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# More than Meets the Eye: Latino Students in a Two-Way Immersion Program and Stereotype Threat

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More Than Meets the Eye:  
Latino Students in a Two-Way Immersion Program  
and Stereotype Threat

by

Edgar Ubaldino Solares Vega

A dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment of the  
requirements for the degree of

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in  
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## ABSTRACT

Figures from the 2010 Census indicate that there are 50.5 million Latinos (16% of the total population) living in the United States (US) today. From 2000 to 2010, the Latino population experienced a very rapid growth rate of 43%, which accounted for over half the total population growth (Ennis, Rios-Vargas, & Albert, 2011). More and more Latino students are entering our public schools and face the reality that 62 years after the Brown V. Board of Education ruling to integrate schools and equalize educational opportunities, schools are more racially and economically segregated and more unequal than they were more than half a century ago (Weinstein, Gregory, & Strambler, 2004). As a group, Latinos continue to struggle academically (Darling-Hammond, 2010; Guyll, Madon, Prieto, & Scherk, 2010; Gándara & Contreras, 2009; T. C. Howard, 2010) and there is a large academic achievement gap between Latino students and White students (National Center for Education Statistics, 2011)

Using the lens of Latino Critical race theory (Delgado Bernal, 2002), this narrative study was an attempt to understand the educational experience of five Latino students in a two-way immersion program within a racialized public education system in which negative stereotypes, such as lack of intellectual abilities, could create a threatening environment hindering their academic success. This narrative inquiry study sought to understand how, if at all, Latino students in a fifth grade two-way immersion program experienced anxiety about the ways they believe to be perceived in the classroom and school settings by their teachers and other classmates.

Finding of this study confirmed the relative success of two-way immersion programs educating Latino students and highlighted the urgent need to conduct more

research in bilingual settings trying to understand the role stereotype threat might play in the educational experience of Latino students. The fact that Latino students were still lagging behind their native English-speaking counterparts in the TWI program is a reality that must be researched further to understand the lived experiences of Latino students in bilingual programs.

## DEDICATION

To my mom for always believing that I was a smart 'boy' and for telling me how smart I was every time she had a chance and for her unconditional motherly love. To my dad for making sure that my siblings and I always had what we needed growing up and for his courage to reflect and ask for forgiveness. To my two incredibly smart and beautiful daughters: Sofia and Annika, you make me want to be the best father I can be.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Finishing my dissertation is a special personal accomplishment that would have not been possible without the support and encouragement of different individuals along my personal and professional journey. This journey started many years ago back in Guatemala, Central America, where I was born and lived until the age of 21 when I immigrated to the United States.

Growing up my parents always told my two siblings and me *'tienen que ir a la escuela para aprender porque la educación es la única cosa que le podemos dar que nadie le puede quitar* (you have to go to school to learn because education is the only thing we can give you that nobody can take away from you). Even though my mom only went to school for a few months of first grade (kindergarten was not a thing back then) and my dad only completed his elementary education, they made sure we had the opportunity to go to school and expected us to graduate from high school.

I also want to acknowledge the mother of my two wonderful daughters for giving me the opportunity to come to this country and for supporting me to become a teacher. Thank you for believing in my ability to do it!

My journey in the doctoral program at Portland State University would have not been the same without the support and intellectual engagement of my cohort. Bernd, Audrey, Jennifer, Sarah, Katie, thank you! And, of course, I want to thank Karen and Samuel for their support and guidance making sure I successfully completed the program. I especially want to thank Karen for all the time and care she invested in making sure I completed this dissertation but most importantly for believing in my ability to give birth to this manuscript. Thank you, Karen ;)

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## **Chapter 1**

### **Introduction**

For more than ten years, I was a bilingual teacher in a two-way immersion program at a Title I school in the Pacific Northwest. Many of the students attending this school experienced a limited variety of educational opportunities and their academic performance was consistently below grade level. The school served a large number of Latino students and many of them came from families with limited literacy skills in Spanish and English. Even though the home environment for many students was clean and organized, as I witnessed during some home visits, it was crowded. It was not uncommon to see two or three families living in the same apartment to be able to afford the rent. In many instances, the home environment lacked the academic stimulation typically present in middle class families. Discussions around the dining table and access to many printed materials such as books, magazines, and newspapers, typical for many middle class families, were not part of the daily children-parents interactions at home. This particular issue was raised time after time when I met with my students' families during teacher-parent conferences. Many parents expressed their frustration with having few books at home for their children to read and how their work schedules interfered with their ability to spend time with their children after school to read and do homework with them.

The reality many of these families experience illustrated how socio-economic status (Gándara & Contreras, 2009), level of parental educational attainment (Carr & Klassen, 1997; Ravitch, 2010), linguistic abilities in Spanish and English (Cummins, 2000), and the schools' culture and environment (Carr & Klassen, 1997; Delpit, 2006)

combined play a key role explaining in part why many Latino students underperform academically. As Gándara and Contreras (2009) explain, poor children live in communities that lack safe places to play, explore and interact with each other and other community members, have few toys to play with and often times the environments are not intellectually stimulating. While all these factors in and of themselves have a direct impact on the educational experience of Latino students, their negative impact is magnified by the fact that the mainstream classroom does not value the immense historical, linguistic, and cultural knowledge and set of skills Latino students bring with them into the classroom from their day-to-day life experiences (Moll, Amanti, Neff, & Gonzalez, 1992). Additionally, it is not uncommon for these children to have limited or no access to good nutrition, medical, dental, and vision care (T. C. Howard, 2010). I saw this reality play out in my own classroom. There were times when many of my students complained during the school day about being hungry, having a toothache, or not being able to hear or see clearly. Students suffering physical and emotional aches have a difficult time concentrating on the academic work at hand. This reality makes the teaching and learning process difficult for teachers and students alike. However, I argue that in order to gain a better understanding of the educational experience of Latino students, we must take a look at how race and ethnicity play key roles hindering their educational experience and success. I specifically propose we explore how racial and ethnic negative stereotypes might affect the academic experience of many Latino students.

Each year I taught at this school, I saw a number of Latino students born in the United States (US) to immigrant parents struggle academically. By the time many of

them reached fourth and fifth grades, they were one to three academic years behind in both languages, despite the fact that they had been instructed in a dual language environment since kindergarten. For example, my own records and the school records showed that at the end of the 2007-2008 school year, 30 fourth grade Latino students in the two-way immersion (TWI) program were given a reading assessment in English. Out of these 30 students, six were at grade level (20%), six more students (20%) were a year behind, three students were two years behind (10%), and 7 more students (23%) were 3 years behind. Even though these same students (plus three more students not assessed in English for unknown reasons) were reading at higher levels in Spanish, the majority of them were still not at grade level when assessed in their first language. Twenty one students out of thirty-three (63%) were a year behind, two more (6%) were two years behind, and five more (15%) were 3 years behind. Only 5 students (15%) were at grade level. What else, other than the socio-economic factors hitherto mentioned, could possibly be the reason behind the low academic achievement of these Latino students? Could their academic struggle be connected to negative racial and ethnic stereotypes? My personal and professional experiences seem to point in that direction.

### **A Personal Racialized Educational Experience: Me, The Student**

I immigrated to the US at the age of 21. As a college student in this country my struggles went beyond learning English. I had to deal with emotional and psychological challenges as I was being forced to discover and form a new identity. Moreover, I also had to deal with the fact that many students and professors already were *giving* me an identity: to them I was a *Mexican* student. How does this experience compare with my experience in Guatemala, my native country?



During my educational experience in the public school system in Guatemala, I was well aware of my role and place in the stratification of the classroom, the school, my community, and society as a whole. At school I never had to wonder who I was because I was socially, culturally, and linguistically connected to the school environment; everybody, students and teachers alike, looked like me—brown, black hair, similar heights, and a common language. I had what I needed to succeed academically and the school system as a whole reflected the cultural norms and values I embraced; I was a member of the dominant culture. In the US this was not the case for me.

For the first year and a half after my arrival to the US, I took English as a second language classes at a local community college. Because the majority of the students in these classes were from Viet Nam, I did not feel completely out of place. All the students in these classes had something in common with me: we were all immigrants learning English. This fact provided me with some comfort and encouraged me to take risks in the classrooms as I tried to learn English. Being among other students struggling to learn English lessened the anxiety I felt about being perceived as someone not very smart just because of my limited ability to speak English. The level of anxiety I experienced increased dramatically when I was exited from the English as a second language classes and started to take regular college level classes such as math, reading and writing.

The level of anxiety I experienced as a freshman in the regular classes increased exponentially. Such anxiety worsened when I became aware of the commonly held negative stereotypes about Latinos. Being one of the very few, and sometimes the only student of color in many of these classes, I was constantly afraid that anything I would do or say could confirm a negative stereotype other students and professors may have had

about Latino students. I was anxious to speak. I was fearful to be perceived as someone with limited intellectual capacities. What I was experiencing in this situation was a phenomenon called *stereotype threat* (Steele, 1997; Steele & Aronson, 1995). Stereotype threat is a predicament in which an individual is aware of the existence of a negative stereotype about his/her social group and is afraid to do or say anything that could confirm such stereotype in the eyes of others (Steele & Aronson, 1995). Such predicaments can cause an individual to experience psychological symptoms, such as insecurity, and even some physiological symptoms like sweaty hands. Individuals experiencing these symptoms expend a great amount of mental and emotional energy dealing with this predicament that very little mental and emotional capacity is left to deal with the task at hand (Steele, 2010). Consequently I made the decision to not participate in class. I limited my participation in class and interactions with professors and other students to what I considered absolutely necessary. There were times when I would walk into a classroom and spend the whole class period without talking to anybody. I felt invisible; it seemed as if nobody knew I was even there. Despite these struggles, I was able to complete a teaching program and earned a teaching license almost seven years after arriving in the US.

### **Me, the Teacher: *Another* Personal Racialized Educational Experience**

With a teaching degree in hand and my bilingual skills, I was hired to teach in a Spanish immersion program at a public school serving mostly a white population in one of the most affluent areas of the city. As a beginning teacher at this school I had positive and negative experiences. On the one hand, my native Spanish speaking abilities were appreciated. For many parents at this school, the fact that I had earned my teaching

degree from a US higher education institution was something they felt they needed to praise me for. They appreciated the fact that my native Spanish language was providing an authentic linguistic experience to their children in my classroom. On the other hand, there were some parents and students who did not know who I was and did not seem to be interested in getting to know me. A number of times I was confused for a teaching assistant since the only Latino individuals they had seen at the school were teaching assistants in the Spanish immersion program. Some students and parents were incredulous of the fact that I was a teacher at the school. It seemed as if for them the only role a Latino individual at the school could possibly fulfill was that of a teaching assistant or maybe even a janitor. After teaching for three years at this school, I transferred to another school in a different school district. My new teaching job was in a Title I school, a school serving a population at the other end of the socio-economic spectrum.

My new teaching assignment was in the two-way Spanish-English immersion program offered at this school. Due to the lack of support from the local district, the school was able to only offer the two-way program to about half of the Latino students attending the school, essentially creating a two-track system: a two-way immersion track and the traditional English only track. During the time I worked at this school, I heard some staff, parents and even teachers talk about Latino students in ways that conveyed a message of low expectations rooted in the false belief that these students are not intellectually strong (see Marx, 2008), have linguistic deficiencies, are not motivated to learn, and show poor behavior habits (see Valencia, 2010). All these negative stereotypes are the result of a deficit-thinking frame of mind about people of color (Valencia, 2010). For example, at my school, some students and even some parents believed the reason

Latino students were in the two-way immersion program was because they were not smart enough to learn in English and, therefore, they needed to study in Spanish. Some teachers also made the assumption that many of these Latino students would not go to college. I remember hearing a staff member once asking what was the point in trying to teach some students high-level thinking math concepts when they were just not ready to handle such complex ideas and concepts. This particular individual justified this belief by saying that what these students needed was help mastering the basic concepts in math, which is what they would need to work as landscapers or at fast-food restaurants. This mentality shaped the ways in which some staff members at the school interacted with students. In elementary school this frame of mind might lead to ability grouping. In middle school and high school it leads to lower track placements (Farkas, 2003).

Moreover, during the times I have visited other classrooms as a parent and as a teacher I have observed how frequently many teachers validate the cultural norms, beliefs, and knowledge of white middle class students and disregard those of students of color. For example, if we take a look at whose answers, comments, and opinions are generally sought after, validated and encouraged in classroom and whose are not, we can see a teacher-student interaction pattern that favors white middle class students over students of color (Cooper, 1979). McKown and Weinstein (2008) explain that in the US there has been a long history of racial attitudes favoring some students from different ethnic groups; for example, European Americans and Asian American students have benefited from being positively stereotyped and African American and Latino students continue to be the targets of negative stereotypes about intellectual ability. I have observed some teachers and other adults visiting classrooms asking students open-ended

questions and frequently choosing white students first to offer their answers. If the student does not have the right answer, he/she still gets some praise for participating or the teacher or adult engages the student in a conversation that leads him/her to the right answer. This particular teacher-student interaction sends students of color the message that their knowledge and participation in class are not as valuable as that of their white counterparts (Cooper, 1979). In this situation students of color are denied the opportunity to achieve academically and white students' beliefs of superiority are reinforced (Richman, Bovelsky, Kroovand, Vacca, & West, 1997). I must admit that I was guilty of this type of behavior early in my career as a bilingual teacher. I believed then that by having privileged students share their knowledge and experiences, I was helping less fortunate students get a glimpse of another world perspective and help them expand their understanding of the world. I did not realize then that what I was actually doing was re-affirming and validating the knowledge and world perspectives of students from privileged backgrounds and discounting the different knowledge and world perspectives of students from less fortunate backgrounds.

These personal and professional experiences, as a student and as a teacher, illustrate how negative stereotypes could shape the lived experiences of students of color at school when some teachers and other adults interact with them. Such experiences ultimately shape the academic outcome for students of color. These combined experiences led me to ask, as my research questions,: How, if at all, do Latino students in a fifth grade two-way immersion program experience anxiety about the ways they themselves believe to be perceived in the classroom and school settings in general? What teachers' behaviors, if any, do Latino students identify as the source of the anxiety they

experience in the classroom and school setting in general? What behaviors, if any, on the part of their classmates do Latino students identify as the source of the anxiety they experience in the classroom and school setting in general? In what ways, if any, do negative stereotypes commonly held by the larger society influence the ways Latino students believe to be perceived at school? In order to address these questions, I posit that we must acknowledge the fact that the educational experience of Latino students, even in two-way immersion programs, takes place within a racialized system.

### **Statement of the Problem**

Latino students have historically and consistently underperformed academically as a group in the US (Darling-Hammond, 2010; J. Griffith, 2002; Gándara & Contreras, 2009; T. C. Howard, 2010). In Oregon the number of Latino students doubled from 2000 to 2011. During the school year 2000-2001, the percentage of Latino students was 10.3%. In the 2011-2012 school year, this percentage had increased to 21%. The percentage of Latino students in the school district where the research site is located similarly more than doubled. In the school year 2000-2001 there were 3,417 Latino students enrolled (10.2% of the total student body). In the school year 2011-2012, this number had increased to 9,071 students (23.3%) (Oregon Department of Education).

As of 2013, figures from the 2010 Census indicated that there were 50.5 million Latinos (16% of the total population) living in the United States. From 2000 to 2010, the Latino population experienced a very rapid growth rate of 43%, which accounted for over half the total population growth (Ennis et al., 2011). In 2013, only three years after the 2010 Census, the Latino population in the US increased to 54 million which accounted for 17.1% of the total US population (Stepler & Brown, 2015). This rapid increase of the

Latino population coupled with the fact that a large number of Latino students continue to struggle academically (Darling-Hammond, 2010; Guyll et al., 2010; Gándara & Contreras, 2009; T. C. Howard, 2010) merits the revision of how negative stereotypes affect the academic experience and performance of Latino students.

In order to understand how negative stereotypes impact Latino students, it is imperative that school administrators, policy makers, teachers, and parents recognize that we live in a society saturated with personal and institutional racism and prejudice (Bergh, Denessen, Hornstra, Voeten, & Holland, 2010; T. C. Howard, 2010; Kailin, 1999; Okun, 2010; Stanton-Salazar, 1997; Taylor & Clark, 2009; Zamudio, Russell, Rios, & Bridgeman, 2011). Concepts such as discrimination, prejudice, and racism, as well as low teachers' expectations embodied in commonly held negative stereotypes, must be understood and discussed openly if we are to address the so-called achievement gap. Frequently these issues, directly associated as they are with the concept of race, are left out in discussions about the academic achievement gaps (T. C. Howard, 2010). I examined this achievement gap through the lens of Latino Critical Race theory (Delgado Bernal, 2002) rooted in Critical Race theory (Delgado & Stefancic, 2001) paradigm. I rely on the Latino Critical Race theory (Delgado Bernal, 2002) framework to identify and contextualize the perceptions fifth grade Latino students in a particular two-way immersion program might have of the way they are perceived in the classroom and school settings in general. I seek to discover whether these perceptions reflect the negative stereotypes about Latinos held by the larger society. I also tried to identify what behaviors, if any, on the part of teachers and students Latino students use to inform and form the perception they believe others have of them in the school setting.

These were important questions to ask because Latino students in two-way English and Spanish immersion programs already benefit from having an essential part of their cultural and linguistic heritage elevated to an equal status as English, the dominant language. Additionally, Latino students in these programs enjoy the safety and benefits of the critical mass factor. Both of these factors, according to Steele (2010), should lower the anxiety individuals might experience from believing to be negatively stereotyped. However, as I stated earlier, a number of Latino students still struggle academically and perform at lower rates than their Native English speaking counterparts in the program, who consistently have outperformed Latino students in this bilingual setting. As the Latino population continues to grow, the future of our country depends in large part on what we do to address this academic underperformance and how well we educate this rapidly growing segment of the population.

### **Problem Statement and Its Significance**

At its core, I believe the academic success of Latino students is a social justice issue. It is simply not fair that some students are able to be more academically successful just because they belong to a racial and ethnic group (whites) that favors their status over other racial and ethnic groups (Thomson & Hall, 2008). From a more pragmatic and self-preserving perspective, we are all connected to each other as a society. Our way of life, our democracy, our society is dependent on a strong, well-educated citizenry. For far too long we have ignored certain sectors of our society and have accepted it as normal and, indeed, preferable. The future of the following generations will directly depend in part on the success or failure of today's Latino students. As stated in the Pew Hispanic Report *Between Two Worlds* (2009), Hispanics constitute the largest



and youngest minority group (one out of five of school-age children is Hispanic, one out of four children born is Hispanic). The kinds of adults these young Hispanic children become will determine the process through which the current white supremacy system will be challenged and changed into a more accepting and embracing system in which our diverse population will be educated.

The purpose of this study was to try to gain a better understanding of the experience of how, if at all, Latino students in this two-way immersion (TWI) program experience anxiety due to the perception of being negatively stereotyped. In this study anxiety is operationalized as nervousness as the result of experiencing fear of being wrong, made fun of, and/or fear of appearing not very smart.

Findings of this study may provide the basis for developing professional development for practicing teachers as well as for teacher education programs preparing pre-service teachers around the issue of stereotypes and academic performance. Additionally, this study may provide an entry point into the lived experiences of Latino students to explore how a concept such as stereotype threat might play a role in hindering their academic achievement in bilingual settings.

### **Conclusion**

My personal experiences as a student and as a teacher highlight the subtleness and pervasiveness of negative racial and ethnic stereotypes. With the rapid increase of the Latino population coupled with their historically low academic performance as a group, we, as the US society, must turn our attention to how white supremacy has created institutional racism, which in turn has consequently had a negative impact on the educational experience of Latino students. I posit that we must look beyond socio-

economic and cultural factors framing the academic achievement of Latino students and address a phenomenon called stereotype threat in the educational experience of Latino students at the elementary school level in bilingual settings.

In chapter two, I present a brief explanation of how white supremacy coupled with individual racism and institutional racism contribute to classroom dynamics and practices that are discriminatory towards Latino students as manifested in the expectations teachers have of them. Such expectations, I argue, are framed by existing negative stereotypes about Latinos in the US. I also offer a general description of two-way immersion programs: definition, goals, and models and a discussion of the socio-economic factors affecting the academic achievement of Latino students. In chapter two I also make the case for why any research aiming to understand the educational experience of Latino students must be seen through the lens of the Latino Critical Race theory (LatCrit). A discussion about stereotypes, stereotype threat and empirical studies on the stereotype threat phenomenon conclude the chapter.

In chapter three, I propose conducting a narrative inquiry study. The goal of the study was to find out how Latino students in a fifth grade two-way immersion program might experience feeling negatively stereotyped, if at all. I make the case for why the study is grounded in the critical theory paradigm (Guba, 1990) and why a narrative inquiry approach is best suited to address the overarching question of the study: how, if at all, do Latino students in a fifth grade TWI program experience anxiety about the ways they themselves believe to be perceived in the classroom and school settings in general.

## Chapter 2

### Literature Review

The first report card issued by the state of Oregon in 2000 (<http://www.ode.state.or.us/data/reportcard/ReportArchive.aspx>) showed the aggregate of Latino students' performance on standardized tests at all benchmarks in the district where this study was conducted. Numbers from the previous year show that only 45% of Latino students met benchmarks in reading (31 percentage points below the percentage of White students meeting benchmarks) and only 38% met benchmarks in mathematics (34 percentage points below the percentage of White students). Ten years later, during the school year 2010-2011, Latino students are still performing at very low academic levels as measured by the standardized state tests on reading and math (<http://www.ode.state.or.us/data/reportcard/ReportArchive.aspx>). Latino students meeting and/or exceeding benchmarks in reading during this school year was 66.3% (22.8 percentage points below the percentage of White students). In mathematics the percentage of Latino students meeting and/or exceeding benchmarks was 49.6% (31.1 percentage points below the percentage of White students meeting or exceeding benchmarks). These data lead to the narrow conclusion that Latino students are failing in school. For some individuals, these numbers serve as evidence of the limited intellectual capacity of Latino students, as Herrnstein and Murray(1994) argued.

In this chapter I discuss how two-way immersion programs, despite being the most effective model to successfully educate Latino students (Cummins, 2000; Gándara & Contreras, 2009), have still not obtained academic success for many Latino students. I also discuss how widely held negative stereotypes and their effects must be discussed,

understood, and challenged in order to bring more equity to the educational experience of and outcomes for Latino students.

### **White Supremacy Coupled with Individual Racism**

For many people in the United States (US), if not all, white supremacy evokes a number of very powerful emotions and violent images. In the US, white supremacy is typically associated with groups such as the Ku Klux Klan, Aryan Nation, and White Citizens Council. Groups like these have historically advocated for the supremacy of the white race through acts of violence. This narrow view of white supremacy hinders the ability to widen our lens to see white supremacy as a whole system that has historically and institutionally perpetuated the oppression of people of color at the hands of whites as a way to stay in power and reap the benefits and privileges that such position offers (Okun, 2010; Parker & Lynn, 2002). Over time this system has become less blatant and more insidious in the ways it operates to perpetuate the marginalization of groups and individuals of color. In this study, I use white supremacy to refer to the system that has created a culture of dominance and oppression of people of color, in particular in the educational system. This powerful system operates unchallenged at all levels, from public school classrooms to the offices of elected officials creating educational laws and policies (Kailin, 1999; Taylor & Clark, 2009).

For example, in the US 90% of teachers are mostly female and white (Hollingworth, 2009). Many, if not all, of these teachers have been raised and educated within the white supremacy system. This fact might help explain, partially, the reason why white supremism, the attitude of superiority based on race (Richman et al., 1997), has been perpetuated in our society. Even though as a society we have made some

progress regarding issues of race, 15 years ago some racist attitudes that have been historically a part of our general society were still just as common within the teacher populations (Tettegah, 1996). For these teachers white supremacy is the status quo; they accept their stratified position and those of others in our society as normal (Kailin, 1999). It is not surprising then that when they encounter issues related to race, they discuss them as issues from the past; they assume that children are uncomfortable talking about race and discrimination (Hollingworth, 2009; Kailin, 1999) and therefore miss or intentionally avoid opportunities to discuss race openly, if at all, which results in the perpetuation of the oppression of students of color. This tendency among many white teachers to avoid issues of race, oppression, and discrimination or to discuss them as issues from the past, might be born from feelings of denial or defensiveness, which is one of the four key components that Okun (2010) posits are at the core of white supremacy. The other three components are the right to profit, individualism, and an either/or approach to thinking.

According to Okun (2010), the right to profit is the belief that individuals have the right and ability to engage in behaviors and actions that would produce personal financial profits and benefits. Given the fact that we live in a stratified society that has historically and systematically favored one group of people (whites) over others, a quick look at how our economy is run can illustrate the privileges and benefits of being white.

The third component of the white supremacy system that Okun (2010) presents is individualism. We live in a culture that promotes competition among individuals and celebrates their individual success. In our society we frequently encounter statements such as equal individual rights, equal opportunity, and individual freedom when discussing politics and policies. Individualism is a value in our nation's culture;

individualism is, as Okun explains, “synonymous with personal self-reliance, with individual merit irrevocably connected to (deserved) wealth.” (p. 16)

Within this frame of thinking, the white individual is the norm in society (Okun, 2010). In other words, a white individual is the measuring stick used to compare how well or how poorly others are fairing in society; it is what everybody should aspire to be (Okun, 2010). Sonia Nieto (2000) explicitly states that what is seen as normal in our society is a white, upper-middle class, English speaking, male individual. For whites, this privilege results in holding a more simplistic view of the world (Chizhik & Chizhik, 2005). When confronted with issues related to race they tend to experience feelings of defensiveness or denial. Led by these feelings, many white teachers try to simplify the issues by replacing race with culture; they place minority students into a cultural group while continuing to see themselves as individuals (Vaught & Castagno, 2008). Denial has typically led many teachers to the color-blind mentality (Hollingworth, 2009; Marx, 2008; Sue et al., 2007; Ullucci, 2010) which continues to perpetuate inequalities and injustice in schools (Pecek, Cuk, & Lesar, 2008).

This process leads to what Okun (2010) explains is the either/or thinking component in which the world is simplified to seek safety, a sense of belonging, and to what is known and familiar. Consequently, individuals see the world in terms of good and bad, right and wrong, black and white. For example, many teachers qualify the engagement of parents in the educational experience of their children as either caring or not caring without wondering about what other issues might be encouraging or hindering parents' efforts to get more involved. Another example of this type of thinking is teachers who believe that skin color does not matter and students either work hard to achieve their

goals or not (Hollingworth, 2009). At the end, what many white teachers fail to realize is that being white brings with it specific privileges granted to whites only (McIntosh, 1988).

Being white in a white supremacy system grants the privilege to attribute problems related to race to marginalized groups, blaming the victim and trivializing racial incidents, marginalizing individuals who challenge the dominant discourse, and even claiming reverse racism (Okun, 2010). White individuals also engage in behaviors that exclude, negate, or nullify the feelings, thoughts and experiences of a person of color (Sue et al., 2007). For example a teacher might say to his or her students that he or she does not see color, that every student is the same in the classroom and that all they need to do is work hard if they want to succeed. White teachers enjoy the privilege of choosing whether they will pay any attention to issues of race or to what degree they will engage in such discussions while at the same time they allow white students not to participate in the discussions to protect them from possible embarrassment and uncomfortable situations while constantly engaging students of color (Galman, Pica-Smith, & Rosenberger, 2010). Some white teachers also believe that avoiding discussions about race in the classroom is a graceful, generous, and even liberal gesture (Hollingworth, 2009). They rationalize their white supremacy and privilege believing that people of color are not less than or worse than, but the reality is that whites are just better, a superior group (Okun, 2010). White privilege allows individuals to not have to understand other cultures to successfully navigate the system.

However, Latinos and other minority students, do not enjoy such privilege; they have to decode the system in which they operate (Delpit, 2006; Stanton-Salazar, 1997).

Indeed, their survival depends on their ability to understand other cultures (Okun, 2010). Consequently, ethnic minority students are more likely to hold more complex views of the world and their status within this system (Chizhik & Chizhik, 2005) than white students. They have to find ways to effectively function and succeed academically, not an easy task to accomplish because even when teachers recognize inequalities in the system, they continue to try to interact with students in a color-blind, racially and culturally neutral manner (Jordan, 2010; Sue et al., 2007). Not seeing differences, these teachers believe, creates an equal environment. However, by assuming a color-blind attitude, these teachers are denying individuals of color their racial and ethnic experiences (Sue et al., 2007). Sadly, in many instances, when teachers “see color” they stereotype their students according to their racial, ethnic, and linguistic characteristics. I will discuss stereotypes and a phenomenon called stereotype threat in more detail later in this chapter.

### **Institutional Racism**

Nieto (2000) defines institutional racism as “the systematic use of economic and political power in institutions (such as schools) that leads to detrimental policies and practices.” (p. 35)

As social institutions, schools in the United States reflect the larger society in which they exist (Davila & de Bradley, 2010; Nieto, 2000; Richman et al., 1997). In the case of the United States, the public school system has been in charge of transmitting and promoting the value of individualism through practices such as ability grouping, tracking, low expectations of students of color, and the unequal funding of schools (Nieto, 2000). These practices reflect a limited Eurocentric perspective of the world (Okun, 2010; Richman et al., 1997; Stanton-Salazar, 1997). Today, schools are still inherently unequal



and segregated along the lines of race, ethnicity, and social class (Gándara & Contreras, 2009; Jordan, 2010; Weinstein et al., 2004). The majority of Latino and Black students attend schools of concentrated poverty (Jordan, 2010; Kozol, 2005)

School boards, city councils, chambers of commerce, residential associations, business organizations, and the media are directly and indirectly responsible for influencing how resources are distributed. These institutions are led and controlled by individuals representing the white dominant culture's interests (Stanton-Salazar, 1997). Since members of these different corporate bodies are mostly white, well-educated individuals whose views of the world are influenced by their experience as white citizens in this society, the laws, policies, and procedures they create have consistently allocated resources in ways that have favored their own racial group at the expense of others (Taylor & Clark, 2009) resulting in discriminatory practices defined here as institutional racism. The lack of representation of Latinos (and other minorities) on school boards, in publicly elected positions, and in administrative positions in school districts (Leal, Martinez-Ebers, & Meier, November 2004) is another indicator of how the system as a whole is biased towards minorities and how it goes unchallenged.

Even though the policies and laws created by those in power might appear on the surface to be neutral (Davila & de Bradley, 2010), the systematic use of their economic and political power to create such policies and practices has had a harmful effect on non-white, typically marginalized minority groups (Nieto, 2000). When such policies, laws, procedures, and so forth go into effect, they interact with the socio-economic and cultural conditions, linguistic differences, and school environments where Latino students and their families live and study. The outcomes of such combinations are fewer resources of

lesser quality available to Latino students and their families as observed in the lower skills showcased by some teachers and the lower expectations they hold of their students (Farkas, 2003). Under these circumstances, Latino students feel pushed-out, discriminated against, stereotyped, or excluded (Taylor & Clark, 2009).

The No Child Left Behind Act is a clear example of how the systematic economic and political power to create policies and practices has a harmful effect on marginalized students (Nieto, 2000) even when such policies and practices are believed to be neutral (Davila & de Bradley, 2010).

On January 8, 2002, President George W. Bush signed the No Child Left Behind (NCLB) Act of 2001 into law (ED.gov, 2002). The goal of the NCLB Act was to close the existing achievement gap between minority students and their white counterparts, applying the three principles of accountability, flexibility, and choice. As James Crawford (2004) explains, the National Association for Bilingual Education (NABE) supported this policy with the hopes that it would lead schools to pay more attention to the academic progress, or lack thereof, of Latino students classified as English language learners (ELL). However, when NCLB was implemented, it did not address key factors such as resource inequalities, teachers not being well prepared to work with ELL students, substandard teaching materials and facilities, and ill-designed instructional programs (Crawford, 2004). For ELL Latino students, the implementation of the NCLB Act resulted in a narrow curriculum in order to spend more time on test preparation because of the NCLB's emphasis on short-term test results (Perlstein, 2007). This emphasis on getting students ready to take standardized tests is perpetuating the marginalization of Latino students by cheating them of a more holistic educational

experience (Perlstein, 2007). As Crawford (2004) argues “[i]ronically, in the name of high standards, these children are being fed a steady diet of basic skills,” (p. 5) leaving out subjects such as social studies, science, and geography that help students develop critical thinking skills and help them learn more about the world outside their immediate environment. In the case of science, for example, students learn critical thinking skills when they apply the scientific method approach — observing, designing an experiment, creating a hypothesis, collecting data, analyzing, and creating conclusions — during science activities in the classroom.

Crawford (2004) also argues that another key negative consequence for ELL Latino and non-ELL Latino students of the fallacious accountability of the NCLB act has been the override of the 1994 Improving America’s Schools Act (IASA). Under the IASA, for the first time, programs that promoted bilingualism and bi-literacy as well as academic achievement in English were given priority in federal funding. With the enactment of NCLB, the goals of bilingualism and bi-literacy were eliminated. NCLB was now focusing only on attaining English proficiency. Undeterred by all these regulations, many schools across the country have continued to offer bilingual education through different models such as two-way immersion programs. A discussion about two-way immersion programs follows.

### **Two-Way Immersion Programs: Definition, Goals, and Models**

One solution to the concerns about the academic performance of Latino students has been the use of bilingual programs. Nieto (2000) posits that there is a strong relationship between bilingual education and equity. For Nieto “bilingual education is a civil rights issue because it is the only guarantee that children who do not speak English

will be provided education in a language they understand.” (p. 199). Bilingual education refers to the use of two languages —a native language (other than English) and English to teach literacy and content (<http://www.dual-language.org/>). Ovando and Pérez (2000) explain that there are a number of different programs that fall under the umbrella of bilingual education. In Table 2.1 I summarize these programs and their characteristics for an easy read. Each program is designed to fit specific contexts and needs of schools. In this proposal I will only discuss the two-way immersion (TWI) program since this is the program where students participating in the proposed study are instructed.

**Table 1**

*Summary of the Classification of Bilingual Programs and Their Differences According to Ovando and Perez (2000).*

<b>Programs</b>	<b>Characteristics</b>
Submersion	No native language is used.
Structure Immersion	No native language. ESL classes to support students.
Partial Immersion	ESL instruction. Temporary use of native language.
Transitional Bilingual	Instruction in native language until students are proficient in English. Use of native language stops.
Maintenance or Developmental Bilingual Education	Instruction in both languages, English and native.
Two Way Immersion	Native English and Native Spanish speaking students are together. Instruction delivered in both languages.

TWI is a dual language approach that integrates native English speakers and native speakers of another language in the same group to be taught in both languages (E. R. Howard & Christian, 2002; Ovando & Pérez, 2000). The National Dual Language consortium (NDLC, 2009) defines dual language as “a form of bilingual education in which students are taught literacy and content in two languages” (<http://www.dual->

language.org/what\_is.htm).

École Bilingue, a French/English program in Massachusetts, and Coral Way, a Spanish/English program in Florida were the first TWI programs created 47 years ago (E. R. Howard, Sugarman, & Christian, 2003). During the first 20 years since the first TWI program was created in 1963, the number of TWI programs created was minimal, with fewer than 10 documented programs in operation before 1981 (E. R. Howard & Sugarman, 2001). After the mid-1980s, when there were only 30 programs in operation that were documented, the number of programs has increased dramatically. According to the Center for Applied linguistics electronic directory (<http://www.cal.org/twi/directory/>), as of December 3, 2010 there were 376 programs in 28 states and Washington D.C.

The Center for Research on Education, Diversity & Excellence (CREDE) published a report by Elizabeth R. Howard and Donna Christian (2002) titled “Two-Way Immersion 101: Designing and Implementing a Two-way Immersion Education Program at the Elementary Level.” In this report Howard and Christian explicate three defining criteria and four central goals of all TWI programs:

Defining criteria:

1. The programs must include fairly equal numbers of two groups of students: language majority students, who in the United States are native English speakers; and language minority students, who in the United States are native speakers of another language, such as Spanish, Korean, or Chinese [...]
2. The programs are integrated, meaning that the language majority students and language minority students are grouped together for academic instruction (i.e. not just physical education and music) for all or most of the day.

3. TWI programs provide core academic instruction (i.e. content and literacy courses) to both groups of students in both languages [...]

Four central goals:

1. Students will develop high levels of proficiency in their first language [...]
2. All students will develop high levels of proficiency in a second language [...]
3. Academic performance for both groups of students will be at or above grade level [...]
4. All students will demonstrate positive cross-cultural attitudes and behaviors [...] (pp. 2-3).

My teaching experience for the last ten years working in a TWI program has pointed out how difficult it is to meet these criteria and goals. Part of the great challenge we face at the school where I work is the very limited support from district administrators (economic and logistical) and the teacher turnover; both of these factors have a negative effect on the morale of the staff and the consistency of instructional practices within the program.

Howard and Sugarman (2001) report that there are two main program models: 90/10 or 80/20 model and the 50/50 model. In the first model the minority language is used for instruction 80-90% of the time in the primary grades (K—3). By fourth grade the amount of instructional time is equal in the two languages. The other main program is the 50/50 model, also called a balanced program model. In this model the amount of instructional time is equal in the two languages in all grade levels in elementary school. Within these two models, Christian, Howard, and Loeb (2000) explain that the allocation of language of instruction can be accomplished in three different approaches. Table 2.2

shows these approaches and provides examples of what each allocation might look like.

**Table 2**

*Possible Allocation of Language of Instruction*

<b>Allocation of Language of Instruction</b>	<b>What It Might Look Like (examples)</b>
Content area	Social studies and math taught in Spanish
	Science, art, and music taught in English
Time	Instruction is in each language on alternate days.
Person (teacher)	One teacher uses Spanish (or another minority language)
	Another teacher uses only English.

Howard et al. (2004) describe a third model, not as common, in which language-minority students and language-majority students are separated for native language instruction in the morning and integrated for instruction through both languages in the afternoon but by third grade, the two groups are integrated all day, and instruction is divided fairly equally across English and Spanish. Howard et al. (2004) make reference to another report in 2002 in which she and Donna Christian referred to this model as a “differentiated model” because language minority students receive a different (greater) amount of instruction through the minority language in the primary grades than native English speakers do. It is important to keep in mind that all of the variation in program models occurs during the primary grades. By the upper elementary grades, the program models all take on the characteristics of a 50/50 model.

In August of 2003, Elizabeth R. Howard, Julie Sugarman, and Donna Christian from the Center for Applied Linguistics (CAL) performed a meta-analysis of the research on TWI education programs conducted to date. Their review looked at the

implementation of TWI programs, program profiles, academic achievement, language and literacy outcomes, cultural context, social impact, integration of language minority and language majority students, language status, student and parent attitudes and involvement, teacher expectations and professional development. The report was published by the Center for Research on the Education of Students Placed At Risk (CRESPAR). They concluded that what makes a TWI program succeed is having a supportive administration, high quality staff, ongoing professional development, a clear vision, parental involvement, and a positive school environment. Additionally, stakeholders associated with these programs were constantly reflecting on the state of the program and adapting it to meet the shifting needs of the students in the program.

Because my interest regards the academic achievement of Latino students in TWI programs, I will only make reference to the findings in this area. (The complete research study and its conclusions about the other areas of the research review can be found at [<http://www.csos.jhu.edu/crespar/reports.htm>] in report #63). Howard et al (2003) concluded that

[B]oth native Spanish speakers and native English speakers in TWI programs perform as well or better than their peers educated in other types of programs, both on English standardized achievement tests and Spanish standardized achievement tests. Within TWI programs, native speakers tend to outperform second-language learners, such that NES [native English speakers] tend to score higher on English achievement tests and NSS [native Spanish speakers] tend to score higher on Spanish achievement tests. Additionally [...] there is some indication of transfer of content knowledge, as students were sometimes



instructed in one language and assessed in the other, and still demonstrated grade-appropriate mastery of the content.

These findings raise two important points. For one, TWI programs are indeed more effective in educating Latino students (Cummins, 2000; Gándara & Contreras, 2009) than other bilingual methods and English only programs. Second, an achievement gap between native English speaking students and native Spanish speaking students still exists. Exploring and explaining this achievement gap is an important task to undertake, hence the need to conduct this study.

### **Socio-Economic Factors Framing the Academic Achievement of Latino Students**

Some socio-economic factors contribute to poor academic achievement among Latino students in general. As Gándara and Contreras (2009) explain, many children living in poverty receive very little societal investment in their development in addition to the basic care their families are able to provide. They often lack adequate nutrition, medical, dental, and vision care. When children go home at the end of a school day, many of them live in neighborhoods that lack safe places to play and the few toys they have to play with inside their homes are not likely to stimulate their curiosity. These neighborhood conditions are the result of housing segregation in that they are the only neighborhoods in which poor Latino families can afford to live, which in turn has led to school segregation. As Dolan (2009) reports, during the 2005-2006 school year, 34% of Latino students in elementary and secondary schools were enrolled in schools with the highest measure of poverty compared to only 4% of White students. Additionally, the Pew Hispanic Center (2009) reveals that 23% Latino youth ages 16 to 25 lived in families whose income in 2008 was less than \$25,000. Another 30% of the same age group lived

in families with incomes between \$25,000 and \$50,000. These levels of financial incomes limit the housing choices for families, forcing them to live in high-poverty metropolitan areas where states, school districts, and boards of education will deprive them of an opportunity to get a decent education by investing very little money in the system to which they have access. For example, Jonathan Kozol (2005) explicates that in the school year 1997-1998, the New York's Board of Education spent about \$8,000 per year educating a third grader in a New York city public school while in a fairly typical white suburb of New York, a third grader was receiving a public education worth about \$12,000. Furthermore, in one of the wealthiest white suburbs of New York, another third grader was receiving an education worth \$18,000.

Given all the challenges associated with living in poverty, stressed parents may turn to television as a distraction, which occupies their children for an average of four hours a day or more, instead of doing other activities such as playing or reading (Gándara & Contreras, 2009). Poor children do not have as many books at home as their middle class counterparts; hence they are less likely to be read to by parents or see adults reading for enjoyment (Gándara & Contreras, 2009). This situation of limited stimulation is the reality for many of the Latino students I have taught in the past.

Gándara and Contreras (2009) draw from the work of other scholars to explain that there is a strong correlation between both the level of education of the parents and their income with the academic achievement of their children. Gándara and Contreras also state that parents who earn a diploma or complete a college degree acquire cultural capital (knowing how systems work such as schools) and social capital (having access to important social networks) that give them knowledge and confidence to help their

children succeed in school (Stanton-Salazar, 1997). A family I met at the school my daughters attended illustrates this reality. Their oldest daughter had graduated from high school and wanted to go to college but did not know how to proceed. Because both parents are immigrants from Mexico, with no educational experience in the United States, they did not know what to do to support their daughter. They eventually asked me to meet with them and their daughter to talk about my experience going to college. Throughout my conversations with them, I learned that the daughter had been overwhelmed and confused by the advice she received at her high school. Sadly, neither of her parents were able to provide the guidance she needed to pursue a college education, not because they did not want her to go to college, but simply because they did not have the experience or *right* knowledge to support her.

While these socio-economic conditions affect the Latino community as a whole, we must not assume that all Latinos in the US are the same. The Latino population is a very diverse community. There are Latinos from the Caribbean, Mexico, Central and South American countries. Moreover, the economic conditions among Latinos are also as diverse. Leonard A. Valverde (2006) explains that among Latinos of Mexican origin alone—the largest group among Latinos at 63% (Ennis et al., 2011) – we can find a range of socio-economic conditions that go from low-income, minimally skilled workers, who are typically recent arrivals to the country working as domestics in hotels, gardeners, car washers, etc. to middle class skilled workers (often first or second generation born in the United States holding blue-collar jobs such as electricians, plumbers, entertainment industry, etc.), to upper middle class professionals (typically second and third generation working as teachers, nurses, small business owners and so on). Valverde also explains

that there is a small group of Mexican-Americans emerging in the high-income bracket. They are lawyers, CEOs, airline pilots, and professional sport figures. Clearly, this difference in socio-economic conditions offers each group different opportunities in terms of housing —owning or renting, geographical location where they reside — which will affect the availability and quality of parks, libraries, and grocery stores, all of which have a direct impact on the quality of life and opportunities families and their children have.

In addition to the aforementioned socio-economic conditions impacting Latino students, they also have to wrestle with the possibility of being negatively stereotyped. Regardless of their position on the socio-economic ladder and geographical area where they live, I believe Latino students are frequently stereotyped as Mexican immigrants by their teachers and peers when in reality less than half (47%) of the 50.5 million Latinos are foreign-born (Bureau, 2011). Thus, 53% of the total Latino population is US-born citizens going back a number of generations. In a white supremacy system (Okun, 2010), Latino students are seen through the lens of what Chimamanda Adichie (2009) calls the danger of a single story, a story that only tells one small part of who we are as human beings. In the case of Latinos, the single story, a stereotyped one too, is that they are Mexican immigrants. Hence, we must analyze the experience of Latino students through the lens of the Latino Critical Race theory.

### **Latino Critical Theory: What Is It and Why It Should Be the Theoretical Frame Used to Research the Educational Experience of Latino Students**

Even though Latino students are holders and creators of knowledge, what Moll, Tenery, and Rivera (1995), and Moll, Amanti, Neff, and Gonzalez (1992) refer to as

“funds of knowledge,” their educational experience in the public school system has frequently been one in which their perspectives, stories, experiences, cultures, and histories are devalued, misinterpreted, or omitted within formal educational settings (Delgado Bernal, 2002; González & Moll, 2002; Vélez-Ibañez & Greenberg, 1992). As, moreover, previous research has also indicated, racial and ethnic markers influence the educational experience of Latino students in public schools (Taylor & Clark, 2009). The relationship of Latino students with teachers and the school setting is often challenging (Bergh et al., 2010; Katz, 1999; Stanton-Salazar, 1997). As such, Latino students are frequently negatively stereotyped based on their physical (race and ethnicity) characteristics (Hamilton, Sherman, & Ruvolo, 1990; McKenzie, 2009; McKown & Weinstein, 2008; Rosenthal & Jacobson, 1992). It is because of this complexity that, any educational research trying to understand the experience of Latino students must do so within a theoretical frame that takes into account such complexity and intersectionality of race, ethnicity, and the wealth of knowledge students bring from their home experiences.

Latino Critical Theory (LatCrit) explicates the multidimensional identities of Latino students and addresses the intersection of racism, sexism, classism, and other forms of oppression experienced by many Latino students based on their language, immigration status, ethnicity, culture, identity, phenotype, and sexuality (Delgado Bernal, 2002). It is important to explain that LatCrit came about as “[a] growing number of education scholars of color are raising critical questions about the way research is being conducted in communities of color” (Ladson-Billings & Tate IV, 1995). At the core of LatCrit is what critical race theorists argue is needed to publicly reveal the “White, European American hegemonic control of the social and structural arrangements in U.S. society”

(Parker & Lynn, 2002) that are typically cloaked under terms such as color-blindness and meritocracy.

Delgado Bernal (2002) uses Daniel G. Solorzano's five defining elements of Critical Race theory (CRT) as it relates to educational research to make her case for the use of LatCrit in educational research about issues directly related to Latino students: 1) the importance of trans-disciplinary approaches —Ethnic and women's studies opened the way for multiple theoretical and epistemological ways of understanding, 2) an emphasis on experiential knowledge —CRT epistemologies acknowledge life experiences of students of color as unique, individually and collectively. CRT embraces these experiences as counter-stories, narratives, *testimonios*, and oral stories to illuminate their unique experiences, 3) a challenge to dominant ideologies —CRT and LatCrit give meaning and validation to culturally and linguistic ways of knowing and understanding that challenge the traditional notion of what counts as knowledge, 4) the centrality of race and racism and their intersectionality with other forms of subordination —raced-gendered epistemologies emerge from ways of knowing that are in direct contrast with the dominant Eurocentric epistemology, and 5) a commitment to social justice —research and practice grounded in critical raced-gendered epistemology seek political and social change that benefits communities of color. These five pivotal elements combined provide educational researchers the framework needed to move into the realm of moral and critical practice (Delgado Bernal, 2002), which is what I believe must happen in order to understand how Latino students experience education and what we, teachers, administrators, and legislators, must do differently to improve such experience.

## **Stereotypes**

A stereotype is a cognitive structure containing the perceiver's knowledge and beliefs about a social group and its members (Hamilton et al., 1990). Within the context of this proposal, the perceiver is the teacher and the social group is Latino students. This cognitive structure is the product of what we have learned from our childhood and reflects the values, beliefs, and knowledge we have amassed throughout our life experience (Hamilton et al., 1990). As explained by Okun (2010) and Nieto (2000), our life experiences are shaped by the white supremacy system in which we live. Hamilton posits that as we create our own reality, we misread the significance of the behaviors we observe and mistakenly assign personal meanings to such behaviors that might not be accurate; we rely on the single story we hold of individuals of color to create such reality (Adichie, 2009). For example, the names of the students can potentially influence the way teachers will initially interact with them (Dusek & Joseph, 1983). The racial or ethnic identity of the students also has the potential to influence how teachers might interact with them (A. R. Griffith, 1980).

It is important to point out that the stereotypes we hold of each other can be positive or negative. Michael C. Ashton and Victoria M. Esses (1999) explicate that stereotypes can be totally inaccurate or contain a sliver of truth and, regardless of whether they inaccurately underestimate or overestimate, the end result is the inappropriate treatment of the target person or group.

Some of the characteristics about students that trigger the activation of stereotypes among teachers are race, socio-economic conditions, information contained in students' files, and classroom behavior (Dusek & Joseph, 1983). Once teachers' stereotypes are

activated, they might use them to seek new information that confirms what they expect to see and ignore evidence that contradicts such stereotypes (Hamilton et al., 1990). As Rosenthal and Jacobson (1992) assert, once some information is known or believed about a student, other things about him or her are implied, whether or not they are true; Rosenthal and Jacobson call this the halo effect. For example, Mexican children are seen as not intellectually curious as other students and are thus expected to perform at lower levels than white students (Rosenthal & Jacobson, 1992). Richard J. Herrnstein and Charles Murray (1994) even wrote a controversial book in which they claimed that individuals of color were genetically inferior than whites and, therefore, existing inequities between whites and people of color were just a natural outcome.

In the most extreme cases of stereotyping, Latino students are criminalized and pathologized. They are seen as automatic drop-outs, gang members, criminals, thieves, and in the case of Latina students, as prostitutes (Katz, 1999; McKenzie, 2009). At the same time, White and Asian students are perceived to be better students and are expected to perform academically at higher levels (Caballero, Haynes, & Tikly, 2007). The most common negative stereotype of Latino students among many teachers is that they are Mexican immigrants and as a consequence they are simply academically less capable (Bruna, 2006; Dusek & Joseph, 1983; A. R. Griffith, 1980; McKenzie, 2009; Tettegah, 1996; Ullucci, 2010). Once teachers have created this reality about Latino students, those teachers' behaviors and interactions translate into providing fewer opportunities to actively and successfully engage these students to participate in the learning process in the classroom (Dusek & Joseph, 1983; Weinstein et al., 2004).



In contrast, different studies (Jussim, 1990; Jussim & Harber, 2005; Nieto, 2000; Rosenthal & Jacobson, 1992; Weinstein et al., 2004) have shown that teachers interact in more supportive ways with students for whom they have high expectations. Teachers care more about them and provide these students more positive and clearer feedback, teach them more difficult content and give them more opportunities to demonstrate mastery. These practices create an environment in which Latino students and other students of color are systematically discriminated against and are robbed of the rich educational experience enjoyed by their white, and in some cases, Asian counterparts. It is within these educational conditions that Latino students experience a stereotype threat (Steele, 1997), a phenomenon which I discuss next.

### **Stereotype Threat**

Claude Steele (2010), in his book *Whistling Vivaldi*, masterfully explains how black students and other students of color constantly face identity contingencies. Steele defines identity contingencies as the things an individual has to deal within a situation because of his or her given social identity: old, young, male, female, white, black, Latino, Democrat, Republican, etc. Students of color have to deal with a predicament of this identity. Knowing their group identity and society's views of their group when they are doing something for which such views are relevant becomes a heavy, burdensome predicament. Under these conditions, students of color know that their performance could confirm a stereotype of their group and of themselves as members of the group, which creates a stereotype threat.

Students of color, especially, are constantly experiencing identity threats from different cues in the environment. According to Steele (2010), if there are many cues in a

setting that point in an disturbing direction, a sense of stereotype threat is likely to occur. If many fewer cues are present in the setting, a stereotype threat should not emerge, and if it does, it should abate. Steele identifies five major types of cues that can trigger a stereotype threat phenomenon: (1) critical mass —the number of individuals from the same group; (2) the identity of people in positions of power is different than your own, (3) organization of the setting —segregation in physical space, socialization based on race, etc.; (4) setting inclusiveness —are all social identities and their experiences valued, and (5) cues that signal prejudice.

Steele (2010) explicates that “[w]hen we’re at risk of confirming a stereotype that we don’t like, and it’s about something we care about, our minds race...[w]e are defending ourselves and coping with the threat of being stereotyped” (p. 123). Steele continues by citing the work of Jean-Claude Croizet and his team, “a mind trying to defeat a stereotype leaves little mental capacity free for anything else we’re doing” (p.123) and a study conducted by him and two of his colleagues in which they found that individuals experiencing a stereotype threat also experience physiological signs of anxiety such as increased heart rate, blood pressure, and other signs of anxiety (nervousness, sweaty hands, etc.) that interfere with performance. Individuals under stereotype threat experiencing these physiological symptoms invest so much mental capacity ruminating and being afraid that their behavior and performance will confirm a stereotype held by others, this major distraction from the task at hand leads them to underperform.

### **Empirical Works on Stereotype Threat**

Claude Steele's personal experience as an African American in the United States has led him to spend his academic career studying how stereotypes affect us all. He and many of his colleagues at different academic institutions have conducted a number of studies trying to better understand this phenomenon and to find ways to remove the threat of stereotypes —or at least diminish it in our lives. In his book *Whistling Vivaldi* (2010), Steele highlights some of the major studies and their findings. Early in the book he cites an activity that a third grade teacher named Jane Elliott in Iowa, conducted in 1968 to help her students understand the importance of Dr. King's life and work after his assassination on April 4, 1968. Steele explains that Ms. Elliot wanted to show her class the experience of being discriminated against. Many of her students, Steele continues, had never seen an African American individual in their small farming community. Ms. Elliott divided her class into two groups: brown-eyed and blue-eyed. On the first day of her experiment, Ms. Elliott gave preferential treatment to the blue-eyed group. These students sat at the front of the class, they were given first access to lessons and materials and were characterized as smarter, cleaner, and better behaved than the students in the other group. Students in the other group were identified by wearing a felt collar around their necks and were stigmatized. On the second day of the experiment, Ms. Elliot switched the groups. The brown-eyed students were now receiving the same preferential treatment the blue-eyed students had received the day before. The blue-eyed students were now being discriminated against and were wearing the felt collars around their necks that signaled their stigmatization. Steele notes that “[t]he brown-eyed students, for their part, were once again eager learners” (p. 27).

In Ms. Elliot's class, Steele (2010) elucidates the fact that when students were stigmatized they were slow to respond; they barely paid attention; they spoke only if spoken to; they did not remember instructions; and they got a lot of answers wrong. However, "on the day they were not stigmatized, these same students responded like the exuberant, cognitively adept children they apparently were" (p. 28). Steele asserts that, for Ms. Elliott's students, the environment and their assigned status in it seemed to be a key factor in their ability or lack thereof to perform. Claude Steele has dedicated his academic career as a social psychologist trying to understand if indeed prejudice and stereotypes have the power to interfere directly and indirectly with intellectual performance.

As a professor at the University of Michigan, Steele (2010) had been troubled by the academic underperformance of students of color. He theorized that maybe these students were underperforming as a result of being stigmatized in those areas in which they underperformed. Steele and a graduate student of his, Steven Spencer, needed to find or create a situation similar to Ms. Elliot's classroom. They wanted to compare the intellectual performance of a group under stigmatizing conditions with the intellectual performance of a group not being stigmatized. They soon realized that their own university classrooms could provide this opportunity.

Steele (2010), with the help of Steven Spencer decided to conduct an experiment to test whether the group stereotype of women not being good at math was indeed impairing their intellectual performance in advanced math classes. They would compare the intellectual performance of women in advanced English classes where women are expected to perform well in the absence of a negative group stereotype. Steele and

Spencer hypothesized that the gap between women's and men's grades should be greater in advanced math classes than in advanced English classes. Even though the data they collected were not decisive, Steele and Spencer believed they had a situation in which women in advanced math classes tended to underperform because they felt more stigmatized than in the advanced English classes. Steele and Spencer knew that they needed more evidence to support such claim. The next time they set up an experiment to reproduce their math and English study in the laboratory.

Steele and Spencer selected a group of female and male students whose skills and commitment to math were essentially the same (Steele, 2010). These students were given a very difficult intellectual test alone in a room. Half of the participants took this test under stigmatizing or potentially stigmatizing conditions in which the group was given a very challenging thirty-minute math test; the other half took the test under non-stigmatizing conditions using a thirty-minute English and literature test. Steele and Spencer believed that by simply putting women through a very difficult and frustrating math test, they would experience the stigmatization of not being good at math for simply being a woman. They surmised that both men and women taking the English and literature test would not experience any stigmatization evoked by any negative group stereotype. Steele and Spencer were able to reproduce the same results they had observed previously in the real world: women underperformed on the math test when compared with the men's performance. However, Steele and Spencer felt that this results did not prove anything but were encouraged to continue digging deeper into this phenomenon.

Steele and Spencer (Steele, 2010) decided to conduct the same experiment they had just completed, except this time they would give all the participants a difficult math

test alone in a room. In order to remove the threat of stigmatization for women, half of the participants were presented the math test as a test that did not show gender differences. What Steele and Spencer were hoping to accomplish by telling this to their subjects was to find out whether the underperformance of women in the math test in the previous experiment was due to the effects of stigmatization or the effects of something else. The results of the experiment this time were dramatic. Women participants who were told that the test did not show gender differences performed at the same high levels as their equally skilled male counterparts; their underperformance disappeared. Women in the other group who still felt the stereotype threat of not being good at math did worse than the equally skilled male participants, just as in the previous experiment. The results of this experiment, Steele opines, provided the first empirical evidence that the stigma pressure he and Spencer had been theorizing about was in reality powerful enough to affect the ordinary experience of women in math classes, concluding that “[r]emoving the threat of stereotype confirmation that normally hangs over the heads of women doing difficult math, [sic] dramatically improved their performance —the way removing the collar from Jane Elliott’s students improved their performance” (p. 40).

As a professor at Stanford University, Claude Steele (2010) worked with Josh Aronson, a post-doctoral student at that time, on another experiment. This time Steele was interested in finding out if the stereotype threat observed in the study he and Spencer had conducted at the University of Michigan could be generalized to another group typically marginalized in our society. Steele and Aronson gave a group of African American and white students a very challenging verbal reasoning test. This experiment was set to reveal whether African American students would underperform on this verbal

test if they felt threatened by the negative group stereotype about African American's intellect. In the first part of the experiment, students were presented the verbal reasoning test as such. In this part of the experiment white students did considerably better than the African American participants. Next, Steele and Aronson gave the same verbal reasoning test to another group of African American and white students. This time, however, students were told that this test was a task to study problem solving in general. This simple change in the presentation of the task removed the negative intellectual stereotype for African American students. African American and white students responded in similar ways and performed at similar levels this time. For Steele this study and its findings confirmed the effect of stigma pressure on intellectual performance in general as something that every group in society experiences at one time or another.

Steele (2010) also cites a study conducted at Princeton University by a group of researchers led by Jeff Stone (1999) in which white and African American Princeton students had to complete a golf task. White students who were told that this task was to measure natural athletic ability performed a lot worse than the white students who were told nothing about the task. Researchers reasoned that white students that were told that the golf task would measure natural athletic ability found themselves threatened by the commonly held stereotype in our society that white men are not naturally athletic when compared to African Americans. In contrast, African American students completed the same task equally well whether or not they had been told the task would measure natural athletic ability. These African American students performed the task under no stereotype threat. Jeff Stone and his team knew that they needed more evidence to further support and solidify their argument. If a group stereotype threat was powerful enough to

negatively interfere with completing a simple task such as golf for a group of people, all they needed to do was to set up the same experiment, but this time they needed to create a situation in which African American students would experience a group stereotype threat.

This time the team of researchers told new groups of participants that the golf task would measure strategic intelligence in sports (Stone et al., 1999). This simple change in directions was intended to bring forth a stereotype threat for African American students based on the very negative stereotype of African Americans as less intelligent. The results were striking; African American students performed a lot worse than their white counterparts for whom the stereotype threat had been lifted. The results provided further evidence of the powerful influence a stereotype threat exerts on individuals being stereotyped.

Whereas all the previous research studied responses to stereotype threat in young adults, Claude Steele (2010) also presents a study by Nalini Ambady (2001) and a team of researchers as further empirical evidence of the power of the stereotype threat phenomenon on young (5 to 7 yrs. old) Asian girls' math performance in a study she conducted in Boston. In this experiment, right before taking a math test, some students were given a coloring sheet of a girl their age holding a doll. This activity, researchers theorized, would evoke some gender-related images in the students. These female students did considerably worse than the students that colored in pictures of Asian children eating rice with chopsticks or a landscape.

Steele (2010) also cites two other studies conducted in Europe. Two Italian researchers found that an incidental cue, such as briefly and casually sharing information that men have performed better than women in high level math classes, negatively



influenced the math performance in a sample of Italian female students as young as ten years old. The other study conducted in Germany found that stereotype threat depressed the performance of sixth grade female students in math.

Steele (2010) asserts that the studies he referenced in his book provide evidence that children as young as five seem to have the psychological development needed to experience stereotype threat. As these studies show, children and adults have their performance impaired in the areas related to the stereotype and “[i]ts capacity to [have a negative effect] means that it can have lifelong cumulative effects — for example, deflecting women away from an interest in math before they’ve had much of a chance to engage it” (pp. 170-171).

### **Elementary Latino Students and Stereotype Threat**

In 2009, about fifteen years after Steele and Aronson (1995) conducted what have become seminal studies on stereotype threat, most of the research on this topic has been composed of experimental studies conducted with African American and women college age students. A systematic search conducted by Aronson et al. (2009) to identify empirical studies of classroom-based interventions to reduce stereotype threat among African American students produced only three studies out of the 289 initially found. Even in this systematic and rigorous search, there were no studies specifically addressing elementary Latino students and stereotype threat effects.

A review on the literature on stereotype threat conducted by Appel and Kronberger (2012) shows that this is a topic “well-represented in multidisciplinary psychology and social psychology journals” (p. 612). Appel and Kronberger report finding 369 peer-reviewed articles containing the term stereotype threat in their title,

abstract, or key words. However, they argue, the interest in this topic in the educational psychology field is still limited. For example, Appel and Kronberg found 27 articles published in the *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* alone while “[t]he 20 highest ranking educational psychology journals altogether published 13 articles that had the term “stereotype threat” in their title, abstract, or keywords.” (p. 612). Appel and Kronberg believe that the sparse interest on stereotype threat in the educational psychology field may be the result of a perception that the stereotype threat phenomenon is more relevant in situations where students demonstrate their abilities (e.g. standardized testing) as opposed to the day-to-day interactions in the school setting where teachers’ expectations and other student’s expectations become more relevant in eliciting a stereotype threat.

My own search in ERIC (EBSCOhost) for empirical studies on stereotype threat effects and elementary school Latino students produced studies that did not address my topic of interest. I used a combination of terms such as ‘stereotype threat’, ‘Latino students’, ‘elementary school’, ‘academic gap’, and ‘effects.’ There were, however, three studies that, even though they did not specifically address Latino students in elementary school and stereotype threat, were particularly relevant in trying to understand the perception of discrimination among children (Brown & Bigler, 2005), how children develop stereotype consciousness and its consequences in middle childhood (McKown & Weinstein, 2003), and the academic and social consequences the development of stereotype consciousness on children in middle childhood (McKown & Strambler, 2009).

McKown and Weinstein (2003) posit that previous research has shown that children become aware of ethnicity and gender between the ages of three and five.

Between six and ten, children become aware of broadly held stereotypes and develop the awareness that other individuals endorse such stereotypes. This new awareness is what McKown and Weinstein defined as stereotype consciousness. Children who have developed a stereotype consciousness are now able to gain an insight into others' social motives. This new ability has an important effect on their relationship to other individuals, social settings, and society in general. Children now can identify prejudice, an emotional reaction or response directed to members of a specific group and acts of discrimination, that is the negative treatment of an individual because of his/her group membership (McKown & Strambler, 2009). As children's stereotype awareness becomes more sophisticated, they become more likely to interpret instances of negative interracial relations across different situations (Brown & Bigler, 2005; McKown & Strambler, 2009) leading children to suffer the effects of stereotype threat.

I also conducted a search for empirical studies related to Latino students in bilingual programs *and* stereotype threat using Google Scholar using different combinations of key terms such as 'stereotype threat', 'Latino students', 'Hispanic students', 'bilingual programs', 'dual immersion', and 'two-way programs'. There were no studies examining the experience of Latino students in bilingual programs in elementary schools *and* stereotype threat, hence my motivation to conduct this study and its relevance in the field of bilingual education.

### **Teachers' Expectations**

As I established earlier, the racial and ethnic identity of students has the potential to influence how teachers see them, which consequently influences the way they interact with them (Dusek & Joseph, 1983; A. R. Griffith, 1980). The teachers' behaviors might

create an identity and stereotype threat (Steele, 2010) for Latino students. Whether the stereotypes that teachers hold of these students are accurate or not or are positive or negative, the end result is their inappropriate treatment (Ashton & Esses, 1999; Tettegah, 1996). These students, whom Jordan (2010) refers to as disadvantaged, find themselves in a situation in which the low expectations their teachers have of them further deepens their disadvantaged status in society (Rosenthal & Jacobson, 1992).

In the case of Latino students, the most common and poignant stereotype held by many white teachers is that they are simply less academically capable (Bruna, 2006; Dusek & Joseph, 1983; A. R. Griffith, 1980; McKenzie, 2009; Tettegah, 1996; Ullucci, 2010). Teachers who operate from this particular belief behave in ways that make it become a reality, a self-fulfilling prophecy (Hamilton et al., 1990; Jussim, 1990). In this phenomenon, a stereotype is activated creating a number of expectations; these expectations must affect how the perceiver or observer (teachers in this case) act towards the target person or group (a Latino student or the Latino group as a whole), and the behavior of the perceiver must have an effect on the behavior of the target. Typically, self-fulfilling prophecy materializes for only five to ten percent of students in the general population (Brophy, 1993, as cited in Jussim & Harber, 2005). However, I assert that among Latino students the percentage is likely higher, as Jussim and Harber explicate that stigmatized students are more vulnerable to self-fulfilling prophecies. As Weinstein (2002) argues, these scholars are basing their conclusions on studies that have explored expectancy in the classrooms that have for the most part ignored the demographics and different characteristics of the students, focusing instead on the high and low functioning students phenomenon. Weinstein asserts that most expectancy studies have reported

“averaged effects across teachers, students, and school. [However, a] closer look depicts variation within these groupings in the strength of effects. Further, schools differ markedly in the populations of children and teachers that make up its membership...” (p. 58). Furthermore, Weinstein opines that expectancy studies have been conducted over “[b]rief periods of time and cross-sectional studies rather than longitudinal [studies]. Thus, the findings underestimate the cumulative effects of expectancy processes.” (p. 59). In short, Weinstein contends that expectancy effects in the classroom must be re-examined “using another and wider lens that includes the institutional and historical context that gives rise to and reinforces [current] practices and policies, as well as interactions between the characteristics of individuals and environments across grades, levels of the educational system, home and school, and multiple players” (p. 58).

The current political and public debate about issues of immigration, employment, education, crime, terrorism, and border security often demonizes Latinos and portrays them as a threat to the country (Guyl et al., 2010). Taking these influences into account, self-fulfilling prophecies might become even more relevant and true for Latino students given the fact that contemporary racism is disguised and covert. As Okun (2010) and Sue et. al. (2007) contend, racism has morphed from overt racial hatred and bigotry publicly displayed into an ambiguous and blurry form more difficult to identify and acknowledge.

### **Teacher-Student Relationships**

Latino students have been educated within a system that has always served the needs of the dominant culture (Davila & de Bradley, 2010). The established social order in public schools does not lend itself to the formation of long-term committed relationships between teachers and students (Stanton-Salazar, 1997) due to the cultural

mismatch along the lines of racial and ethnic differences (Tettegah, 1996). For Latino students to succeed in this system, the teacher-student relationship is critical (Katz, 1999).

Even though Latino students continue to be educated in unequal and segregated schools (Davila & de Bradley, 2010; Jordan, 2010; Kozol, 2005; Weinstein et al., 2004), there are teachers who are highly successful in working with Latino students. The relationships between these teachers and their students have been based on high expectations and caring and mutual trust and respect (Garza, 2009; Katz, 1999). Additionally, these teachers have acknowledged, embraced, and used the cultural and linguistic funds of knowledge that Latino students bring to school to teach them the tools they need to decode the white supremacy system effectively (Stanton-Salazar, 1997). White teachers who are able to understand Latino students better and connect with them at more meaningful levels are teachers who have had similar life experiences, for example, instability and personal challenges in their own lives as well as personal experiences living and significantly interacting with other cultures (Marx, 2008). Having experienced the realities of a life in low socio-economic conditions at one point or another and being exposed to different cultures and systems, these teachers are able to empathize with their students' conditions and challenges. These personal experiences and challenges have widened the lens through which they see the world, allowing them to understand, value, and embrace cultural and linguistic differences and use them as sources of knowledge that enhance the educational experience of all students in the classroom despite the challenges that socio-economic conditions bring to the school setting.

## **Conclusion**

Latino students continue to be educated in segregated and unequal schools that are the result of laws, policies, and practices rooted in a white supremacy system. Latino students and other marginalized groups perform at academic levels that continue to perpetuate white supremism and put at risk the future of our society given the rapid rate at which the Latino population is growing. Latino students not only have to deal with challenges originating in the socio-economic, cultural, and linguistic realities in which they and their families live, but they also have to cope with the fact that most of the teachers they will encounter in classrooms are white and have been educated in a system that privileges white values and beliefs. As a result, many of these teachers are ignorant of the history and culture of other racial and ethnic groups in our society and often hold negative stereotypes and low expectations of them. Consequently, they interact with Latino students differently and create a poor and unhealthy learning environment. All these factors and markers combine to create the powerful identity and stereotype threat phenomenon.

I must, at this point, make clear that my intent is not to solely blame teachers for the low academic performance of Latino students; it would not be a fair conclusion when there is plenty of literature that has identified socio-economic, cultural, and linguistic factors, as well as institutional racism and white supremacy as the barriers that Latino students face in schools today. My intent is to focus on one of many factors that I believe has the potential to challenge the current white supremacist system and that is within the control of individual teachers. This factor is the lens through which teachers see Latino students in their classrooms which creates an environment in which students might

experience a stereotype threat (Steele, 2010). I believe that for our educational system to be reformed, we need to help teachers reflect not just on their pedagogical practices but also on how race and ethnicity play a role in their daily interactions with their Latino students and other minority groups. I believe that by being able to reflect about these issues, teachers will start to develop a critical understanding of the importance of the cultural and racial diversity among students and the stereotypes that threaten the social and academic identity of their Latino students. Developing this understanding can help teachers remove cues that elicit a stereotype threat among Latino students in the school and classroom environments.

I must make explicit the fact that I have intentionally not addressed issues related to racism, discrimination, and stereotyping among Latinos and other minority groups as well as the role minority teachers play in these issues. Additionally, I did not address the role Latino students play in race relation dynamics with their teachers because of the unequal distribution of power between teachers and their students within the white supremacy system. While all these phenomena are important and must be studied, I am focusing only on the phenomenon between Latino students and white teachers because the Latino population is growing rapidly and the teaching force in the United States is still made up of mostly white teachers.



## **Chapter 3**

### **Research and Methodology**

This narrative inquiry was designed and carried out with the goal to explore how Latino students might experience anxiety, if at all, and if such anxiety could create an environment in which students would feel negatively stereotyped by teachers and classmates at least from the perspective of the students themselves. I utilized the critical theory paradigm to frame the study and relied on the LatCrit theory lens to contextualize the educational experience of Latino students in TWI programs and to try to understand their lived experiences in such educational context.

The overarching question guiding the study was: how, if at all, did Latino students in a fifth grade two-way immersion program experience anxiety about the ways they themselves believed they were perceived in the classroom and school settings in general? The following sub-questions elaborated this primary question:

- a) What teachers' behaviors, if any, did students identify as the source of the anxiety they experienced in the classroom and school setting in general?
- b) What behaviors, if any, on the part of their non-Latino classmates did Latino students identify as the source of the anxiety they experienced in the classroom and school setting in general?
- c) In what ways, if any, did negative stereotypes commonly held by the larger society influence the ways Latino students believed to be perceived at school?

### **Overview of Narrative Inquiry and Rationale**

Connelly and Clandinin (1990) assert that the main reason for the use of narrative inquiry in educational research is that human beings are storytellers, individually and socially, leading storied lives. In other words, a narrative inquiry allows researchers to study the ways we, humans, experience the world. For this particular study I was interested in understanding how Latino students experienced the stereotype threat phenomenon (Steele, 1997), if at all.

As Clandinin and Connelly (2000) have also explained, narrative inquiry is a way to understand experience; it is the stories lived and told; it addresses social issues by looking inward (hopes, feeling, aesthetic reactions, moral dispositions), as well as looking outward (existential conditions —the environment), backward and forward (temporality —past, present, and future).

Elliott (2005) explicates that the key features of a narrative inquiry are: (a) it is a chronological representation of a sequence of events, (b) it is meaningful for the participants since they are provided with the opportunity to externalize their feelings and indicate which elements of the experiences they are sharing through stories are most significant, and (c) it is inherently social. These features provided the best opportunity for me as a researcher to try to capture how Latino students might have experienced being negatively stereotyped at school as they experienced the teaching and learning process in the two-way immersion (TWI) program they attended. Moreover, I believed a narrative inquiry would provide participants and researcher an opportunity to discuss how race and ethnicity might have played a role in the educational experience of the participants over time, in a place or series of places, and in social interactions with the environment (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000).

In short, the focus of a narrative inquiry is to explore the life of an individual (Creswell, 2007). A narrative inquiry approach also allowed me to articulate a relationship between my own personal interests and experience in the racialized educational experience of Latino students and a sense of significance and larger social concerns with the academic underperformance of Latino students. Therefore and lastly, a narrative inquiry provides the researcher and the participants the medium to tell their stories to challenge common narratives that negatively stereotype Latino students, a defining element of the CRT and LatCrit (Delgado Bernal, 2002).

Clandinin and Connelly (2000) also explicate that even though researchers engaged in narrative inquiry “will discover that aspects of their work have features that some call ethnographic, and other aspects have features that some call phenomenological, and so forth” (p. 128), it is important to remember that the focus and purpose of a narrative inquiry is to understand the experience of one or more individuals through their lived and told stories. In this study, I was interested in exploring how the five Latino students might have experienced stereotype threat, if at all in the TWI program they attended. I was not interested in understanding the essence of one particular experience in the TWI program (phenomenology), nor was I interested in describing and interpreting any cultural aspects shared among the participants (ethnography), and I was not interested in developing a thorough description and analysis of a single or multiple cases (a case study) either. To further explain why I chose a narrative inquiry approach for this study, see table 3, a section of a table created by Creswell (2007) in which he contrasted the characteristics of five qualitative approaches.

**Table 3**

Contrasting characteristics of five qualitative approaches: their focus, type of problems best addressed by each one, and their unit of analysis.

<b>Characteristics</b>	<b>Narrative inquiry</b>	<b>Phenomenology</b>	<b>Grounded theory</b>	<b>Ethnography</b>	<b>Case study</b>
Focus	Exploring the life of an individual	Understanding the essence of the experience	Developing a theory grounded in data from the field	Describing and interpreting a culture-sharing group	Developing an in depth description and analysis of a case or multiple cases
Type of problem best suited for design	Needing to tell stories of individual experiences	Needing to describe the essence of a lived phenomenon	Grounding a theory in the views of participants	Describing and interpreting the shared patterns of culture of a group	Providing an in depth understanding of a case or cases
Unit of analysis	Studying one or more individuals	Studying several individuals that have shared the experience	Studying a process, action, or interaction involving many individuals	Studying a group that shares the same culture	Studying an event, a program, an activity, more than one individual

### **Goal of Study**

Thus, the goal of this study was to find how Latino students in fifth grade in a two-way immersion program might have experienced anxiety, if any, which might have hinder their academic performance. For this particular study, anxiety was operationalized as nervousness resulting from experiencing fear of being wrong, being made fun of, and/or fear of appearing as not very smart. To achieve this goal I proposed conducting a narrative inquiry. As a researcher I believed a narrative inquiry method provided the best opportunities to capture the detailed stories and life experiences of a single individual or a small number of individuals (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000) within a given social context,

the TWI program they attended. Doing so is particularly important because when individuals believe themselves to be negatively stereotyped, their experiences are very personal and are bounded and contextualized by the environmental circumstances in which the individual operates.

The study was conducted at the end of the 2014-2015 school year. The collection of data occurred from February through May 2015. The data analysis was done during the winter of 2015-16. Following the Clandinin and Connelly (2000) procedure to conduct a narrative study I used a self-ranking instrument and questions (Appendix A) to bind the two subsequent interviews (Appendices B and C) with the five Latino students whose interviews I video recorded, transcribed, analyzed, and retold in a narrative form.

### **The Research Paradigm**

The research paradigm framing this narrative inquiry study was the critical theory paradigm as described by Thomas S. Popkewitz in Guba (1990). Popkewitz argues that a critical theory paradigm “provide[s] the most elaborate theoretical discussions of the problems of schooling as a socially constructed institution in a world of inequalities.” (p. 64). The ontological basis of this paradigm is that nature cannot be seen as it really is or really works except through a value window (Guba, 1990). In this case, the intellectual ability of Latino students is generally not seen or understood by many teachers and other educators within the school system. This is because intellectual ability is measured through the widespread utilization of standardized tests which, even though this is not their intent, act as confirmation of the negative stereotype of low intellectual capacity as it is perceived by the dominant Eurocentric, upper middle class, male dominant society (Nieto, 2000).

The epistemological basis of this paradigm is also value-laden from various perspectives since knowledge is socially constructed. Guba (1990) asserts that the epistemological nature of a critical theory paradigm is subjectivist, “in the sense that values mediate inquiry.” (p. 25). As a researcher, I am making the argument that in order to ultimately better understand how negative stereotypes revealed as anxiety or nervousness in the classroom affect the academic performance of Latino students, we must study their experience through the lens of the LatCrit theory, which addresses the centrality of race and racism as forms of subordination (Delgado Bernal, 2002) and is manifested through the stereotype threat phenomenon (Steele, 1997, 2010). The approach in the critical theory paradigm and the LatCrit theory is one of transformation and the elimination of false consciousness (the negative stereotype of low intellectual capacity among Latino students) through the challenge of dominant ideologies.

### **Data Collection**

The main focus of this narrative inquiry was on first order narratives (Elliott, 2005)—individuals telling stories about themselves and their own experiences answering a set of questions. I gathered data through two different mediums: a self-ranking instrument I developed (Appendix A) and two-consequent interviews (Appendices B and C). The self-ranking instrument allowed me to select five Latino students for the two subsequent interviews.

### **Site of the Study: Sueños y Realidad Elementary School**

Sueños y Realidad (Dreams and Reality) is an urban elementary public school located in the Portland metropolitan area. To protect the identity of the participants in this study the name of the school has been changed to Sueños y Realidad Elementary School.

I collected data for this narrative inquiry study at this site between the months of February and May of the 2014-2015 school year.

According to the school profile reported by the state Department of Education at the time of the study, Sueños y Realidad School had an enrollment of more than 700 students. Because the percentage of students labeled economically disadvantaged was more than 70%, the school was designated as a Title I school. More than half of the students (54%) were identified as Hispanic or Latino and 52% of all the students were identified as English language learners (ELLs). Sueños y Realidad School offered a TWI Spanish and English program to its community.

The two-way immersion program was established during the mid-1990s to address the academic needs of the increasing Latino population. The school has been offering this program with little to no support from the local school district, as stated by some teachers who have worked at the school since the program was established.

### **Participants: Phase I**

Participants in this study were from two fifth grade two-way (Spanish-English) immersion classes attending Sueños y Realidad Elementary School. These two classes were similar in their demographic composition. More than half of the students in each class were Latino students and the rest of the students were English native-speaking students, all but four students were white. Two different teachers worked with students in these two classes. One teacher, a white native English speaker taught them English language arts and Social Studies in English and the other, a Spanish native speaker from Mexico taught them Mathematics, Science, and Spanish language arts in Spanish. The

subjects were divided by language of instruction and students spent half of their instructional time with each one of their teachers.

All 56 students from both classes participated in phase I of the study (completing self-ranking instrument — appendix A). Participants were asked to think about their overall experience in the school setting and to rank themselves against the other students in their class. They were also asked to guess where teachers and classmates would rank them and try to identify and explain what experiences had informed their decisions to rank themselves as they did. Because the focus of this narrative inquiry was about the experience of Latino students in the TWI program they attended, this self-ranking instrument was contextualized within their experience in the program, which is all they had known since kindergarten. I used the information gathered on this self-ranking instrument to choose the five students to be interviewed in phase II of the study.

### **Participants: Phase II**

The five Latino students I selected were the ones who made the most references to “not being as smart” as other students in their classes when completing the self-ranking instrument. The assertion of “not being as smart” as other students, which is a common poignant stereotype held about Latino students by many white teachers (Bruna, 2006; Dusek & Joseph, 1983; A. R. Griffith, 1980; Tettegah, 1996; Ullucci, 2010), was the criteria I used to select these five students.

The five students: Sandro, Jacinto, Jorge, Rita, and Yolanda (names have been changed to protect the students’ identities), had been in the TWI program since kindergarten. All five of them were born in the United States to immigrant parents from



Mexico. Because their home language was Spanish, they were identified as ELL students when they entered kindergarten.

### **Procedures and Chronology**

The Office of Research Integrity at Portland State University approved this narrative inquiry study at the end of fall term 2013. The school principal at Sueños y Realidad supported the study and approved it pending the approval from the district's office of research. The school district's office of research approved it during the spring of 2014. I gathered data for the study during the 2014-2015 school year. I analyzed data and wrote the final report the following school year; 2015-2016.

### **Parent and Student Notification and Consent**

After all the procedures had been approved by the offices of research at Portland State University and the school district where the study would take place, parents and/or legal guardians of the students in the two TWI classes that had been selected to participate in the study were notified via a bilingual letter (Appendix D). Immediately after all parent an/or legal guardian forms authorizing the participation of their children had been collected, students were also given a written child consent (Appendix E) to exercise their right to either participate in the study or not.

### **Phase I: Self-Ranking Instrument**

I conducted phase one of the study during the months of February and March 2015. Before I gave the participants the self-ranking instrument, I explained to them that this study was an important part of my work as a doctoral student. I also shared with them that as participants in the study they had an opportunity to share their personal and social educational experiences and that by doing so they would be helping practicing and pre-

service teachers better understand the experiences of their students. I clearly explained to the students that their participation in this initial phase of the study was voluntary, even though their parents and they themselves had signed written consents. I stressed the fact that their decision to participate or not, at any point during the study, would not have an effect on their student-teacher relationships nor would it affect their grades. Additionally, I reminded the participants that only a few (4-6 students) of them would participate in two interviews about their experience at school after completing the self-ranking instrument.

I developed this self-ranking instrument (Appendix A) to ask students to think specifically about their academic identity in the school setting and rank themselves against the other students in their bilingual classes. It's important to note that for these students, up until the time when the study took place, their whole school experience had been within the context of the TWI program they had been attending since entering kindergarten. I also asked students to try to guess where their teachers and their classmates would rank them against the rest of their class. In each case, I also asked the students to explain their thinking. The purpose in using this self-ranking instrument was to identify possible experiences students might have had during their almost six years at Sueños y Realidad school that might have, from their point of view, influenced their self-perceptions as students and their academic abilities. Following their identification, I shared with them that I had selected them to participate in the follow-up interviews and that I would work with their teachers to schedule the interviews.

## **Phase II: Interviews**

The first set of interviews was conducted about three weeks after participants completed the self-ranking instruments. The second set of interviews took place about five weeks after the first interview. Both sets of interviews were conducted in the same classroom for consistency purposes.

The first interview protocol contained 15 questions asking students how they felt about learning in Spanish and English in the TWI program, things they enjoyed at school, times when they felt confident and/or nervous at school, what made them feel nervous, and what could have their teachers and classmates done to help them feel less anxious if they had experienced any anxiety at all (Appendix B). These interviews lasted an average of 10 minutes.

The interview protocol guiding the second interview, which took place about five weeks after the first interviews due to the hectic state testing schedule at the school site, consisted of a series of cards depicting a fictional story that takes place in Kidland (Appendix C). There were two types of characters in this imaginary land: Greens and Blues. Greens thought Blues were not very smart and were not good at doing their schoolwork. Participants in the study were told a story about one Green character, who will be named Gene, coming to school for the first day. Gene was assigned a seat at a table with two other students, one Green and one Blue. Gene did not know anything about the two other students. The teacher asked Gene to choose one of the two students to be his/her study buddy. Gene looked at the two other students and thought hard about who he/she wanted to pick. Gene knew it was important to pick someone who was a good student and who could help him/her with his/her work. After participants were told this story and shown the cards illustrating the story, they were asked a series of questions to

confirm their understanding of the story and the characteristics describing the two types of characters. Participants were also asked how much the real world they thought was like Kidland, if at all. These interviews ranged from 6 to 15 minutes each.

The interviews took place during the months of April and May 2015. It is important to note that the interviews were conducted by a different interviewer, not the researcher, as requested by the Research and Evaluation Specialist from the district where the study took place. The Office of Research Integrity at Portland State University had to be contacted to approve this change. The interviewer was a bicultural and trilingual (Spanish, English, and Portuguese) teacher and researcher who had conducted a series of interviews as part of her dissertation research working with Latina/Mexican mothers as advocates for the education of their children at the same site, Sueños y Realidad Elementary School. Her solid understanding of the Critical Race theory and Latino Critical Race theory frameworks facilitated our conversations about and her understanding of the what, why, and how of my research.

Both the first and second interviews were video-recorded. The rationale for video-recording the interviews was two-fold: (1) in addition to recording the participants' oral stories, documenting their body language and expressions during the interview would provide valuable information to be analyzed, and (2) video-recording the interviews would provide a safeguarding mechanism to protect the students and researcher as well as guaranteeing the authenticity of the gathering data process. All 10 video-recordings were encrypted and saved using encrypt videos tool. Only the researcher and his advisor had access to these video-recordings. Recordings will be destroyed using the same

encrypting software after the three-year period required to safeguard the data and identity of the participants.

### **Data Analysis**

After all participants had completed the self-ranking instrument, I tabulated and transcribed their responses. Because the focus of the study was on Latino students and their experience in the TWI program, I only analyzed the responses of the Latino students (32 of 56 students in the two TWI classrooms). To identify the students to be interviewed, I first tabulated their self-ranking responses and transcribed their responses. The analysis consisted in looking for any reference respondents made to being smart or not being smart. During the transcribing process, I discovered that students were using other qualifiers such as “I’m not that good” and “other students are better” or “know more” to describe their own perception of how smart they were. During the first round of analysis, I separated the respondents who did not make any reference to being smart and the ones who did. The next round of analysis was completed through a sorting procedure using the number of times each participant made references to not being smart as the sorting criteria. Out of this sorting procedure respondents were classified into three groups: students who made reference to not being smart once, students who made reference to not being smart twice, and students who made reference to not being smart three times. There was only one student who made reference to not being smart four times. Through this process, the five Latino students who most often mentioned in some way not being smart were selected to participate in phase II of the study.

For phase II of the study I first transcribed all interviews. For the transcription process of the interviews, I first watched each interview after it was recorded to get a

general idea and understanding of the flow of the interviewing process and the participants' responses. I then made the decision to only use question marks and ellipsis as I transcribed. I used question marks to identify the obvious nature of the speech intonation as a question is asked and ellipsis to capture the times when the participants' speech was interrupted as they were apparently trying to find the words to complete a thought when answering a question. As part of the transcription process I used brackets to insert descriptions of body language and behaviors into the transcript to separate from, as well as to connect to, the physical response and the oral response. After each interview was transcribed, I watched the video recording of the interview and read the transcript to check for accuracy. After I corroborated the accuracy of the transcripts, I printed each interview to start the data analysis process and also uploaded the transcripts to NVivo, a software used to analyze quantitative data.

I relied on Creswell's (2007) analysis approach to look for themes. The data analysis procedure consisted of: a) data managing — creating and organizing files for each one of the participants, b) reading and memoing — reading through each participant's transcripts from both interviews and marking text as well as making notes on the margins, c) describing — describing the responses from each participant; at this point some general themes started to emerge, d) classifying — during this part of the analysis some themes across all five participants started to become more clear, e) interpreting — it was at this point in the data analysis process that the language I used to describe the main themes emerged, and f) representing — creating the narrative to present the themes identified through this process. Specifically regarding the classifying and interpreting phases, I used my own language to capture the essence of the

participants' responses. For the first interview I only coded their responses within specific questions about how they felt about being bilingual. For the second interview I first coded the participants' responses and proceeded to complete a second round of coding that resulted in the creation of sub-codes. Because of the nature and content of the second interview, I conducted a triangulation analysis by looking for instances of not feeling negatively stereotyped at school across questions. I carried out this analysis process on both the hard copy of the transcripts and the NVivo electronic files. Working with both versions, hard copy and electronic files, allowed me to interact with the data multiple times to assure the accuracy of the analysis process.

### **Research Integrity**

This narrative inquiry study was evaluated and approved by the Human Subjects Research Review Committee at Portland State University and the Office of Research in the Teaching and Learning department at the school district where I conducted the study. Throughout the duration of the study, I, as the researcher, shared information truthfully and reported findings accurately and did everything humanly possible to avoid errors.

### **Feasibility and Limitations**

The feasibility of this study was enhanced by the fact that I had worked at the site where I conducted the study. I knew the administrators, teachers, and students at the school. Knowing the history and culture of the building and the TWI program made conducting the study a less complex process but most importantly, the students in the two TWI classes and I had a strong relationship already established. Having this relationship already in place with the students, I believe, helped them feel more comfortable participating in the study. It is important to also note that the students knew the

interviewer since she had done some work with their parents and their community as part of her own research working with Latina mothers at Sueños y Realidad school.

The methodological and epistemological nature of this narrative study, as I proposed it, was thought to provide participants an opportunity to tell stories about their experiences at school that challenged the dominant narratives about their academic ability. As researcher, I believed this study would open a window of opportunities for future studies seeking to further understand whether the conflicting dynamic of being educated in a two-way immersion program within a racialized education system evokes anxiety among Latino students. Hence, the overarching research question guiding the study: How, if at all, did Latino students in a fifth grade TWI program experienced anxiety about the ways they believed themselves to be perceived in the classroom and school settings in general?

Although this study's findings or themes, as they are also referred to in narrative inquiry studies, were specific and limited to the research site, I believe they provide opportunities for future research in the area of anxiety as a result of feeling negatively stereotyped in bilingual settings such as two-way immersion programs. Equally important for teachers and administrators is the ability to understand the source of such anxiety in order to make the necessary changes in practice and policies that would benefit Latino students.

### **Ethical Considerations**

Participants and their families in this study were notified about the purpose of the study that conformed to standard federal and University protections for human subjects. They were also notified that their participation was voluntary and that they could



withdraw from the study at any moment. All personal information was kept confidential. Only the researcher and his advisor had direct access to the data gathered during the study. Participants and their parents were provided with the necessary information to contact the appropriate individuals and offices at the university, school, and school district in case they had any questions.

By the time the study was concluded, all participants had already left the school and program and were attending different middle schools. None of the students participating in the study shared any information about teachers that could be incriminating. However, all information was kept secured need to state where and confidential to ensure the emotional and psychological safety of the students to meet all legal requirements as delineated by the offices of human research at Portland State University and the school district where Sueños y Realidad Elementary School was located. Additionally, Clandinin and Connelly (2000) argue that as researchers engage in narrative inquiry research, we must keep in mind our responsibility to respect and protect participants from a relational point of view, allowing our conscience to guide our behaviors in much the same way we hold each other responsible for our behaviors in friendships. As a researcher, teacher, and member of the Latino community, my responsibility to the students participating in this study goes beyond the legal requirements set by the world of academia. Their well-being and social and academic success were, and will always be, equally important as any legal consent.

### **Research Report and Implications**

This research report was presented in written form and publicly defended as required by the university. Additionally, the researcher might seek varied opportunities to

share the findings of the study through different avenues such as educational and research journals and professional and academic conferences, higher education institutions, and school districts interested in this type of research.

As a researcher of color interested in contributing towards the enhancement of the educational experience of Latino students, I aspired with this narrative research report to not just give Latino students a medium to tell stories about their educational experience in a paradoxical world in which their culture and language is validated in two-way immersion programs and the reality of experiencing life in a racialized society. With this report, I also hoped to provide the opportunity for future research projects aiming to further understand Latino students and their experiences. Moreover, this research sought to inform and influence current practices of teachers – both practicing and pre-service – as well as teacher preparation programs, university faculty, and district and school administrators on issues related to the anxiety rooted in racial and ethnic stereotypes Latino students may experience in the classroom which consequently hinders their academic success.

## **Chapter 4**

### **Introduction to Major Themes**

In this study I made an attempt to find out if Latino students were aware of negative stereotypes about their identity that might hinder their academic success in the TWI program they attended. I relied on the Latino Critical Race theory (Delgado Bernal, 2002) framework to identify and contextualize the lived experiences that five fifth grade Latino students in a TWI program could have in the way they were perceived in the classroom and school settings in general. Additionally, I sought to discover whether these lived experiences reflected the negative stereotypes about Latinos held by the larger society. I further tried to identify what behaviors, if any, on the part of teachers and classmates Latino students in this program used to inform and form the belief that others might have had of them in the school setting. Thus, the overarching question guiding the study was: How, if at all, do Latino students in a fifth grade TWI program experience anxiety about the ways they believe themselves to be perceived in the classroom and school settings in general? Three sub questions were asked to further explore the possible source of such anxiety, if experienced at all: 1) What teachers' behaviors, if any, do students identify as the source of the anxiety they experience in the classroom and school setting in general? 2) What behaviors, if any, on the part of their classmates do Latino students identify as the source of the anxiety they experience in the classroom and school setting in general? 3) In what ways, if any, do negative stereotypes commonly held by the larger society influence the ways Latino students believe to be perceived at school?

The purpose of the study was two-fold: a) to try to gain a better understanding of the experience of how, if at all, anxiety caused by negative stereotypes is a contributing

reason why many Latino students in a two way immersion program underperform academically and b) to determine if the Latino participants identify certain behaviors on the part of their teachers and classmates that they indicate would make them feel anxious about the ways they were perceived. Anxiety was operationalized as nervousness as the result of experiencing fear of being wrong, made fun of, and/or fear of appearing ‘not very smart’ in the context of feeling negatively stereotyped.

### **Major Themes**

Relying on Creswell’s (2007) theme analysis approach, I noted that the five student participants apparently did not experience stereotype threat in the classroom or school setting. I further identified three main themes among the five Latino students who were interviewed: 1) negative stereotyping does not happen at my school, 2) pride in being bilingual, and 3) benefits of being bilingual. Below, I discuss each one of the themes.

#### **Lack of stereotype threat**

None of the five study participants spoke to their experience of stereotype threat in their classroom or school. For instance, in offering examples of what their teachers may have done or not have done to cause them anxiety or nervousness, they all mentioned only times when they had to stand in front of the classroom for purposes of presenting a final product of a project they had worked on or answering a question, an experience that commonly brings about nervousness in students. For example Rita and Jacinto spoke about a time when they felt nervous because they had to give a speech in front of their classes. Rita explained that “*me sentía nerviosa una vez cuando teníamos que hacer como una ‘speech’ sobre nuestro proyecto. Tenias que decirlo enfrente de toda*

*la clase y el maestro y tenias que explicarlo*” (I felt nervous one time when we had to give a speech about our project. You had to speak in front of the whole class and the teacher and explain your project). Jacinto’s memory of a time when he felt nervous was also from a time he had to give a presentation. He described the experience this way *“cuando estaba presentando mi proyecto sobre México estaba muy nervioso, como si mis pies se estaban moviendo mucho y me sentía como ... este ... como que mi corazón estaba haciendo pum, pum, pum muy rápido”* (when I was presenting my project about Mexico I was very nervous. I was shuffling my feet a lot and I felt like my heart was going thump, thump, thump very fast). Yolanda recalled a time when as part of classroom activity students had to share one of their favorite activities. She said *“una vez cuando el maestro nos preguntó cual era nuestra actividad favorita. Me puse muy nerviosa porque no sabia que responder de todas las cosas que me gusta hacer”* (one time when the teacher asked us what our favorite activity was, I got so nervous because I didn’t know which activity to chose from all the things I like to do). It is important to note that Rita, Jacinto, and Yolanda never made references to anything their teacher and classmates did or said during these experiences that might have made them feel anxious.

In addition, when the participants were asked specifically about what other students did or didn’t do that brought about anxiety which would indicate stereotype threat, Yolanda explained that the other students in her class and the teacher *“nomas se me quedaron mirando, así, como una persona normal”* (they [students and teacher] just looked at me, like, a normal person). Jacinto recalled that his classmates and the teacher *“nomas estaban escuchando y viendo mi presentación y al final aplaudieron”* (they [classmates and teachers] were just listening and watching my presentation and they

clapped at the end). Rita, however, shared a different experience that helped her feel less nervous. She remembered “*mis compañeros se interesaron mucho y me estaban haciendo muchas preguntas*” (my classmates got interested in what I was saying and started to ask me a lot of questions). Yolanda and Jacinto did not connect their anxiety to the behavior of the other students in their classes. It is important to point out that in Rita’s experience what the other students did, such as ask questions, had the opposite effect of eliciting a stereotype threat. As Rita put it “*me sentí feliz porque yo le digo a mis compañeros lo que yo se y al final me dijeron que sabía mucho*” (I felt happy because I tell my classmates what I know and at the end they told me I knew a lot). In this particular experience, Rita felt supported and recognized for knowing a lot about the topic she presented.

Finally, when the participants were asked to speak about ways that their teachers could better support them, they focused on actions teachers could take to support their learning process rather than the atmosphere or culture of the classroom as expressed in the relationships between teacher and student and among students. For example, Yolanda (speaking in English) said that “teachers could tell students that everybody is just going to ... that everybody is going to have to do it, not just you, I mean me.” Even though Jorge could not recall a time when he was nervous in class, when asked what teachers had done to help him not feel nervous he said “*ayudarme a explicar las cosas que no entiendo. Y creo que ... pueden ayudar como ... explicar las cosas y ... y explicar que tienen que hacer los estudiantes*” (they have helped me by explaining to me the things I don’t understand. And I think they ... they can help by ... explaining things and ... explaining what the students have to do).

Moreover, the students' unanimous conclusion that negative stereotyping does not happen in their school, discussed at more length below, amply supports the assertion that these five students apparently did not experience stereotype threat within their classroom or school. Thus, overall, my analysis indicates that the five study participants did not experience stereotype threat.

### **Negative stereotyping does not happen at my school**

When all five participants were asked if what happened at Kidland (Blues being negatively stereotyped) would happen at their school, their response was that it would not. From their responses it can be deduced that students attending the TWI program at Sueños y Realidad Elementary School did not feel negatively stereotyped nor did they see other students being negatively stereotyped.

Jorge's response was very direct and clear. He said "*no porque nadie es mas inteligente y nadie es menos inteligente*" (no because nobody is more intelligent and nobody is less intelligent). Jorge did not seem to buy into the belief that there were some students more intelligent than others according to his experience at school.

Sandro didn't believe the Kidland story could happen at his school either. He said "*Mmmm... no. Porque aquí nos ayudamos como un grupo y no nos peleamos porque es verde o azul y como que te ayudan a resolver los problemas. Algunos niños te ayudan mucho no importa si eres verde o azul como en el mundo de los niños*" (Umh...no because here we help each other as a group and we don't fight with each other because one is Green or Blue and is like they help you solve problems. Some kids help you a lot, it does not matter if you are Green or Blue like in Kidland). Sandro's response indicated that his school experience was one in which students helped each other regardless of their

racial differences and that there was no animosity among students based on such racial differences as it was presented in the Kidland story.

Even though Jacinto's response initially seemed to suggest that what happened in Kidland also happened at his school, for him the only similarity between Kidland and his school was about schoolwork. His response was "*si porque también hay algunos niños que no hacen sus trabajos y otros niños que si*" (yes because here there are some kids who don't do their work and others who do) When asked by the interviewer to further explain his answer, he went on to say that "*tengo unos compañeros que viven en los mismos apartamentos donde yo vivo y luego no hacen su tarea ni los proyectos*" (I have some classmates living in the same apartments where I live and they don't do their work nor their projects). For Jacinto, the experience of Blues being negatively stereotyped at school did not seem to get his attention. He only seemed to be focused on the completion of schoolwork and projects. In his responses Jacinto never connected the way Blues and Greens were believed to be in Kidland to his experience at school. A logical and safe interpretation of his responses then is that Jacinto's school experience did not include any negative stereotyping based on racial differences.

Rita's response to the question whether the Kidland situation could happen at her school was a bit convoluted. She said "*a veces, pues no somos de color. Somos diferentes tipo de cómo skin color y ellos son de full color y creo que eso casi no importa porque los niños tienen diferentes feelings y otros no entonces creo que pueden ser buenos compañeros*" (some times, well, we are not colored. We are different, like skin color and they [meaning Blues and Greens in Kidland] are of full color and I believe that's almost not important because children have different feelings and others don't. So I believe they



could be good classmates) According to Rita, a similarity between Kidland and her school experience is that in both places students have different skin colors; however, such differences in her school are not important because students have different feelings and she believes they can be good classmates regardless of their skin color. In short, Rita did not think students at her school could be negatively stereotyped like they were in Kidland even though she acknowledged the differences in skin color among students at Sueños y Realidad Elementary School.

Yolanda's response was the most sophisticated and articulate of all five participants. Yolanda explained that in Kidland a Green student would want to work with another Green student because they are the smart ones. When asked why that would be the case, Yolanda said "so, it's easier for her [pointing to the Green student on the illustration] or she could also pick Blue because she would get to meet the Blue person and maybe, like, help them with whatever they need help with." Here Yolanda seemed to have a good understanding of how choosing a Green student in Kidland was desirable and beneficial for another Green student because of the existing negative stereotypes about Blues not being smart. By adding that the Green student could also choose the Blue as a partner, the Green student could help the Blue student with whatever he or she needed. This statement seems to indicate that Yolanda was accepting the fact that Greens were the smart ones and the Blues were not smart in Kidland. Thus, Yolanda implicitly also accepts that color and intelligence are related in Kidland.

To the question of whether the real world was like the world in Kidland, Yolanda responded that in the real world,

you don't think about Green and Blue people because none of us are Green or Blue and they [people in Kidland] are kind of judging them by their race, here [in the real world] people are different races but some of them are smart and some aren't, so pretty much everybody can be smart not just Blue not just for example Blue and Green here [points to the picture of Kidland on the table]. If we were in this world both of either one could be smart but not over there [points to the picture on the table again].

In her response, Yolanda first acknowledged the fact that in Kidland Greens and Blues were being judged by their race, meaning their colors, Green and Blue. However, she was quick to explain that even though here in the real world people are of different races, anybody can be smart, not like in Kidland where someone's color defined whether they could be smart or not. In other words, Yolanda was stating the fact, and her perception, that in the real world, anybody can be smart regardless of the racial group to which they belong.

When Yolanda was asked if what happened in Kidland could happen at her school she took a deep breath before responding:

[I]t depends by your personality. For example if someone is racist they would probably say that by judging you by your race. And if you just worry about yourself then that means you don't... like... you pretty much say, like, other people are smart too... [student pauses for a few moments]... I'm lost.

However, in the exchange between the interviewer and Yolanda that followed, she was able to articulate her thoughts a bit more clearly:

Interviewer: So, do you think it [the Kidland story] happens at school?

Yolanda: Umh... no.

Interviewer: Why not?

Yolanda: Well, probably can but it cannot happen by having blue and green people

Interviewer: Why do you think it could happen?

Yolanda: Because everybody is from a different race. Like Latino people and people who have dark skin and white people they can judge each other like they did here [Yolanda points to the picture on the table]

Once again, during this exchange, Yolanda was displaying a deeper understanding of issues related to negative stereotyping and racism than the other four participants. She noted that such judgment does not happen in her school but that it probably could happen, in the process relating judgments around differences in skin color in the real world to the imaginary world of Kidland. When the interviewer asked Yolanda if she thought that adults in the real world could be like Green people in Kidland, she responded: “Well, they could be like that but... umh... yeah they could probably be like that because there is a lot of people who are racist like that.” When asked if she had any examples, she said:

For example if my friend’s mom was racist and ... umh ... she was ... umh... white she had a dark skin friend and like... her mom didn’t like her, she would be like she is not smart at all, people don’t graduate from her family, she is just a dumb person or something like that.

Interesting in this statement is Yolanda’s noting that one indication of “being smart” is graduation from school. Yolanda is recognizing the widely held stereotype in the larger society about Latinos not being smart because of their lower graduation rates. The next question the interviewer asked Yolanda was whether she believed teachers at school would be like that, meaning like the adults she was referring to. Her response was “At school I don’t think so. I don’t... I haven’t seen any teachers be like that.”

The last question the interviewer asked Yolanda (which was not on the interview protocol) was how she had learned about race and racism. Yolanda said that it was her first grade teacher who taught them about Martin Luther King, Jr. and things like the

water fountains being only for black people and white people. She said she remembered asking a lot of questions and wasn't sure if they had made either a video or a book about it. Yolanda's experience in first grade seemed to have had a lasting impact on her understanding of race, stereotype and prejudice. Without speculating about why, it seemed interesting that she would name this experience as the source of her learning about racism, especially because it happened at such young age.

To end the interview, when the interviewer asked Yolanda if she had any questions, she did want to know why the people in Kidland were Green and Blue. The interviewer went on to explain to her that this was one way researchers try to figure out how students, like her, view race and racism or if they are even aware of it. By making people in the Kidland Green and Blue, researchers wanted to know if students could make the connection with different races in the real world. Yolanda's response to this explanation was "yeah because if you guys did black and white it could be like... kids would probably say that's racist!!" The interview ended with the following dialogue:

Interviewer: Why do you think that [labeling people in Kidland White and Black would be racist]?

Yolanda: Because people kind of like talk about... like... black and white that's skin color.

Interviewer: So, if they did something like that, like... which one would you make Green and which one would you make Blue [interviewer points to the picture on the table]

Yolanda: I would make White [points to the Green student on the picture] and Black [points to the Blue student] because people make fun... White people usually make fun of other races.

Interviewer: Where would you put Latinos?

Yolanda: Here [as she points to the Blue student on the picture]

Interviewer: How did you... how did... what has taught you to put Latinos here [points to the Blue student] what has made you think that Latinos are here [points to the Blue student again]

Yolanda: Because Latinos, a lot of students' parents don't have opportunities to go to school and stuff, but we have lots of opportunities, and we get judged by people whose parents went to school and they had everything, they have a great job but our parents don't, well, some of ours because some of ours do and they say like, you will not be able to do this because your parents didn't do it and not just Latinos because they also judge people with black skin and stuff like that, but it's mostly like White people who say it.

Interviewer: Have you run into that? I mean, like, have you heard that here at school? Have you run into that like outside, at church, the store? Where have you heard that?

Yolanda: The store

Interviewer: At stores? Umh. I've actually felt the same thing at stores. You have a lot of really good ideas to share. Anything else you would like to share about the topic?

Yolanda: Nah!

With that, Yolanda seemed to be ready to finish the conversation. Even though she did not believe what happened in Kidland could happen at her school, she demonstrated a deeper and more complex understanding of issues related to racism like negative stereotyping than did the other participants. Yolanda's explanation as to why Latinos would be Blues in Kidland demonstrated a keen awareness of the existing dynamics of racism in our society along racial groups such as Latinos, African Americans, and whites.

Interestingly enough, the interviewer seemed to be surprised by Yolanda equating Latinos in the real world with Blues in Kidland as evidenced in the struggle she had to ask Yolanda why she would make such a comparison. Maybe this speculation comes out of my own discomfort and sad realization that Yolanda had equated Latinos in the real

world with Blues in Kidland. Yolanda's response reflected her sophisticated understanding of the realities Latino students like her and their families experience in our racialized society. She specifically pointed out the erroneous general perception and assumptions many white individuals have and make about the intellectual capacity of Latinos and other students of color and their families, which is precisely why I found her equating Latinos in the real world to Blues in Kidland demoralizing.

In conclusion, all five participants believed that the Kidland story would not happen at their school. Their understanding of how negative stereotypes could be related to issues of racism varied among all five students. This finding should be further explored to understand how the TWI program classroom at Sueños y Realidad Elementary School seemed to have created an environment free of stereotype threat according to the five Latino students who participated in the study. While this is an encouraging finding in this study, further research is necessary to see if this is also true in other TWI programs.

### **Pride in being bilingual**

Throughout the first interview, all five participants shared a sense of pride in being bilingual (the first three questions of the first interview (Appendix B) elicited this theme as well as the benefits of being bilingual). Jacinto, for example, stated "*estoy feliz de todavía seguir con usando el lenguaje de mi familia*" (I'm happy to still continue using my family's language). He also expressed a sense of pride in being bilingual because "*si tengo un trabajo, para, como decir, en un restaurante en una oficina, puedo hablar con español y con ingles*" (if I have a job, like, let's say in a restaurant or an office, I can speak in Spanish and English). For Jacinto the ability to speak Spanish and English with his family gave him a sense of pride and made him feel happy. He seems to

imply the importance of connection and continued belonging with his family. Jacinto was also able to express pride in being bilingual as he projected his ability to use either language in any work setting in the future.

Rita felt “*orgullosa de tener los dos lenguajes y de ser de México y de aquí*” (proud of having both languages and being from Mexico and here —the US). Rita saw herself as Mexican American with very strong cultural ties to Mexico, where her family came from. Rita also felt pride in her ability to go back and forth from one language to the other when something did not make much sense in one language or the other. She articulated this ability by saying “*si tu no entiendes algo en inglés lo entiendes en español y si no lo entiendes en español lo entiendes en inglés*” (if you don’t understand something in English you can understand it in Spanish and if you don’t understand something in Spanish you can understand it in English). Like Jacinto, Rita offers explanations of both belonging and usefulness.

Jorge stated that he felt good being bilingual “*porque puedo entender lo que dice una persona*” (I feel good because I can understand what someone is saying). Being able to understand both languages allows Jorge to feel as if he belongs to and functions, at least from a linguistic perspective, in any Spanish or English speech community.

Sandro’s pride in being bilingual was anchored to the fact that he could translate for his parents. He put it this way “*cuando mis hermanos no están y yo con mi ‘ama le hablan en ingles le puedo decir lo que están diciendo*” (when my brothers are not around and I’m with my mom and they speak to her in English I can translate for her what they are saying). Sandro’s useful and helpful bilingualism has served as the bridge connecting two different monolingual worlds, the Spanish world of his parents with the English world his

parents face when they step outside of their home environment. It also maintains his connection to his family.

Yolanda expressed pride in her ability to communicate with bilingual, Spanish and English, speakers. Additionally, she also recognized the fact that her bilingual skills allowed her to help other monolingual speakers. Yolanda articulated this pride by saying that “*puedo hablar con gente que habla inglés y español y puedo ayudar a gente que no habla los dos idiomas*” (I can talk to people who speak English and Spanish and I can help people who don’t speak the two languages). Yolanda’s bilingualism, like Sandro’s, has also functioned as a helpful bridge to connect monolingual speakers of either English or Spanish with each other.

In short, all five Latino participants in the study demonstrated pride in their bilingual abilities. Even though the specific reasons for such pride varied among the participants, all five of them were proud to be able to maintain an important cultural and linguistic connection to their families’ Mexican origins. For Sandro, Yolanda, and Jacinto their pride was rooted in their ability to be the bridge between their Spanish-speaking parents and the rest of the world. Additionally, the student participants were proud of their bilingual ability to be able to choose in which language, Spanish or English, they would communicate with other bilingual individuals. Finally they felt proud to be able to communicate with monolingual speakers in whichever language they spoke. More broadly, their bilingualism supported a sense of belonging and helpfulness.

### **Benefits of being bilingual**

This theme emerged from the responses the participants shared during the first interview (Appendix A). Other than Jorge, the participants perceived a major benefit of



being bilingual as the ability to communicate with and translate for their families and other community members. Rita expressed it this way “*me gusta ser bilingüe para ayudar a mis papas a veces para traducir cosas y también para ayudar otras gentes que no entienden inglés o en español*” (I like being bilingual because I can sometimes help my parents to translate things and also to help other people that don’t understand English or Spanish).

Sandro stated “*cuando mis hermanos no están y yo con mi ‘ama le hablan en inglés le puedo decir lo que están diciendo*” (when my brothers are not around and I’m with my mom and they speak to her in English I can translate for her what they are saying). Yolanda expressed the benefit of being bilingual by saying “*en la escuela yo le hablo inglés a todos mis amigos y compañeros, en la casa todo el tiempo hablo español*” (at school I can speak English with all my friends and classmates, at home I speak Spanish all the time). She also said “*puedo hablar con gente que habla inglés y español y puedo ayudar a gente que no habla los dos idiomas*” (I can speak with people who speak English and Spanish and I can help people who don’t speak both languages).

For Jacinto the benefit of being bilingual was his ability to communicate with his family, his friends and other people. This is how he identified this benefit in Spanish “*así podré hablar con mi familia, mis amigos y otras personas.*” (this way I will be able to speak with my family, my friends, and other people). Jacinto also identified another benefit of being bilingual, saying “*si tengo un trabajo para, como, decir en un restaurante o en una oficina puedo hablar con español o con inglés*” (if I have a job, like, let’s say, in a restaurant or in an office I can speak Spanish or English). It is interesting that Jacinto’s vision of what work possibilities exist for bilingual individuals

like him are limited to the food service industry and office work. I wonder why he didn't say that his bilingual abilities could be put to good use as a teacher, doctor, lawyer, or any other profession in our economic system and society.

Rita also identified the benefit of being bilingual her ability to *“ayudar a mis papas a veces a traducir cosas y también para ayudar a otras gentes que no entienden inglés o en español”* (help my parents by translating things for them and for other people who don't understand English or Spanish). Rita also noted the benefit of being able to use either language, Spanish or English, to try to make sense of something that didn't make sense in one language or the other. She articulated this benefit by saying *“si no entiendes algo en inglés lo entiendes en español y si no entiendes algo en español lo entiendes en inglés.”* (if you don't understand something in English you understand it in Spanish, and if you don't understand something in Spanish you understand it in English).

Jorge didn't offer much information about how he felt about being bilingual. Being able to understand what people were saying in either language was something he expressed pride in as well as a benefit of being bilingual. He expressed these two feelings in a short statement *“porque puedo entender lo que dice una persona”* ([it's good to be bilingual] because I can understand what someone is saying).

### **Summary of Themes**

The five Latino students who participated in this study, all participants in the same TWI program and two classrooms at the same school, did not experience being negatively stereotyped based on their racial identifiers. However, they experienced pride in and benefits from being bilingual as they were able to communicate with their monolingual families (along with other monolingual English or Spanish individuals), as

well as serve as the bridge connecting their families with the dominant English-speaking world. Along with this benefit came the pride these Latino students experienced by being able to communicate not only with family members but also with each other in either language with other bilingual students and friends. Such communication sustained belonging to families and other communities as well as provided utilitarian benefits.

In the next chapter I discuss this study's implications and recommendations based on the themes discussed in this chapter, as well as its methodology. I also speculate about the role this TWI program may have played in the students' perceptions and about the role TWI programs might play in the life of Latino students.

## Chapter 5

### Conclusions and Recommendations

*Latino Students: More Than Meets the Eye* was a study designed to explore how, if at all, Latino students in a TWI program experienced stereotype threat and what would be the source of such threat. These were important questions to ask because Latino students, as members of a historically marginalized group in our society, are likely to experience the negative effects of the white supremacist societal dynamics, specifically stereotype threat as described in Chapters I and II. However, in two-way English and Spanish immersion programs Latino students already benefit from having an essential part of their cultural and linguistic heritage elevated to a higher level of status with English, the dominant language. Additionally, Latino students in these programs enjoy the safety and benefits of the critical mass factor. Both of these factors, according to Steele (2010), should lower the anxiety individuals can experience from believing to be negatively stereotyped. However, as stated earlier, a number of Latino students still struggle academically and perform at lower rates than their Native English speaking counterparts in the TWI program they attended.

In addition to the questions that guided this study, I was propelled to embark in this journey as a researcher because of my personal experiences as an English language learner and an immigrant student as well as my experiences as a bilingual teacher in a TWI program for most of my teaching career. I immigrated to the US at the age of 21; therefore, my experience as an English language learner took place at the college level only. When I attended classes, I recall feeling anxious because I was not able to communicate my ideas clearly due to my limited linguistic abilities in English. Seeing

some professors and students dismiss my attempts to communicate my ideas created a sense of frustration and fear of being perceived as someone with limited cognitive abilities.

As a Spanish teacher in an affluent public school in the Portland metro area, some of the parents of the students in my class would constantly visit my classroom and many times would give me unsolicited advice on how to teach. Under these circumstances I felt scrutinized and anxious, especially when some of the same parents asked me if I had gotten my teaching license in the US. After three years at this school I decided to try to move to a different school, preferably a school serving Latino students. I wanted to use my bilingual and bicultural skills working with Latino students and their families.

I was fortunate to find a teaching position in a school in a different district serving a large number of Latino students. My new school offered families the option of enrolling their children in a TWI program or the traditional English immersion program. At the end of my first year teaching fourth grade, I started to notice a pattern about the academic performance of many Latino students in the TWI program. Despite their efforts, strong attendance, strong work ethic, and support of their families, many Latino students were underperforming academically. Over the years at this school I also heard a few of my colleagues make comments about the limited ability of some of their Latino students. Because these teachers perceived Latino students as less capable, they lowered their academic expectations and tried to engage their students in easy and simple activities, or, at times, not engage them at all. Most teachers, however, supported bilingual education and the program. It was disheartening to see how the hard work and good intentions of teachers and administrators did not seem to be enough for some Latino students; their

academic performance was still at low levels compared to their native English counterparts in the program. It was this reality that motivated me to look for answers outside of the school building and TWI program. The more natural and obvious place to look for answers was in the world of academia.

As I ventured into this journey, I realized that my personal experiences and the experiences of my Latino students were somewhat tied to issues related to prejudice based on race, ethnicity, language, and culture and could be explained by the stereotype threat concept (Steele, 1997). During this process my ethnicity and experience as an immigrant became the lens through which I saw my own educational experience as well as the experiences of many, if not all, of my Latino students. A moment of clarity in this journey came when I stumbled across the concept of Latino Critical Race theory (Delgado Bernal, 2002; Delgado & Stefancic, 2001), a framework that intentionally looks at the intersectionality of racism, sexism, classism and other forms of oppression that Latino students experience because of their language, immigration status, ethnicity, culture, identity, and sexuality. At this point I started to wonder if and how the White, European American hegemonic control of our society, as Parker and Lynn (2002) discuss it, could be somehow spilling into the TWI classroom cultures having a negative impact on the educational experience of some Latino students. This exploration led me to discover the concept of *stereotype threat* (Steele, 1997; Steele & Aronson, 1995). As I started to review the literature about stereotype threat, my personal experiences as a student and as a teacher started to make sense, this concept seemed to explain my personal experience and that of some of my Latino students.

This newly acquired knowledge provided me the opportunity to reflect on my own practices as a teacher. During this reflective process I was able to identify some specific practices in my own classroom that were in fact raising anxiety, a symptom connected to students experiencing stereotype threat, among some of my students. For example, I changed the way I presented any type of formative assessment to my students. I presented each task as a challenge, instead of a tool to measure their intellectual abilities. According to the research on stereotype threat, this simple change in the way assessments are presented, can lower any anxiety students might experience as a result of feeling negatively stereotyped. It was at this point when I started to wonder if Latino students in a TWI program, like the one where I taught, were experiencing any stereotype threat. At the time when the study was designed and proposed, no research on stereotype threat had been conducted in TWI settings. I conducted another search for empirical studies in Google Scholar exploring stereotype threat *and* Latino students in bilingual programs as I was writing this report and found no studies. This lack of research in this field reaffirms the importance of this study and perhaps highlights in the world of academia a lack of interest and/or understanding of the racialized educational experience of Latino students in bilingual programs. I will now turn to discuss the implications of the findings of this narrative inquiry study, to speculate on the role of TWI programs, and to offer thoughts on this study's limitations as well as ideas for possible future research.

### **Discussion of Themes**

The five Latino students who participated in this narrative inquiry study, through their answers to the questions in two interviews, lead me, the researcher, to the identification of the apparent absence of stereotype threat in their lived experiences in the

classroom and school settings in the TWI program they attended. Additionally I identified three main themes: 1) negative stereotyping does not happen at my school, 2) pride in being bilingual, and 3) benefits of being bilingual. Below, I discuss each theme and its implications.

### **Negative Stereotyping Does Not Happen at My School**

The five participants' responses, based on their own experiences, suggested that students attending this TWI program at Sueños y Realidad Elementary School did not feel negatively stereotyped. All five participants did not believe what happened in the Kidland made-up scenario could happen at their school. From the identification of this theme based on the evidence presented in chapter IV, it can be logically argued that students in this particular TWI program did not experience anxiety as a result of feeling negatively stereotyped. This theme or finding actually answered the overarching question guiding this study. However, the fact that their own perception of not being as smart as other students, which was the reason why they were selected to participate in this study, seems to contradict the essence of this theme or finding.

The contradiction aforementioned raises more questions than the main theme or finding answered about the experience of Latino students, as a group, in the school setting where the TWI program is offered. As a researcher, I would recommend a follow up study to explore more in depth how the five Latino students who participated in this study formed their own perception of not being as smart or as good as other students in their class. Such follow up study would have to include teachers who worked with these students as well as some, if not all, of their Latino and English-speaking classmates. Therefore, this finding should be further explored to understand how the TWI program



classrooms at Sueños y Realidad Elementary School seemed to have created an apparent environment free of stereotype threat according to the five Latino students who participated in the study. While this is an encouraging finding in this study, further research is necessary to see if this is also true in other TWI programs.

### **Pride in Being Bilingual**

Latino students in this TWI program were proud to be able to keep their families' linguistic and cultural heritage by learning in Spanish at school. Having their home language validated and used to learn academic content may well have given Latino students the opportunity to develop such pride and self-confidence. For example, Jacinto stated during the first interview "*estoy feliz de todavía seguir con usando el lenguaje de mi familia*" (I'm happy to still continue using my family's language). And Rita echoed the same sentiment by saying she felt "*orgullosa de tener los dos lenguajes y de ser de México y de aquí*" (proud of having both languages and being from Mexico and here — the US). Additionally, all five Latino participants were proud being able to use their bilingual skills to help them bridge the communication gap between their families and the larger monolingual society.

School boards and school administrators at all levels, from the superintendent to the local school building principal, should see this theme or finding as evidence of the need to not just support existing bilingual programs in their school districts but to create additional bilingual programs. Supporting bilingual Latino students to maintain a key linguistic and cultural trait as well as giving English-speaking students the opportunity to learn a second language can help to create a more understanding and accepting society in which differences are embraced, celebrated, and bridged. As I stated in chapter I, at its

core, the academic success of Latino students and other students of color is a social justice issue. Thomson and Hall (2008) argue that it is simply not fair that some students are able to be more academically successful just because they belong to the white racial and ethnic group that favors their status over other racial and ethnic groups. From a more pragmatic and self-preserving perspective, we must recognize and accept the fact that we are all connected to each other in one way or another as social beings. Our way of life, our democracy, our society, in general, are dependent on a strong, well-educated citizenry. For far too long we have ignored certain sectors of our society and have accepted it as normal and, indeed preferable. As demographics change and societies become more global, we can no longer afford marginalizing and limiting the educational opportunities for students of color and speakers of other languages. Our future directly depends on the success or failure of Latino students and other students of color and their families.

### **Benefits of Being Bilingual**

A perceived benefit of being in this TWI program for all five Latino students was their ability to translate for their Spanish-speaking families as well as other members of their community. It should be noted that the English-speaking community also benefits from the bilingual skills Latino students develop in TWI programs when they translate for them. Therefore it seems necessary and fitting to provide a quick review of the four central goals of TWI programs as evidence to the speculative role TWI programs might have in creating environments that, according to this study, apparently remove stereotype threat from the lived experiences of the students in the program.

### **Role and Potential Power of TWI Settings**

Howard and Christian (2002), posit that TWI programs have four central goals: 1) students will develop high levels of proficiency in their first language, 2) all students will develop high levels of proficiency in a second language, 3) academic performance for both groups will be at or above grade level, and 4) all students will demonstrate positive-cultural attitudes and behaviors. Howard, Sugarman, and Christian (2003), conducted a meta-analysis of the research on TWI conducted to date. Their analysis raised two important points: 1) TWI programs were indeed more effective in educating Latino students and 2) the academic gap between English-speaking and Spanish-speaking students still existed within the TWI programs. Additionally they concluded that what made a TWI program succeed was having a supportive administration, high quality staff, ongoing professional development, a clear vision, parental involvement, and a positive school environment. It is against these research studies that I now turn to speculate how the five student participants in this narrative inquiry study could label themselves not very smart or not as smart as other students in their classes and the perception that their experience in the TWI program was apparently absent of stereotype threat. Given the fact that this narrative inquiry study focused on trying to explore whether students experienced any stereotype threat, I will focus this speculative section on the potential role TWI programs could play in providing an environment where stereotype threat is non-existing and Latino students can thrive academically, as is one of the main goals of TWI programs.

If the experience of the five Latino students who participated in this study was indeed free of stereotype threat, as it apparently was, it can be cautiously deduced that even though

TWI programs exist within an educational system that reflects the larger society (Davila & de Bradley, 2010; Nieto, 2000) in which schools have been in charge of transmitting and promoting the values of a limited Eurocentric perspective of the world (Okun, 2010; Richman et al., 1997; Stanton-Salazar, 1997), TWI programs have the potential to counteract such hegemony. As a matter of fact, TWI programs already have a mechanism in place to counteract the hegemony of the traditional education system.

As discussed in chapter II, TWI programs must include the following criteria 1) fairly equal number of students from the language majority students (typically white English-speaking students) and language minority students (dominant Spanish-speaking and/or bilingual Latino students in this case), 2) both groups are integrated for academic instruction, and 3) core academic instruction is given in both languages to both groups. In theory, these defining criteria should level the playing field for all students, and in many ways the playing field is leveled when English-speaking students are expected to perform academically in Spanish and the Spanish language is elevated to an equal status as English. However, as Howard and Christian (2002) found out, English-speaking students still outperform Latino students in TWI programs, which is the reason I conducted this narrative inquiry in the first place. Therefore, the role of TWI programs has the potential to create an even more positive school climate for Latino students to succeed at higher academic levels and close the so-called academic gap. I believe this can be accomplished by preparing teachers who work and will work in TWI programs to be more racially and

culturally aware of their own identity and the identities of their students. I discuss this recommendation in more depth in the recommendations section. Based on the fact that the participants in this study apparently did not experience stereotype threat in their program is promising. More research is necessary to see if this is indeed the case.

### **Limitations of the Study and Methodological Implications**

Before addressing recommendations for future research, I feel compelled to share my perspective and experiences, as a student, teacher, and researcher, not just conducting this study but throughout my personal and professional journey in the public school system currently serving Latino students. My hope is to be able to raise an awareness of the difficulty of studying the dynamics of the lived experiences of Latino students in TWI programs and the challenges to design a study to capture such personal experiences as stereotype threat (Steele & Aronson, 1995).

As well, I believe it is important to review the fact that an individual can experience a stereotype threat when one of their any given social identities based on gender, age, sexual preference, race, ethnicity, political perspectives, religion, etc. becomes relevant and they have to deal with the circumstances surrounding such identity (Steele, 2010). Experiencing a stereotype threat, as described above, is a very personal experience I attempted to capture in this study. Unfortunately, my study as designed limited my ability to fully explore Latino students' experiences of this phenomenon.

For instance, all participants in the study came from two classes in the same TWI program. Thus, as discussed above, conducting the study solely in the context of the TWI program may have limited the capacity to explore students' experiences of stereotype threat, given the program's apparently positive climate: 1) elevating Spanish, a

key cultural and linguistic heritage for Latino students, to a higher level of status with the English language and 2) the critical mass factor, given that at least half of the students in the TWI classrooms are Latino, provides a sense of safety and connectedness to students like them. Both of these factors according to Steele (2010) should lower the anxiety individuals can experience from believing to be negatively stereotyped.

However, I believe that my study has the potential to further capture such experiences of stereotype threat, if Latino students in TWI programs do experience such threat, by incorporating two research strategies: 1) video-recording whole-class lessons and 2) interviewing teachers and English-speaking students as participants.

Video recording whole-class lessons would provide opportunities to observe the behaviors of teachers and students and the teacher-student as well as the student-to-student interactions and dynamics within the context of the classroom environment. Teachers and students along with the researcher would view these recordings together to identify and analyze their own behavior and that of the other participants that might have made them feel anxious.

Adding teachers and English-speaking participants to a study like this narrative inquiry, would also provide the researcher and the Latino participants opportunities to deconstruct their own behaviors and the behaviors of other participants and the impact that such behaviors may have had on the way they perceive themselves, how they perceive others, and how others might perceive them.

Including participants from non-TWI classrooms would add depth to investigating process of Latino students in TWI programs. This expansion of the context to include students not in TWI programs would potentially allow the researcher to compare the

lived experiences of students in TWI programs against the lived experiences of Latino students not in TWI programs.

A final limitation of this study concerns the use of the ranking instrument as a sorting mechanism to identify the students who would be interviewed overlooked the possibility of learning more about their lived experiences. Asking students questions about why they saw themselves not as smart as other students might have helped them identify certain experiences they have had and messages they have received throughout their educational experience that have created such self-perception.

### **Key Recommendations for Educational Policy, Practice and Research**

Using the themes this narrative inquiry study uncovered, the following recommendations are presented:

#### Educational policy and practice

School boards and administrators hold key positions to influence policy and practice to support and helpfully challenge teachers in TWI programs. I contend that:

1. School administrators offering TWI programs must offer their teachers professional development to support them in creating more welcoming classroom environments that get rid of or at least minimize the situational circumstances leading to the formation of misconceptions (stereotypes) regarding Latino students. Doing so is particularly important since many of the bilingual teachers teaching in Spanish in this TWI program are native English speakers from the dominant US culture. This reality has created a mismatch along racial and ethnic differences (Tettegah, 1996) between white teachers and their Latino students that could make creating strong teacher-student relationships difficult to achieve

because as Kailin (1999) argues “uncritical habit of mind allowed many teachers to accept the status quo, not necessarily because of being passive or by nature uncritical, but because this is the dominant discourse in America” (p. 747). Kailin continues by stating that many white teachers see racism as attributable to other white teachers, to the students’ home environment, and to institutional or cultural factors. Therefore, school administrators must offer professional development to their teachers that include the following:

- a. A critical study of race and race relations in the US
  - b. A clear, intentional, purposeful, and systematic exploration of the teachers’ own racial identity in a sustainable manner to understand how their whiteness intersect with the racial identity of their students
  - c. A clear, intentional, purposeful, and systematic analysis and selection of curriculum materials and programs that represent, value, and celebrate multiple perspectives and realities, and
  - d. A constant and consistent study of best practices that take into account the emotional, social, and intellectual domains of their students
2. School boards and district administrators must create more TWI programs to better serve the increasingly diverse population attending public schools. As of 2013, the Latino population in the US was 54 million which accounted for 17.1% of the total US population (Stepler & Brown, 2015). Interestingly, there has been a trend among Latinos ages 5 and older showing that as their English proficiency increases, the use of Spanish at home declines. For example, from 2000 the percentage of Latinos speaking Spanish at home went down from 78% to 73% by



2013 while the percentage that speak English proficiently went up from 59% in 2000 to 68% in 2013 (Krogstad, Lopez, & Rohal, 2015). If this trend alone does not give school boards and school administrators a compelling rationale to offer more bilingual programs to Latino students to maintain their cultural and linguistic heritage, the fact that White English-speaking students also benefit from acquiring bilingual and cultural skills should provide an additional incentive to offer more bilingual programs. Perhaps reminding school board members and administrators that this is a social justice issue with serious implications to the future of our society and democracy, as stated earlier, would move them into action. Ideally, parents and other community members should work together and demand school boards and other educational leaders to create more bilingual programs for their children given the benefits such programs offer to not just Latino students but to all students and to our society as a whole.

### **Future Research**

Given the themes or findings and limitations of this study, there is a great need to continue to research the lived experiences of Latino students in both TWI programs and in other educational settings as well as the lived experiences of White and Latino teachers working in TWI programs. It is critical to understand how TWI programs function as a system and how students and teachers experience the teaching and learning process within such systems. Because of the racialized society we live in, and in addition to the research ideas already presented in the discussion above, the following are several key research questions needing further research,:

1. In what ways, if any, do Latino and White students experience race and ethnicity in TWI programs?
2. How do Latino and White teachers in TWI programs experience race and ethnicity, if at all, in the bilingual settings of TWI programs?
3. How TWI programs create a classroom and school environments in which stereotype threat, if present at all, is raised or reduced among students?

### **Conclusion**

As the Latino population continues to grow, providing these students with the best education possible will prepare them to become confident and productive critical thinking citizens. Even though TWI programs have not yet been able to close the so-called achievement gap, they offer all students, bilingual and monolingual, one of the best opportunities to become the productive and critical thinking citizens our society needs. Our future as a society depends on them.

We must create safe and encouraging classroom and school environments in which students feel accepted and celebrated for who they are. We must allow students, especially students of color, to tell their stories and discover their own personal potential. Let us use their lived stories to inform and drive our actions as we create education policies and develop practices knowing that there is more to the educational experience of Latino students in bilingual programs than meets the eye.

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## Appendix A Self-Ranking Instrument

Instrument #1

Name: \_\_\_\_\_

Think about yourself as a student in general at school and all your classmates. Each bubble represents a student in your class. The first bubble represents the student at the top of the class. Where would you place yourself?

<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	
<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	
<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>											
25	26											

Why did you rank yourself at this place in your class? Explain what things you thought about to rank yourself

Instrument #2

Name: \_\_\_\_\_

Think about all the teachers you have had at school. Where do you think your favorite teacher would rank you in your class?

Each bubble represents a student in your class.

<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24
<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>										
25	26										

Why do you think your favorite teacher would rank you at this place in your class? Explain what things you thought about to make this guess.

Where do you think your least favorite teacher would rank you in your class? Each bubble represents a student in your class.

<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24
<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>										
25	26										

Why do you think your least favorite teacher would rank you at this place in your class? Explain what things you thought about to make this guess.

Instrument #3

Name: \_\_\_\_\_

If I ask all the students in your class where they would rank you, where do you think they would place you?

Each bubble represents one student in your class.

<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24
<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>										
25	26										

Why do you think your classmates would rank you at this place? What things did you think about to make this guess?



## Appendix B Interview Protocol

### Interview Protocol #1










#### Interview I Protocol:

1. How do you feel about learning in Spanish and English at school? Tell me why you feel this way about learning in both languages
2. How do you feel about being bilingual?
3. Do you feel more comfortable using one language and not the other? Tell me why that is
4. Can you tell me about the things you enjoy at school?
5. Tell me a story about a time when you felt very confident (you really wanted to share what you knew) about something you were learning.
6. Have you ever felt nervous in class?
7. Tell me a story about a time when you felt nervous in class?
8. Tell me why you felt nervous
9. Can you think of something your teacher could have done to help you feel less nervous? Why do you think that would have helped you?
10. What about your classmates? Did they do or say anything that helped you feel less/more nervous?
11. Can you tell me about how you think teachers and students help a student feel more confident in class?
12. Can you tell me about how you think teachers and students sometimes make a student feel anxious/nervous in class?
13. Do you think all your classmates feel nervous in class?
14. Why do you think some do and some don't?
15. Can you think about some things teachers do to encourage you to do better in school?

## Appendix C Kidland Vignette

### Interview Protocol #2

Stereotype Consciousness Vignette and interview taken from McKown and Stambler (2009) study to measure stereotype consciousness in young children.

<p style="text-align: center;">[SHOW BLANK PAGE]</p> <p><b>INTRODUCTION:</b> I am going to tell you some stories about an imaginary land called Kidland. In this land, there are two groups of people: the Greens and the Blues.</p>	 <p>These children are Greens. They are called Greens because everything about them is green. See? Everything about them is green.</p>	 <p>These children are Blues. They are called Blues because everything about them is blue. See? Everything about them is blue.</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">[SHOW BLANK PAGE]</p> <p><b>STEREOTYPE:</b> There's something I want to tell you about the people of Kidland. In Kidland, Greens think Blues are not very smart. Greens think Blues don't understand their teachers. Greens think Blues aren't good at homework. Greens think Blues don't do well on tests and don't get good grades.</p>
 <p>Greens think that Blues are not smart enough to be the teacher. See? [Point to Green] A Green thinks that only Greens are smart enough to be a teacher.</p>	 <p>Greens think that Blues are not smart enough to be the boss at work. See? [Point to Green] A Green thinks that only Greens are smart enough to be the boss in the factory.</p>	 <p>Greens think that Blues are not smart enough to be the mayor. See? [Point to Green] A Green thinks that only Greens are smart enough to be the mayor. [QUESTION 1 HERE.]</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">[SHOW BLANK PAGE]</p> <p>I am going to tell you a story about Kidland. After I tell you the story, I am going to ask you some questions, so listen carefully and pay close attention.</p>
 <p><b>VIGNETTE:</b> This is Gene/Gina. Gene/Gina is about your age. It is the first day of school. Gene/Gina has never met any of his/her new classmates.</p>	 <p>The teacher assigns Gene/Gina to sit at a table with two other children. See? [Point to child in center.] Here is Gene/Gina. Gene/Gina has never met these students before. S/he doesn't know anything about them.</p>	 <p>The teacher asks Gene/Gina [Point to G.] to pick <i>one</i> child at the table to be his/her study buddy. A study buddy is someone you work with so you can understand your homework. A study buddy is someone you work with so you can solve homework problems. A study buddy is someone you work with so you can do well on tests.</p>	 <p>[Point to G.] Gene/Gina looks at the other two students and thinks hard about who s/he wants to be his/her study buddy. S/he knows it will be important to pick someone who is a good student and who can help him/her with his/her work. [QUESTIONS 2 ON HERE.]</p>

Interview questions to be asked after participants are presented with the above Kidland vignette.

1. In Kidland, do Greens think Blues are smart or not smart?
2. What group is Gene/Gena from? (Gene/Gena is green)
3. Does Gene/Gena know the other kids in this class?
4. Does Gene/Gena know the other kids at his/her table?
5. Does Gene/Gena want to pick a study buddy that is good at schoolwork or not good at schoolwork?
6. Which child will Gene/Gena pick to be his/her study buddy? (Who do you think Gene/Gena will pick?)
7. Why will Gene/Gena pick that child?
8. How much is the real world like Kidland?
9. What are some other ways the real world is like Kidland?
10. Do you think that what happens in Kidland could also happen here at school? Why?
11. Do you think only kids are like Gene/Gena in the real world?
12. Do you think adults are also like Gene/Gena?
13. What about teachers?

## Appendix D Parent Consent

Fifth Grade Parents,

It has been a pleasure and an honor to have been working with you and your child this school year. As I have shared with all the students in my two classes, I'm currently working on my doctoral degree at Portland State University. As is required in this program, I need to conduct a research study addressing an educational issue of importance to our community. Please read the attached letter explaining what the study is about and the activities participating students will complete. Please sign the permission letter and send it back to school with your child if you authorize him/her to participate in this study.

Please feel free to contact me directly if you have any questions about the study.

Phone: 503-672-3500

Email: [edgar\\_solares@beaverton.k12.or.us](mailto:edgar_solares@beaverton.k12.or.us)

You can also contact the school Principal, Veronica Jones, if you have any questions.

Phone: 503-672-3500

Email: [veronica\\_jones@beaverton.k12.or.us](mailto:veronica_jones@beaverton.k12.or.us)

Thank you for your support

Edgar Solares

Respetadas familias de quinto grado:

Ha sido un placer y un honor estar trabajando con ustedes y su hijo(a) este año escolar. Como les he contado a todos mis estudiantes en las dos clases, yo estoy estudiando en la universidad de Portland State para obtener mi doctorado en educación. Uno de los requisitos en este programa es de conducir una investigación sobre un tema educativo de importancia para nuestra comunidad. Por favor, lean la carta adjunta explicando sobre que es el estudio y las actividades que los estudiantes participantes completaran.

Por favor, si ustedes autorizan la participación de su hijo(a), firmen la carta y envíela de regreso a la escuela.

Por favor no dude en contactarme directamente si tiene preguntas sobre este estudio.

Teléfono: 503-672-3500

Correo electrónico: [edgar\\_solares@beaverton.k12.or.us](mailto:edgar_solares@beaverton.k12.or.us)

También pueden contactar a la directora de la escuela, Verónica Jones.

Teléfono: 503-672-3500

Correo electrónico: [veronica\\_jones@beaverton.k12.or.us](mailto:veronica_jones@beaverton.k12.or.us)

Muchas gracias por su apoyo,

Edgar Solares

More Than Meets the Eye: Latino Students and Stereotype Threat Stories Lived and Told

Dear Fifth Grade Parents,

Your child is invited to participate in a research study conducted by Edgar Solares from Portland State University, Graduate School of Education. The researcher hopes to learn how, if at all, Latino students experience anxiety about the ways they believe to be perceived in the classroom and school settings in general in the two-way immersion program. This study is being conducted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for a doctoral degree. The study is under the supervision of Dr. Samuel Henry at Portland State University. Your child was selected as a possible participant in this study because he/she is a Latino/a student in the two-way immersion program.

If you decide to let your child participate, he/she will be asked to fill out a self-ranking questionnaire. Your child will be asked to think about their experience at school and to rank him/herself as a student in relation to his/her other classmates and how his/her classmates and other teachers might perceive him/her at the school. This activity will take 20-30 minutes. Its purpose is to give students an opportunity to share experiences at school that might have caused them to feel anxious at one point or another. Four to six students will be selected to conduct two follow up interviews. If your child is selected to participate in these two interviews, each interview will last 20 to 30 minutes. These interviews will take place during their lunchtime a week apart from each other. The interviews will be completed in their classroom and will be video-recorded. The purpose of the interviews is to better understand any experience of anxiety the students might have felt at school and what caused it.

While participating in this study, it is possible your child might feel a bit uncomfortable sharing personal experiences that have made him/her feel anxious at school. However, any information he/she will share will be kept confidential. Your child may not receive any direct benefit from taking part in this study, but the study may help to increase knowledge; which may help others in the future.

Any information that is obtained in connection with this study and that can be linked to your child or identify your child will be kept confidential. Your child's participation is voluntary. He/she does not have to take part in this study, and it will not affect his/her schoolwork and grades. You may also withdraw your permission for your child to participate in this study at any time without affecting his/her schoolwork and grades. Likewise, your child may withdraw his/her assent at any time without affecting his/her schoolwork and grades.

If you have questions or concerns about your child's participation in this study, contact Edgar Solares at Barnes Elementary School, (503) 672-3500. If you have concerns about your child's rights as a research subject, please contact Research and Strategic Partnerships, Market Center Building 6<sup>th</sup> floor, Portland State University, (503) 725-4288.

Your signature indicates that you have read and understood the above information and agree to let your child take part in this study.

Parent/Guardian name: \_\_\_\_\_ Date: \_\_\_\_\_

Parent/Guardian Signature: \_\_\_\_\_

Respetados padres de quinto grado:

Su hija(o) está siendo invitada(o) a participar en una investigación llevada a cabo por Edgar Solares, estudiante en la escuela de educación en la universidad Portland State. Este investigador espera aprender como, si de alguna forma, estudiantes latinos experimentan ansiedad en el programa de inmersión por las maneras en que ellos creen ser percibidos en el salón de clase y en la escuela en general. Esta investigación esta siendo llevada a cabo como requisito en el programa de doctorado. La investigación está bajo la supervisión del Dr. Samuel Henry en la universidad de Portland State. Su hija(o) ha sido identificado como un posible participante en esta investigación por ser latina(o) en el programa de inmersión.

Si ustedes autorizan la participación de su hija(o), se le pedirá que complete un cuestionario auto-clasificándose. Se le pedirá a su hija(o) que use su experiencia en la escuela para auto-clasificarse comparándose con sus compañeros y también que traten de explicar como creen que sus otros compañeros y maestros los perciben en la escuela. Esta actividad tomará aproximadamente unos 20 a 30 minutos. El propósito es darle a los estudiantes una oportunidad de compartir experiencias en la escuela que tal vez los hayan hecho sentir ansiedad en algún momento. Cuatro a seis estudiantes serán seleccionados para participar en dos entrevistas de 20 a 30 minutos cada una. Estas entrevistas se llevaran acabo en un intervalo de dos semanas durante la hora del almuerzo y recreo. Las entrevistas tomaran lugar en el salón de clase y serán grabadas. El propósito de las entrevistas es tratar de comprender mejor cualquier tipo de experiencia que haya causado a los estudiantes algún tipo de ansiedad y que la causó.

Durante la participación en esta investigación, es posible que su hija(o) se sienta un poco apenado compartiendo experiencias personales de vida escolar que le hayan hecho sentir ansiedad. Es importante recalcar que cualquier información que su hija(o) comparta se mantendrá confidencialmente. Su hija(o) tal vez no reciba ningún beneficio directo por participar en esta investigación, pero esta investigación tal vez ayude a aumentar nuestro conocimiento que ayudará a otros en el futuro.

Cualquier información que se obtenga en conexión con esta investigación y que podría ser conectada con su hija(o) se mantendrá confidencialmente. La participación en esta investigación es totalmente voluntaria. Participar o no participar, no afectará el trabajo y calificaciones de su hija(o). También es importante saber que en cualquier momento puede retirar la autorización de que su hijo(a) siga participando en la investigación. Su hija(o) también puede retirarse de la investigación en cualquier momento sin que afecte su trabajo y calificaciones en ninguna forma.

Si tiene preguntas o desea mas información sobre la participación de su hija(o) en esta investigación, comuníquese con Edgar Solares en la escuela Barnes al teléfono 503-672-3500. Si tiene dudas sobre los derechos como participante en esta investigación, comuníquese con el Consorcio de Investigaciones y Estrategias en el 6to piso en el edificio Market Center, universidad de Portland State, teléfono 503-725-4288.

Su firma indica que ha leído y comprendido la información y está de acuerdo en que su hija(o) participe en esta investigación.

Nombre del Padre/Guardián legal: \_\_\_\_\_ Fecha: \_\_\_\_\_

Firma del Padre/Guardián legal: \_\_\_\_\_

## Appendix E Student Consent

Dear Fifth Grade Student,

You are invited to participate in one of Mr. Solares' homework projects he has to do at the university where he is studying. Mr. Solares and one of his teachers want to learn how Latino students like you, learning in English and Spanish, feel at school. Mr. Solares and his teachers want to know what you think your teachers and classmates here at school think about you. They also want to know if sometimes you feel nervous at school.

One of the teachers helping Mr. Solares do this homework project will visit your classroom to interview you and ask you some questions. The teacher will make a video of the two of you when she is asking you the questions. If you feel embarrassed or uncomfortable sharing some stories about how you feel at school, it is okay for you to tell the teacher that you don't want to talk about it anymore or that you want to talk to the school psychologist to help you feel better.

The stories that you share maybe can help other students like you and their teachers to do a better job teaching at school. Nobody else at the school will see the video. It is okay for you to say that you don't want to participate in Mr. Solares' homework project anymore if you feel uncomfortable. You can ask your parents at home or the school principal any questions you have about Mr. Solares' homework project and they will be able to help you answer your questions.

Student name: \_\_\_\_\_

Student signature: \_\_\_\_\_