The same outcomes for all? High school students' views of TWI, bilingualism and biculturalism

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Shared TWI Program Goals (even though different designs):

- Bilingualism
- Biculturalism
- Academic achievement

A slightly different take on "outcomes"

Surveys and interviews with 48 high school students who have been in a TWI program K-8 and are now taking a special "TWI" Spanish language and literature class in high school. What do they say about bilingualism, biculturalism, and the program?
73% female; 27% male

■ 40% Latino; 60% Anglo

Context

Program Elementary:

- Strand within a school
- Enrollment: app. 50%-50% Latino (native Spanish speaker, mostly classified as "English language learner" and Anglo (predominantly native English speaker, white)
- As of third grade 50-50
- Program Middle school:
 - Different feeder schools, mostly from affluent areas
 - Social studies/history and Spanish language arts in Spanish (scheduled as a foreign language); all other subjects in English
 - TWI Spanish language arts teachers formally trained as foreign language teachers; dual assignment

Context

And then to comprehensive high school . . .

- Diverse school
- "TWI": Grades 9-11: "TWI" Spanish language and literature; 12th grade: Advanced Placement Spanish; All other subjects in English

Students' View of the Program

Looking back, students noted the changes in the program and described it as "losing "the two-way way"

- Integrated
- Balanced

Changes in Program

I felt like [the elementary] had a better structure because it's more Two-Way. And then like each school you go to it kind of dies a little bit. So it starts off in [the elementary school] and you have like Spanish for one week and then English for the next week, so you're really focused on that. But then in [the middle school], like it's only just Spanish. It's not really like Two-Way. I can't really think of it as that. And then at [the high school] then it's just like a Spanish class where you're advanced.

I don't really think it's a Two-Way program now with just one class. And most people don't even know it exists.



Bilingualism and biculturalism as program outcomes?

Bilingual Proficiency

 Latino students: bilingual skills are linked foremost to using Spanish at home and to a lesser extent to participation in the program
Well, I am bilingual also because I speak languages here and at home, so either way I get both and both.

Anglo students: attending the program makes them bilingual and more proficient than non-TWI students

I'd say that everyone that started the bilingual program since kindergarten is bilingual because if you compare their Spanish with the Spanish of the other kids who started in like middle school, it's a lot better and there's like no comparison between the two. So I would say everyone is bilingual.

Biculturalism

Latino students think of themselves as bicultural and this identification is strongly linked to their home culture and circle of friends

Well I'd say I'm both bilingual and bicultural since my whole family's from El Salvador. So I have to be like in that culture. I don't have to be, but I like it. I like the food, and I speak it at home. My parents speak it to me and my brother all the time, so we're used to it in our family. And I have a lot of friends who are Hispanic and I'm around it all the time, so it's really easy to say that I am both bilingual and bicultural.

□ <u>It is *lived* culture</u>.

I say I'm bicultural 'cause at home I like, it's our native culture. But then, again, when we're at school and when we're out you know, we live in America so, I'm American, too.

Biculturalism

Anglo students by and large do not think of themselves as bicultural. Instead, However, they talk about being comfortable with diversity because they were with Latino students.

But, the fact that I live in America and I speak English in my household, and the only contact I have with Spanish on a regular basis is at school, for like an hour a day, I don't really feel bicultural. But I feel like I have an understanding of the Spanish culture and a respect for it that I wouldn't have had if I wasn't in the bilingual program.

□ It is learning *about* culture.

I would say I was a bilingual ...but bicultural probably not. Because, like we've learned about it and stuff, but we haven't like experienced it.



What motivates two-way students to remain in the TWI program? (Why is the program important to them?)

Student Motivations

I think it's really helpful knowing Spanish, being fluent in it. Like a couple years ago I went to Mexico and I was speaking with like the natives and stuff. That's pretty cool. I like that, and also it's really helpful in terms of getting into a good college, getting a job and stuff like that.

by taking the both languages, having them equal is a good advantage for the future. And if you want to get a good job it's good, because you'll understand more people, and the different people that would go in and you would be able to understand them.

Perceived Program Outcomes

Primarily instrumental reasons for Anglos: job opportunities, college, ability to talk to people when travelling

Primarily sociocultural reasons for Latinos: connect with family and friends, ability to translate for people who don't speak English ("helping"), job opportunities.

Supporting Student Motivations

How does the program relate to these outcomes?

Not enough time and opportunities to use Spanish

Shift in Spanish instruction from use (learning, communication) to more grammar & reading

Opportunities to Use Spanish

Students lamented the loss of opportunities to speak Spanish by the time they get to high school

English dominates their (school) lives – all but one subject is in Spanish

No more content classes in Spanish

(middle school students: middle school is no longer equal between the two languages as elementary was)

Reduced opportunities for Spanish

Anglo students: loss of fluency & growth

It almost feels like we've kind of reached a plateau. We're all like kind of stuck. I'm not really getting better because it's hard to like keep improving and not speak Spanish full time. Like you go like five of the seven days just for an hour. That's the only time I ever use Spanish

Reduced opportunities for Spanish

Latino students were also concerned about losing the language but this concern was largely mediated by their use of L1 at home

And like we don't practice the language like Spanish, and we might like start losing it, 'cause most of our classes are in English. But I speak Spanish at home, too so...

Reduced Opportunities for Spanish: Content Classes

□ Latino students stressed the importance of content classes in Spanish as a way of being challenged and using the language communicatively *in the History class you kind of need to express your opinions more and just get more involved.*

Reduced Opportunities for Spanish - Content Classes

- Anglos students were mixed about the impact of losing content instruction.
 - *it's helpful to use Spanish in context, like a different subject, ... using it in conversations and learning different things about the world. I just think that's pretty important. That's what I got out of middle school in the History class in Spanish.*
 - But, learning History in Spanish I thought affected like me negatively, because I understood it, but I didn't understand it as well as other kids who were taking it [in English]

Spanish Language Arts

Along with fewer opportunities to use English, students note a shift in an emphasis on reading and grammar as they moved up the grades

This is of course further reinforced by the AP class and exam as the end point of the program

Spanish Language Arts

I think the curriculum's pretty like very similar [from middle to high school] because you focus on grammar, all different aspects of grammar, and also reading. But the one difference is that we have less writing in high school than in the bilingual program from middle school and elementary school because I remember we used to have like a lot of writing assignments.

Spanish Language Arts

Sixth grade was just like BOOM. A lot of grammar in Spanish. A lot of grammar. ... In 7th grade we started reading Spanish.

It's more of a challenge for me. Like in the other classes it'd just be like basics – learning Spanish and stuff like that, but now it's getting more in depth and like learning grammatical things and reading more Spanish literature.

Same outcomes? Some observations . . .

- Latino and Anglo students' interactions with the TWI program are both similar and different
 - value different outcomes
 - different response to some aspects of the program
- Program benefits most directly seen by Anglo students
 - AP Spanish is desired outcome
 - Learning about other cultures is interesting
 - They do want more opportunities to speak (considered important for their goals)
- Program benefits for Latino students appear more indirect, less visible; they connect Spanish with home/ friends and English with school.
 - L1 use at home seen as 'protection' against loss
 - Culture as lived experience
 - Friends are very important and the program plays an important role in maintaining friendships and L1 use

Some observations . . .

Teachers' foreign language preparation and the traditional culture of the school may affect how Spanish (language arts) is taught at the secondary level.

- Teachers (Native Spanish speakers) love working with Latino students – connects their identity back to the community
- Shifting in and out of FL/TWI role and making necessary curricular and pedagogical changes can be challenging

. . . and questions

- Are/should secondary TWI programs creating spaces for different motivations?
 - AP Spanish (college-bound outcomes)
 - 'Application' electives? E.g., medical translation course
 - Service-learning projects in the community?
- □ Are we explicitly scaffolding for other aspects of the program that might be important, e.g., academic learning identity linked to Spanish, critical thinking, engagement with the world at large?
- How can TWI programs address differences in lived cultural experiences and cultural knowledge? (conflicting and/or reinforcing foreign language and the bilingual agenda – Guadalupe Valdes)
- What does teacher preparation look like for secondary TWI teachers?