were considered bilingual classes?*
> Participant 10: Right, yeah, considered bilingual classes.
> *Sheryl: So how many years were you in those bilingual classes?*

> Participant 10: Fifth grade, sixth grade, seventh grade, and eighth grade—four years. We were in, you know, pretty much all day long in—in the bilingual classes. And then, you know, some classes were like—like art and music, you know, they were taught in English.
> *Sheryl: Then in ninth grade, what kind of classes?*
> Participant 10: Ninth grade, it was all English, but, you know, there were some teachers, you know, that, um, spoke Spanish, but it was—And then, like all the students spoke Spanish, you know, so it was –it was a little bit of all Spanish, but it was mostly English (lines 18-66).

In participant 10's recollections, the non-academic classes, such as art, which are taught in English, are contrasted with the *bilingual classes*, which may signify that the bilingual classes were academic subjects like history or science. Later, when participant 10 exited the bilingual program, some of the teachers and all of the students spoke Spanish, so that school was *a little bit of all Spanish, but it was mostly English*. From this description, I cannot tell if the Spanish and English were used discretely, if instruction mixed the languages.

Best practice bilingual education teaches academic content in both languages (Baker, 2003), using the L1 and L2 "in separate instructional contexts" (Thomas & Collier, 2001, p. 335) so that "teachers do not repeat or translate lessons in the second language, but reinforce concepts taught in one language across the two languages in a spiraling curriculum" (Thomas & Collier, 1997-1998, p. 25). Bilingual programs where teachers mix languages, translate, or neglect academic L1 instruction risk outcomes such as those witnessed by Wu, who discovered that her Hispanic first graders (who had been taught only the English alphabet with Spanish translations) believed that *manzana* (apple) began with the A sound in Spanish, *abeja* (bee) began with the B sound, and *helado* (ice cream) began with the I sound (2004-2005).

When I asked participant 10 how well she felt her English-language education had prepared her for college, she focused on speaking skills and how it was her boyfriend, not her classes, that helped her develop her English speaking skills.

> 6-kk: I really used to have this big—this *strong* accent, but, you know,…I think it really didn't prepare me. …I had a friend…and we used to talk on the phone all the time, and I used to ask him, *[high voice]* "[his name], what is this *word*?" …*[normal voice]* Through phone conversation, that's how I developed my speaking skills. …I was *really* interested in him, but it was, you know, kind of that love-struck joke, and…if I was interested in him, then I had to speak English with him *[laughter]* (lines 133-134, 162-171, 183-186, 191-201).

In contrast, participant 25's middle school bilingual program apparently did not mix languages.

> 6-ll: Participant 25: Even though it's bilingual they speak English.
> *Sheryl: So what makes it bilingual.…?*
> Participant 25: Just 'cause the teachers they know Spanish but they won't speak *[laugh]* and they won't write it. They just say, "If you have a question you can…ask."
> *Sheryl: And the books are all in English?...*
> Participant 25: Uhm-hm (lines 5-14).

Commenting on the teachers' "no Spanish" policy, participant 25 said,

> 6-mm: It helped me, 'cause my main language is Spanish. So as I learned, I'm like, "Now I know both." It helped (lines 21-25).

I do not want to imply that the participants who had received bilingual education had predominantly negative things to say about their bilingual programs. One of the advantages of a bilingual program for newcomers is that their heritage language teachers are able to connect their L1 to English. For example, participant 15 described her realization that the bilingual program was improving her L2 understanding. At first, she confessed, she was a little miffed when she was told she would have to take Spanish

> 6-nn: It was like, "Oh, Spanish *[disappointed voice]*, I know Spanish, right?" I wasn't really willing to take it (lines 44-46).

Later, she noticed that the L1 grammar lessons helped her understand English.

> 6-oo: It was really helpful because it relates. Like when we talk about the subject [of] adjectives, those are similar to the Spanish. …[It's] a lot easier to remember and to relate to them (lines 112-118).

Participant 15 explained how having a strong foundation in her L1 helped with thinking about concepts in English,

> 6-pp: You think of the language that is your first language first, and then you translate. So, by knowing…the first one well, then your ideas…come easier (lines 121-124).

Participant 23 added,

> 6-qq: If you know the basics of one language [*in this case, English*] and you know your own languages, you make it play—you make it work (lines 87-90).

Clearly, bilingual education can be beneficial even for newcomers, especially when teachers help newcomers make connections between their L1 academic and linguistic knowledge and what they are learning in and about their new L2.

6.3.2 Bilingual education and participants educated only in US schools

Among the participants whose entire education was in American schools, only two received bilingual education. Table 6-9 compares the score rankings for their compositions.

Table 6-9 Rankings on Measures of L2 Writing by Thirty-third Percentiles for Participants with Educated in the US who Received Bilingual Education

#	EFC	E	DC	C/T	WT	SWT	#W	Rhet	Coord	Logi	Topi	P&EP
11	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	-	-	m-	-
16	-	-	-	m	m	m	-	m	m	m-	-	-

Participant 11's rankings are generally high. In fact, out of all of the compositions, hers is one of the two that ranked in the top 33rd percentile on more than 50% of the measures.

The composition by participant 16, on the other hand, received nearly the opposite kind of scores. The similarities and differences between the two participants, both of whom agreed to be interviewed, ultimately support my hypothesis about the value of bilingual education.

Both participants come from families in which both parents have at least some college education. Participant 11's father had immigrated to the US in order to attend college here and graduated with a Bachelor's degree in business, and her mother had at least several years of college education either in the US or in Lebanon. (Participant 11's description of her mother's education was not clear on this point.) Currently, participant 11's father works as a software manager and her mother as a teacher. Participant 16's parents' education was entirely in Nicaragua, where they both worked as accountants; upon immigration to the US, participant 16's parents became a car wash owner and a tailor. In addition, neither of the two participants began her schooling in Milwaukee. Participant 11's family moved to Milwaukee when she was ready for tenth grade; participant 16's family moved to Milwaukee in time for her to enter fourth grade.

Both participants came to college with no previous college experience. At about 17 years old when she wrote her placement assessment composition, participant 11 was a traditional student, planning to enter college after graduating from high school. At her high school, participant 11 took several Advanced Placement courses, for which she received college credit. (The results of her placement test confirmed her exemption from the freshman composition sequence.) Participant 16 was about 23 years old when she wrote her placement composition; she was married and had one child. Unlike participant

11, she had no Advanced Placement credits on her transcript; her CPA results placed her in the pre-college program.

Remembering the role that personality plays in L2 acquisition (Fillmore, 1989), I note that one other similarity these participants share is that they are both energetic, dedicated personalities. I had not met participant 11 until I interviewed her. In my field notes from that day, I commented,

> She is a chemistry major, biology minor. She does not want to be a doctor, but says that she has a strong interest in social issues and hopes to use her scientific knowledge and skills to make the world a better place to live in… The student impresses as extremely competent. She articulates her ideas in such clear, concise, forceful language that I want to put many of her sentences up on posters around my office (April 14, 2011).

I had met participant 16 a year earlier, when she volunteered for my pilot study. Like participant 11, she is motivated by altruistic goals. She is majoring in Community Leadership and plans to go straight into a Master's program that will enable her to work with women and children (April 19, 2011). What is especially impressive about participant 16 is the time and effort she puts into improving her L1 (Spanish). In high school, she elected to take Spanish for two years:

> 6-rr: I said, "Well, since I speak the language, [I] might as well learn how to write grammatically correct" (lines 42-47).

In college, she continues to study the language on her own by reading Spanish newspapers online as well as books and articles by one of her favorite Spanish-language journalists, Jorge Ramos. She researches

> 6-ss: a lot of information about my country in Spanish and every two years I try to go back home (lines 46-58).

Desiring to continue developing her Spanish writing skills, she uses the computer to practice writing:

> 6-tt:…try to leave Spanish blogs, or whatever, on Spanish websites.…I have a lot of cousins. Thank goodness for FaceBook, cause we could do instant message…and I do tell them, "Okay, if I say something wrong, remember, you know, I grew up here. I'm not like you guys; so just let me know if I…type something wrong." So they do tell me. I like that (lines 126-141).

Certain differences in their backgrounds may have made it harder or easier for participants 11 and 16 to excel in written English; for example, it is possible that the socio-economic status of their parents in the US may be a factor. Also, although both participants' families moved during their schooling, participant 16's family actually moved twice, first from Nicaragua to Florida when she was 3 years old, and then later from Florida to Milwaukee. She therefore experienced more geographic and cultural dislocation than participant 11. However, I suspect that part of the difference is the quality of their bilingual education programs. As described before, the program participant 11 attended was the most similar to a 50-50 dual language program. In addition, participant 11 was fortunate enough to be in this program for eleven years.

In contrast, participant 16 received only three years of bilingual education. This took place when she began school in Florida. She described her bilingual classes:

> 6-uu: The teachers, they would teach like Spanish and English, like a mixture because there were students there that did not speak any English at all. So the teachers taught in Spanish and English (lines 13-17).

When I asked her to clarify if the two languages were spoken by one teacher or if there were two teachers, one who spoke Spanish and one who spoke English, she said,

> 6-vv: No, it was the same teacher (lines 22-23).

After three years, participant 16 moved with her family to Milwaukee, where she was mainstreamed.

With only two participants to contrast, I cannot make any definitive statements about the value of bilingual education for bilingual learners educated only in the US. Clearly, participant 16 experienced more academic disruption than participant 11. The writing results for participants 11 and 16, however, do support my hypothesis about the value of bilingual education that "participants who have had more and/or more effective kinds of language-learning education" will write more highly rated L2 compositions.

6.3.3 Bilingual education and L1 knowledge

Table 6-10 presents the score rankings for all of the participants who received bilingual education. In each major group, the participants are organized in descending order according to the number of years of formal L1 education they had.

Table 6-10: Comparison of Rankings on Measures of L2 Writing by Thirty-third Percentiles for Participants who Received Bilingual Education

#	EFC	E	DC	C/T	WT	SWT	#W	Rhet	Coord	Logi	Topi	P&EP
With Education Outside the US												
L1 into Middle School												
19	m	m	H	H	m	-	m-	m-	-	m	m-	m
23	m	m	-	-	-	Hm	-	-	H	H	-	-
15	-	m-	m-	-	m	m	-	-	H	-	-	-
L1 Elementary School Only												
10	m-	m-	Hm	m	H	m	H	m	-	-	m-	m
25	H	Hm	m	m	-	-	H	m	-	H	H	H
US Education Only – L1 in School												
11	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	-	-	m-	-
16	-	-	-	m	m	m	-	m	m	m-	-	-

According to my hypothesis about the value of L1 knowledge for L2 writing, the rankings should decrease as we read down the columns. Within two cohorts they do. Participants 19 and 23, who attended school through eighth grade in their own countries, wrote compositions that were more highly rated than participant 15, who attended school in her own country through only part of seventh grade, quit school, and then skipped into

ninth grade when she entered the US. Likewise, participant 11, who was in a bilingual program through tenth grade, wrote a more highly ranked composition than participant 16, who had three years of bilingual education when she began elementary school and two years of heritage language study in high school.

The cohort that does not support my hypothesis is the middle cohort, participants 10 and 25, who both attended school in their home countries through fourth grade. Participant 10 attended a bilingual program until the end of middle school; she was mainstreamed in high school. Participant 25 attended a bilingual program only through the end of elementary school; later in high school, she studied her L1 as a heritage language. Given what we have seen of the relationship of bilingual education to the composition scores of the participants with education outside the US, it is not surprising that participant 10, with twice as much bilingual education as participant 25, writes a lower-scored composition. It is even less surprising when we recall that participant 10's description of her bilingual program was, "a little bit of all Spanish, but it was mostly English." Recall that participant 25's description of her bilingual program, on the other hand, indicated that the teachers kept the two languages separate. The different descriptions of the two bilingual programs, along with participant 25's study of her L1 as a heritage language in high school, lead me to speculate that she may have gained more formal knowledge of her L1 than participant 10. Her more highly-rated English composition, therefore, may, in fact, support my hypothesis about the value of formal knowledge of the L1 for L2 composition.

I have suggested that the scores *within* the cohort of early-arriving participants support my hypothesis about the value of L1 knowledge. Yet, the fact remains that the

compositions by the later-arriving participants (23, 19, and 15) are less highly rated than those by their early-arriving peers (10 and 25). As the results in Chapter 4 revealed, in this study, bilingual education did not seem to benefit participants who began their education outside the US. Instead, ESL was the most beneficial form of language learning support for them. Montrul's investigation into L1 attrition in children leads her to claim that

> vulnerability to L1 attrition in L2-acquiring children gradually decreases with age, tapering off at around age 8-10. After the age of 10 years, language loss is unlikely, especially in minority language-speaking children who start L2 acquisition at this age and who are still exposed to the minority language (2008, p. 131).

Perhaps, given most bilingual education programs' emphasis on development and maintenance of L1 skills, older immigrant children are better served by ESL support with its emphasis on the acquisition of English. Living in families that are speaking their L1 and that often maintain contact with family and friends in their former home country, these children are still receiving the regular L1 input that Montrul refers to. I do not, however, believe that bilingual education is ineffectual for older immigrant children. Rather, I suspect that bilingual education *as it is often delivered* may underserve older immigrant children. Older immigrant children would benefit from bilingual education's best practices: advanced education in the L1 in order to continue the development of L1 academic registers and the acquisition of higher-level thinking and subject-matter skills, along with enriched ESL classes teaching the advanced English skills needed to continue into US higher education (e.g., language skills for divergent discussions, literary analysis, science lab reports, mathematical problem solving, etc.).

6.4 The value of knowledge of the L1

In this chapter, I have investigated the relationship between my two major hypotheses about the value of bilingual education and L1 knowledge for L2 composition. This section of the chapter uses the participants' experiences and insights to develop an understanding of how adolescent and young adult bilingual learners struggle with and also benefit from their L1 knowledge in order to continue growing and learning in an L2 environment.

6.4.1 Drawbacks of L1 knowledge

It would not be fair to the participants or to their achievement if I neglected to mention the drawbacks of bilingualism. Participant 21 stated flatly that having an L1 other than English was just plain hard:

> 6-ww: …because there was nothing close to English words, so my first language didn't help me much. It was very difficult. If you…know only one language, it's very difficult to learn next language (lines 113-120).

Several other participants echoed the difficulty of finding English words to express themselves. Participant 02 said:

> 6-xx: I don't know, I think it's harder to write …to do it in English, even…speaking English, a lot more difficult (lines 144-149).

Participant 10 explained:

> 6-yy: Sometimes I'll be wanting to…say some…really big word, and, you know, I have it in my head in *Spanish*, but then in *English*,…I would-wouldn't know how to tie that into my paper (lines 425-438).

The participants were quick to point out that in such cases, translation was definitely not a good idea. Participant 09 described the result of trying to translate her ideas into English.

> 6-zz: I know I have so many ideas and I know what I *want* to say and explain, but I don't know how. So I would take a piece of paper and then write in my language and then try to translate by using dictionary and stuff, which didn't work. …It doesn't make any sense when you read it [*laughter*] (lines 167-178).

Six of the 18 the participants I interviewed (33%) implied that being bilingual was detrimental to writing native-like English. The words, "confused" or "mixed up" occurred six times in their accounts. Participant 25's description of this confusion was the most striking:

> 6-aaa: My ideas I think in Spanish and then think in English, and sometimes they *[makes a gesture, holding up her hands and interlacing the fingers with each other, laughs]*…'Cause when you think in Spanish and you're going to write in English, it gets confused (lines 140-144, 158-160).

Yet, when several participants mentioned this confusion, it was with a poignant wistfulness. They felt the confusion stemmed partly from *not* knowing their L1 well and that, perhaps, the task of writing in English would be easier if they knew their L1 more fully. Participant 30 explained:

> 6-bbb: Not knowing how to read or write in Hmong at a early age, and knowing very *basic* Hmong…it makes it difficult—and then I was also learning another language…learning English at a early age, too. I think you get confused sometimes because you don't know enough of your own language. …I'm fluent in English and fluent in Hmong, but I just don't feel like I really know either, or in-depth (lines 135-149).

Participant 28, also a speaker of Hmong, explained:

> 6-ccc: I think that that's what makes it confusing for me when I write, just determining what…just correcting my own grammars. …I don't think it's a good thing or a bad thing, I just think…it's just there. …But I think because it's there and just because I grew up learning Hmong and English at the same time, so I'm kind of mixing both of those together. I guess it would be nice to be able to learn how to read and write in both language and be consistent with it and just not get them mixed up.…I think it would be really helpful, and it's gonna benefit you in the future (lines 141-158).

Part of participants 30 and 28's wistfulness is probably motivated by the dominant society's monolingual ideology. Instead of noting their eloquence, teachers and schools—and the society at large—has been busy noting their missing word endings. In turn, bilingual learners feel the so-called "deficiency" of their language and, raised in a prescriptivist milieu, note that the deficiency goes both ways—neither of their languages "makes the grade."

6.4.2 Benefits of L1 knowledge

Bilingual education and L1 knowledge are supposed to work hand in hand because best practice bilingual education promotes not just L1 *use* but also L1 development and L1 meta-knowledge—knowledge *about* the L1. In the interviews the participants gave many examples of how their knowledge about their L1 helped them with the L2. Some of the examples were very basic. For example, participant 09 explained how the concept of sound-letter correspondence is the same across (alphabetic) languages, even if the sounds are different:

> 6-ddd: …the rules are the same. What I mean by that is you read how it's spelt. For example, in English *oo* is */u/*. In my language we don't have that; *o* is */o/*, and if is two *o*, you go */o:/*[32] (lines 213-221).

Participant 01, who could read both Greek and Albanian, mentioned the usefulness of cognates:

> 6-eee: But certainly speaking a different language helps a lot to pick up the other language… because a few words—many—I've seen similarities that it can relate to (lines 92-95, 98-100).

Participant 06 described how the closeness of Spanish and English made English easier for her husband to learn:

[32] The symbols inside the slash marks are from the International Phonetic Alphabet (International Phonetic Association, 1999, pp. 202-203).

> 6-fff: …reading and writing Spanish helped him [read and write in English] because in Spanish and English are-are close. So it's helped him (lines 217-221).

First language knowledge is useful for more than decoding L2 words or recognizing cognates; it can be a resource for more advanced academic L2 skills as well. For example, participant 17 felt that attending to grammatical details that are encoded within Arabic words made her more analytical when reading English:

> 6-ggg: As a reader and writer because of Arabic I'm more analytical. When I'm reading something, I *do* look for details because that's what you have to do in Arabic. …In Arabic there might be a letter that sounds one way, but just with this little symbol on top it changes everything. So I feel it made me more analytical where I do notice different details (lines 232-242).

Participant 11 explained that knowledge about L1 grammatical processes helps with writing grammatically correctly in the L2:

> 6-hhh: …if it's a pronoun—if you're talking to multiple people, …you know how to, like, change—like at the end of a verb, you would adapt it to the subject. So if the subject is a group of people, or one person, or a female, or a male, you know how to change your—you know how to correlate the verb and the subject. So, once you know how to do that in one language, you're aware that you need to do that in the second language (lines 169-184).

Using the analogy of math, participant 05 described how knowing how to write papers in the L1 carries over into the act of writing papers in the L2:

> 6-iii: I used to do very well in math, even here when I first—and I didn't know English. But math is math anywhere. …And I think same with English, if you don't know how to write in your own language, how are you gonna get better and do English? (lines 141-145, 151-155)

Finally, the participants explained that knowing their L1 well helped them to think. Participant 16 explained,

> 6-jjj: Sometimes I read a book, and I need to write a paper about that book. Sometimes I cannot get my ideas thinking in English, so I think in Spanish. …It gives me the opportunity to, just, think more (lines 170-177).

6.5 Final Thoughts

In this chapter, I have examined all the data of this study—writing analysis results, survey responses, and interview transcripts—in light of my two major hypotheses that bilingual education and L1 knowledge are related to more highly rated compositions in English. Often, I found that unexpected results which were contrary to my hypothesis regarding the value of bilingual education could be explained with reference to individual participants' L1 knowledge. With the exception, perhaps, of participant 11's experience, the bilingual education programs represented in this study were transitional bilingual programs, not designed to continue long term development of L1 academic registers. They did not appear to do much to build up the participants' strengths in their L1. For the participants in my study, therefore, L1 knowledge has more explanatory power for their writing analysis scores than the kind of language learning support they had in elementary and secondary school.

CHAPTER 7: IMPLICATIONS, LIMITATIONS, REFLECTIONS, AND DIRECTIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

The final chapter of my dissertation begins by discussing implications of this study for the education of bilingual learners. In the second section, I present the limitations of the study. I follow with a section reflecting on the analytical tools used for my study. The next section explores directions for future research. I close the dissertation with the voices of bilingual learners and a discussion of the importance of advocacy.

7.1 Implications for education

This section of the chapter discusses implications for how we educate bilingual learners, including whether it is advisable for bilingual learners to bypass a grade, the efficacy of mainstreaming, the importance of strong forms of bilingual education, and the need to strengthen ESL education.

7.1.1 The wisdom of bypassing or repeating educational levels

For the participants in this study bypassing all or part of a year of schooling upon arrival in the US related to particularly low English composition scores. On the other hand, the participants who repeated a year of schooling wrote compositions that were among the more highly rated ones for their cohorts. In order to support these statements, I must make two sets of comparisons for each—the bypassers and the repeaters. The two sets of comparisons relate to the different foci of Chapters 4 and 5: I must compare the participants who bypassed (or repeated) to the other participants in their cohorts

according to language learning support *and* according to their amount of formal L1 education. To this end, I will present two tables for both the participants who bypassed and those who repeated schooling.

Only two of the newcomer participants in this study (15, 21) bypassed all or part of a year of schooling upon arrival in the US. Table 7-1 shows each participant's composition score rankings compared to the score rankings of the other compositions in her cohort according to language learning support. Table 7-2 shows participants 15 and 21's scores in comparison to those of their first language knowledge cohort. To make participant 15 and 21's scores more visible, I have bolded and italicized them.

Table 7-1: Score Rankings by 33rd Percentiles for Newcomer Participants who Skipped Schooling, Compared to their Language Learning Support Cohorts

Late AOA – Bilingual Support												
19	m	m	H	H	m	-	m-	m-	-	m	m-	m
23	m	m	-	-	-	Hm	-	-	H	H	-	-
15	**-**	***m-***	***m-***	**-**	***m***	***m***	**-**	**-**	***H***	**-**	**-**	**-**
Late AOA – ESL Support												
03	-	-	H	m	Hm	-	H	m	H	Hm	m	m
09	m	m	H	H	m-	-	-	-	m	-	m	Hm
21	**-**	**-**	**-**	***m***	***m***	***m-***	***m***	***m-***	**-**	***m-***	**-**	**-**

Table 7-2: Score Rankings by 33rd Percentiles for Newcomer Participants who Skipped Schooling, Compared to their L1 Knowledge Cohort

L1 into MS												
05	H	H	-	-	m	m	m	m	H	H	H	H
04	Hm	m	m	m	-	m	Hm	Hm	m	m	Hm	H
26	-	-	m	-	-	m-	m	m-	Hm	H	H	H
19	m	m	H	H	m	-	m-	m-	-	m	m-	m
23	m	m	-	-	-	Hm	-	-	H	H	-	-
21	**-**	**-**	**-**	***m***	***m***	***m-***	***m***	***m-***	**-**	***m-***	**-**	**-**
15	**-**	***m-***	***m-***	**-**	***m***	***m***	**-**	**-**	***H***	**-**	**-**	**-**

As can be seen, both participants who bypassed schooling consistently wrote the lowest ranked compositions in their cohorts. Schools should be strongly advised to

discourage newcomer students from bypassing years of schooling if at all possible. I understand that the decision to place newcomers higher is sometimes motivated by their age. This was the case for participant 15, who described how long she was out of school in Mexico (after dropping out partway through seventh grade) and her subsequent placement when her family discovered that she was required by law to attend school in the US:

> 7-a: ...it was like…maybe like a couple of years …and then they accepted me in high school here. So I was able to *[laughing]* get away with it—*[laughing]* skipped…like I didn't finish middle school. But then they accepted me in ninth grade…because of my age (lines 1-9).

Participant 15 came to regret this decision. She said,

> 7-b: 'Cause it's two years is *months* of learning. So I missed a lot of information or learning experiences (lines 58-63).

Participant 15's case was exacerbated by her mother's decision that she didn't need to keep attending school in Mexico. Yet, participant 21's composition also scores lowest in her cohorts even though she moved directly from seventh grade in Bosnia to ninth grade in the US. She explains why she skipped eighth grade:

> 7-c: I finished 7th grade [in Serbia], but then we came here…I took some uhhh-uh, placement tests or something? And they pushed me to 9th grade (lines 26-31).

For the participants in this study, bypassing grades seems to have been harmful. This observation does not offer a ready solution for cases like participant 15's. Two years older than the students in the grade she was ready for, she might not have prospered if placed with younger students. Nevertheless, when making placement decisions for newcomer students, schools should be aware that bypassing a grade may have significant negative consequences.

Repeating schooling, on the other hand, may have been beneficial for the participants in this study. Two newcomer participants repeated a year of schooling (09 and 14). In addition, one participant whose education took place only in US schools repeated a grade (06). Tables 7-3 and 7-4 present the score ranking comparisons for cohorts that contained participants who repeated schooling.

Table 7-3: Score Rankings by 33rd Percentiles for All Participants who Repeated Schooling, Compared to their Language Learning Support Cohorts

Late AOA – ESL Support												
03	-	-	H	m	Hm	-	H	m	H	Hm	m	m
09	***m***	***m***	***H***	***H***	***m-***	***-***	***-***	***-***	***m***	***-***	***m***	***Hm***
21	-	-	-	m	m	m-	m	m-	-	m-	-	-
Early AOA – ESL Support												
14	***H***	***H***	***m***	***m***	***H***	***H***	***H***	***H***	***m-***	***m-***	***m-***	***m-***
04	Hm	m	m	m	-	m	Hm	Hm	m	m	Hm	H
Only US Educated – ESL Support Only												
06	***H***	***H***	***m-***	***-***	***Hm***	***-***	***m***	***H***	***m***	***-***	***H***	***H***
18	Hm	m	m	m	H	m	m	m	m	H	-	-
20	m	m	-	-	m-	m	H	m	H	Hm	m-	m-
30	m-	m	m	m	-	m	-	-	H	m	m	m
17	m	m	H	m	-	Hm	-	m	m	m	-	-
28	-	-	-	-	-	m	m	m	H	H	H	Hm
22	-	-	H	H	-	-	H	m	-	-	m-	-

Table 7-4: Score Rankings by 33rd Percentiles for All Participants who Repeated Schooling, Compared to their L1 Knowledge Cohort

Home Country Ed into High School												
03	-	-	H	m	Hm	-	H	m	H	Hm	m	m
09	***m***	***m***	***H***	***H***	***m-***	***-***	***-***	***-***	***m***	***-***	***m***	***Hm***
Home Country Ed into Elementary School												
14	***H***	***H***	***m***	***m***	***H***	***H***	***H***	***H***	***m-***	***m-***	***m-***	***m-***
25	H	Hm	m	m	-	-	H	m	-	H	H	H
10	m-	m-	Hm	m	H	m	H	m	-	-	m-	m
08	H	H	m-	-	Hm	H	-	-	m	-	m	H
Only US Educated – No Formal L1												
06	***H***	***H***	***m-***	***-***	***Hm***	***-***	***m***	***H***	***m***	***-***	***H***	***H***
27	m	m	m	m	-	-	m	H	-	m	H	H
20	m	m	-	-	m-	m	H	m	H	Hm	m-	m-
28	-	-	-	-	-	m	m	m	H	H	H	Hm
22	-	-	H	H	-	-	H	m	-	-	m-	-

From Tables 7-3 and 7-4, we see that participants 06 and 14 wrote compositions that consistently had the most highly rated writing analysis scores in their cohorts. Participant 09's composition, on the other hand, is always outranked by participant 03's. Interestingly, participants 09 and 03 have very similar backgrounds. Both students' "almost always" translate for their families; also, their parents do not speak, read, or write English. Each participant's father had some higher education in his own country, but their mothers did not. In response to the survey questions about her parents' jobs, participant 03 answered that in Mexico, her father was a doctor in Mexico and her mother worked [in the] "field." Their jobs in the US, participant 03 responded, are "labor." Participant 09's father has been able to maintain his position as an assembly manager after immigrating because the workers he oversees also speak Serbian; her mother worked as a seamstress in Bosnia and has continued to do so in the US.

Participants 03 and 09's profiles diverged, however, when I discovered that participant 03 was a transfer student. At the time that she wrote her placement

composition, she was about 29 years old and was transferring in 30 credits, 15 of them in Spanish. Participant 09, in contrast, after repeating her sophomore year, continued straight from high school into college. She was about 19 at the time she wrote her placement composition. Participant 03's maturity and her previous college experience may explain the strength of her CPA composition. It may also explain why repeating a year of school didn't appear to give participant 09 as much of an advantage as it did for the other two participants who repeated some schooling.

For many students, repeating a grade may be a source of humiliation—almost a self-fulfilling prophecy of future failure. For newcomer students who repeat a grade upon entering US schools, the feeling is probably less shameful. Participant 09 did not present the repetition of her sophomore year upon entering the US as emotionally painful:

> 7-d: When I came to high school I was a junior. They asked me, "Do you want to be junior?" Because I have…two years of high school completed in my country. My dad, he said, "But *[student's name]*, if you start as a junior"—and it was… in the middle of the semester), "you're not gonna have enough time to learn English before college." He knew that I want to go for college, so he said, "Why don't you go to sophomore year?" So I said, "Yes, why not?" (lines 19-39)

She had not "failed" tenth grade, nor does she give any indication that she had been doing poorly in 11th grade in her home country. She was simply repeating her sophomore year because her father wisely surmised that she would need some extra time to learn English. The intervening years, the difficulty of expressing her emotions in English, or even self-protection may have led participant 09 to sound less upset than she felt when she was registering for her new US classes, but I expect that many newcomers who choose to repeat a grade tend to view it more matter-of-factly than students who must repeat a grade because they have "failed."

Participant 14 did not choose to repeat first grade, and her recounting of her grade repetition is slightly less positive than participant 09's.

> 7-e: When I came here I was 6, and that's when I learned [English]. And I had to repeat first grade. I never *[indecipherable]* so good, and I just didn't feel comfortable speaking English, and so my ESL teacher suggested that I should stay an extra year (lines 1-8).

It is possible that participant 14's indecipherable word, her explanation about not being *comfortable* with English, and her comment that *the teacher* suggested she repeat the year indicate some residual unease with having to redo first grade, or perhaps some trepidation at revealing the fact to me, a relative stranger.

The way participant 06 mentions having to repeat a year may be more strongly indicative of shame—felt at the time that she repeated the grade, at least. I was not acquainted with participant 06 before she took the survey and volunteered to be interviewed. Near the beginning of the interview, participant 06 reminisced about having some difficulties adjusting to elementary school, even though she had learned some English from watching cartoons on television with her siblings:

> 7-f: Entering *school*, I remember struggling the first couple of years, but... back then there wasn't—they didn't have ESL classes, or anything like that (lines 43-49).

Participant 06 didn't mention that she had repeated a class until near the end of the interview, after she had told me about a prize-winning essay she had written the year before the interview for a peace conference at another local college (her essay was one of four top essays out of 126 entries). I congratulated her and told her that, given the topic of her CPA composition (water conservation), I wasn't surprised that she had developed into the kind of writer who could write a prize-winning essay for a peace conference. After that part of the conversation had finished, I was ready to ask my last question, typed

in bold in my interview script: *How much, if at all, does being able to write their first language help a person write in English?* I boldly began with the question, but then remembered that participant 06 didn't know how to write her L1 and had, in fact, expressed sadness that she had never learned it. The transcript of my fumbled question and her response follows:

> 7-g: *Sheryl: How much, if at <u>all</u>[33], does being able to—to write—now, for you—you didn't know how to read—n write in Arabic, but you—maybe uh—so maybe I should change the question. How much if at all does being able to—<u>know</u> your own language well: help you when you're then moving on into learning English?*
> Participant 06: [silence]
> *Sheryl: Is it a help? Is it a hindrance?*
> Participant 06: For me: with the Arabic, and then *trying* to learn English, hindered me. I mean, Arabic is so difficult, and I think when you try to translate it in your head, so—"How would I say it in English"—doesn't come out the same. It took me a while, I know. I went to a few… summer classes, and I think, and I was held *back* a year. So, being held back a year *actually* was the best thing ever cause I think being held back that *one* year…from then on, I seemed to excel in school. …I think it was like 2nd or 3rd grade (lines 166-212).

It is interesting that participant 06 did not volunteer the information about having repeated a grade at the beginning of the interview. It is possible she simply didn't think to mention it, but perhaps she felt more comfortable after we had become little better acquainted. Possibly, she felt freer to reveal potentially embarrassing information, especially after telling me of her current achievement, receiving my genuine praise, and hearing me fumble with my final question. Whatever the reason for the earlier omission, once she told me she had repeated a grade, participant 06 quickly went on to say that being held back was beneficial to her. Although repeating a grade may have been traumatic enough to "forget" to mention it earlier in the interview, participant 06 could not have developed her current evaluation of having been held back if she did not have

[33] In the italicized transcripts of my speech, underlining indicates words that were emphasized.

some kind of help: strong self-esteem, supportive family members, supportive teachers and guidance counselors, etc.

It is possible that the brave face participant 06 puts on about having repeated was learned later in life. It may be that an earlier sense of struggle and failure are several of the myriad factors in her life that contributed to her being a nontraditional student—participant 06 was about 34 years old at the time she wrote her CPA composition. Sometime before applying to Alverno College, she had received an AA degree, but she chose not to transfer in any of her credits. In effect, she was repeating several years of schooling again—but this time, it was by her choice.

Although repeating a grade may at times be helpful for bilingual learners, it may not be worth the emotional cost. From the limited number of participants who repeated a grade in this study, it seems that the best time to do so is upon entry into the US school system, when the repetition can be chosen, rather than later, when it is forced. One wonders, for every participant 06, 14, and 09 who repeats a grade to her advantage, how many bilingual learners that repeat do not recover their self-esteem and leave school as soon as they are able?

7.1.2 The low return on mainstreaming

In spite of the moderate advantages some of the participants in this study seemed to gain from being mainstreamed, the humanitarian and social costs of mainstreaming outweigh its modest benefits. Mainstreaming bilingual learners is an attractive policy, especially when school budgets are tight. In districts with low incidences of bilingual learners, it may seem tantamount to a necessity, in spite of the incentive of federal funds

for identifying and serving bilingual learners[34]. Mainstreaming is also attractive to many bilingual parents—and some bilingual learners themselves—who believe it is the fastest way for their children to learn English and succeed (Au & Raphael, 2000; Lippi-Green, 1997; Thomas & Collier, 2001). Yet, the dividends it pays are too equivocal to make it a wise option.

For example, only one of eight (13%) bilingual learners in this study who were mainstreamed performed uniformly well on the writing measures. That one exception was participant 24, whose L1 use and knowledge exceeded that of the other mainstreamed participants. As noted in Chapter 6, because she used Spanish about 78% of the time, almost always translated for her parents, and had studied it at the high school level. For the newcomer students in this study, moreover, mainstreaming was particularly detrimental. Also, as discussed in Chapter 6 (see Table 6-4), a number of the mainstreamed participants in this study experienced low self-confidence in their L1. In our global society this is a double waste of human potential; first, we may lose skilled bilingual citizens; second, if these students decide to develop their bilinguality, we lose a number of man-hours teaching them L1 skills they could have developed relatively effortlessly as children.

7.1.3 The need for best practice bilingual education

Bilingual programs that do not systematically teach both languages to bilingual learners negatively impact students' English acquisition, their academic learning, and the

[34] Under Title III, school districts receive federal money "to ensure that limited English proficient (LEP) students, including immigrant children and youth, develop English proficiency and meet the same academic content and academic achievement standards that other children are expected to meet" (Wisconsin Department of Public Instruction, 2009). This provides an incentive for districts to identify and serve bilingual learners. On the other hand, districts that receive Title III money must put programs and personnel in place to assure that bilingual learners are served.

development of their L1. The participants in this study clearly felt that the result of bilingual programs was that they did not learn English well. Of her three years of bilingual education in Florida, participant 16 said,

> 7-h: I learned how to speak, like, "proper English" when I got to Wisconsin…when I came to Wisconsin, my English wasn't that *good*. I *knew* English, but not as well (lines 4-5, 10-12).

When asked if her bilingual program had prepared her well for the kind of work she is doing at college, participant 10, who was in bilingual education programs from fifth through eighth grade, quickly responded, "It did," but followed her initial response with

> 7-i: but then at the same time it didn't prepare me. I really used to have this big—this strong accent, but…I think it really didn't prepare me, with the whole high school—going through high school [*indecipherable*] with all English, so…I have to force myself to speak it. And then I have mostly Spanish friends, so they would speak to me in Spanish and then English and…so it really didn't prepare me (lines 139-162).

As described in the previous chapter, bilingual education programs in which teachers speak a mix of the two languages are considered to be the worst model of "bilingual" education. In mixed-language instruction, children do not need to attend to instruction given in their weaker language (usually English) because they know it will be translated for them. Therefore, they develop the weaker language (English) more slowly. Ironically, in poorly executed bilingual programs, bilingual learners also do not learn their L1. If we read the interview transcripts carefully, we see that this was the case for several of the participants. Participant 23, who arrived in the US just before ninth grade, commented wistfully on her older brother's academic success; she never said how many years older he was, but, from her comments, I would guess that he was four to six years older. She said of him:

> 7-j: When we came here my brother, he was kind of like a dreamer [about being able to attend college], so he went to Marquette. And…okay, he's accepted! (lines 35-38)

Later in the interview, she commented about this brother that after being in the US for only

> 7-k: like two years, he was in Marquette [University] doing really good. But he knew Spanish (lines 80-82).

Yet, participant 23 was born and raised in Mexico; she was in a bilingual program for the first three of her four years of high school. Why didn't she "know Spanish"? It's possible that her school's bilingual program was focused more on L1 use than L1 development.

With the pressures of and rewards for speaking English all around them, bilingual learners learn English (Merino, 1983; Veltman, 2000). The problem for our society, situated as it is in an ever-shrinking globe, is that, if the bilingual learners are young children, according to Montrul they experience both L1 loss and a delay in L1 development. If they are older than ten, rather than L1 loss, bilingual learners experience attrition, slowing "the resources necessary for the implementation of the available knowledge" (2008, p.90). In the comment section of the survey, participant 10 said regarding her spoken Spanish,

> 7-l: Holding a conversation in Spanish using appropriate words is somehow difficult for me now because I am surrounded by the English language more than Spanish.

In excerpts 7-m and 7-n, Participant 09, who did not have an option for bilingual education because her L1 was Serbian (not offered in her high school), described the lack of L1 development she experienced as well as her strategy for remedying it:

> 7-m: …because when I was back in my [country] I was having conversations and I was hanging out with people close or same age as me…. *Now*, I'm seven years older; somebody also seven years older comes right *now*, so they catched

> [learned] *more* [of the language] that they transferred that to me [when they visit the US]. And…that's the only way I build [continue developing my Serbian] (lines 254-269).

> 7-n: Everything in my further education—the all education I did in English—I am unable to explain that education in Serbian. When I decided to change my major to psychology and to *tell* [my mom] something with psychology area, there is no way I can explain to her because she was not familiar in psychology in our country and her—in her life, in her language. So *now* I have to explain that to her in Serbian, which *I* was never—I never heard all these terms. Even "bachelor's degree" and "master's degree," I don't know the terms in Serbian. I didn't catch that far (lines 222-244).

Best practice bilingual education includes development of both the L1 and L2 so that bilingual learners can graduate from high school confident enough to carry on conversations as young adults who are able to use both languages.

7.1.4 The potential of ESL education

We have already seen in this study that the participants made a number of criticisms of the ESL support they had received. After observing ESL and sheltered classes for two years in three middle schools, Valdés found that

> students did not engage in activities designed to develop their ability to use language to carry out functions, such as asking and answering genuine questions; conducting short, routine conversations; expressing needs, feelings, and ideas; getting personal needs met; developing relations with others; and engaging in transactions. Even though the textbook included a number of activities and communicative exercises designed to develop such abilities, instruction focused exclusively on the grammatical points included in each chapter (p. 49).

Certainly, not all ESL classrooms fail so dismally at teaching what bilingual learners "need to become fully proficient in English, to have unrestricted access to grade-appropriate instruction in challenging academic subjects, and ultimately to lead rich and productive lives" (TESOL, 1997, pp. 1-2). Yet, ESL programming may sometimes be guilty of trying too little.

This is not due to laziness or indifference on the part of ESL professionals. In many schools, ESL teachers are often marginalized; "ESL programs are sometimes seen as service courses, meant to prepare students for other courses" (Brooks, 1988, p. 30). To full-time teachers, ESL teachers may seem to be only "part-timers" because they teach at more than one school. Or, they may be viewed as not part of the core faculty because they have to travel from room to room with their materials on a cart, etc. Participant 28's description of the push-in ESL support she received gives a glimpse into the kind of marginalization that may have occurred in one of her classes[35]. Recall that, because all of the ESL students in her class were Hmong, the school provided a Hmong speaker as an ESL specialist in the English class:

> 7-o: There was an ESL Hmong teacher there, but he was in the class with us. So then sometimes we'll just split up into groups and then…we would speak to him, and then switch back and forth" (lines 38-43).

I suspect that "switch back and forth" did not mean that all students, Hmong or not, occasionally received small group time with the ESL Hmong teacher. Instead, from conversations I have had with other push-in ESL teachers, I expect that it meant that the Hmong students occasionally had small-group time with the ESL teacher and, furthermore, that he seldom if ever worked with the monolingual English-speaking students or taught the whole class. If the Hmong ESL teacher was as marginalized as I expect, it would be part of the complex set of factors that relate to the marginalization of ESL students, expressed by the participants of this study when they spoke of ESL as something for students that "need help." In participant 28's case, even if her sensibilities were spared, other students—and quite possibly the "head" teacher—probably believed

[35] We have seen this excerpt before in Chapter 6 (excerpt 6-p), but I wish to reexamine it in the context of this discussion.

that the ESL teacher was there for the Hmong students. The impression of ESL students conveyed to their classmates may have implied that there was something less able about bilingual students. As participant 17 commented,

7-p: all the other [monlingual] kids were fine (line 93).

Although I have no doubt that the negative perception of ESL support is part of the racism that exists in all of our social institutions, I know from my own experience that we ESL instructors have at times bought into the myth. We speak of our students' "needs," we focus on what they "can't do," we provide ESL and bilingual support so that they can "catch up." We must change our own perspective and realize that ESL support is an "accelerated approach to instruction" (Dutro, Levy, & Moore, 2012, p. 339) for students who are already on the path to being bilingual, bicultural, biliterate global citizens. And we must begin to teach that way. TESOL's *ESL Standards for Pre-K—12 Students* (1997) offers a preliminary map of the territory we need to cover. In the introductory pages to their standards, TESOL outlines their "Vision of Effective Education for All Students." This vision encompasses, for bilingual learners: "nativelike levels of proficiency in English" and "the maintenance and promotion of…students' native languages"; for all students: "knowledge of more than one language and culture" and "comprehensive provision of first-rate services and full access to those services"; and for teachers and administrators, an understanding that "all educational personnel assume responsibility for the education of" bilingual learners (TESOL, 1997, p. 3).

7.2 Limitations of this Study

In this section I present limitations related to the methodology of the writing analysis in this study, the diversity and lack thereof of the study participants, and the choice to make the interview optional.

7.2.1 Writing analysis methodology

A serious limitation of this study was the approach I used to analyze the participants' compositions. The first problem with this approach was that only one sample of the participants' writing was analyzed. That sample, furthermore, came from what can be seen as a highly unnatural setting: a college entrance placement assessment. Silva and Brice argue that "timed, direct essay tests seriously underpredict ESL students' abilities to write under natural conditions" (2004, p. 74). This particular placement composition was not strictly timed because participants were allowed to take as much time as needed, including returning a second day, if necessary, to complete it. One could argue that a college placement writing assessment has more "real" stakes for the writers than a single essay written in a freshman composition class. Still, the single writing sample per participant is a limitation of this study. In a larger school than this particular study site, I might have been able to recruit a sufficient number of participants from an entering class who also happened to have the same freshman composition instructor. Doing so would have assured me of several sets of compositions per participant that would be comparable because they would have been written under similar conditions.

In addition, the measures I chose to analyze the writing samples are artifacts of a monolingually biased view of L2 composition. In an attempt to use measures that were fairly well known, I chose measures that reflected the historical bias of the profession, a

profession that has mostly "overlooked sociopolitical issues affecting life in and outside of academic settings" (Benesch, 2001, p. xv). This bias forgets (or ignores) that, although English is the L1 of around 400 million people, it is the L2 of another *billion* (Weiss, 2005, p. xii). The monolingual bias of my writing analysis tools also meant that they reflected an older paradigm that analyzes texts as if they have no context. This kind of text analysis is carried out at the word, sentence, paragraph, and text levels ignoring that texts are "processes embedded within and influenced by community affiliations" (Huckin, 1995, p. 85). While I believe the methodological triangulation of this study helped to counteract some of the shortcomings of the analytical tools, still the monolingual bias of the measures limited the way in which I was able to analyze and thus perceive the participants' compositions.

7.2.2 Diversity and the participants

Two limitations of this study worked in tandem with each other: the diversity of the population of bilingual learners in this study, and the small number of participants. From experience I knew how diverse the population of bilingual learners is, so I planned accordingly, working carefully on the wording of the survey instrument and examining a number of different instruments other researchers have used for ascertaining L1 knowledge and use. Yet, while I was prepared for the diversity of my participants' nationalities, languages, and migration histories, I had not comprehended the extent to which their L1 and L2 learning experiences would also be diverse. That diversity created more and smaller cohorts than I had expected, which in turn affected the generalizabiltiy of the results of my study.

My participants were diverse in another way not usually encountered in studies of college placement assessments, and that was in age and previous college experience. The women's college where I did my study accepts non-traditionally aged students; in addition, because communication skills are taught across the disciplines, most transfer students, even if they have taken freshmen writing courses, are still required to take the communication placement assessment. I was concerned that these aspects of my participants' diversity might affect the results of my study. As discussed in previous chapters, the diversity of their ages and the diversity in their previous college experience may have been a factor for two participants, participant 07 and participant 03. Participant 07 is the woman who was about 54 years old when she wrote her placement composition. Her scores were unusually low, given the six years of middle and high school that she studied her L1, and I hypothesized that the weakness of her placement composition might have been due to the long time she had been out of school. Like participant 07, of the 28 participants whose compositions I analyzed, seven (25%) were over the age of 19. Similarly, participant 03's composition was unexpectedly strong for someone who had arrived in the US only in time for her senior year in high school. However, when I looked at the demographic information I had for her, I discovered that she had previously attended college, and 15 of her 30 credits had been in the study of her heritage language. Of the 28 participants whose compositions were analyzed, six (21%) were transfer students.

Concerned that being a transfer student and/or being older might give participants an advantage on the placement assessment, I created Table 7-5 to track the number of times non-traditional participants scored in the top 33rd percentile for a measure.

Table 7-5: Transfer Students and/or Participants Over 21 Years Old:
Scores Ranked in the top 33rd Percentile

#	EFC	E	DC	C/T	WT	SWT	#W	Rhet	Coord	Logi	Topi	P&EP
03			H				H		H			
06*	H	H						H			H	H
07						H						H
08	H	H				H						H
16												
19*			H	H								
21												
30									H			

*06 had an AA degree from a community college, but transferred in no credits
*19 is the only participant who was over 25 but was not a transfer student when she took the CPA

From the chart we can see that the non-traditional students averaged only 2.1 high rankings per composition. Traditional students, on the other hand, averaged 3.5 high rankings per composition. In general, then, being older or having previous college experience did not skew the results in favor of nontraditional participants.

In one respect, however, the participants in my study were not diverse: they were all female. I did not set out to explore the literature on gender and second language acquisition and if and/or how cultural background adds more layers of complexity to the language learning tasks of female bilingual learners. Yet, I wish to acknowledge several ways in which the gender of my participants may have affected the understanding I gained of bilingual learners in the US. First, Wright (1992) noted that the female college students in her study were usually required to spend more time at home than their male counterparts. Wright commented that "some of the young women seemed to be experiencing a conflict of culture, whereas young males reported greater acceptance of and satisfaction with their bicultural position" (p. 184). The result of this was that 92.6% of the young women in her study agreed that "2 languages give access to 2 cultures," while only 86.3 of the males agreed (p. 184). Ironically, then, the result may be that my

participants, who are all female, may actually report *more* appreciation for the advantages of bilingualism and meta-linguistic awareness than would be true of a more diverse population of bilingual learners.

7.2.3 The optional interview

A third limitation of this study is that not all participants agreed to be interviewed. The interview was made optional in order to encourage as many participants as possible to respond to the survey. It also broadened the appeal of the study to include participants who were averse to being interviewed but who were nevertheless willing to fill out an online survey. However, it would have been extremely helpful to have interview data from more than two participants who had been mainstreamed, for example.

7.3 Reflections on the analytical tools used in the study

The analytical tools I used for this study taught me two major lessons about the analysis of L2 composition. The first is simply an echo of what every graduate student learns the hard way: measures of writing should not be used uncritically. The second is the value of triangulation.

7.3.1 Measures for L2 Writing Should not be used Uncritically

I learned that, while diverse measures may increase accuracy, they may also increase confusion. In Chapter 3, I stated that I wanted to choose diverse measures of writing for the analysis of the participants' placement compositions. In addition, I wanted to measure both surface features of the compositions (e.g., accuracy, lexical complexity) and discourse features (e.g. rhetorical control, rhetorical markers). As a result, some of the measures I chose had little to do with each other, and some had little to do with

overall writing effectiveness. For example, di Gennaro's rubric for rhetorical control, which was used for the holistic scoring of the compositions in this study, focuses specifically on the rhetorical moves of a simple composition: "The essay has clearly identifiable essay components, including an introduction, thesis, supporting paragraph(s), and a conclusion" (2009, p. 558). Defined in this manner, rhetorical control and accuracy do not necessarily go hand in hand. Participant 08 wrote a composition with very little percentage of error; 81% of her clauses were error-free (the highest percentage among all of the participants was 89%). However, her composition is written as only one paragraph. In addition, the first sentence does not provide an introduction; it merely states her thesis:

> 7-q: I feel like reducing the number of flies in your area is an appropriate way to please both sides of the argument."

As a result, her composition scored only a two out of a possible five for rhetorical control. Using measures that had little to do with each other made it more difficult for me to develop accurate generalizations about a composition.

Furthermore, I learned that analyzing a piece of writing, especially student writing, is time-consuming and requires the researcher to use her judgment as discerningly as possible. Even the seemingly most straightforward of measures—accuracy, for example—require researchers to make many decisions (Polio, 1997). Does one count spelling errors? What about missing commas? extra commas? One sentence from participant 22's composition begins,

> 7-r: Describe the blackflies are you than I thought that black flies also suffer…" (s 11).

A researcher's construction of the writer's intended meaning will affect how many errors are attributed to the sentence.

Every measure involves a certain number of these decisions, including the analyses done by computer. To facilitate the computerized analyses, I had to "clean up" the compositions, forcing me at times to make difficult decisions. Two examples can be found in a single sentence from participant 20's composition:

7-s: These blackflies are extravagant to our community (s 16).

The VocabProfile program that I used for calculating lexical sophistication counted *blackflies* as a sophisticated word, since it does not appear among the 2,000 most frequently used English words. In fact, in McKibben's essay the compound noun is written as two separate words, *black* and *flies*, both among the 1,000 most frequently used words in English. Rather than skew the sophisticated word scores in favor of the participants who had written *black flies* as one word, I used the *search and replace* function on my computer to correct each instance of *blackflies*. While this decision seems fairly straightforward, not all decisions about vocabulary were as simple.

The second example in the sentence from participant 20's composition (see 7-s) was less easily solved: what should I do about the word *extravagant*? Clearly, it is not being used appropriately semantically, yet it is grammatically correct. Perhaps the student was trying to recall an adjective she had learned in high school, a multi-syllabic word with a short *a* vowel and a hard *g* sound: *extravagant*, *aggravating*, *exasperating*. . .all three fit the criteria. I could imagine all three as part of a high school English class vocabulary list. The sentence shows that the student has this word in her passive vocabulary and is able to use it grammatically correctly, even if not appropriately for the meaning of the sentence. Perhaps too generous to a fault, I gave her credit for the word and did not change it. VocabProfile counted it as a sophisticated word. That single

instance of a sophisticated word may not have been enough to change her lexical sophistication score, but there were many more similar decisions.

Unfortunately, although most of the measures I chose had been used by multiple researchers, there is a "lack of adequate discussion of data analysis procedures in the existing literature (Brice, 2005, p. 159). For some measures, I was able to find helpful "how-to" hints in articles (e.g., Cumming, Kantor, Baba, Eouanzoui, Erdosy, & James, 2005, 2006; Engber, 1995; Gaies, 1980; Polio, 1997; Witte 1983a, 1983b), but for others, all I could do was write myself a list of guiding principles and try to be as consistent as possible. Even when using computer programs to arrive at a particular score, I became poignantly aware that the computer programs themselves are the results of someone else having made a number of these same kinds of questionable decisions.

Another insight I gained from reflecting on the analytical measures I was using was that not all measures of writing are appropriate for every context. Originally, I had planned to use another set of measures to examine the compositions' "orientation to source evidence" (Cumming et al., 2006). This seemed a logical choice, since one of the composition prompts for the CPA was to write to Bill McKibben "giving your opinion about keeping or getting rid of the blackflies [sic]" (Alverno College, 2011). In giving their opinions, the students would probably refer to the situation McKibben describes in his article, and I expected that analyzing how and how often this was done could yield revealing results. However, as I and another language teacher applied Cumming et al.'s codes, interrater agreement posed a serious problem. After our initial comparison of codes, we returned home and re-marked the compositions, each feeling, "Now I understand this!" Yet, our second comparison went no better. In their article, Cumming et

al. even admit, “We found that judging the…orientations to source evidence involved more interpretations than did the other indicators, and it was difficult to reach a high-intercoder agreement on them” (p. 12).

I am not implying that orientation to source evidence is an unreliable measure in general, but for this set of compositions and for these raters, it was. It is probable that the more explicitly integrated writing task for the TOEFL generated responses with more explicit references to source material. The instructions for the task began, “You have 25 minutes to answer the question below by writing a response based on the information from the passage…” (2006, p. 73). The instructions for the CPA compositions, on the other hand, were more generic: both prompts (black flies and independent) told students to “write a letter” to McKibben. Few students would associate writing a letter with making references to a source text. In addition, neither prompt specifically directs students to refer to McKibben’s essay. Finally, it’s possible that the quality of the CPA compositions differed too much from the mid-level TOEFL compositions Cumming et al. were examining for the measure to be useful. At any rate, for this study I abandoned the measure.

Moreover, not all writing measures can be applied in a linear way, like a yardstick. For example, accuracy measures are applied linearly: the more errors a composition has, the less accurate it is. However, that is not always the case for some measures. The measures I used for grammatical complexity are a case in point. In general, the more dependent clauses a writer uses per clause (DC/C) and the more clauses she averages per T-unit (C/T), the more grammatically complex her writing is. Yet, some novice writers err on the side of complexity. For example, participant 19 wrote a

composition that scored among the highest for grammatical complexity with 59% dependent clauses (the highest was 62%) and with an average of three clauses per T-unit (the next highest score was 2.9). Example 7-t gives the last two sentences of her composition:

> 7-t: As a society I think we need to stop and think that everything has a meaning and a reason and not to think that we are more special or important than anything else because there more beyond our own problems and necessities. Working together with others is a more viable solution because we might be able to find a solution that can or will improve the way of living of a community or group of people and might be able to understand the problem in a better way by sharing different concern, ideas or solutions with others (ss 6-7).

Based on her entire composition with a number of such sentences, I am convinced that the rosy picture the grammatical complexity scores give us of composition 19 is false. My conviction is confirmed when I view the matrix of participant 19's score rankings in Table 7-6.

Table 7-6: Score Rankings by 33rd Percentiles for Participant 19

#	EFC	E	DC	C/T	WT	SWT	#W	Rhet	Coord	Logi	Topi	P&EP
19	m	m	H	H	m	-	m-	m-	-	m	m-	m

As can be seen from Table 7-6, except for the grammatical complexity scores, participant 19 had written a predominantly average composition. I suspect that the grammatical complexity scores do not really reflect strong control of the grammatical complexity of her writing.

Rimmer, who has worked on what he calls "the Gordian knot" of grammatical complexity, has termed the measures I used as "attractive" but "crude" (2006, p. 507). In a later article, he suggests that "a more promising direction is to view complexity as the interaction of grammar and context" (2008, p. 34). His comment is what led me to look

more critically at the compositions with high lexical scores, as I described earlier. A critical stance is justified by Huckin, who advises that if the tools you use tell you something different than your intuition tells you about the text, don't be too quick to trust the tool: "converging measures…do not guarantee validity" (1992, p. 99).

Critically examining the lexical diversity scores led me to another realization: it is easy to unwittingly use complementary measures. (Recall that in Chapter 3, I described complementary traits of writing as those that may cancel each other out; e.g., a writer who jumps from topic to topic—yielding a low coherence score—may be forced to use transition words and phrases—yielding a high score for coherence.) It is especially easy to unknowingly use complementary measures when the measures are relatively new and have not yet been fully tested. Among these newer measures are various computer programs created to measure lexical diversity. After testing five of the newer measures for lexical diversity, Jarvis suggests that lexical diversity measures may sometimes be complementary with holistic measures (2002). Extremely high levels of lexical diversity might lower holistic scores because the multiple synonyms may make it harder for readers to perceive the unity of a text.

Participant 25's composition demonstrates this kind of complementarity in reverse: her low lexical diversity contributed to her high coherence scores. Participant 25's composition, in fact, had the second-lowest lexical diversity score of all of the CPA compositions. Yet, out of all of the compositions, for coherence, hers garnered the third highest score for not changing topics too often and the second highest score for using parallel and extended parallel constructions. Puzzled by the extreme scores, I reread her composition and found that her lack of lexical diversity facilitated the effect of

coherence. By using generic words like *people*, *they*, *everyone, and humans*, she was able to refer to the people of Johnsburg as well as the human race in a series of parallel and extended parallel references that, while coherent, created an overall lackluster effect.

Another insight I gained into the research of writing that is closely related to complementarity is the concept of compensation, which Jarvis et al. define as "the idea that successful writers may be able to compensate for potential deficiencies in their writing by capitalizing on a few of their strengths" (2003, p. 399). Any writer—and perhaps especially an L2 writer—may deliberately focus on strategies she knows have worked for her. For example, participant 09 had been writing English for less than three years when she wrote her composition. She described her memories about that day:

> 7-u: I *do* remember being nervous about it. . .then when I came—and I knew I was not ready—I didn't know what to expect, but I knew I'm gonna…I didn't expect…to do good because I knew my English is not good enough. And it's *college,* and it's serious thing (lines 270-281).

When asked to recall if there was anything she was deliberately trying to do as she wrote her CPA composition because she knew it was a "good" thing to do when writing, she answered,

> 7-v: Participant 09: Yes. When it comes to…the structure of the sentence, I always…have a hard time using simple, *short* sentences, so I always want to build my sentence to be a little longer….I love to use the—is it called semicolon?
> *Sheryl: Yes.*
> Participant 09: Yes, and then continue sentence so I have two combined. [*Looking at her CPA composition*] So I can see here I didn't know how to use that. I didn't even have comma, but I do have some longer sentences (lines 282-300).

Of course, memories are notoriously inaccurate, but participant 09's composition ranked average and low for all measures except the two grammatical complexity measures, where her "longer" sentences put it into the top 33rd percentile for grammatical

complexity. Her compensation strategy (conscious or not) probably accounts for the higher scores.

To conclude this subsection of reflections on the analytical tools of writing research, the main message for researchers of L2 writing is to remember, as Maxwell cautions, that "'*no* procedures…will regularly (or always) yield either sound data or true conclusions'" (1992/2002, p. 49). Indeed, built into any methodology should be "the notion that one is not using correctly what one is using uncritically, without a constant sensitivity to blind spots, weaknesses, changing conditions affecting ecological validity and viability, and (of course) improvement" (Atkinson, 2005, p. 49).

7.3.2 The Value of Methodological Triangulation

The above discussion of the dangers of using measures of writing uncritically should be ample proof of the value of methodological triangulation in L2 writing research. Without the survey and interview data acting as checks, my interpretations of my data may have been far more inaccurate than they are. For example, the responses to the survey question, *How often do you do translating and/or writing in English for members of the family?* added another possible explanation for participants whose compositions scored higher than expected, given either their formal L1 education or the kind of language learning support they had received.

I am not alone in the call for studies that use "thicker" description and more than one methodology. Candlin and Hyland call for researchers to conduct multidimensional studies because

> writing as text is…not usefully separated from writing as process and interpretation, and neither can be easily divorced from the specific local circumstance in which writing takes place nor from the broader

> institutional and socio-historical contexts which inform those particular occasions of writing (1999, p. 2).

7.4 Directions for future research

In this penultimate section of my dissertation, I describe research topics that are suggested by the data gathered by this study, the methods that I used to gather them, and the interpretations suggested by the literature and the participants' experiences.

In Chapter 2, I pointed out the relative paucity of studies on older adolescent bilingual learners. As I discussed, this group of learners is more difficult to study due, in part, to issues of retention. The issue of retention, however, makes it all the more urgent that we learn more about bilingual learners as they enter and progress (or not) through high school. Large studies like that of Thomas and Collier (2001), which followed bilingual learners through the end of high school, and Short and Fitzsimmons (2007), which focused on the education of adolescent bilingual learners across the nation, give us an overall context. Certainly, we need more large studies. We also need studies on the micro level; we need to see adolescent and early adult bilingual learners in their classrooms, with their friends, in their homes, at their jobs, in their communities. We need to gain the trust of disillusioned adolescent bilingual learners and learn from their stories, maybe restoring some of their hope in the process. My study has contributed to this work by looking at a thin slice of bilingual learners at the intellectual threshold of entrance to college. I look forward to reading and doing more studies of adolescent and early adult bilingual learners.

Clearly, in the field of L2 composition research, we need to continue developing methods that are less likely to encourage the prevailing deficit view of L2 writing. This

work has already begun. For example, the study I have already cited several times by Jarvis et al. (2003) examined two sets of highly rated timed compositions written by international L2 college students and discovered that there is not just "a single profile of highly rated texts…there may exist multiple profiles" (p. 378). We need more understanding of these "multiple profiles," the varied strategies and "moves" (a concept from the field of English for Specific Purposes) that make an L2 text succeed. This understanding, in turn, will help us do a better job of preparing bilingual learners to be effective communicators for the 21st century. We also may be able to participate in—or at least witness—their demystification as they come to view themselves not as writers who have problems with English, but as writers who have something unique to offer to the world-wide conversations being carried on in English.

One way to develop this perspective is to examine L2 English writing its many contexts around the world. One of those contexts is that of world Englishes. In 1996, Li's book, *"Good Writing" in Cross-Cultural Context* presented a careful and exciting comparison of highly-rated high school essays in Chinese and English from China and the US, respectively, along with their teachers' explanations for the high marks. It is time for studies comparing highly-rated, non-professional English-language writing of bilingual writers from around the world. Using Li's work as a model, we could compare excellent English-language essays by students from South Africa, India, Jamaica, and the US. Just as interesting would be the comparison of excellent high school chemistry lab reports, well-written middle-school book reviews, etc.

Moving beyond the context of academic writing, we can learn much from comparisons of excellent L2 world-English writing from other contexts (e.g. excellent

political reporting, efficient business memos, popular "how-to" manuals, etc.). Connor's reconceptualization of contrastive rhetoric as "intercultural rhetoric research" (2004) offers a model for this kind of L2 writing research. She states that intercultural rhetoric research is

> context-sensitive and, in many instances, goes beyond mere text analysis….[It] is interdisciplinary…[drawing] on theories and research methods from second language acquisition, composition and rhetoric, anthropology, translation studies, linguistic discourse analysis, and genre analysis (p. 291).

In the manner of an apprentice, I tried to put some of Connor's principles into practice by basing my study on research in two fields, second language composition and bilingual education, and by using the diverse analytic tools of interviews, writing samples, and survey responses.

In addition, in the future I would like to see studies of bilingual learners who begin the process of learning their L1 academically at school. If bilingual education and academic knowledge of a person's L1 correlate with stronger L2 writing, shouldn't bilingual learners who begin to learn their L1 systematically recognize benefits in their L2 as well? In fact, would the study of *any* "foreign" language be helpful? Twelve (41%) of the 29 original participants in this study had studied languages besides their own at school. Several of these participants made comments indicating that, for them at least, language learning facilitates language learning. For example, participant 14, who spoke Urdu, Hindi, and Punjabi because of the multilingual communities her family has lived in, had also begun studying Spanish at college. She commented,

> 7-w: I think because you know…the techniques of how to learn languages, and some of the words sound similar, and it's a lot easier to remember them…it's easier to learn another language when you've already learned one (lines 90-93).

A related direction of study is presented by participants 01 and 14; each was already bilingual before learning English—English was participant 01's third language and participant 14's fourth language. As mentioned earlier in a footnote, after much consideration, I removed participant 01's writing analysis scores from the data for this study because, besides being bilingual, she was already biliterate before learning English. I did not remove participant 14's composition scores, however, because, although she was multilingual before taking the placement composition, she was not biliterate. The cases of participants 01 and 14 raise the question: How would these findings relate to multilingual learners? The first order of business would be to define the word multilingual. For example, to some linguists, Urdu and Hindi, two of participant 14's three prior-to-English languages, are simply dialects of the same language (Crystal, 1987). There would be the knotty question of defining just when a person is multilingual—how many of the "can-do" tasks would she need to be able to perform to be considered multilingual? Researchers would have to decide if they are going to distinguish multilingual from multiliterate, as I did for this study. With the increased ease of mobility, it is possible that the 21st century will bring more multilingual, multiliterate learners into our schools, facilitating the kind of research I envision.

In the field of education, future research must help colleges and universities prepare *all* elementary and secondary educators to teach bilingual learners. As Valdés points out, "Programs for immigrant students must be seen as schoolwide initiatives for which all teachers are responsible" (2001, p. 149). We must continue to research and publish best practices so that educators and teacher educators can have models to follow. Bilingual learners' diversity and often inadequate language learning preparation make

their path through education particularly challenging for them and for their teachers and counselors. It is too easy for us and, therefore for them, to believe, as Fu titles her case study, *"My Trouble Is My English"* (1995). It is also too easy to forget that bi- and multi-lingualism also provide many opportunities. Our research should help teachers and bilingual learners see these opportunities and describe effective ways of claiming them and building them into strengths.

7.5 In and for their voices

As a beginning toward this goal, I would like to close this dissertation with the participants' descriptions of some of the ways they have discovered and exploited the opportunities available to them because of their bilingualism. I will add my own voice to theirs to call for continued advocacy for more equitable policies for bilingual learners and their families.

Bilingual learners are often able to turn to their advantage the very traits the larger culture views as a disadvantage. For example, even the simple fact of an accent can be seen as an opportunity for strength. For participant 18, speaking two languages at home

> 7-x: helped with pronunciation in a way… I think it helped me not to have the worst Wisconsin accent *ever* (lines 201-203, 215-216).

While she obviously has internalized the view of the dominant society regarding Wisconsin pronunciation, she has been able to maintain pride that her pronunciation diverges from that of her Wisconsin-accented peers. Another simple opportunity available to bilingual learners is their life experiences. Participant 10 pointed out that her experiences of growing up in the Dominican Republic have provided material for writing papers.

> 7-y: You have something to talk about on your paper, you know. You bring your experiences from where you were really little in your country, and you get to write them and tell your story in your paper. So, you know, that's good (lines 439-453).

More significant advantages come from the attention bilingual learners are forced to pay to details as they work on mastering English. Participant 18 pointed out that the attentiveness to detail relates to speaking as well as reading and writing:

> 7-z: I guess having your mouth move different ways like that when you're so young…you're aware of how you're saying things. It made me more conscientious…like when I say things in English (lines 204-210).

Participant 17 explained that being forced to focus on linguistic details while writing helps bilingual learners develop a utilitarian attitude toward "rules" that many composition instructors would covet for their monolingual English-speaking writers:

> 7-aa: When you're writing and you're reading in your first language, there comes a lot of rules—even though they might not make sense. Like I know with the English language a lot of people say there's certain rules that just don't make sense. I think you just have that discipline where you understand that not everything will make sense to you, but you have a way of accommodating yourself to learn it and to understand it (lines 208-218).

The challenges bilingual learners face can be turned into opportunities at higher levels of cognition. As participant 16 described her composition process, it was evident that a well-developed L1 can be a resource for L2 composing.

> 7-bb: I brainstorm in *both*—English and Spanish—when I write down my ideas…because sometimes I don't know how to say it in English but I *do* know how to say it in *Spanish*. So…I Google it in Spanish and see how it's translated in English…I kind of get an idea, "Okay, this is how I can use it, how I can say it or write in English" (lines 105-117).

Finally, bilingual learners are uniquely positioned to gain the critical awareness of American cultural practices that their monocultural peers must usually travel to attain.

Participant 18 told the story of how she used her bilingual/bicultural critical awareness to gently challenge her senior "capstone" course professor.

> 7-cc: We watched a movie, I can't even remember what it's called, but the characters' names were *[she pronounces them in Spanish]* Benjamin, Irene. And when [the professor] was talking about them, he would say *[English pronunciation]* Irene and Benjamin. And then, when we had a one-on-one meeting, I would say it with my accent. He was like, "I really appreciate that you did that."
>
> …Then we had watched "Un Coeur en Hiver"…but the characters' names were like, Maxime and, uh, I don't know—they're really French names. But he was saying them like they said them in the film. And I was like, "Well, Dr.____, when you watched 'Un Coeur en Hiver,' you said it just like they said it, and when you watched the Spanish film you said it in American way." …But it's because Dr.____ took French, so he was comfortable with saying that, but he wasn't comfortable with talking with the Spanish accent. And I'm like, "I would appreciate if you did that" (lines 225-251).

As L2 professionals, we are fortunate to be living at a time in the world's history when awareness of multilingualism is on the rise. This provides us plenty of work to do. Yet, we also have many opportunities to witness bilingual learners' strengths as they develop into global citizens of the 21st century.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A: Transcript of the Survey Monkey™ Online Survey

In the following transcript, the means by which the participants responded is noted after each entry: Text Box, Yes-No Buttons, etc. The Survey Monkey page breaks are noted in brackets.

(UWM IRB #09.272 1/21/2011, Alverno IRB-012M-11 1/25/2011)

Consent to participate in study

1. I have read the description of the study, "First Language Status and Second Language Writing" in the letter e-mailed to me by Sheryl Slocum. I understand that by selecting "Yes" and typing my name and the date in the space provided, I am giving Sheryl permission the read the essay I wrote for my Alverno College Communication Placement Assessment and to use the answers I give on this survey to help her understand more about bilingual writers.

☐ Yes ☐ No

Electronic Signature and Date

2. I, the researcher, agree that I will follow the procedures outlined in the letter.

Sheryl Slocum
January 14, 2011

[page break]

In this survey, I call your family's (or your parents') language your "first" language.

Background Information

1. What country was your mother born in? Text Box

2. What country was your father born in? Text Box

3. Where were you born? Text Box

4. If you were **not** born in the US, how old were you when you came here? (If you were born here, leave this blank.) Text Box

5. How old are you now? Text Box

6.a. Have you ever attended school in a country other than the United States? (If your answer is **No**, go to #7 below.) Yes-No Buttons

6.b. At that school outside the U.S., were the classes taught in a language other than English? (If your answer is **No**, go to #7 below.) Yes-No Buttons

6.c. What language(s) were classes taught in? Text Box

6.d. For each language you listed in #6c, state how many school years you studied in that language. You may use fractions. Text Box

7.a. Have you ever gone back to your/your parents' native country to spend time with relatives—but NOT to attend school? Yes-No Buttons (If your answer is **No**, go to #8 below.)

7.b. When you traveled to your parents' country, did you ever stay longer than 1 month? (If your answer is **No**, go to #8 below.) Yes-No Buttons

7.c. How many times have you stayed longer than one month? Text Box

8. Does either of your parents have a college degree? (It may be a 2-year degree, a 4-year degree, and/or a degree from a college in a different country.) Yes-No Buttons

[page break]

(Background Information)

9. The chart below is about your education in United States. Read each description and check the Yes button if you received education fitting that description. Then, type in the number of years you received this kind of education in the box to the right. You may use fractions. If you did not receive education fitting that description, check the No button.

Description	Yes	Number of Years	No
Most or all classes were taught in my first language			
At least 3 classes were taught in my first language, and the rest were in English			
I took a class about my first language, but all of my other classes were in English			
I was in an ESL class, and all subjects were taught in English			
Classes were taught in English, but I spent part of the day in ESL classes at least 2 times a week			
Classes were taught in English, but one was an ESL class			
Classes were taught in English, but an ESL teacher came into one or more of the classes to help			
Classes were taught in English, and I met with an ESL teacher or tutor before or after school at least once a week			
Classes were taught in English; I did not study my first language or work with an ESL teacher or tutor provided by the school			

10.a. Have you studied how to read and write your first language somewhere other than school (for example, at home, at a church-sponsored school, etc.)? (If your answer is **No**, go to #11 below.) Yes-No Buttons

10.b. How many years did you study your first language? Text Box

11.a. Have you studied any languages besides English and your first language? (If your answer is No, go to #12 on the next page.) Yes-No Buttons

11.b. List the language(s) you've studied and about how long you have studied each.

Language	How Long Studied

[page break]

(Background Information)

12. What language(s) can you **speak** at least well enough to carry on a polite conversation with a friendly stranger? Text Box

13. What language(s) can you **read** at least well enough to fill out a form? Text Box

14. What language(s) can you **write** at least well enough to write a note or short letter? Text Box

15. What language(s) do either or both of your parents (or the adults who raised you) **speak** well enough to carry on a polite conversation? Text Box

16. What language(s) do either or both of your parents (or the adults who raised you) **read** at least well enough to read notes or letters? Text Box

17. What language(s) do either or both of your parents (or the adults who raised you) **write** at least well enough to write a note or letter? Text Box

18. What are your parents' (or guardians') job(s) in the US? Even if you live on your own, please answer the question. If your parents/guardians are retired or deceased, please indicate the job(s) they had before. If your parents/guardians have not worked, you may leave this blank.

Mother Text Box

Father Text Box

19. If your parents had different work or job(s) in their home country, what did they do? (Leave this question blank if your parents were born here.)

Mother Text Box

Father Text Box

20. How often do you do translating and/or writing in English for members of the family? (Respondents select one of four buttons: Not at All, Sometimes, Often, Almost Always)

[page break]

Native Language Use

Opportunities for Speaking

21. How often do you speak your first language
(Respondents select one of four buttons: Not at All, Sometimes, Often, Almost Always)

a) at home (your permanent address)?
b) with your friends?
c) in the classroom at school?
d) at work? (If you don't have a job, leave this blank.)
e) at church? (If you don't attend church, leave this blank.)
f) elsewhere? (If you don't speak your first language anywhere else, leave this blank.)

22. Read the tasks below and mark how easy or difficult they are (or would be) for you to do in your first language
(Respondents select one of three buttons: Not Able, With Great Difficulty, With Some Difficulty, Quite Easily)

a) give simple information about yourself (place of birth, family members, where you live, etc.).
b) introduce yourself and talk to elders, using appropriate respectful language.
c) describe your present job, studies, or other major life activities in detail, using appropriate vocabulary.
d) tell what you hope to be doing five years from now, using appropriate words to express future time.
e) talk about an important topic (for example, gangs, divorce), stating your position and supporting it with examples and reasons.

23. If you have any comments about speaking in your first language, you may enter them here. Text Box

[page break]

Reading Skills

24. Read the tasks below and mark how easy or difficult they are (or would be) for you to do in your first language.
(Respondents select one of four buttons: Not Able, With Great Difficulty, With Some Difficulty, Quite Easily)

a) Read and understand first language school notices sent to your home.
b) Read and understand personal letters and notes.
c) Read and understand articles in first language newsletters and magazines, without using a dictionary.
d) Read popular novels or stories without using a dictionary.
e) Read first language high school textbooks with only occasional use of a dictionary.

25. If you have any comments about reading in your first language, you may enter them here. Text Box

Writing Skills

26. Read the tasks below and mark how easy or difficult they are (or would be) for you to do in your first language
(Respondents select one of three buttons: Not Able, With Great Difficulty, With Some Difficulty, Quite Easily)

a) Write a party announcement.
b) Write a personal letter to a relative or friend.
c) Write down a legend or folk tale that someone told you when you were young.
d) Write an essay describing your own or your family's journey to this country.
e) Write an article about your culture that could be published in a first language newsletter or magazine.

27. If you have any comments about writing in your first language, you may enter them here. Text Box

[page break]

Final Questions

28. Would you be willing to be interviewed about your experiences of living and learning with two languages? Yes-No Buttons

29. If your answer to #28 is **Yes**, please fill out the following information. The best way to reach me is: (Fill in only the best option below.)

by e-mail (provide your e-mail address) Text Box

by phone (provide a phone number) Text Box

by regular mail (provide your street address) Text Box

30. If you have any comments or questions for me, please add them below. Text Box

THANK YOU for completing this survey!

Appendix B: Participation Request Letter

IRB Protocol Number: UWM 09.272 IRB Approval Date: 1/21/2011
Alverno IRB-012M-11 1/25/2011

Dear (Name),

I am inviting you to participate in my research study, "First Language Status and Second Language Writing." Some of you may remember receiving a similar e-mail from me a little over a year ago. Since then, the study has changed. So, I am asking you again if you would be willing to participate, or I am asking you for the first time if you did not receive an email from me last year.

The study is being conducted by me, Sheryl Slocum. I am a doctoral student at the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee. My purpose is to learn about English writing by students who are immigrants or children of immigrants. I hope to use what I learn to develop effective education practices. I would love to get more than 25 students to participate in this study.

If you agree to participate in my study, you will fill out a survey (see the link below) to give me a better idea about your educational background and how much you use your family's language. When you "sign" the first page before the survey, it will also give me permission to study the essay you wrote for the Communication Placement Assessment before you began classes at Alverno College. The survey will take 20-30 minutes.

At the end of the survey, a question asks if I may interview you. It is not necessary for you to give an interview, but I hope you will be willing to do so. If you agree to be interviewed, I will contact you within 2 weeks to set up an appointment. If you do not want to be interviewed, it's okay. You can just select "no," and I will not contact you again.

The information I collect for this study is completely confidential; no participant will be identified by name. The surveys, essays, and tape recordings will be saved in a locked file cabinet and on a password protected computer.

Your participation in this study is voluntary. That means you may choose not to be part of it, or if you decide to participate, you can change your mind later. You are free to withdraw at any time. It is always okay to change your mind.

There are no costs for participating in this study, and there are minimal risks. There is no payment for participation, and your decision will not affect your present or future course outcomes at Alverno College or the University of Wisconsin Milwaukee.

If you have questions about the study or study procedures, feel free to contact me at the address or phone number below. If you have questions about your rights as a participant or complaints about your treatment, you can contact the Institutional Review Board (IRB)

at Alverno or UWM. The IRB Chair at Alverno is (*name, phone number, and e-mail address were given*). The IRB at UWM can be contacted at (*phone number and e-mail address were given*).

If you agree to participate, you may want to keep this letter in case you have questions later on.

If you are willing to let me study your essay, please click on the link below.

If I don't receive a survey back from you, I will assume that you do not wish to participate in the study. I will erase your name and e-mail address from my list, and I won't contact you again.

Thank you very much for your time. Here is the link to the survey:
https://www.surveymonkey.com/s/787QC8D

Sincerely,
Sheryl Slocum
(phone number and e-mail address were given)

Appendix C: Transcript of the Survey – Paper Format

(UWM IRB #09.272 1/21/2011, Alverno IRB-012M-11 1/25/2011)

FIRST LANGUAGE USE SURVEY

NOTE: In this survey, I call your family's (or your parents') language your "first" language.

Background Information

1. What country was your mother born in? _____

2. What country was your father born in? _____

3.a. Where were you born? _____

b. If you were not born in the US, approximately how old were you when you came here? (If you were born here, leave this blank.)

_____

4. How old are you now? _____

5. Does either of your parents have a college degree? (It may be a 2-year degree, a 4-year degree, and/or a degree from a college in a different country.)

YES _____ NO _____

6. What language(s) do your parents (or the adults who raised you) speak well enough to carry on a polite conversation?

_____

7. What language(s) do your parents (or the adults who raised you) read at least well enough to fill out a form?

_____

8. What language(s) do your parents (or the adults who raised you) write at least well enough to write a note or letter?

_____

9. What are your parents' (or guardians') job(s) in the US? Even if you live on your own, please answer the question. If your parents/guardians are temporarily unemployed, retired, or deceased, please indicate the job(s) they had before. If your parents/guardians have never worked, write "unemployed."

Mother _____

Father _____

10. If your parents had different work or job(s) in their home country, what did they do? (Leave the line blank if your parent was born here.)

Mother _____

Father _____

Education Information

11.a. Have you ever attended school in a country other than the United States? (If your answer is NO, go to #12.a. below).

YES _____ NO _____

b. At that school outside the US, were the classes taught in a language other than English? (If your answer is NO, go to #12.a. below.)

YES _____ NO _____

c. What language(s) were classes taught in?

_____

d. For each languages listed in #11.c. above, state how many school years you studied in that language. You may use fractions.

_____

12.a. Have you ever gone back to your/your parents' native country to spend time with relatives—but NOT to attend school? (If your answer is NO, go to #13 below.)

YES _____ NO _____

.b. When you traveled to your/your parents' country, did you ever stay longer than 1 month? (If your answer is NO, go to #13 below.)

YES _____ NO _____

c. How many times have you stayed longer than 1 month? _____

13. The descriptions below are about your education in the United States. Read each description. If you did not receive any education fitting the description, enter 0 on the line to the right. If you received that kind of education at any time during your schooling, write the number of years you received it. You may use fractions.

a. Most or all of my classes were taught in my first language. _____

b. At least 3 classes were taught in my first language, and the rest were taught in English. _____

c. I took a class about my first language, but all of my other classes were in English. _____

d. Most or all subjects were taught in English in classes that were especially for ESL students. _____

e. Classes were taught in English, but I spent part of the day in ESL classes at least 2 times a week. _____

f. Classes were taught in English, but an ESL teacher came into one or more of the classes to help. _____

g. Classes were taught in English, and the school provided an ESL teacher or tutor before or after school at least once a week. _____

h. Classes were taught in English; I did not study my first language or work with an ESL teacher or tutor provided by the school. _____

Language Knowledge

14.a. Have you studied how to read and write your first language somewhere other than school (for example, at home, at a church-sponsored school, etc.)? (If your answer is NO, got to #15.a. below.)

YES _____ NO _____

b. How many years have you studied your first language? You may use fractions.

_____

15.a. Have you studied any languages besides English and your first language? (If your answer is NO, got to #16 below.)

YES _____ NO _____

b. List the language(s) you've studied and about how long you've studied each.

_____

16. What language(s) can you speak at least well enough to carry on a polite conversation?

_____

17. What language(s) can you read at least well enough to fill out a form?

_____

18. what language(s) can you write at least well enough to write a note or short letter?

_____

19. How often do you do translating for members of your family?

____Not at all _____Sometimes _____Often _____Almost Always

First Language Use

Speaking Skills

20. How often do your speak your native language

a. at home (your permanent address)?

____Not at all _____Sometimes _____Often _____Almost Always

b. with your friends?

____Not at all _____Sometimes _____Often _____Almost Always

c. in the classroom at school?

____Not at all _____Sometimes _____Often _____Almost Always

d. at work? (If you don't have a job, leave this blank.)

____Not at all _____Sometimes _____Often _____Almost Always

e. at church? (If you don't attend church, leave this blank.)

____Not at all _____Sometimes _____Often _____Almost Always

f. elsewhere? (If you don't speak your first language anywhere else, leave this blank.)

____Not at all _____Sometimes _____Often _____Almost Always

21. Read the tasks below and mark how easy or difficult they are (or would be) for you to do in your first language.

a. Give simple information about yourself (place of birth, family members, where you live, etc.).

____Not able _____With great difficulty _____With some difficulty _____Easily

b. Introduce yourself and talk to elders using appropriate, respectful language.

____Not able _____With great difficulty _____With some difficulty _____Easily

21. (Continued) Mark how easy or difficult it is (or would be) to do the following in your first language.

c. Describe your present job, studies, or other major life activities in detail, using appropriate vocabulary.

____Not able _____With great difficulty _____With some difficulty _____Easily

d. Tell what you hope to be doing five years from now, using appropriate words to express future time.

____Not able _____With great difficulty _____With some difficulty _____Easily

e. Talk about an important topic (for example, gangs, divorce) stating your position and supporting it with examples and reasons.

____Not able _____With great difficulty _____With some difficulty _____Easily

If you have any comments about speaking in your native language, you may write them below.

_____

Reading and Writing Skills

22. Read the tasks below and decide how easy or difficult they are (or would be) for you to do in your first language.

a. Read and understand first language school notices sent to your home.

____Not able _____With great difficulty _____With some difficulty _____Easily

b. Read and understand personal letters and notes.

____Not able _____With great difficulty _____With some difficulty _____Easily

c. Read and understand articles in first language newsletters and magazines, without using a dictionary.

____Not able _____With great difficulty _____With some difficulty _____Easily

d. Read popular novels or stories without using a dictionary.

____Not able _____With great difficulty _____With some difficulty _____Easily

22. (Continued) Mark how easy or difficult it is (or would be) to do the following in your first language.

e. Read first language high school textbooks with only occasional use of a dictionary.

____Not able _____With great difficulty _____With some difficulty _____Easily

If you have any comments about reading in your first language, you may write them below.

_____

23. Read the tasks below and decide how easy or difficult they are (or would be) for you to do in your first language.

a. Write a party announcement.

____Not able _____With great difficulty _____With some difficulty _____Easily

b. Write a personal letter to a relative or friend.

____Not able _____With great difficulty _____With some difficulty _____Easily

c. Write down a legend or folk tale that someone told you when you were young.

____Not able _____With great difficulty _____With some difficulty _____Easily

d. Write an essay describing your own or your family's journey to this country.

____Not able _____With great difficulty _____With some difficulty _____Easily

e. Write an article about your culture that could be published in a first language newsletter or magazine.

____Not able _____With great difficulty _____With some difficulty _____Easily

If you have any comments about writing in your first language, you may write them below.

_____

Final Questions

24.a. Would you be willing to be interviewed about your experiences of living and learning with two languages?

YES _____ NO _____

b. If your answer to #24.a. is YES, please fill out the following information. The best way to reach me is: (Fill in only the best option below.)

by e-mail _____ (fill in your e-mail address)

by phone _____(fill in you phone number)

25. If you have any comments or questions for me, please write them below.

_____

_____

_____

THANK YOU!

Appendix D: di Gennaro's Rubric for Rhetorical Control[36]

5 Excellent control	The essay is coherent and logically organized with clearly identifiable essay components, including an introduction paragraph, a thesis, supporting paragraph(s), and a conclusion paragraph.
4 Very good control	The essay has clearly identifiable essay components, including an introduction, thesis, supporting paragraph(s), and a conclusion, but the ordering is not always logical/may not be evident because of missing paragraph breaks OR does not include enough supporting information.
3 Sufficient control	The essay includes clearly identifiable essay components, including an introduction, thesis, supporting paragraph(s), and a conclusion, but the ordering is not always logical/may not be evident because of missing paragraph breaks AND does not include enough supporting information.
2 Limited control	The essay demonstrates little evidence of an academic essay structure (but there may be an introduction or conclusion).
1 Little or no control	The essay demonstrates no evidence of an academic essay structure.

[36](2009, pp. 558-559) I have slightly modified di Gennaro's rubric by changing or adding a few words to make the wording more similar to criteria already used by Alverno College assessors. I also eliminated di Gennaro's 0-score category. Furthermore, I added the statements about paragraph breaks because this is of particular concern to many Alverno College assessors (J. McNamara, personal communication, July 26, 2012).

Appendix E: Interview Guide

IRB Protocol Number: UWM 09.272 IRB Approval Date: 1/21/2011
Alverno IRB-012M-11 1/25/2011

Before the interview begins, I will go through the interview consent form with the participant. I will ask her if she has any questions. When she is satisfied, we will sign and date two copies of the form; the participant will keep one copy, and I will keep the other. When this is finished, I will begin recording.

Interview Script

First, let me thank you for taking time for this interview.

Optional A: I want to begin with some questions about your responses on the survey.

(Ask clarifying questions.)

Required B: Tell me the story about how you learned your first language.

Additional prompts, if needed:
Did anyone try to teach you your home language?
Did you just pick up by hearing it spoken around you?
Did your parents speak only their language to you, or did they mix languages?
Did you have any older relatives living with you or living nearby who spoke to you only in their language?

Required C: Have you done anything in the past 5 years to maintain or improve your knowledge of your first language?

Can you tell me more about that?

Required D: On your survey, you indicated that you had *(indicate the kind of ELL education the participant experienced)* in school. Do you feel this was a good way to prepare you for your future studies?

Can you tell me more about that?

(Repeat for each form of ELL education the participant received.)

Required E: Now I'd like you to remember back to that day when you took Alverno's Communication Placement Assessment. You may remember that you read an article about blackflies and whether the townspeople should get rid of them or not. After you read the article and answered questions about it, you wrote a letter to the author, Bill McKibbin about whether the people should get rid of the blackflies / about _____. Do you remember the day that you took the Communication Placement Assessment?

(*If the answer is yes:)* Tell me what you remember about that day, especially anything you remember about writing the letter.

Required E: I'm interested in how your ideas about writing may have developed since the day you took the Communication Placement Assessment. So, first I'm going to ask you about what you <u>used</u> to believe about good writing. To do that, I'm going to show you a copy of the letter you wrote. This may be sort of like seeing a picture of yourself when you were 13 or 14 years old—you may say, "Oh my goodness, I don't want to see it!" That's a normal reaction, but I want you to hold back that reaction for a few minutes.

Instead, I want you to take a moment and remember how you felt that day. You were writing a letter that people were going to read to determine which writing classes you needed to take. You were probably a little nervous, and you were probably trying to do your very best.

Okay, now I want you to take a minute to read the letter. As you read it remember back to what you were thinking as you wrote it. Tell me when you've finished reading. *(Give the student the letter and allow time to read it.)*

Remembering back to the day when you wrote this, tell me what parts of it you felt were good—AT THAT TIME. What did you hope would make a good impression on your readers? (*If she exclaims about how awful it is, allow her to speak, then remind her that she probably didn't feel that way at the time. Gently bring her back to what she felt good about at the time.)*

(As needed, prompt her to explain why she felt good about certain parts of the letter:) So, you felt good about <u>X</u>. I know why teachers might think this is good, but I want to hear in your own words why you felt this was a good thing to do.

Required F: Now let's fast-forward to you as a college student today. AT THIS TIME, what do you feel are some of the most important characteristics of good writing?

Required G: Thank you, this has been very helpful. I have one last question. Base your answer on your experience and on what you've heard from other multilingual writers. How much, if at all, does being able to write their first language help a person write in English?

(*If necessary)*So does knowing how to write in their first language give people an advantage for writing in English?

Can you tell me more about that?

Required H: I've asked you all of my interview questions. Is there anyone you know here at Alverno who I should be sure to send my survey to?

Required I: Is there anything else you'd like to say before I turn off the tape recorder?

Thank you very much for your time and helpful responses.

Appendix F: Interview Consent Form

This Consent Form has been approved by the IRB for a one year period

Informed Consent
IRB Protocol Number: UWM 09.272
Alverno IRB-012M-11
Version: 1
IRB Approval Date: 1/21/2011
1/25/2011

UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN – MILWAUKEE
CONSENT TO PARTICIPATE IN TAPED INTERVIEW

1. General Information

Study title:

- First Language Status and Second Language Writing

Person in Charge of Study (Principal Investigator):

- (*Name*), Associate Professor, English Department, University of Wisconsin, Sheryl's Major Advisor
- Sheryl Slocum, researcher, graduate student at the University of Wisconsin – Milwaukee

2. Study Description

You are being asked to participate in an audiotaped interview. Your participation is completely voluntary. You do not have to participate if you do not want to.

Study description:

The purpose of this interview is to

- learn more about your experience of growing up with two languages;
- learn more about your experience of writing the CPA essay;
- help teachers and schools develop effective language education practices;
- help inform education policies that relate to bilingual students.

The interview will involve

- about 45 minutes for the audiotaped interview;
- although the interview is private, you are not the only participant being interviewed; about 9 other participants will be privately interviewed.

3. Study Procedures

What will I be asked to do if I participate in the study?

If you agree to participate in the interview you will be asked to

- give more detail about answers you gave on the survey;

- read your CPA essay in order to remember and describe your experience of writing it;
- give your opinion about the researcher's hypothesis about how being bilingual affects a student's writing.

The entire interview will be audiotaped to help the researcher get the best possible understanding of your responses.

4. Risks and Minimizing Risks

What risks will I face by participating in this study?

- There are no foreseeable risks for participating in this interview.

5. Benefits

Will I receive any benefit from my participation in this study?

- There are no benefits to you other than to help improve scholars' understanding.

Are subjects paid or given anything for being in the study?

- You will not be paid or receive any class credits for taking part in this interview.

6. Study Costs

Will I be charged anything for participating in this study?

- You will not be responsible for any of the costs from taking part in this interview.

7. Confidentiality

What happens to the information collected?

All information collected about you during this interview will be kept confidential to the extent permitted by law. I may decide to present what I find to others, or publish the results in academic journals or at academic conferences. I am the only person who will have access to your information.

- The tape from this interview will not be identified with your name; instead, a number will be used;
- the tape will be stored in a locked cabinet;
- all the information collected for this study will be destroyed when the study is complete.

8. Alternatives

Are there alternatives to participating in the study?

There are no known alternatives available to you other than not taking part in this study.

9. Voluntary Participation and Withdrawal

What happens if I decide not to be in this study?
Your participation in this interview is entirely voluntary. You may choose not to take part in this interview at any time. If you decide to take part, you can change your mind later and withdraw from the interview. You are free to not answer any questions or withdraw at any time. Your decision will not change any present or future relationships with Alverno College or the University of Wisconsin Milwaukee.

- If you choose to withdraw from the interview, I will destroy the tape.
- Choosing not to participate in the interview or choosing to withdraw from it will not affect your standing at Alverno College.

10. Questions

Who do I contact for questions about this study?
For more information about the study or the study procedures or treatments, or to withdraw from the study, contact:

(*Name and contact information for Sheryl Slocum's Advisor*)

Who do I contact for questions about my rights or complaints towards my treatment as a research subject?
The Institutional Review Board may ask your name, but all complaints are kept in confidence.

Contact Name
Institutional Review Board
Alverno College
PO Box 343922
Milwaukee, WI 53234
(*phone number*)

OR

Institutional Review Board
Human Research Protection Program
Dept. of University Safety and Assurances
University of Wisconsin – Milwaukee
P.O. Box 413
Milwaukee, WI 53201
(*phone number*)

11. Signatures

Research Subject's Consent to Participate in Research:
To voluntarily agree to take part in this study, you must sign on the line below. If you choose to take part in this study, you may withdraw at any time. You are not giving up any of your legal rights by signing this form. Your signature below indicates that you have read or had read to you this entire consent form, including the risks and benefits, and have had all of your questions answered, and that you are 18 years of age or older.

_____
Printed Name of Subject/ Legally Authorized Representative

_____ _____
Signature of Subject/Legally Authorized Representative Date

Research Subject's Consent to Audio/Video/Photo Recording:

It is okay to audiotape me while I am in this study and use my audiotaped data in the research.

Please initial: ____Yes ____No

Principal Investigator (or Designee)
I have given this research subject information on the study that is accurate and sufficient for the subject to fully understand the nature, risks and benefits of the study.

_____	_____
Printed Name of Person Obtaining Consent	Study Role
_____	_____
Signature of Person Obtaining Consent	Date

CURRICULUM VITAE

Sheryl Slocum

Education

Wheaton College, Wheaton, IL	BA English	1977
The American University, Washington, DC	MA Linguistics/TESL	1983
University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee, WI	PhD English	2013

Teaching Experience

Alverno College, Milwaukee, WI	
ESL Coordinator	1996 – Present
Lecturer, Communication	1993 – 1996
University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee, WI	
Lecturer, TESOL Methods and TESOL Materials	1996 – 1998
Lecturer, Composition	1992 – 1993
Milwaukee Area Technical College, WI	
Lecturer, Composition	1993
Iverson Language Associates, Milwaukee, WI	
English Language Tutor	1992 – 1993
Waukesha County Technical College, Waukesha, WI	
Evening ESL Instructor	1991 – 1993
Louisiana State University, Baton Rouge, LA	
Instructor, Composition, Literature, ESL Composition	1987 – 1991
Lecturer, IEP ESL	
Baton Rouge Reading Clinic, LA	
Reading and Literacy Tutor	1987
Delgado Community College, New Orleans, LA	
ESL Instructor	1987
Marquette University, Milwaukee, WI	
Lecturer, Composition	1984 – 1986

Lado Institute, Washington, DC
ESL Instructor 1983

The American University, Washington, DC
Graduate TA, IEP ESL 1982 – 1983

St. Francis Academy, Lumberton, NM
$7^{th}/8^{th}$ Grade Teacher 1979 – 1980

Collège Générale de Laï, Laï, Chad, Africa
Secondary TEFL Teacher (Peace Corps) 1977 – 1979

Peace Corps Training, N'Djamena, Chad, Africa
TEFL Trainer 1978

Certification

TEFL Certification, Peace Corps, Chad, Africa 1977

Professional Memberships and Service

Member: TESOL, WITESOL, AAAL

TESOL: HEIS Member-At-Large 2008-09; Rules & Resolutions Committee 2006-08

WITESOL: Membership Secretary 2004-07; President 2002-03