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# Crossing Borders: Transformative Experiences of Euro American 

 Bilingual Teachers in a Spanish Speaking Context, A Participatory StudyMargaret C. Laughlin

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# CROSSING BORDERS: TRANSFORMATIVE EXPERIENCES <br> OF EURO AMERICAN BILINGUAL TEACHERS <br> IN A SPANISH SPEAKING CONTEXT, A PARTICIPATORY STUDY 

## A Dissertation

Presented to
The Faculty of the School of Education International and Multicultural Education Program

In Partial Fulfillment<br>Of the Requirements for the Degree<br>Doctor of Education<br>by<br>Margaret C. Laughlin<br>San Francisco

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This dissertation, written under the direction of the candidate's dissertation committee and approved by the members of the committee, has been presented to and accepted by the Faculty of the School of Education in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Education.


Date

Dissertation Committee


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## CHAPTER I

# THE RESEARCH PROBLEM 

## Background and Need for the Study

## The Demographic Reality

A prevailing theme in public education within the last decade has been one of concern over the increasing ethnic and linguistic diversity that has affected the make-up of today's classrooms. This trend has caused educators to focus on language and cultural differences that students bring with them into the schools. Educational issues that arise are perceived to be caused by "deficiencies" that are inherent in students who do not speak English as their first language. Quite often we hear, "What are we going to do about all these students who don't speak English?"

Schools in the United States, and particularly in California, have become increasingly populated by children with language backgrounds other than English. Between 1991 and 1995 the enrollment of students in California who were classified as Limited English Proficient* (LEP) increased by 28 percent. The results of the language census survey conducted in spring of 1995 by California schools indicate that $1,262,982$ students were classified as LEP, or 23.7 percent of the total enrollment (California, 1995a). These numbers represent children from a variety of language backgrounds, but by far the population of Spanish speakers in California is the overwhelming majority; 78 percent of the total (California, 1995b).

[^0]In contrast, the supply of teachers qualified to serve these students is not large, and the overwhelming majority of teachers are English only speakers. Nationally, fewer than 15 percent of teachers are members of an ethnic minority, and 3 percent are Hispanic (Chisholm, 1994). Consequently, we have almost a third of our school children being taught by teachers who are not of their culture and language background. When addressing the huge disparity that exists between the culture of the school and of its students, do we ever consider that problems and "deficiencies" may not always be due to the limitations of the students and their families, but to limitations of the schools? How often do we ever ask, "What are we going to do about all these teachers who only speak one language and who only know one culture?"

Many teacher training colleges and universities have responded to the changing demographics by implementing programs for teachers to become certificated to work in bilingual multicultural contexts. Efforts are also being made to recruit ethnic minorities into the field of teaching in order to better represent the student population, however, the majority of students in teacher education programs are White (Chisholm, 1994). It is most likely that these new teachers, along with their seasoned colleagues, will be teaching growing numbers of students who are learning English as their second language, many of whom are from Spanish speaking, Latino communities. Some will have studied Spanish and bilingual education methodologies while in a teacher preparation program. Others will have obtained certificates to qualify them as bilingual teachers through professional development extension courses, or by passing a proficiency test.

Many questions need to be asked when considering the preparation of teachers, mostly from European American backgrounds, and the way we are approaching the education of non-native English speaking students. Not
having come from the culture of the students they teach, how effective can the bilingual, European American teachers be once they are practicing in the classroom? If certain practices can be identified in these teachers that positively effect students, could they be related to common background experiences that are essential to determine successful teaching in a bilingual classroom? Furthermore, with the scarcity of bilingual and/or bicultural teachers to represent our student population, can monolingual English speaking teachers take any measures to overcome cultural and language differences between them and their students? To what degree is their success dependent upon their attitudes about the culture of their students?

In "Voices From the Inside, a Report on Schooling From Inside the Classroom"(Poplin \& Weeres, 1992), students, teachers and administrators identified "race, culture and class" as a major theme that underlies other issues of teaching, curriculum, and student involvement. Poplin states that, "Being monocultural and often unselfconsciously so, precludes EuroAmericans from being able to think differently about the critical issues facing students of color in our schools" (p. 28). Being of color, in contrast, forces students to negotiate their own culture to try to "fit in" with the dominant culture, often painfully and at the expense of rejecting their own ethnic identity.

If issues of race and class are of utmost concern to today's students, then what are the implications for future teachers, who may not have the same experiences and do not share the same language as their students? What is the nature of teaching, when the culture and "ways" of the teachers do not address the experiences and backgrounds of their students? If European Americans do not concern themselves with viewpoints outside of their own culture, then how can they be truly reaching their students? This
study begins with the assertion that European Americans, the dominant culture, must begin to address these issues, to look at themselves as an ethnic group, and understand that there are other languages and cultures within the United States that are just as valid as their own.

## Terms that Describe People

To discuss the background and nature of this research requires that particular language and ethnic groups be identified. Too often in academic discourse the subjects of a study are reduced to sub-human status by the use of limiting and often pejorative terminology, that doesn't reflect or accurately describe a population by their attributes, but by their deficits. In addition to reducing real people to acronyms or numbers, the habit of using this terminology that often reflects a current political posture, or "political correctness" can, after time become obsolete, or even worse, be perceived as offensive. This can lead to a misrepresentation of the researcher and jeopardize the dialogue with the reader. Therefore, it is necessary at this point to define the terminology that will be used for the purpose of this study, explain the rationale of these terms, and reveal the perspective of the researcher, who has truly struggled with how we talk about people.

Language is always changing, as it responds to social and political influences. Shifts in terminology over the years is natural, and is a reflection of societal changes, as particular ethnic groups come to grips with the problem of naming themselves. Names used to describe people have not always been appropriate or sensitive, and it becomes even more critical for those who concern themselves with education that is multicultural to be conscious of how we are naming each other. I have found the work of Sonia Nieto (1992) most helpful in this discussion, as she has described a terminology that
includes historical and political perspectives, as well as a need for an accurate terminology.

My intent is to refer to people in this study according to descriptive, educational terms, that do not offend, misrepresent, or label. It is also necessary to recognize the fact that there is not a universal consensus in the use of a terminology to describe the various ethnic and cultural groups in the United States, and that what may be acceptable and appropriate in one context, may not be in another. Thus, in coming to terms with the topic of teachers working in culturally diverse classrooms, a terminology needs to respond to two criteria, as defined by Nieto (1992):

1. What do people want to be called?
2. What is the most precise term?

Two major groups of concern in this study are: 1) European American bilingual teachers, and 2) their students, who are from families that speak Spanish as their home language. Of the teacher group, it is particularly important to differentiate between two kinds of Spanish/English bilingual teachers: the first being those teachers who acquired Spanish as a mother tongue because it was the language they learned first in the home, and the second being those teachers who learned Spanish as their second or third language because English was the language spoken in the home.

Among individuals in these groups is a great diversity of language proficiency and degree of bilingualism, and it also becomes apparent that ethnic heritage plays a major part in distinguishing these two groups of teachers. Those whose mother tongue is Spanish and whose countries of their family origins are Spanish Latin America, refer to themselves as Hispanic, Latino, or often in California, where many are of Mexican heritage, Chicano. Hispanic and Latino are both widely used in the literature.

I do not have a particular preference on these terms, and as I am not a member of this group, I normally respond to the particular context in which I am operating for an appropriate terminology. For the purpose of this study, however, I will use Latino because it is also the term used by researchers whose literature is substantially reviewed, and it would be helpful to remain consistent.

The group of teachers who were the focus of this study represents those people whose roots are from Western European countries, and whose families, over generations, have been completely assimilated into the English speaking society in the United States. So thorough has been this assimilation, that these teachers have commonly referred to themselves as "American", or "Anglo". (It is only through careful consideration that an awareness of ethnicity is raised, which is a focus later in this study). I will use the term European American whenever possible in referring to this ethnic group because it is the more accurate.

When one is faced with the problem of adding Spanish bilingual descriptors to the European American teacher, Spanish Bilingual European American teachers is too long to use with much facility. Anglo Bilingual Teachers is easier to say and write, but it is not totally accurate. The term Anglo is connected to English roots, and is often used when referring to people whose first language is English, but this may not be acceptable to people who come from German, Irish, French, Scandinavian or other European backgrounds. The term Euro American Bilingual Teacher is most accurate and will be used to refer to those Spanish/English bilingual teachers whose common native language is English, and whose ethnic identity is primarily European. It also must be acknowledged that there is a multitude of language and ethnic origins from which these people have originally
descended. When it is appropriate, the term European American will be used in very general terms and as it is viewed in the context of other major and complex ethnic groups, such as Hispanics or Latinos, African Americans, Asian Americans, and Native Americans.

Finally, when making reference to the Euro American Bilingual Teacher, it is implied that the term is synonymous with and only includes teachers who work in programs with Spanish speaking students. In this study, that is true, however, programs where teachers are proficient in other languages and cultures also exist. When discussing bilingual programs in the United States outside of this study, the term Euro American Bilingual Teachers could and should also include those who work in classrooms where the target languages may be Cantonese, Korean, Vietnamese, Portuguese, Russian, French, Tagalog, or Armenian, as representative of existing programs.

The group of students that the Euro American bilingual teachers are concerned with are those who are from Latin American cultures, and are learning English as a second or possibly third or fourth language. Students of this origin will be referred to as Latino English Language Learners, or Latino Bilingual Students rather than Limited English Proficient, LEP or other terms that identify them according to a limitation or deficit. These latter terms will only be used when they are cited in the literature.

## Statement of the Problem

As an experienced bilingual teacher who was not born into the culture of her Latino bilingual students, I am particularly interested in looking at the Euro American bilingual teacher experience. Most of the literature that deals
with bilingual programs does not include the perspectives of those who are striving to become proficient in the language and culture of Latino students, who are experiencing successes and failures, and who are often immersed in political controversy within their own communities. These teachers often find themselves in the unique position of neither belonging to the Latino culture with whom they work, nor are they entirely accepted by the European American culture from which they come, but are capable of moving from one culture to another. They could be considered "border crossers" (Giroux, 1993), who are proficient in the languages and the practices of both cultural groups, who interact and negotiate between these cultures, and adapt their behaviors in accord with each cultural context.

Lately, bilingual education has come under increased scrutiny in the political arena. The recent passage of Proposition 187 in California, which if implemented, would limit educational services to children of illegal immigrants, has fueled the controversy over the effectiveness of the bilingual program model. The sunset of program requirements in 1986 within the California Department of Education on how to implement federal statutes regarding civil rights and equal opportunities to students who do not come from English speaking families, has allowed school districts more flexibility and local authority. Program implementation and teacher qualification criteria can now be defined according to local need as it is tied to categorical funding that is specifically designed to serve disadvantaged populations. This scenario opens local governing boards to the political pressures of groups who oppose bilingual education and undermines the efforts of those educators who have struggled to achieve educational opportunities for non-native English speaking students.

The voice of the Euro American bilingual teacher has not been well represented by any study that poses their views in the continuing struggle for justice for the bilingual community. Too often, the discussion of what is best for English Language learning students is polarized around stereotypes and political agendas that thrust the conservative White community against an active Latino community. The theoretical frameworks and State (Dept. of Ed.) Guidelines that support instruction in two languages are regretfully, not widely read, poorly understood, and hardly supported. Studies on bilingual education have been criticized as unreliable and are widely open to interpretation by whomever has an interest (Crawford, 1989; Dolson \& Mayer, 1995). Currently, the voice of those who oppose bilingual education is growing stronger and more in number.

Among all this debate, there are voices of teachers who are caught in the middle that perhaps could add some new perspectives to bring increased awareness and understanding of their world. From the encounters I have experienced with many European American, interculturally sensitive bilingual teachers, I find tremendous concern for Spanish speaking Latino children in public schools, and an equal concern for the conflicting issues surrounding their practice in the classroom. These teachers are directly involved in bilingual education. Have their voices not been heard? Is no one listening, or are they not speaking up? Is it possible that they do not speak in accordance with one another and their voice is weak? Or are there entities and forces that repress and silence them?
-This study provides insights into the realities of numerous teachers working in bilingual classrooms. It also gives a forum to a community of educators that has a unique perspective, whose voices need to be heard, and who are not currently represented in the literature.

## Theoretical Framework

Schools are a place where students not only learn academic material, but are institutions that socialize and mold the identities of our children. Teachers are key agents in the transmission of the cultural norms that characterize society. Henry Giroux, Catherine Walsh, and Alma Flor Ada are among many researchers who recognize teachers as researchers, intellectuals, and cultural workers who occupy specific political and social locations (Ada \& Beutel, 1993; Giroux, 1993; Walsh, 1991). Attitudes that teachers have towards the cultures of their students can be influential in the success of these students. In a report that outlines a pedagogical framework for bilingual educators, (Canales, 1992) it is stated that:

Teachers of children who come from ethnically diverse backgrounds must focus on the less visible cultural dimensions of learning that impact on the academic success of these students. These dimensions that cannot be quantifiably identified include (1) a positive self image, (2) an understanding of diverse cultures, and (3) an ability to function in a variety of settings. (p. 121)

With this in mind, it becomes clear that the role of the teacher is multiple in the development of students' perceptions about themselves and how they fit into society.
: One of the key theoretical principles supporting bilingual education is that when a student positively associates with his home language and culture there is a positive impact upon self-concept, which therefore positively impacts academic development (Cummins, 1989). Current bilingual education methodology involves the use of the home language in the classroom, specific instruction of English language development, the use of Specially Design Academic Instruction in English (SDAIE), and the teaching
of cross-cultural understanding. Academic achievement of students in bilingual programs can be quantifiably measured, however, attitudes of teachers and their effect on student achievement are more elusive outcomes. How can attitudes then be identified, expressed and related to outcomes in the bilingual classroom? (or in the school climate?)

Critical pedagogy can provide a framework for educators to see themselves and their students in a more dynamic and meaningful relationship. By reflecting upon their actions, learning to question and to listen to their students, a new understanding of knowledge and how it is created can begin to form. Through a genuine interaction and negotiation of knowledge with their students, as opposed to the transmission of knowledge to their students, teachers and students can develop a voice and become more open to each other and empowered as mutual learners in the classroom (Freire, 1986).

A critical framework could also, but does not tend to underlie the dynamic process in which decisions are made in the school. Most of the time decisions which affect all the students and staff are made by the administration and a few selected individuals, without involving the people who are most effected. This is the epitome of working and living in an oppressive system. Teachers become frustrated for not being heard. Some become very bitter, others may venture to speak out, but most continue to operate within the four walls of their classrooms without questioning the nature of a system that puts them into less than equal status than their "superiors".

An exception worth noticing is the bilingual teacher Bob Peterson from Milwaukee who has been the catalyst for two experiences, the newspaper, "Rethinking Schools", and the Fratney School in which he and others who
have pioneered this publication work. This newspaper, published by teachers, is an excellent example of some who are willing to question and analyze the social and political issues embedded in the teaching experience. Through the articles and discussions presented, they have created a platform on which others may raise questions.

A critical approach is needed in order for teachers to not only become more authentic with their students, but to interpret the world in which they operate as professionals, to question their own actions or inactions and to deliberate upon how to bring about change. A participatory research model, which will be discussed in a later section, is a tool which applies the principles of critical pedagogy to the questions and issues that are relevant to the teachers who are participants in this study. My role as the researcher is to facilitate and participate as a co-participant in the study.

## Research Questions

The questions that are investigated illuminate the major issues of teaching in a bilingual classroom as experienced by Euro American bilingual teachers. Through this investigation, insight into the following questions are gained:

1. What are the goals of Euro American bilingual teachers who are working with Latino English language learners, as they relate to successful teaching in bilingual classrooms?
2. How does background experience contribute to the way these teachers work with students from Latino cultures?
3. How do attitudes about culture translate into the practices of a teacher working with Latino students?
4. How do European American teachers deal with their own cultural identity in the context of a multicultural setting?
5. What is the potential, i.e. what kinds of actions does the Euro American bilingual educator need to consider in order to reconstruct their experience into a liberatory, transformational one?

## Significance of the Study

This study, which focuses on Euro American, bilingual teachers who are interculturally literate, will add a unique body of data to the field of bilingual education which could be used as a tool to help build alliances among the many communities of educators who have an interest in this area. The need for these teachers to share their experiences is evident, as they are actively participating in the education of Latino students in their classrooms daily.

It is clearly evident that there will continue to be a need for more Latino bilingual teachers and other educators from the ethnic and language backgrounds of the diverse populations that are enrolled in public schools. They fulfill a very necessary role for these students. The desire of the Euro American bilingual teacher to partake in the struggle for equity for Latino bilingual students is sometimes overshadowed by the question of who has the right to participate. Through an in depth study of these teachers' involvement in the lives of their students and their own personal growth, I believe their voice has a legitimate place along with the voices of Latino and other educators who represent oppressed groups in society.

## CHAPTER II

## REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

## Introduction

When considering the topic of Euro American bilingual educators who cross cultural boundaries, or "borders" to practice in cross-cultural settings, there are multiple levels of concern. Accordingly, a broad scope of literature will be explored to connect and interrelate the relevant themes in this study. This is most facilitated if it is grouped into three major areas, that will provide a theoretical and practical framework of previous and related studies:

1. Critical Pedagogy
a. Applied to Participatory Research
b. A Theoretical Model for Teaching
2. Teaching and Cultural Identity
a. The Role of the Bilingual Teacher
b. How Being White is Experienced by European Americans
3. How Success is Defined: Studies of Schools and Teachers
a. Instructional Designs
b. The Human Element: Teacher Qualities

Throughout the discussion of literature written in these areas, it will become apparent that one cannot talk about critical pedagogy in education without including culture and identity. Or when one reflects upon successful bilingual teachers, one also thinks of teachers who are understanding of relationships with their students, with their own cultural identity, with knowledge, and most importantly, with the social and political nature of school as an institution. Hence the reader may understand that the intent of organizing the literature around these themes is to put the depth of reading
into a comprehensible pattern in order to lend clarity and organization to this section. It has been purely a creative effort on the part of the researcher to investigate the literature according to the following configuration:

I., II., \& III. = The three areas, or overlapping circles, in which the research questions are reviewed in the literature.

Praxis $=$ The dynamic of reflection and investigation in the three circles or themes of the study. This connection is seen as a three leaf overlap and center of the circles.

The Research Questions = The triangle, or pyramid.

This configuration presents the review of the literature as a dynamic, fluid process where the areas are tied together by the research questions, as they are related to the Euro American Bilingual Teaching Experience. These areas are not exclusive, but overlap and complement each other. The issues and questions probe into each area causing them to interconnect and become inseparable. Some of the researchers such as Giroux, Walsh, Hooks, Poplin, Darder, Maguire, and Ada incorporate all areas into their work.

## Critical Pedagogy

## Applied to Participatory Research

Participatory research is founded on critical theory, which views knowledge as either instrumental, interactive or critical (Park, Brydon-Miller, Hall, \& Jackson, 1993). All three forms of knowledge are branches of science. We have been conditioned, however, to think only of the instrumental or technical knowledge as "science" as it has been appropriated by positivists, who perform "research" by using instruments to describe data that quantify, reduce and establish a distance through a purported "objectivity" between the researcher and his subjects (Park, 1993). Objectivity is recognized by critical theorists as only relative, and that every type of research has its own agenda to serve certain social and political ends. Instrumental knowledge, while having its value in the natural, physical world, has been dismally unsuccessful in controlling and predicting social phenomena, and therefore is not as useful in the investigation of human experiences.

Interactive knowledge is the social and practical knowledge of shared experiences in a community in which we come to know one another as human beings. This is achieved through conversations in which we share our feelings, stories and insights; a contribution that the feminist movement has made to participatory research by embracing a holistic model of science.

Critical knowledge comes from reflection and action, focuses on moral issues and seeks to find solutions that are socially just. Dialogic, participatory, and democratic methods are highly consistent with the logic and goals of critical theory. "Participatory research is the practice of critical theory and represents a method for transcending scientific and bureaucratic power based
on an exclusive interest in instrumental reason." (Comstock \& Fox, 1993, p. 106). By involving members of the community in creating social and critical, liberatory knowledge, the nature of participatory research becomes emancipatory. Its outcome is to the reveal and change the social structures that dominate oppressed groups, by giving "voice" to what Freire (1970) calls the "culture of silence".

It is crucial and central to Participatory Research that the role of the researcher is that of a subject, or co-researcher in the community of other subjects who, together form the questions, analyze the knowledge, decide how that knowledge or, "data" is to be used and deliberate upon what actions will be taken collectively.

## Critical Pedagogy

## A Theoretical Model for Teaching

${ }^{\text {s }}$ There is no such thing as a neutral educational process. Education either functions as an instrument which is used to facilitate the integration of the younger generation into the logic of the present system and bring about conformity to it, or it becomes "the practice of freedom", the means by which men and women deal critically and creatively with reality and discover how to participate in the transformation of their world. (Freire, 1970, p.15)

Critical pedagogy focuses on the sociopolitical forces influencing the structure of schools, the role of teachers, the goals of education, the definition of knowledge, the hidden curriculum which reproduces social classes and the resistance of students and teachers. The purpose is to unmask oppressive practices and to create a new pedagogy of practice that empowers, not disempowers. Critical pedagogies propose that the purpose of education is
not merely to help people fit into and move up in the existing society, but to empower people with the self-respect and understanding it takes to form a new and more just social order. The role of an educated person is not to fit in, but to change ourselves and our culture to make the world a better place.

Critical pedagogy applies itself through dialogue as a tool for bringing people together to create knowledge. True dialogue demands authenticity and sincerity, and can never be antagonistic. It recognizes that every human is equal and worthwhile. Freire $(1970 ; 1986 ; 1994 ; 1987)$ emphasizes that critical dialogue is not a means to an end, but it is the constant process of renegotiating our realities in which we are becoming more and more the subjects in our own lives. It is only by critically examining the conditions in which we work and struggle, through critical dialogue in community with our fellow human beings, that we develop "conscientizaçao", or critical consciousness, and then we can begin to fulfill our humanity. Freire describes his model for critical consciousness as it relates to naming our realities in a historical and political context.

The opposite of critical consciousness is "magical consciousness", a state of thinking about oneself as an object, whose vocation in life is determined by outside forces, or "fate", over which one has no control. The opposite of dialogue is "anti dialogue", a vertical relationship between a person or persons, subjugating others through the transmission of curriculum, dictates, mandates, propaganda and other forms of oppression through relationships of control and manipulation by an authority (1986).

Freire refers to forms of teaching that are antidialogic, as "banking education" (1970, p.78), in which the teachers are the knowers who deposit their knowledge into passive recipients as if they were empty vessels, who have no knowledge of their own. These concepts of dialogue and critical
consciousness provide a framework through which the current conditions of bilingual teachers in the classroom are examined.

In furthering the potential of a critical model for education, Giroux (1993) proposes a Border Pedagogy as a "form of transgression in which existing borders forged in domination can be challenged and redefined"(p.28)., A border pedagogy is a response to cultural domination and issues of cultural difference, where teachers can act as transformative intellectuals and cultural workers (1993). Creating the conditions for this pedagogy is a conscious practice, that goes against the grain of banking education. Teachers engage students in critical dialogue to dismantle the myths and expose the hegemonies of the dominant culture in the form of "cultural criticism" where students become "border crossers". They establish pedagogies that allow students to redefine "otherness" on their own terms, creating "borderlands"(1993, p.28). This is also a direct response to the neoconservative movement of those who would like to standardize a national curriculum, enforce English only policies, and who call for the creation of a common culture (or the dominance of a monoculture). A border pedagogy confronts the issues of marginalization, of unequal distribution of power, and of the historical struggles of those who have sought social justice.

The pedagogical and ethical practice which I am emphasizing is one that offers opportunities for students to be border crossers. In this context, border pedagogy provides the basis for students to cross over into diverse cultural zones that offers a critical resource for rethinking how the relations between dominant and subordinate groups are organized, how they are implicated and often structured in dominance, and how such relations might be transformed in order to promote a democratic and just society. (Giroux, 1991, p.10)

It would be worthwhile at this moment to reflect on how this model might be applied to Euro American bilingual teachers, who have been
marginalized by anti bilingual forces that act to maintain a status quo, to become border crossers and to create their own borderlands. Their position of being a minority among educators of their own culture, and not having experienced oppression in the same way as their Latino colleagues, offers an opportunity to form an alliance for a different purpose. This is suggested by Giroux (1993) in his assertion that:
... as transformative intellectuals, teachers can engage in the invention of language so as to provide spaces for themselves, their students, and audiences to rethink their experiences in terms that both name relations of oppression and also offer ways in which to overcome them. (p.79)

This view of creating a space that allows us to dialogue and construct new knowledge around our lived realities is fundamental in what is developing into curriculum theory as Education that is Multicultural and Socially Reconstructionist (Gay, 1995; Sleeter \& Grant, 1994). Giving "voice" to groups that have long been silenced is essential to the empowerment of individuals and a major theme in the work of Cummins (1989; 1995), Walsh (1991), and Darder (1993a). Work by other researchers who speak to the issues of educating for inclusion in multicultural settings, are discussed in subsequent sections of this review.

## Teaching and Cultural Identity

Teaching must always be engaged in multivoiced dialogues. One of these critical voices must be ethnicity. To provide less is to ensure that some cultural voices and traditions will be silenced, and that some culturally and ethnically diverse students will be left confused, alienated, resistant and uneducated. (Gay, 1995, p.35)

## The Role of the Bilingual Teacher

If teachers are to assume the role of intellectuals, who are interculturally literate "border crossers", then we must ask, how does this translate into practice in the classroom? What are the relationships among teachers and students, as described in the literature, that are necessary for education for inclusion? In particular, what is relevant in the bilingual classroom?

Perez and Torres Guzman (1992) are among several who outline effective strategies for biliteracy development. They also emphasize the need for multicultural literacy by acknowledging for the richness and dynamic of culture; that it cannot be reduced to a static curriculum of facts. The interplay of school and culture is seen as a dynamic which determines whether groups adapt (losing their culture) to assimilation, or retain their own culture while adding a new one. Interaction of teachers and students is critical to the success of students, as teachers may chose to perpetuate a static, transmissive teaching style or change the structures that exclude students from diverse backgrounds (1992).

How teachers organize learning environments in the classroom can either provide access to, or create barriers, to children's learning. The connection between instruction and culture is critical to this view. (p.10)

Ada also looks beyond the purpose of bilingual education for biliteracy, and stresses the importance of building a home school connection that validates the students language and culture (1995). A critical examination of daily practices is necessary if we are to expect parents to be partners in the education of their child. It is particularly important to develop the home language as a vehicle for home interaction, to create a curriculum that offers parents as constructors of knowledge, to validate that knowledge by having children and parents become co-authors of their own books, and to recognize themselves as agents of their own liberation. "Teachers need to communicate to children and parents that their stories and voices are important and meaningful. By producing books, we provide a constant validation of parents' thinking, language and history " (p.177).

Igoa considers teachers to be researchers in the classroom who are able to trust in their own decision making based upon a continuing process of reflection and action (1995):

How important it is for teachers to become critical thinkers who are research-oriented. As we understand research done by others and examine all variables, we need to do our own research in the classroom so that we use theories to guide us rather than reducing them to formulas to be followed blindly. To follow theories as formulas would be a mistake. (p.172)
Her methods evolved from a need to embrace not only the diversity of students, but also the experience of being uprooted from their home countries and immigrating to the United States.

She uses an intervention called CAP, a strategy that integrates the Cultural Academic and Psychological dimension of the whole child. The cultural component is described as building connections between home and school, such as starting home libraries, bringing native clothing and wearing it at school, allowing students to understand their own history and doing
reports about the native country. The academic component emphasizes the development of a strong literacy program and the teacher doing research in the classroom in order to close educational gaps which result from the mobility factor of immigrant children. The psychological component is designed as an intervention in the "uprooting" phenomenon experienced by immigrant children. By finding a "nest" in the classroom where they create their own learning space, and establishing buddy systems, the teacher creates a safe zone where the child can become rooted again.

Bell hooks, another researcher who is strongly influenced by Freire, looks at the fears that prohibit teachers from taking a critical, multicultural approach, and cautions us that what is "safe" for teachers does not always mean the same for students (1993):

The unwillingness to approach teaching from a standpoint that includes awareness of race, sex, class, etc., is often rooted in the fear that classrooms will be uncontrollable, that emotions and passions will not be contained. To some extent we all know that whenever we address subjects in the classroom settings with great diversity, there is always a possibility that there will be confrontation, forceful expression of ideas, and, at times, conflict. (When a "safe" environment translates into lecturing in front of a quiet classroom) .... many students, especially students of color, may not feel at all "safe" in what appears to be a neutral setting. And that it is the absence of a feeling of safety that often promotes prolonged silence or absence of student engagement. (p.93)

Delpit (1988) specifically refers to the "culture of power" that exists in society in general and particularly in the educational environment. Her premise is that students from poor and disenfranchised backgrounds need to be taught the codes and rules of power as a first step toward a more just society. This translates into teaching the structures of reading and writing that are inherent to the White culture, such as the mechanics of formal

English, to children whose family and community background is not White, middle class. Her criticism of teachers using only strategies such as "whole language" and "process writing" is that they often ignore the needs of students who are not familiar with the "standard" language code, or the mainstream background knowledge. She acknowledges the need to embrace the language and culture of the students, but to not exclude the teaching of the necessary basic skills to read, write and speak the language of the dominant society.

From my own experience, "whole language" and thematic instructional approaches do not necessarily exclude basic skills, although teachers may ignore this as a component of these strategies. I have discussed in an earlier paper a "project" approach to literacy as one that motivates students to develop skills (Laughlin, 1992a):
.. as they begin to research and put their thoughts into writing .... areas of need for skill instruction are revealed. When they come to me with a burning question, a need to know, and there is a larger purpose involved, they are motivated to learn the skills. (p.5)

Sleeter and Grant, (1994) describe a pedagogy of five different approaches to multicultural education. This takes into account distinct interpretations of educators of this concept, as well as the historical evolution of this field. These distinct approaches have also been researched extensively by Banks (1995), and Gay (1993), and clearly, have different implications for the success of students:

1. Business as usual - reflects no awareness of diversity
2. Teaching the exceptional and culturally different - helping students to adapt to the mainstream
3. Human relations - teaching about prejudice, how to get along, tolerance
4. Single group studies - focus on a target group to raise the status of that group
5. Multicultural education - practices that recognize, accept and affirm human differences relating to race, gender, sexual orientation, and disabilities. Recognizes a culturally pluralistic mainstream that does not require assimilation for success.
6. Education that is Multicultural and Social Reconstructionist - teaches to take action on the previous concepts, focus on social justice and democratic participation, empowerment.

Sleeter underscores the serious need to come to grips with racism, and recommends the last approach (no. 6) as the only, radical alternative to promote real change.

Interestingly enough, Ada's phases in creative dialogue as a methodology for social, transformative literacy (1990) will lead us to the same level of classroom interactions that are models for teaching for change. These phases are a practice of education that is multicultural and social reconstructionist, and relate the curriculum to the world of the student:

Descriptive Phase - a literal interpretation of the text, Personal Interpretive Phase - relates the text to the personal experiences of the learner, recognizing feelings and emotions,

Critical Multicultural Phase - a critical reflection of the consequences of certain actions, how they relate to the students' own lives, and what they can learn from others. This phase questions equity and justice; who benefits and who suffers from the issues proposed,

Creative Phase - a culmination of the process whereby the student will take action by making changes in their own lives, in their attitudes, and in the choices they make (Ada, 1990, pp. 33-34).

As we analyze the questions of the multiple roles of the teacher who is practicing in a multicultural or bilingual classroom, we have also entered back into the "circle" of critical pedagogy by drawing the connections between cultural identity and emancipatory practices that create a space for dialogue and for constructing knowledge. The next section reflects upon "whiteness" as perceived from different ethnic viewpoints.

## Being White as Experienced by the Euro American Teacher

Somewhere, on the edge of consciousness, there is what I call a mythical norm, which each one of us within our hearts knows "that is not me". In america, this norm is usually defined as white, thin, male, young, heterosexual, christian, and financially secure. It is with this mythical norm that the trappings of power reside within this society. (Lord, 1984. p.116)

Cultural and ethnic identity in the United States is a complicated matter, to say the least. Issues of language, race, nationality of origin, gender, and religion all interplay in a struggle to define who we are. These become the deciding criteria to determine who will belong to the empowered class, as accepted into the mainstream structures of society and who will not. It is easy for White people to think of themselves as "American", because a common perception of a norm in the United States can be described as synonymous with White and English speaking. Nieto (1992), affirms this perception in this classic example:

The designation of American is generally reserved for those who are White and English-speaking. Others, even if here for many
generations, are still seen as quite separate. This point was brought out rather humorously in the old "Barney Miller" television series, when Jack Soo, who played a police officer of Japanese American heritage, answered the inevitable question, "Where are you from?" so often asked of Asians, with the unexpected reply, "Omaha." In this way he challenged the view of Asians as forever being foreign. ... The same is not generally the case for European Americans, even relatively recent arrivals. When one is not White, being accepted as a "real" American is far more difficult despite years of residence or even language spoken. (p. 346)

Many of us can relate to personal experiences of the same nature, such as the one I experienced with my Mexican American bilingual instructional aide who had recently moved into the Northern California area from Arizona. She told me how shocked she was at often being asked, "Where did you learn such good English?" by local people (personal communication, 1986). How often do we witness or even participate in such blind, ethnocentric practices? Until European Americans can look into their ethnicity, and reflect upon these pracitices, they will continue.

Hooks discusses how the process of shifting paradigms is often painful for White college students, who, in becoming conscious of race, class, and gender start to see the inequities in the system in which they have always been accepted. New awarenesses that are raised can bring about pain and discomfort, such as when students go home for the holidays and suddenly see their parents in a different light as they recognize non-progressive thinking and racism. New ways of knowing can create estrangement. The challenge lies in integrating ways of knowing with habits of being (Hooks, 1993).

Hidalgo (1993) and Poplin (1991) offer introspection as an important process to understand what we bring into the classroom. It is important for teachers who are interested in learning more about other cultural groups to first look inward. European American teachers are not used to thinking of
themselves as ethnic because of their training and socialization. Cultural and language differences are seen through the filter of mainstream values, through which children of color are viewed in a deficit model, in terms of their differences, and how they aren't "normal". The framework for interpretation of knowledge is monocultural, i.e. Anglo-European, and variations have been seen as less valuable.

Adoption of this mainstream perspective reinforces a lack of ethnic consciousness among a good many classroom teachers. Thus, schooling does not require us to think of ourselves as ethnic and may, in fact, minimize ethnic awareness in favor of "Americanization". (Hidalgo, 1993, p. 100)

Classroom teachers, who claim "I don't notice color", or "I teach every child in the same way", (Richards, 1993, p. 50) have demonstrated this lack of ethnic awareness. Being American is equated to a denial of ethnicity. Some realize a sense of loss in our education, a loss of our multicultural diversity, by the instruction of an Anglo European tradition leading to a superiority myth. This blocks our own true humanity.

Darder (1992) and Scarcella (1990) credit teacher prejudice from an Anglocentric orientation and language attitudes as contributing to the low achievement of students of non-English speaking backgrounds. Scarcella cites several studies where middle class Anglo teachers held on to false stereotypes about Mexican American students, gave differential treatment (as lack of treatment) to students not from their cultural background. Darder examines the issues confronting Latino students in Boston public schools. Teachers' expectations, it was determined, can be a factor that predicts student achievement. Differences in language patterns and learning styles were misinterpreted by teachers as uncooperative, disrespectful or not intelligent.

This ethnic and cultural mismatch has been hypothesized also by Darder (1993b) to interfere with the education of language minority students.

Scarcella establishes a model for interventions of student failure based upon research of Cummins, Ada, and others. The following eleven principles are developed, all having implications for teachers behaviors (Scarcella, 1990):

1. Know your students
2. Understand language development
3. Make lessons comprehensible
4. Encourage interaction
5. Appeal to varying learning styles
6. Provide effective feedback
7. Test fairly
8. Encourage minority parent participation
9. Appreciate cultural diversity
10. Incorporate students' languages and cultures
11. Reduce prejudice (p.20).

Sleeter and Grant (1994) point to White, heterosexual, middle class males, the empowered group in society, as potential allies, who can use their power and access to resources for their own benefit or for the benefit of others. "There are and have always been White males who have joined the struggle against oppression and who have worked with (rather than dominated) members of subordinate groups" (p. 250).

Hooks (1989) also discusses the possibility of eradicating white supremacy. The complicities of understanding the issues; that the internalized racism, "a term most often used to suggest that black people have absorbed negative feelings and attitudes about blackness held by white people" (p.113) of people of color, often obscure the ability to think that it is possible to work together. White liberals, although they do not embrace beliefs of racial discrimination and exploitation of people of color, "fail to
understand how their actions support and affirm the very structure of racist domination and oppression that they profess to wish to see eradicated" $(p, 113)$.

She describes assimilation into a society that has not changed, where the forces to assimilate are driven by White supremacist pressures. Many people are shocked and deny that we live in a White supremacist society. Some of the best examples come from how history is taught; most view that it is fine to teach about Harriet Tubman or other African American historical figures as added trivia to the curriculum, but are not willing to change the very framework of teaching American history, to include the stories of those who were exploited and to cease telling distorted versions. "Incidents like this make it necessary for concerned folks, for the righteous white people, to begin to fully explore the way white supremacy determines how they see the world, even as their actions are not informed by the type of racial prejudice that promotes overt discrimination and separation" (p. 115).

It has become clear through the discussions of researchers on the topic of "whiteness", that the root of discrimination and oppression is that some people establish themselves as the norm without even knowing it. Consequently, the White, heterosexual male has appropriated the concept of "humanness" to the exclusion of groups who do not conform to this norm. When viewed through the model of a critical, transformative pedagogy, it is a responsibility for people of color and White people to work together to construct models for social change. "It is a collective responsibility for people of color and white people who are committed to ending white supremacy to help one another, to educate for critical consciousness" (hooks, 1993, p. 118). It is changing a structure, a system.

Now we have again entered into a the circle of critical pedagogy through the process of cultural introspection, the act of seeing one's own ethnicity and understanding how the "normalization" of an ethnocentric viewpoint is an oppressive act that has denied participation of other ethnic groups in the education process. The literature clearly illustrates the interconnectedness of these concepts, and has also touched upon some practical models that offer an alternative to the traditional methods. The next section will analyze program models and teacher qualities (the human element) that have demonstrated some degree of success.

## How Success Is Defined in Bilingual Education

It is evident from the perspectives of the above mentioned researchers that the "success" of bilingual programs and the achievement of language minority students are related to many variables. After searching for studies, books or journal articles that focused upon models of success, it has become clear to me that the Euro American bilingual teacher has not been included in any study for effective practices in the bilingual classroom.

The nature of research that is most relevant to this particular study in defining success falls into two general categories: program designs, and teacher qualities. Studies of successful program designs of bilingual education don't specify teacher ethnicities, or they look at bilingual teachers as a generic group. However, these studies are important to include in the review of the literature as they offer strong program models as essential to successful teaching.

Studies that focus on the human qualities do not include the Euro American bilingual teacher as a group. Studies were found that focused on
support models for bilingual teachers (Calderon, 1994; Karna \& Lara, 1992), qualities of monolingual (English) administrators who were successful (Bernard, 1991), and teacher perceptions of language and culture of linguistic minority students (Darder \& Upshur, 1992; Quintanar-Sarellana, 1991). Since the themes of support, teacher perceptions of students' culture, and personal qualities are relevant to the topic, they will be used as a basis to bring the same issues into focus for the Euro American bilingual teacher.

## Successful Program Designs

There is substantial evidence in the literature on bilingual education that supports this methodology as an effective strategy in the education of Spanish speaking English Language Learners. Of the more notable are the recent longevity studies conducted by Ramirez (Dolson \& Mayer, 1991) and a more recent report coming to completion by Collier (in press). Other analyses of successful programs are highlighted by Krashen (1988), Crawford (1989), and Berman (1992).

In order to discuss program designs in bilingual education, we must first have a working knowledge of the basic types of programs that have been implemented in the United States. Of these programs, many variations and modifications are utilized, but are generally characterized in the following categories, according to the amount of native language that is used for instruction (Collier \& Thomas, in press; Moran \& Hakuta, 1995):

1. Immersion Bilingual Programs - the majority of academic instruction is through the minority language, i.e. the native language of the non-English speakers. Variations of this model are
implemented in Early Total Immersion, Late Total Immersion, and Partial Immersion models.
2. Two-Way (or Developmental) Bilingual Programs - language minority and language majority students are schooled together in the same bilingual class. The goals of this program are to maintain literacy in the native language for language minority students as well as promote minority language literacy in the majority language students. 3. Maintenance (or Late-Exit) Bilingual Programs - academic instruction equally in both languages, preferably for at least Kindergarten through Sixth grade, ideally for $K$ through 12th grades.

## 4. Transitional (or Early-Exit) Bilingual Programs - Academic

 instruction equally in both languages, with the goal to exit the native language to all-majority language instruction as early as possible, usually in the primary grades.5. ESL (English as a Second Language) Instruction - many varieties are being implemented, from structured immersion in the majority language all day, to pull out instructional approaches for short periods, to content instruction, or sheltered English, for some periods, or ESL taken as a subject. Elementary and Secondary education programs will differ.
6. Submersion - no support of any kind for the English Language Learner, illegal in the U.S.

In some of the studies reviewed, program designs according to the above guidelines are specifically compared, whereas others are not concerned with program design, but are looking at other, more universal factors such as classroom environment, administrative support, or teacher attitudes. In
addition, some studies have failed to accurately identify the program design, or have misinterpreted program designs (Crawford, 1989; Dolson \& Mayer, 1991). This is indicative of one of the major problems facing evaluation and research in bilingual education; that of a misunderstanding of the different program designs, leading to a misinterpretation of current research, especially by critics of bilingual education to justify a political agenda (Cummins, 1995).

Crawford (1989) describes the case studies project undertaken by the California State Department of Education using models in schools with high numbers of identifed English Language Learning students. Quantifiable data was surfacing that supported the hypothesis that high doses of native language instruction works for academic success, but its success proved to be controversial. Federal funding was pulled from the project because it strayed from "policies" of administrative requirements. This was seen by many as a political maneuver.

Krashen looked at longitudinal studies in different school districts in California over a period of years using the data collected on standardized national achievement tests. Using these results, he came up with the following characteristics of programs that resulted in high test score for English Language Learning students:

1. High quality subject matter teaching in the first language, without translation
2. Development of literacy in the first language
3. Comprehensible input in English. Ideally, comprehensible input in English is provided directly by high quality English as second language classes, supplemented by comprehensible, or "sheltered" subject matter teaching in English.

Although this study is somewhat dated and does not proclaim to be truly "scientific" in view of other program elements that are associated with successful program models, these reported outcomes are consistent with a foundation of strategies that are used in present day bilingual programs.

In a case studies approach (Minicucci, Berman, McLaughlin, McLeod, Nelson, \& Woodworth, 1995), eight "exemplary" school reform efforts for language minority students were studied in grades four through eight. The findings of this study indicate that all eight of these schools had some common factors which are believed to contribute to their success:

1. High expectations for English Language Learners,
2. Focus on student centered, constructivist approaches, such as cooperative learning,
3. "Parent" and "family friendly" schools,
4. The use of qualified staff who are fluent in the native language of the students and trained in second language acquisition
5. Native language literacy is universally regarded as a critical foundation for English language literacy.

These schools also created new governing structures that involved teachers and community members, and formed "family "units of smaller groups that strengthened the connection between faculty and students. Students were offered the same curriculum as their English speaking colleagues, while they were becoming more proficient in English.

A similar approach was utilized by Berman and Associates (1992). After having studied state wide (California) achievement data to identify schools which effectively implemented the five models outlined earlier, they conducted case studies on these schools. Their findings, however indicate that no one model can be consistently compared to another because of a
variety of factors influencing the validity and reliability of the performance data being used as a measure. Oral proficiency language tests were found to have, "questionable validity, were subject to sources of unreliability, and were generally not comparable", nor could standardized achievement scores be compared, "all but a few schools in our sample either did not consistently test their LEP pupils or did not have accumulated data on many students over the life of a program because of poor attendance and high transiency" (Berman, et al., 1992, p. 6).

In conclusion, their findings indicate that it was not possible to identify which model was the most effective in the instruction of English Language Learners, but that different approaches are necessary because of the great diversity of conditions faced by California schools. These conditions include demographics, mobility of students, diversity of languages, and staffing configurations. The choice of which type of program model to utilize was the result of programmatic decisions centered around how a particular school was going to adapt a design to meet the needs of their students. Three crucial factors were identified as a result of this study which effected the implementation of any program, regardless of what model:

1. Shared vision and cultural validation
2. Suitable staff, ongoing training, and supportive resource allocation
3. Collaborative coordination and articulation.

A series of recommendations were developed by this study to guide California schools in developing their capacity to serve students from diverse language backgrounds. These recommendations can be summarized by stating that a priority should be placed on reforming current structures, on providing adequate resources for staff development, on assessment and
acquiring materials, and on adapting a progressive policy that ties the research into current practices of educating language minority students.

Among the many inconsistencies and shortcomings of previous studies, there is growing evidence to support Maintenance (Late Exit) and Developmental (Two Way) Bilingual program models as being more effective in producing higher levels of academic achievement among English Language Learners than the Early Exit Transitional, or Structured Immersion approaches (Collier \& Thomas, in press; Dolson \& Mayer, 1991). In an analysis of the Ramirez study, a federally funded project conducted in 1991, Dolson and Mayer (1991) highlighted several weaknesses of this study that could lead to some misinterpretations by the press and by the lay reader. They found that the operational definitions of Early Exit Transitional and Structured Immersion in this study were somewhat flip-flopped in terms of what sound theoretical definitions of these models should be, and that the level of Spanish language proficiency and percent of usage of Spanish as a model of instruction by teachers in the Early Exit programs were minimal. In addition, students' academic proficiency in these first two programs were tested in English only, and in the primary grades, while students in the Late Exit program were tested in the upper grades, where academic content is much more demanding. It was also reported that $75 \%$ of the students in the structured immersion programs were not ready for exit into an all English environment, and that there was an increased need to provide primary language support within a "Sheltered" English instructional program to explain concepts. The teachers in this program were defined as being "bilingual". Therefore, one of the major findings of the Ramirez study, that academic outcomes of students participating in Early Exit Transitional, Late Exit Transitional, and Structured Immersion programs were not significantly
different, has been questioned and needs careful consideration before interpretation by those who are not informed about bilingual education program designs. Other findings of this study have been consistent with current theories and models that are associated with successful outcomes:

1. Use of the primary language does not hinder the student's progress in English,
2. Students remain in these programs much longer than expected, consistent with research findings that indicate the time needed for second language acquisition (Collier, in press; Collier \& Thomas, in press; Cummins, 1989),
3. There is a need to improve the quality of training programs for teachers serving language minority students, and
4. Parental involvement is highest in the Late Exit Program.

Collier and Thomas (in press), in a preliminary report have combined several sources of data, using eight to ten years of information on 42,000 students in five school districts in various regions in United States. This data, which includes all pertinent information on students; student background variables, academic achievement on standardized tests, instructional variables, and other information relating to sociocultural context collected from the staff, is later combined with data from the Ramirez study (1991), and other previous research conducted by the researchers in the field of language minority education to analyze program effectiveness and language minority student achievement.

A variety of statistical analyses, including descriptive statistical analyses and hierarchical multiple linear regression, have been conducted to assess relationships between and among various student variables, program variables, and student outcomes. The interpretation of the results have taken
into consideration the sociocultural contexts in which the language minority students function, through collaborative analyses of the data conducted with school staff. Although this study is still in progress, some preliminary findings indicate that the Two Way Developmental Program model, when properly implemented, is the most effective program design when measured by standardized academic tests across all subject areas. As a group, students have maintained grade level skills in their first language and reach a 50 percentile or NCE in their second language after 4-5 years of schooling in both languages. In general, these students have sustained gains made from these programs into the secondary level. Characteristics of these programs include:

1. Integrated schooling, with English speakers and language minority students learning each others' languages,
2. Perception among staff, students, and parents that it is a "gifted and talented" program, leading to high expectations for student performance,
3. Equal status of the two languages achieved, to a large extent, creating self-confidence among language minority students,
4. Healthy parent involvement among both language minority and English speaking parents, for closer home-school cooperation, 5. Continuous support for staff development emphasizing: whole language, natural language acquisition through all content areas, cooperative learning, interactive and discovery learning, and cognitive complexity for all proficiency levels.

As only a preliminary report was reviewed for an upcoming, more comprehensive publication, it would be difficult to provide any conclusive remarks about the relative validity of this study. It is evident though, from
the early findings that the results will support earlier studies that highlight these program characteristics as contributing factors towards effective bilingual program models. In general, the research in bilingual education points towards the models which develop and maintain native language literacy through the elementary grades and sustain support services through secondary levels as being most effective for English Language Learners.

## The Human Element: Teacher Qualities

This next section will review the studies that consider the more affective and interpersonal aspects of teaching in a bilingual setting. It must be kept in mind that the Euro American bilingual teacher is not considered as a group in any of the following studies, but issues that are relevant to the bilingual classroom teacher in general are raised that could be of importance from the perspective of the Euro American bilingual teacher.

In a survey study concerning mainstream English teacher knowledge compared to ESL teacher knowledge at the high school level (Constantino, 1994), it appears that the Euro American teacher is most represented, as the attitudes of the interviewed participants reflected differing degrees of knowledge about language acquisition theory and knowledge about the culture of the students who were not from English speaking backgrounds. In other words, it could be inferred that this study included mainly Euro American teachers. Interviews of five ESL and six mainstream teachers were conducted and analyzed for generalities between the two groups.

The findings of this study concluded that although the ESL teachers had more knowledge than the mainstream English teachers of second language teaching methods, both groups held similar negative attitudes about
parents of Hispanic students, held lower expectations of their English Language Learners and downplayed the significance of prior language and cultural experiences in facilitation language and content learning. These practices and attitudes have also been found in ineffective schools with high drop out rates for language minority students (p.54). It was also found that the mainstream teachers placed enormous responsibility on the ESL teachers, by depending upon them for parental contact and for the development of English language skills. The mainstream teachers also expressed frustration and concern over the lack of success of these students and a need for administrative support and training. This study, although involving a small sample size, could be reflective of the concerns and attitudes faced by the Euro American bilingual teacher.

Similar findings were discussed in Darder's (1992) study of four Boston public elementary schools. Through the use of interviews, questionnaires and classroom observations involving principals, teachers, parents, and students in the fifth grade, it was found that there were several areas of identified needs that were not being met, including a lack of knowledge of administrators about the unique needs of Latino children and a pervading focus by all staff on the deficits of these children and their home environment. English literacy was emphasized as a priority and there was a lack of inclusion in the curriculum of these children's cultural values, histories and realities.

It was noted that five of the teachers interviewed were Latino, and the other four were non-Spanish speaking and from African American and European American backgrounds. Among the teachers, it was observed that some had a more traditional, authoritarian teaching style, while others used more open ended, dialogic and group interactive approach. It was not
mentioned which of the Latino or non-Latino educators used which strategy. From the interviews with Latino children, it was apparent that they enjoyed teachers who were more open, informal and used cooperative group strategies during instruction. It was also noted that the use of both Spanish and English were prevalent in the classrooms where either the teacher or an aide used Spanish freely, and in others where the teacher either discouraged the use of Spanish or was not bilingual, the children did not use Spanish.

This study points out several areas of need, as experienced by the schools surveyed, but it also highlighted some successful strategies: the integration of the use of Spanish and English in the classroom, the use of group and activity based learning, and opportunities for integration of bilingual and all English classrooms.

In subsequent articles, Darder has postulated the need for serious consideration of the differences of Latino and White educators in regards to addressing the needs of Latino children. She argues extensively for the need of Latino educators for Latino children, because only they can offer certain qualities to their Latino students; a common cultural experience, language, insights into biculturalism and the issues of power in schooling that affect a subordinate ethnic group (Darder, 1993a; Darder, 1993b) . However, to the knowledge of this researcher, she does not offer a study that actually looks at these differences as variables in success of Latino students, which could point to one cultural background as being more effective than the other.

Quintanar-Sarellana (1991) attributes teacher perceptions and attitudes towards English Language Learners, which are connected to student success, as related to pre-service training and proficiency in the native language of the students. Specifically, her study was designed to determine whether teachers' ethnicity, work experience, and Spanish language proficiency influenced the
direction of teachers' attitudes towards schooling for linguistic minority students.

A questionnaire was developed on a five point Likert scale involving six domains of teacher perceptions: the main role of education, the language and culture of linguistic minority students, the discrepancy between the schools' language and culture and that of linguistic minority students, the role of bilingual education programs, the role of the teacher in bilingual programs, and importance of parent participation. This was administered to 71 teachers who were involved in bilingual programs and 56 teachers who were in English only programs in a geographical area of Central California serving primarily Latino students. Sixty-five of these teachers were European American and 62 were Latino.

The analysis showed that Latino teachers who were involved in bilingual programs generally had more positive perceptions toward the language and culture of linguistic minority students and towards bilingual programs. Also, Latino teachers had a more positive perception of parent participation than teachers in English only programs. However, the most significant factor in shaping teachers' perceptions was their proficiency in Spanish. Among both Latino and non-Latino participants, those who had little or no proficiency in Spanish had the least positive perceptions towards language and culture of linguistic minority students. Among all the subjects of this study, those who were proficient in Spanish, regardless of ethnic background, had the most positive perceptions in almost all scales used in the study.

The results of this study showed that the cultural capital that English Language Learners bring to school is understood by teachers who are of the same ethnicity or who are proficient in Spanish, regardless of ethnicity.

Further, teachers in bilingual programs also have more positive perceptions toward the cultural capital of students than do their counterparts in Englishonly classrooms. Her explanations for these results seem to follow similar themes perceived by this researcher as being important in identifying quality teacher characteristics:

1. Teachers in bilingual programs are self-selected because they like working with and/or understand the culture of minority students,
2. Their awareness has been enhanced through their interaction with linguistic minority students,
3. Hispanic teachers understand and share the cultural capital of linguistic minority students. (p. 95)

An important finding to emerge from the Quintanar-Sarellana study that is particularly relevant to a study on the Euro American bilingual teacher, is that ethnicity alone is not the crucial variable in understanding how teachers perceive and interact with Latino students. The data indicates that:

Anglo respondents who also were high in Spanish language performance scored higher on several of the scales than did the Hispanic teachers with low Spanish proficiency. Specifically, Anglos with high Spanish proficiency had a higher mean score on all of the scales, except Parent Participation and the Role of Education, than Hispanics with low Spanish proficiency.
(Quintanar-Sarellana, 1991, p. 96)
Interestingly, teachers in bilingual programs, regardless of their ethnicity were found to be supportive of Maintenance type bilingual programs, and teachers in English-only programs favored early transition approaches. It was concluded that on a scale of cultural awareness, the Latino Spanish proficient bilingual educators appeared to be most aware, while the European American non-bilingual educator was the most culturally non-aware.

Of all the studies analyzed, I have found this one to be the most closely related to the topic of the successful practices of Euro American bilingual teachers, and therefore most significant in the review of the literature.

Other studies (Calderon, 1994; Karna \& Lara, 1992) also found strong relationships between positive language attitudes and positive perceptions of bilingual programs, however, the Karna study does not identify the ethnicity of the subjects, and the Calderon study focuses only upon Latino educators. These studies focused on bilingual teachers' support from administrators, colleagues, and parents as being critical to their sense of empowerment and potential success as bilingual teachers.

The element of support is also revealed in a participatory study of eight monolingual principals leading successful bilingual programs (Bernard, 1991), The finding of common attributes could be indicative of the Euro American bilingual teacher experience as it relates to success:

1. They were all experienced in working in positions of support to classroom teachers in previous jobs, and their views of bilingual education reflected a supportive posture towards the bilingual teachers in their schools
2. They had acquired knowledge of bilingual education outside of the credentialing process for administration, as it was not required for certification, and they all recommended this should be required
3. They had all had at least two years of foreign language instruction
4. Most of them were replacing someone who was seen as ineffective as a leader in bilingual education, and were content in their current assignment.

In conclusion, there have been identified several factors of human qualities: background experience and preparation, cultural sensitivity,
language proficiency, and the use of innovative non-authoritarian strategies that could be considered as prerequisites to the successful teaching of Latino students who are learning English. It is yet to be discovered whether these qualities and experiences are also shared by Euro American bilingual teachers, and whether there are other factors particular to this group that need to be considered when teaching in a bilingual bicultural setting.

## Summary

This review of the literature has attempted to draw parallels and connections between the underlying theories that are most current in the field of bilingual and multicultural education and the current practices in the field. Because of the lack of literature on the topic, it has been a challenging task to integrate the experience of the Euro American bilingual teacher into a particular space within this review. Many of the theoretical frameworks for bilingual education; education that is multicultural, and critical pedagogy have been illustrated in the selection of studies that highlight these elements as fundamental to successful programs and successful teachers. It is becoming more apparent that the solutions to teaching in ethnic diversity must be found in systemic and radical reforms to the traditional ways that simply do not work. Teachers who are serious about education that reflects a philosophy that is inclusive and liberating need to analyze their own ethnic heritage, their biases, and their own feelings concerning language loss. They must also be more aware of their active or passive participation in a social and political institution, and how they effect the lives of their students.

## CHAPTER III

## METHODOLOGY

Participatory research offers a partnership: We both know some things; neither of us know everything. Working together we will both know how to know more. (Maguire, 1987, pp.37-38)

## Theoretical Framework and Organizing Principles of Participatory Research

The research method employed in this study is participatory research using the specific process of dialogic retrospection (Kieffer, 1981), and is also described by Maguire (1987), Park (1993), and Ada and Beutel (1991). The purpose of this study is to gain an in depth view of Euro American bilingual teachers' perspectives working with English Language Learning students from Latino backgrounds.

As stated in the review of the literature, participatory research embraces a constructivist and humanistic view of knowledge (Maguire, 1987). It generates "voice" through the dialogue of lived experiences and feelings, and allows for the participants to see their world in a new way. The openness of a participatory research model does not test a hypothesis, does not look for causal links between particular variables, does not impose a theory, and does not prove a generalization.

The principle of shared power is central to participatory research. By becoming subjects with the researcher in their own research, it assumes that ordinary people, provided with tools and opportunities, are capable of critical reflection and analysis. The participants are constructors of their own knowledge, can take ownership of the data, thereby dismantling the
authoritarian nature of traditional research where the researcher controls the subjects and interprets the outcomes of the study.

The dialogic retrospection process developed by Kieffer (1981) illuminates the phenomenon of empowerment of individuals working in organizations and the concepts developed by Freire (1970) of empowerment and powerlessness. By posing questions in dialogue sessions, the participants described their teaching experiences and life experiences that have either contributed to or undermined their perceived success as Euro American, interculturally literate, bilingual teachers.

The emancipatory nature of participatory research through critical dialogue complements the goal for education to be liberatory, that is multicultural, socially reconstructionist, and partakes in a border pedagogy. Participatory research links research with action by involving the participants in critical dialogue. It brings us closer towards critical consciousness as an outcome of reflection, probing, and naming the world (Freire, 1986). Knowledge that is generated through this approach is emancipatory, as it offers potential solutions to problems experienced by the participants. It is through this practice amongst others who have experienced the reality of public school teaching in a bilingual setting, within the community of colleagues who share a similar cultural heritage, that the research was pursued.

Steps for Conducting the Study

Maguire (1987) recommends that participatory research be organized around five general phases, but emphasizes that there is no prescribed sequence or manner in which to address each phase, only that most
participatory research projects follow these guidelines. This study has utilized these guidelines as a flexible framework within which to place the steps outlined in Kieffer's "dialogic retrospection" model (1981). In addition, this study has incorporated written reflections of the participants, who live in various parts of California and Oregon, to facilitate response to the research questions and the analyzing of the first and second dialogues:

> Phase 1. Organization of the Project and Knowledge of the Working Area:

> Preliminary Dialogue: Clarifying the Research Questions
> Defining the Population
> Recruiting Participants and Developing Entry

In this particular study, Phase One of the project involved meeting with the participants in Oaxaca, conducting large group dialogues in which preliminary themes emerged and developing questions for reflection. The seven participants self-selected to become involved in the study. The research questions were presented to the participants and questions for dialogue were refined.

> Phase 2. Definition of Generating Problematics;
> Collection of Data and Conducting the Dialogic Interview Preliminary Analysis: Transcribing the Dialogues Generation of Preliminary Themes

Phase Two evolved as the participants engaged in small group or individual dialogues. Questions that were developed in the preliminary
dialogue were explored in depth and the preliminary themes were identified. The dialogues were transcribed after the conclusion of the Seminar in Oaxaca and mailed to the participants for their comments and editing.

Phase 3. Objectivization and Problematization:<br>Follow-up Dialogues: Participatory Interpretation Transcription of the Second Dialogues

Follow-up dialogues occurred during the months following the Seminar, as the participants were working in their respective jobs. Major themes were discussed through correspondence and phone calls. Final dialogues were conducted at the California Association for Bilingual Education Conference (CABE) in San Jose, California, in January 1996. Most of the participants were present to participate in the last dialogues. One of the participants was not able to participate in a final dialogue, and she was contacted by phone to contribute to the interpretation of the themes. Final transcripts were mailed to the participants, who responded through mail and telephone for their comments.

## Phase 4. Researching Social Reality and Analyzing Collected Information: <br> Interrogative Analysis: Constructing Meaning

Findings of the study were mailed to the participants, who responded positively and concurred with the presentation of the findings. Final reflections and the participants' recommendations for action were clarified
and added to the findings through continuous contact with each of them. Their final reflections were added to the end of the chapter of the findings.

## Phase 5. Definition of Action Projects

The participants have demonstrated an ongoing interest in staying in contact, and organizing presentations at the next California Association for Bilingual Education (CABE) conference. They all have expressed the need for continued dialogue among bilingual educators on the issues that confront us, and the need to build alliances. The action projects are becoming clarified as these suggestions are materializing into concrete plans.

## Phase One:

## Organization of the Project and Knowledge of the Working Area

## Developing the Research Questions

The research questions, as developed by the researcher, were designed to provide an organizing framework for the study and to guide the process of data collection and analysis. The visual model illustrated in the review of the literature is now modified to incorporate the dialogic retrospection process among the participants as they relate to the research questions.

## Dialogic Retrospection


I., II., III. = The three areas, or overlapping circles in which the research questions were investigated with the participants

Praxis $=$ The dynamics of reflection and investigation in the three circles or themes of the study. This connection is seen as a three leaf overlap and center of the circles.

The Research Questions = The triangle, or pyramid.

The three areas for dialogic retrospection that organized the research questions and, as described in preceding figure, have supporting questions that guide the dialogue, and consequently were used to organize the generative themes from the participants transcribed dialogues and written reflections. The intent of this design was to lend itself to flexibility. New dimensions of the Euro American bilingual teacher experience were revealed through the process of analyzing generative themes.

## Restatement of the Research Ouestions

1. What are the goals of Euro American bilingual teachers who are working with Latino English language learners, as they relate to successful teaching in bilingual classrooms?
2. How does background experience contribute to the way these teachers work with students from Latino cultures?
3. How do attitudes about culture translate into practices of a teacher working with Latino students?
4. How do European American teachers deal with their own cultural identity in the context of a multicultural setting?
5. What is the potential, i.e. what kinds of actions does the Euro American bilingual educator need to consider in order to reconstruct their experience into a liberatory, transformational one?

## Questions to Guide the Dialogue

Questions to guide the dialogue were developed for the participants and were designed to engage them in critical, reflective dialogue. All dialogue sessions were tape recorded, transcribed and analyzed for emerging themes. During the preliminary dialogue, our first meeting together, questions were also developed by the group for reflective writing and further exploration of the preliminary issues and themes that surfaced. After having the opportunity to discuss relevant issues in a large group and to write about them, small group dialogue sessions (two to three participants) were conducted to further explore these themes on a less structured, more personal level.

All participants had an opportunity to review their transcripts for authenticity and truthfulness, and to further elaborate on the emerging themes. Follow-up dialogues were then scheduled to interpret the generative themes and to construct meaning from this study. Contact with the participants was maintained through written correspondence, electronic mail, voice mail, faxing of documents, phone dialogues, and when possible, meetings in person.

Questions to guide the dialogue were related to the research questions in the following manner:

## Research Question:

1. What are the goals Euro American bilingual teachers who are working with Latino English language learners, as they relate to successful program models for bilingual education?

## Questions to Guide the Dialogue:

Why or how are your students successful? Please describe. How do you consider that your students are achieving? What are you doing in your classroom to help your students achieve?

## Research Question:

2. How does background experience contribute to the way these teachers work with students from Latino cultures?

## Questions to Guide the Dialogue:

How did you come into the field of bilingual education?
What experiences have helped you relate to and effectively teach your students?

From what you have experienced, what do teacher training institutions, administrators, colleagues and Latino educators need to know about the Anglo bilingual teacher working with Latino students?

## Research Question:

3. How do attitudes about culture translate into practices of a teacher working with Latino students?

## Questions to Guide the Dialogue:

How do you "connect" with the students in your class?
What qualities do you have that strengthen this connection?
Are there aspects about your cultural background that have caused you to feel excluded or limited?

How have you transcended these limitations to gain further insights into cultural boundaries and teaching Latino children? How would you compare your perceptions about culture with the perceptions of your mainstream teaching colleagues?

## Research Question:

4. How do Euro American bilingual teachers deal with their own cultural identity in the context of a multicultural setting?

## Questions to Guide the Dialogue:

How would you describe your cultural and ethnic heritage?
Do you see yourself as bicultural as well as bilingual?
What do you see as your role as a White teacher in a multicultural setting?

## Research Question:

5. What is the potential, i.e. what kinds of actions does the Euro American bilingual educator need to consider in order to reconstruct their experience into a liberatory, transformative one?

## Questions to Guide the Dialogue:

How do you overcome racism in education?
How can we open a dialogue that will create allies rather than confrontational relationships over issues of inequity? What steps can we take to transform our conditions into education as a practice of freedom?

## Entry into the Community and Selection of the Participants

A unique opportunity to select participants presented itself during an intensive seminar conducted in Oaxaca, Mexico in July of 1995. The course, "Seminar on Transformative Literacy", involved several educators from different areas of California, Oregon, Arizona, and Texas as well as students from the University of San Francisco. It provided an opportunity for teachers to reflect upon transformative pedagogy and its potential for a more vibrant classroom response to social justice, and to look at how important human and social themes have been treated within the Mexican and U.S. tradition. U.S. teachers met, dialogued, and exchanged ideas with both Mexican teachers and Mexican students. As schools in the village were in session, various books were made with students, families, and by teachers.

From this group of educators, nine who are Euro American practicing bilingual teachers, joined by some of other bilingual educators and facilitators
of the Seminar, formed around a discussion of potentially becoming involved in a study that would look at the Euro American bilingual teacher's experience in bilingual education. From my perspective as the researcher, these people who came together in Oaxaca looking for personal and professional growth, and who had enormous dedication to their profession of being bilingual teachers, were ideal candidates. Collectively, they had a wealth of experience in working with Latino populations, and by their participation in courses such as this one, had proven their willingness to take risks, become immersed in a different culture, learn the language, and engage in a critical dialogue about the educational issues facing them today.

## Preliminary Dialogue and Developing Questions for Written Reflection

The first group dialogue was instrumental in generating common issues as they related to the experience of the Euro American Bilingual teacher, such as coming to grips with ethnic identity, and what the working realities are for each of us. Initial discussions were lively, noisy and took a direction all their own. Several people would talk at once, and some didn't talk at all. This proved to be helpful in getting a sense of where themes would most likely be generated. I was able to pose general questions about the nature of these teachers' experience and begin to clarify the questions for dialogue. The research questions, as well, were becoming more clearly defined as entry into the community and rapport with each individual was becoming established.

All of the participants were feeling the pressures of an intensive summer course with projects to complete before leaving the village of Teotitlán del Valle, and only a weekend for some free time. The biggest
challenge was to pin down some time with each of them for a dialogue. Because time was such a factor, and also because most of the potential participants expressed an interest in working in groups on the questions, it was decided that we would meet as a group to write our reflections. This was also the time when those who felt they could not commit to, or did not belong to this study dropped out, leaving seven interested participants for the research.

The final recruitment of participants took into consideration those who self-selected, had experienced success, and who were concerned about the issues that are raised in the research questions of this study. The enthusiasm and perceived need for this kind of study was felt by all of us. By the end of the first meeting, and over the course of the Seminar in Oaxaca, six teachers decided to participate in the next phase this study, as shown in the following table.

Participants are listed by first name, as they chose to be named, and in alphabetical order. The area and level in which they teach reflect a geographic and academic diversity of participants for this study. Their total years of teaching experience and years teaching in a bilingual classroom are indicative of a wide range of experience, with the majority of participants having at least six years of experience in bilingual education. All but one have certification for teaching in bilingual classrooms, which reflects a minimum level of Spanish language proficiency and training in bilingual teaching methods. Some have advanced degrees beyond the educational level required for obtaining a teaching credential.

## Participants Selected for the Study

| Participant | Area Employed | Current Assign. | Yrs:Tch/Bil. Ed. | Certification |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Dick | Corvallis, OR | Bil. Resource Elem. K-6 | 13/7 | M.A. Bil./Mult. Elem.Credential |
| Elizabeth | Santa Barbara County, Calif. | Bil. Kinder | 28/13 | Bil. Certificate Elem.Credential |
| Ryan | San Joaquin County, Calif. | Bil. Science/ESL Spanish Literacy Middle School Grades7/8 | 10/10 | M.A <br> Spanish \& ESL <br> Credentials <br> Science Major |
| Rebecca | Riverside County, Calif. | Bil. 1st Grade | 2/2 | Elem.Credential Bil. Certificate Spanish Major |
| Toni | Sonoma County, Calif. | Kindergarten Spanish Immersion | 20/6 | M.A. Child Dev. Elem. Credential Bil. Certificate |
| Victoria | San Mateo County Calif. | ESL <br> High School | 8/6 | History \& Eng. Credentials ESL Certificate Hist.\&Eng.Major |
| Nancy Jean (consultant/ participant) | Stanislaus <br> County Office <br> Cal. State <br> University at Stanislaus | Bil. Specialist <br> Professor <br> Teacher Ed. | 10/10 | Ed.D Mult. Ed. M.A. Bil. Ed. Elem. Credential Span. \& History Major |
| Researcher | Lake County Calif. | Bil. 6th Grade Middle School | 18/15 | M.A. Mult. Ed. Credentials: Elem. \& Spanish Bil. Certificate Spanish Major |

In addition to the six bilingual teacher participants, it was decided to include Nancy Jean as a "consultant participant". Having organized and facilitated the Seminar on Transformative Literacy in Oaxaca, Nancy Jean was an observer of this study since its inception. She was also present during the
first meeting of the potential participants during the Seminar, as rapport was developed with the Euro American bilingual teachers.

Due to her involvement as facilitator of the Seminar, we were unable to schedule individual dialogues until later in the winter. She was not involved in the small group dialogue sessions, nor the written reflections. Dialogue with Nancy Jean occurred at the very beginning and ending of the study. Her role has been as a valuable advisor and a sounding board, as someone who has conducted participatory research, in addition to offering her experience as a bilingual teacher and bilingual teacher trainer.

## Phase Two: <br> Definition of Generating Problematics

## Procedures for Data Collection

Data for the study was collected using principles of participatory research methodology, by allowing the data to reflect both the participants' and the researcher's perceptions of the Euro American bilingual teaching experience. This was obtained via the process of dialogic retrospection (Kieffer, 1981), both with oral and written dialogues, or reflections.

The participants and I then participated in two small group dialogue sessions. During the first dialogue session, we engaged in a dialogue framed by the research questions designed to explore the various issues and experiences as a Euro American bilingual teacher. Two or three participants engaged in dialogue simultaneously, so as to take full advantage of the
collective nature of this process as a community. The dialogue was recorded, transcribed and analyzed by the researcher

Questions that were developed in the preliminary dialogue were also posed to the participants for their written response. The purpose of written responses from the participants was to individually reflect in depth upon the questions. This added an introspective element to the dialogue, allowing more potential for individual "voice" within the group. Written reflections were synthesized and analyzed as a part of the first dialogue.

The recorded dialogues were transcribed during the weeks following the Seminar and mailed to the participants for their review. A letter was included inviting them to make written comments, edit, and interpret the dialogue. It was important that the subjects become involved in this process so as to encourage ownership, truthfulness, and authenticity. In addition to the transcripts, questions for further exploration were posed to the participants to elicit additional responses in writing. Responses to the transcripts of the first dialogue and reflections on additional questions were returned by most of the participants over the ensuing months.

The generative themes from the first dialogues and the written reflections were explored later, in a second dialogue, which was also taped and transcribed. Follow-up dialogues were conducted during the California Association for Bilingual Education conference in January, 1996, in San Jose, California. This was an ideal opportunity to connect with the participants, who had already planned to attend the conference. Five of the six participants and Nancy Jean, consultant participant were able to participate in the followup dialogues.

The analysis and synthesis of the entire data was offered to the participants for their review, and suggestions for action have been incorporated into the recommendations and conclusions of this study.

During the identification and invitation process, the participants were informed that they would be entering into a collaborative process with the researcher, and that as equal partners they would be fully involved in both posing questions and exploring the answers. They were also informed as to their role in analyzing and interpreting their findings, as well as verifying and commenting on researcher's interpretation and analysis of their input.

Each participant was assured of anonymity, and their right to withdraw from the study if they so chose. A letter of invitation to participate and a form of consent to participate was given to each participant prior to the dialogue sessions, informing them of their rights and providing them a brief overview of the study. All of the participants have chosen to be represented with their true identities, using first names only, rather than remain entirely anonymous. They are also aware that although it is not the intention of this study to become known, there is potentially enough information provided in the research to identify them.

The following table illustrates an overview of the data that was collected and analyzed by the researcher. In the upper section are the guiding stages of the participatory study as it was conducted over a six month period. These correspond to the data collected and presented in the lower section of the table. Data collected from each participant is indicated with an " X " in each area of the method that was used. Notes were added to clarify use of alternative strategies to amplify the dialogues and reflections, as needed.

Participants also contributed additional data which was used in this research.

## Overview of the Data Collection

## 1. Stages of this Participatory Study

| Phase 1: | Phase 2: | Phases 3 and 4: |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
|  |  |  |
| Preliminary | Conducting Dialogic | Follow-up Dialogues, Participatory |
| Dialogue, Clarifying | Interviews, | Interpretation, Transcription of Second |
| Research Questions, | Preliminary Analysis | Dialogues. |
| Recruiting Partici- | Transcribing Dialogues |  |
| pants, Developing <br> Entry | Preliminan of Themes | Interrogative Analysis; Constructing Meaning |
|  |  |  |

## 2. Data on Participants

| Method | Lg. Group | Written | Sm. Group | Follow-up Reflections | Follow-up | Notes/ |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
|  | Dialogue | Reflect. | Dialogue |  | Dialogue | Other |  |
|  | Oaxaca | Oaxaca | Oaxaca | Written Dialogue | San Jose | July '95 - |  |
|  | July '95 | July '95 |  |  |  |  |  |
|  |  | July '95 | Fall ‘95 | Jan. '95 | Feb. '96 |  |  |
| Participant |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |


| Dick | X | X | X | X |  | X | sent fall reflections after Conf. |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Elizabeth | X | X | X | X |  | X | wrote letter |
| Ryan | X | X | X | X |  |  | notes from <br> phone <br> dialogues |
| Rebecca | X | X | X | X |  | X | Notes on bus in Oaxaca \& journal |
| Toni | X | X | $X$ individual on airplane |  | X | $\underset{\text { notes only }}{\mathrm{X}}$ | individual dialogues long and in depth |
| Victoria | X | X | X |  |  |  | Brief notes at conference |
| Consultant |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Participant Nancy Jean | X |  |  |  |  | X | Notes <br> Oaxaca and phone dialogues dialogues |
| $\frac{\text { Researcher }}{\text { Peggy }}$ | X | X | X |  | X | X | journal |

## Conducting the First Dialogue

After meeting to write reflections to the questions developed collaboratively, the researcher was able to schedule small group dialogue sessions with five of the participants, in groups of two and three. During these small group sessions both the participant and the researcher engaged in a dialogue loosely guided by the Questions for Dialogue stated earlier in this chapter. These aided the researcher in exploring in depth the various issues and experiences, which may or may not have been addressed in the written reflections. The small group sessions consisted of Dick and Ryan together in one afternoon, followed by another session with Elizabeth, Victoria and Rebecca in the evening. A final dialogue with Toni, was conducted individually during the six hour flight back to the United States.

The intensity of these dialogues was heightened by the experience of also participating in the Seminar; living and interacting with the Zapotec families of Teotitlán del Valle and learning about our potentials as authors and teachers through the literacy workshops. This, I believe had a profound effect upon the nature and outcome of the dialogues. The setting for the dialogue is an important factor in establishing the appropriate context for both the participant and the researcher to fully explore the multiple dynamics of the participatory-dialogic process (Kieffer, 1981). Each dialogue session lasted approximately 40 to 50 minutes, however no limit was placed on those sessions that lasted longer.

I initially began the dialogues by leading the participants into critical reflection on the open ended questions developed for this study. The direction of each session was determined by the sense of urgency of the
participants to delve into different aspects of being a Euro American bilingual teacher. The negotiation and construction of new knowledge demands that the process be an act of truth, sincerity, and of listening as well as speaking. The role of the researcher during the dialogues was not to control or manipulate the topics around a preconceived series of questions that must be answered, as in an interview. It was to act as one who facilitates the dialogic process by posing questions that are open ended and allow for equal participation of exploring the full potential of each question as a problem that generates themes and further questions.

## Transcription and Analysis of the First Dialogue

Upon completion of the initial set of dialogue sessions, and written reflections, each dialogue was transcribed and a copy was mailed to each of the participants with a letter. The participants were asked to review, clarify and expand on thoughts that may not have completely stated. In transcribing the dialogues, special care was taken not to alter the authenticity of the data, and to capture, to the best extent possible, the "spirit" in which the ideas were shared during the dialogue sessions. Included with the transcripts were additional questions for written reflection, which the researcher felt were not addressed during the first dialogue.

Using the approaches suggested by Kieffer (1981) every effort was made to allow the data to speak for itself, allowing the organizational schemes and categories to emerge from the data itself. The participants were encouraged to analyze the dialogue process and to reflect on its effectiveness in exploring and expressing their ideas and feelings, and to suggest additional and/or alternate paths to be pursued during an upcoming session at the California

Association for Bilingual Education (CABE) Conference in San Jose, California in January, 1996. It was decided that we would meet again during this five day event to discuss the progress of the study.

One of the six participants responded within a month of receiving the letter and returned the edited transcripts along with his written responses to further questions. Another participant was able to meet in the fall and discuss some of the preliminary themes of our work together, and record a second dialogue. Three of the four remaining participants brought their fall reflections and edited transcripts to the CABE Conference. One of them had written a letter in the late summer, which was included as a written reflection, in addition to her responses to the follow-up questions. Another participant returned edited transcripts only, with no written responses.

## Phase Three: <br> Objectivization and Problematization

## Conducting the Follow-up Dialogue: Participatory Interpretation

The late response by the majority of the participants was a setback to the original timeline for completion of the project. As a result, the preliminary themes were not identified and analyzed with the participants in a timely manner before the conference, but concurring and repeated themes surfaced during the follow-up dialogues that were conducted during the conference. Participants had become more aware of the themes that were most critical to them, and more pronounced during their fall teaching assignments. These were shared in a second dialogue.

Follow-up taped dialogue sessions were conducted with Dick, Elizabeth, Rebecca, Ryan and Nancy Jean. Toni's follow-up dialogue had actually occurred earlier in the fall, so when we met for the last time after the conference, we were able to analyze the major themes and categories for the data. The recorded dialogue with Ryan and Nancy Jean was lost due to a malfunction of the tape recorder, so the major themes and notes from this session were recovered with Ryan over the phone. Nancy Jean was able to participate in another recorded session the following weekend at a retreat for fellow doctoral students from the University of San Francisco. The only participant that failed to attend a scheduled session was Victoria, and this may have been due to faulty communication during a very hectic and crowded conference event. She was, however, able to contribute some of her thoughts during a very brief and coincidental encounter in a hallway. I was only able to record a few notes.

The participants and I had an opportunity to review, analyze, and reflect upon the transcripts from the initial dialogue during the follow-up session. They were asked to focus on the data generated during the first dialogue and their written reflections. Upon examining the data and identifying, interpreting, and analyzing recurring themes, I probed with further questions that resulted from my own analysis and interpretation of the data.

If major discrepancies surfaced amid the generative themes, they were brought to the attention of the participants, which were clarified through further dialogue. This gave me an opportunity to determine whether the themes identified by the participants were also shared by me, and vice-versa.

By becoming fully involved in the analysis of the data and conducting and in depth interpretation of the data, the gaining of an organizational
overview of the multiple structures present in the participants' text was facilitated. I could then begin connecting and relating ideas, and identifying themes that responded to the research questions.

# Phase Four: <br> Researching Social Reality and Analyzing Collected Information 

## Organizing the Final Categories from the Data

The transcripts from the second dialogue were also reviewed and analyzed following the same general procedures that was employed in interpreting the data from the initial dialogue. It is during this stage that comparisons could be made between individual and shared themes, and "reducing them to essential, verifiable, non-redundant categories applicable to all participants" (Kieffer, 1981, p. 38).

This study was pursued with much hope and enthusiasm, and knowing how powerful a process this form of research can be, a reflection from my first experience with participatory research is offered in retrospection (Laughlin, 1992b):

This project was an experience that has challenged my expectations of what I thought research was. I am still asking more questions than I can answer. Because the role of the researcher is not one of assuming control, but one who facilitates a study where all the participants share in a critical, reflective process, the researcher cannot escape unchanged in some way (p.30).

It is with similar thoughts that this study was facilitated among Euro American bilingual teachers. The complexities of unraveling the many facets
of their experience, both the obvious and the hidden, are revealed in the findings in the next chapters.

## Phase Five: <br> Definition of Action Plans

The determination of action plans has yet to be determined from the culmination of this study. Since the research was initiated, I have already encountered other teachers who are anxious to see the outcome of the research. Much of the action came about as a result of our meeting again at the CABE conference, where the participants shared how this dialogic process has changed the way they see their role as a Euro American bilingual teacher. The building of community through the sharing of common issues was in itself an action.

It would also be difficult to separate the experience of critical dialogue from the experience of living in a small Zapotec community for the short time we were together, where much of this research began. The meeting at CABE was also a reunion of the participants of the Seminar on Transformative Literacy, and the relationship of the researcher with and among the participants in this study is still budding and evolving from this experience. Continuing dialogue with the participants has led to a strong commitment toward supporting this study, and the desire to see that the research does not simply stop here and be forgotten.

## CHAPTER IV

## ENTRY INTO THE COMMUNITY

## AND OUTCOMES OF THE PRELIMINARY DIALOGUE

## Overview

Entry into the community of Euro American bilingual teachers was an important part of the research. The first section of this chapter highlights the outcomes of the preliminary dialogue, as entry into the community was developed. Out of this dialogue, the first topics for investigation and questions for written reflection were developed.

The next section profiles the participants' backgrounds and first experiences that led them into bilingual education, followed by the portraits of the participants, written by them for this study. These preliminary findings should enable the reader to fully appreciate who the participants are, as human beings, before entering the next chapter, which presents the findings from subsequent dialogues and written reflections from the participants.

## The Preliminary Dialogue: <br> Generating Questions and Themes to be Explored

I have a lot to say on this topic. And I have come a long way. I am from Newport News, Virginia. (group laughter) Now you see what that brings up... when you're a White male from the South? I come from a middle class conservative family, and look where I am! I'm bilingual teaching! ... I think that's a really cool question. How on Earth did I end up here? We have as much right to join the dialogue on multiculturalism as another ethnic group, and we can define our topic without being racist. (Ryan)

It is important to consider this stage of the research as one that has produced initial generative themes through brainstorming, question posing and just becoming more familiar with each other. As stated earlier, this was a first meeting of potential participants, and the group was inclusive of any one from the seminar group who wished to join. Although the purpose of this taped session was organizational, that is, my intention was to plan further sessions and to develop the questions for dialogue, the outcome was a dynamic group dialogue that produced several themes, as well as the questions for their first written reflections.

The brainstorm of ideas produced the following list of themes, or topics, which were used to develop the questions for written reflections:

Need for this Study
Cultural Stereotypes
European Americans Need to See Their Own Culture
Acknowledging the Advantages/Disadvantages of Own Ethnicity Self Awareness
Issues in the Schools: Administration and Staff
Need for Support and Respect
How to Change Social Structures
White Minority: Feeling Different and Defining the Difference

These themes became the text from which the researcher, in collaboration with the participants, developed the following questions for written reflection:

1. Why are you a bilingual teacher? How did you get to where you are?
2. What has been your experience and what are the issues that you face?
3. How do you define your culture and how do you perceive that in the context of bilingual/multicultural education?
4. What would you like to see happen as a result of our working together on these particular issues? What next?
5. What do administrators, Hispanic teachers, non-Hispanic teachers, teacher educators, and students need to know about the European American bilingual teacher working with language minority students? What do you have to say to them?

After the first meeting, the teachers had developed a sense of ownership and purpose, which are key to the participatory process, and were left with an inner dialogue that would aid them in the writing of their reflections.

## Common Backgrounds

Researcher: "And do you think they realize what they are getting into?" (bilingual education).
Toni: "No, they certainly do not!"

As each of the participants related how they came into teaching in bilingual classrooms, it became evident how unique each one of them was. Although they had entered the field at different times in their careers and through different avenues into various educational settings, the majority had some common experiences, which led them into working with Spanish speaking students. Through their written reflections on the questions, "Why are you a bilingual teacher?" and , "How did you get to where you are?", there were a variety of influencing factors, as most of them described, that led them into teaching in general. Love for children, wanting a creative challenge, always wanting to teach or having parents who were teachers were
mentioned. Other life situations, such as needing a job, objecting to the Vietnam War, and their own school experiences also entered into the dialogue. Reasons for becoming a teacher did not generate common themes.

However, when these questions were applied to bilingual teaching, a number of commonalities emerged. These were: Spanish language acquisition and cross cultural experiences, feeling compelled to remedy the oppressive conditions for Spanish speaking students, and appreciation: making a difference.

## Spanish Language Acquisition and Cross Cultural Experiences

Ryan, Dick, Nancy Jean and Rebecca acquired Spanish proficiency before entering the bilingual classroom. For them, learning another language was an extension of their formal education, and a way to open doors to jobs where they could use their bilingual skills. They had all spent extended periods of time during their younger adult years working and traveling in Spanish speaking countries, namely Mexico, Central America and South America. Their responses reflected an awareness of their ability to establish meaningful connections in a Spanish speaking community. Dick describes this aspect of making connections:

The fact that I was fluent in Spanish got me a job as a program coordinator for 'Mi Cultura', a grass roots daycare after school program in the Chicano barrio in St. Paul, Minnesota. I was able to become close friends with some people in that community and was able to participate quite intimately in some of their lives. My ability to speak Spanish and my concern for social justice and working with oppressed groups led to several teaching positions in experimental schools in the early 70's.

It was not until later, after leaving the country again to live in France, that Dick enrolled in a bilingual-multicultural teacher training program which eventually led him into his current position as a bilingual resource teacher.

In addition to facilitating connections to Spanish speaking communities, these four participants expressed that learning languages was one of their strengths, as Ryan mentioned, "I loved Spanish class and absorbed the language like a maniac", while Nancy Jean and Rebecca chose Spanish as a college major, and Dick appears to have easily acquired Spanish through being immersed in it.

Elizabeth, Victoria, and Toni were already experienced teachers when they saw the need to develop proficiency in Spanish. They moved into bilingual positions, while simultaneously studying their second language and teaching Spanish speaking children. As adult learners of a second language, this has been a longer, more arduous process for them. Both Toni and Elizabeth went through enormous efforts to pass the California Bilingual Certificate of Competence (BCC), a requirement for teaching in bilingual classrooms. (It took Toni nine years and several attempts before passing). Toni survived her first year in a bilingual classroom by "writing a script each night for the following day and by having the kindest, most helpful (bilingual) teaching assistant one could wish for".

These three also enrolled in programs as teachers to study outside of the United States to build proficiency in Spanish. Victoria is still actively studying Spanish for certification.

# Feeling Compelled to Remedy Oppressive Conditions <br> for Spanish Speaking Students 

Wanting to remedy oppressive conditions was a common purpose that these teachers felt. Each one expressed a strong response to what they perceive to be happening in education, especially to students who were learning English. They related their convictions towards improving these conditions and what they felt they could do. As Rebecca, a second year bilingual teacher explained,

My mother, as an elementary school resource teacher was in charge of the programs for LEP/NEP students in her school. As I was studying Spanish in high school, she told me of the dilemma of Spanish speaking students in her school. I felt for them the injustice of having a new language thrust upon them and their incapacity to learn what their English speaking peers were learning. For this, I decided to study Spanish in college and seek bicultural experiences.

Elizabeth simply said, "I became a bilingual teacher after fifteen years in my district because I wanted to help Spanish speaking children."

Toni, who started in education as a pre-school teacher had another view on this theme:

When my children were two and three years old, I took them to the local nursery school in Ocean Park where we lived. The program was a 'pressure-cooker' approach, funded by the Federal Government. The population was mostly Hispanic. I felt the oppression of the women, and wished to help them. I felt the inappropriateness of the approach: English only, teacher directed.

In a later dialogue, Toni reiterated her convictions about the oppression of women:
... my basic need at that time was to empower the women, of those families in Santa Monica, who had to have their English classes while their children were at nursery school because their husband wouldn't let them. It offended me, so much, that those women were subjugated by their husbands, in this country, where English would help them! It
would not only help the moms, but it would help the dads! Granted, it would be a risk to the dads because their wives could go out and get a job. And that's a risk of them being exposed to the world, and maybe leaving their husbands, which, if they're so insecure, that's their problem. But that's where my original seed of wanting to do this came from.

Further dialoguing with Toni revealed that we both shared a deep concern for oppression of women, not only in Latino cultures, but women everywhere. These issues surfaced while we were discussing our teaching practices, which will be found in a later section.

Dick came to his awareness of oppressive conditions through his involvement in the Peace Corp, during the Viet Nam War years:

I began teaching in a Catholic school, which gave me time to file as a conscientious objector to the war. What followed politicized and influenced me for the rest of my life. It developed in me a social consciousness and an awareness of social justice that I did not have before. I was granted my C.O. status and my alternative service was teaching in the Peace Corps in the West Indies. This experience changed my life, as I was able to live, work and become part of another culture which was quite different from mine.

These sentiments continued to surface through the ongoing dialogues and reflections with the participants.

## Appreciation: Making a Difference

Inherent in the discussion of becoming a bilingual teacher was the feeling of appreciation for their work by students and their parents. Unfortunately, most public schools do not have enough personnel who have both the skills and the desire to work with English Language Learners. Students are aware of these overtones in the school environment. Imagine what they must feel when they know that only one or two adults in their school has a clue to what their world is like, and could possibly understand
what their needs might be. They naturally show gratefulness and appreciation for the teacher who focuses in on them and makes a difference in their lives.

Victoria, who re-entered teaching as a substitute teacher after having raised four children was instantly aware of the rewards of working with English Language Learners:

While I was subbing one day, I was asked to take an ESL teacher's classes for the day. The assignment they had was very boring and I decided to make it fun. When I finished, the students really showed their appreciation. I was shocked and overwhelmed by their display of gratitude. So I looked into teaching ESL and found a class starting that weekend at a nearby college. I decided that teaching English to students who really wanted to learn was a real treat.

Rebecca, in her first experiences student teaching in Chicago, Illinois explained:

That area had a large number of new Mexican immigrants, who came to work in the factories. Most of the Mexicans in the community were recent arrivals, and were grateful to anyone who could be a bridge between them and the mainstream culture.

Ryan and Dick's experiences in bilingual education also reflect a response for being accepted by the communities, as Ryan described how students see him "... as a representative of the culture and language that they want to learn. I have high credibility with students in ESL", and Dick explained:

The sense that I can make a difference, Anglo or not, and that somewhere along the line I am being accepted by the community and other Chicano teachers is very rewarding.

## Self-Portraits of the Participants

The participants have each provided a self-portrait to contribute to the authorship of this study and to allow them an opportunity to share other aspects of their lives, which they felt were important. Whereas the researcher and the participants together have investigated common issues through dialogic retrospection, the self-portrait allows the participants to represent themselves outside of the research.

## Dick

I was born in St. Paul, Minnesota in 1947. My parents were blue collar workers, my father spending his entire life in the printing industry and my mother spending hers as a homemaker. My father was full blooded German and my mother half Polish and half French-Canadian. My father was a staunch union member and had, what I consider to be, a strong sense of social justice and political awareness. They both instilled in me a belief that my Catholic education did provide me with a solid moral basis that influenced the direction of my life in later years.

I was the first one on either side of my family to attend college. I graduated in 1969 with a BA degree and no real direction of what to do next. The Viet Nam war was raging and I entered the teaching profession to allow me more time to examine my personal convictions. I filed as a Conscientious Objector, and after a long and difficult process I was granted a C.O. status. I performed my alternative service in the Peace Corps, serving as a teacher in the West Indies. My Peace Corps experience opened my eyes to the wonders of other places and cultures. I taught in a rural school in Barbados, and this experience changed my life.

I returned to the States after two years and taught at a small alternative school in the inter-city of Minneapolis, Minnesota. The teaching experience was much to my liking, but I had a strong desire to live again in another culture. This led me to South America, where I found a job teaching in an international school in Quito, Ecuador. I spent a total of three years teaching and traveling in South America and returned to the States quite fluent in Spanish. I got a job with Mi Cultura, a grass roots Chicano organization in St. Paul, Minnesota, working as Programs Coordinator for a pre-school/ after school program. I returned to South America for one more year of teaching in Ecuador. I met my friend and wife, Marie, during this time (1978) and eventually returned with her to her home in Brittany in France. Since that time we have lived in France for a total of four years. We have two children, Joa Sol (15), and Quena Lua (10), who are both bilingual and bicultural.

Our return to the States led me back to education. I went back to school and got a Master's degree in Interdisciplinary Studies with my concentrations in Bilingual/Multicultural Education, English, and Anthropology. Since the completion of that degree in 1987, I have been working in the area of English as a Second Language, and the last two years I have spent working as a resource teacher for an elementary bilingual program (Spanish) in Independence, Oregon.

My current position is my first position in a bilingual program. As resource teacher I work with two elementary schools, helping develop the Native Language and ESL components of the program. I also am working on developing much needed parent and community involvement projects.

Our school district is small and rural, and approximately 25 percent of the students are Hispanic. Certified bilingual teachers are very difficult to find in Oregon, and it is due to this fact that I was hired for this position.

There are times that I do not feel qualified for the work that I am doing. I feel that being bilingual is not being bicultural, and that a Latino would be much better in my position. I feel strange being regarded as an "expert" in a culture which is not my own. At the same time, I thoroughly enjoy the work that I do, and I feel that I am doing a good job. I feel that I am sensitive to the students and the community that I work with, and I feel more accepted by them. I am involved in a parent involvement/Family Literacy project, Libros y Familias, which is an adaptation of the Literatura Infantil program started in Pajaro Valley by Alma Flor Ada of the University of San Francisco and Alfonso Anaya, who was a principal there at the time. This program has been one of my focal points this year and I am feeling very good about where the program is going. The outreach into the community is breaking down barriers and it has made me feel much more positive about the role I am playing as a resource teacher. This program has kindled an education as something that goes far beyond classroom walls and is not limited by an age.

I have also been interested in writing for young people for many years. My wife is an illustrator, and we have dreams of doing books together for children. I feel that my current experience in working with both the children and parents in our community is giving us direction and inspiration that will allow us to realize those dreams.

In conclusion, I would like to say that being a participant in this research has made me take a close look at who I am and what I am doing as an educator. The dialoguing that has taken place has set a lot of wheels turning, and has given me a clearer picture of myself and my role as a bilingual educator. It is the type of research that benefits not only the people who read it, but, perhaps more so , the people who participate in it. It has been a very worthwhile experience.

## Elizabeth

I was born in Great Bend, Kansas in the middle of the U.S. I was the older of two daughters. During World War II my family lived in San Diego, California, and Frederick, Maryland. My father was very interested in speaking Spanish and I studied it in college. I graduated from Marymount College, a Catholic women's school in Salina, Kansas. I have had a Kansas, Arizona, and now, a California teacher's certificate.

I have six children from 31 to 42 years old. My daughter, the nurse, has used Spanish in her work. My son-in-law speaks three languages, including Spanish. He was born in Venezuela. His two children are almost monolingual English speakers. He is wanting them to be bilingual in Spanish, but has found it too difficult. His parents, who are tri-lingual, are upset about it. I really have fun with my four grandkids, ages two to six.

I am a bilingual kindergarten teacher with thirty-three Spanish speaking students. I am on the School Site Council and on the Leadership Team. I am also the co-chairperson of the Club Literario, which is our Spanish speaking parent group. Its main purpose is to strengthen our parents' literary skills so they can help their children do better in school. I passed the BCC (Bilingual Certificate of competence) and have been improving my knowledge of Spanish and the culture of my students.

My husband and I have done a lot of traveling in Mexico, Guatemala, Peru and Costa Rica. I attended and institute sponsored by the Spanish Embassy in Spain, as well as the Seminar in Teotitlán del Valle, Mexico. I am very interested in North American and South American indigenous cultures.

The population of La Honda is $35 \%$ Hispanic. My class is all Spanish speakers. We have a bilingual program with an ESL component. As of this
year we have a transition team, which consists of all the six bilingual teachers in our school. We've been attending transition training sessions with an experienced elementary professor at UCSB (University of California, Santa Barbara). We have begun to talk with each other about what we can do to strengthen and improve our bilingual program. We' ve been brain storming different ideas, like how we can get the English and Spanish speaking children together more, like at lunch.

Our town, Lompoc, has about 47,000 people. We are fifty miles from Santa Barbara and about eight miles from the ocean. At least eight of my students have never been to the ocean. Fifteen of my children have parents who read to them (mostly books from my collection) on a regular basis. The other eighteen have very little academic help from their parents. These are the same people who don't come to our Club Literario meetings or other school functions. Most of them either didn't go to school or left at the end of second grade. Each bilingual teacher has at least three parents who don't really use reading and writing and feel uncomfortable in academic settings.

My mission as a teacher is to help my children get started on being bilingual people. I feel that instead of monolingual English, we need everyone in California, but preferably in the United States to be bilingual. I feel we could improve relations between people and many of our educational problems, like school drop-outs would diminish if everyone had the advantages of two languages. A truly bilingual biliterate person (no matter what language) is going to be much more interested in learning. This person will become a contributor to our society.

It is important for me to be part of this study because the results of this study could help administrators understand the non-native Euro American

Spanish bilingual teacher and support this person in his or her role. I feel that these teachers have a very important part to help our students.

## Nancy Jean

Peggy and I went through the doctoral program together. I received a Title VII Fellowship after my first year of studies which forced me to accelerate my studies, and consequently I finished my dissertation on "Linguistic Genocide and the Struggle for Linguistic Survival: A Participatory Research Study with a Zapotec Community in California". As a result, I graduated a year before Peggy. I offer this information as a way of explaining our relationship; that we were in the same doctoral classes for four years, attended critical pedagogy institutes and bi-yearly doctoral retreats together, and were often working on the same projects.

There also exists a more important thread that draws us together; our interest in critical relations of power and white supremacy both in the world at large and how it plays itself out in the education system. Being that both of us are white and were raised in the dominant white paradigm, we have and continue to struggle to understand how it replicates itself in legislation, relationships, and the nice people next door. We are also painfully aware of how we are implicated in sustaining inequality, and how through our own actions, we are often co-opted knowingly and unknowingly into working for the status quo. We have spent countless hours together in dialogue and apart contemplating and reading how we need to be and what we can do to take effective action to begin a transformation of our social institutions and most importantly, to foment a conversation of new possibilities. We are committed to demystifying the structures of white supremacy both professionally and personally.

During the final stages of my dissertation process, the idea came forth to hold a seminar on Transformative Literacy in the Mexican village of the participants of my study. As it turned out there were twenty-five United States teachers who participated, seven of us were doctoral students in the University of San Francisco International and Multicultural Program. Peggy was among that group. At about this time, Peggy and I had begun a continuing discussion concerning possibilities for her dissertation. She was considering researching the implication white educators face in bilingual/multicultural settings, and related issues of white privilege as it interacts with our classroom pedagogy. As the participants were registering we saw the possibility that some of the white teachers might be interested in participating in this study. They responded with resounding enthusiasm and the investigation was born.

This is an important and timely study. Peggy has taken on a difficult subject, one that is not clearly understood, and one that most people prefer not to engage in because it is personal and holds the potential to expose ourselves in painful discourse. It is of vital importance to extend this discourse in the literature and for whites to come to deeper understandings of their implication in the inequitable society within which we interact and live our lives. We must also find ways to educate those who are blind to or in denial of their privilege. This study has come to make a difference in the lives of those who participated, and opened new ways of seeing themselves in the world and in their relationships with others. It continues a critical conversation on what it means to be white, and how we as educators impose or deconstruct supremacy in our relationships and classrooms.

Personally, I struggle with these issues on a daily basis and watch power replicate in the most mundane of ways. Professionally, I work at California

State University at Stanislaus, with teacher education students. We search new understandings of how racism is present in our pedagogy and educational content, and reproduce itself through the culture we create in our classrooms and the choices we make in structuring and deciding on lessons. Together we are rethinking curriculum and educational structures.

Most importantly, we are investigating what it means to be white and how the dominant culture is quietly, subtly the expected norm. It's a surprising revelation to most white students and one that I believe will create teachers more aware of the role they play in creating classroom culture and the manifestations socially, politically and personally of the pedagogy they own.

The foundation of my pedagogy is based on a firm belief that illuminating and naming structures of oppression is the first step towards change, and that full inclusion and social participation are the path towards social equity and justice. A more humane and caring world can only come forth if we work from our hearts and ask hard questions.

## Rebecca

I was born in Fontana, California and my family has stayed in the same general area since then. I now live with my husband in Redlands near where my parents and my brother live. My mother grew up in China and the Phillipines as the child of missionaries. She was surrounded by people of diverse cultures, but associated mainly with her friends from the American School for expatriates. Her multicultural perspective influenced my perception of people from other cultural backgrounds. When I was around five years old my grandparents returned from the Phillipines to retire in Redlands. They had spent their entire adult lives working with the Chinese
people in China and the Phillipines. When they returned they would often mistakenly insert a Chinese word to a conversation or switch to Chinese when they did not want those around them to understand. I was eager to pick up whatever foreign language that I could.

I am now a teacher in Colton, California of a bilingual first grade class. My desire to teach bilingual students began when I was in high school after several years of Spanish. My parents are teachers and we often dialogued about issues in education. Through these dialogues I became aware of the needs of children and the potential in them that could be encouraged to grow or left alone to die. I was especially concerned about the children of recent immigrants who were between cultures and often lacked anyone to intercede for them. Culture and language fascinated me, but on the other hand I sensed peoples' fear and prejudice when bilingual education was mentioned as a possible solution.

The community of Colton, California is predominantly Hispanic, although a growing number of immigrants from Asia, Africa and Eastern Europe have changed the cultural atmosphere and the needs of the schools. Colton is located about 45 minutes east of Los Angeles and is a close-knit, working class community. The school in which I work has a student population that has remained a White/Hispanic mix. This has encouraged a strong bilingual program to develop. My students are all Spanish speaking. Most have family that live in Mexico, although a few families have immigrated from Central America. I am in my second year of teaching and have the opportunity to work with a very dedicated group of teachers.

I see education as a key to empowerment. A person without literacy has many doors closed to him. Develop that person's literacy and he will also have a higher understanding of his environment. When parents tell me that
they have limited reading ability, I encourage them to learn along with their children and not to feel powerless to change.

I have a husband, Jonathan, and a miniature schnauzer, Gustav. We are working on restoring a California bungalow and enjoy researching the Arts and Crafts movement in America.

## Ryan

I was born and raised in Newport News, Virginia. I am the fifth of seven children. We were raised Catholic and sent to both Catholic and public schools. My father is a retired engineer and spent his career designing ships at the Newport News shipyard. My mother is a retired elementary teacher who taught at our Catholic elementary school. I lived a stable, suburban life. I never felt like I fit in very well into society there. I never wanted to live in Newport News as an adult. Avoiding working at the shipyard was one of the main reasons for wanting to leave. Since I knew I was gay by age fourteen, I also knew that Newport News would not be a good place for me as an adult.

I grew up with racism and homophobia all around. I was in seventh grade when bussing started in Newport News. Our classes were segregated by race even though the schools were said to be integrated. The Catholic schools I went to were predominately white. This contradicted school lessons about democracy and equality. I was in elementary and middle school during the Vietnam war. It seemed to me that what the war protesters were saying coincided more with my school's religious and civics lessons than with the opinions of many adults in my community. I think because of the contradictions around me, I ended up feeling that the community outlook of the white middle class didn't work for me. As a teenager I
fantasized a lot about leaving and traveling the world. I looked at maps, read National Geographic, befriended people from other countries and strained to overhear conversations in other languages.

I got my bachelor's degree in geology from the College of William and Mary. I have a Master's Degree in Bilingual Education from the University of Maryland, Baltimore County. I've been working in ESL/Bilingual Education for more than ten years.

I have taught ESL in adult education programs and in high schools. I coordinated a community based ESL/Spanish literacy program for Salvadoran refugees in Washington, D.C. I worked in adult literacy in Honduras. Among other things, I developed bilingual literacy materials in Honduras for use with the Afro-Carribean people there. Now I teach ESL and bilingual science at a middle school in the central valley of California.

My partner and I live together as an openly gay couple. We have a son that we adopted at age four. We are active in the gay community in our town. I recently started a San Joaquin county chapter of GLSTN (The Gay, Lesbian and Straight Teacher's Network). We had to struggle through the adoption and now we want to make schools a safe place for our son. I have been speaking to groups about gay rights, especially the issues of gay marriage and homophobia in the schools. Our GLSTN group wants to start doing training for school counselors, teachers and administrators in our district.

I became a teacher because I hated school and thought I could do a better job than what I saw around me. I like the creative challenge and enjoy working with people and ideas more than with machines or money. My mother was a teacher and discouraged me from entering into the field because of low salaries and low prestige. I was expected to go into a high paying, high responsibility, prestigious career. It was not until after college
when I was working as a geologist that I finally said out loud that what I'd always wanted to be was a teacher. I loved Spanish class and absorbed the language like a maniac. Our family had hosted exchange students so I saw an opportunity to travel get away from home and learn Spanish by being an exchange student. My interest in Spanish and education led me to become a bilingual teacher. My degree in geology lets me teach science in a bilingual setting. I love combining my talents and interests everyday at work.

I had an awful time getting a teaching credential in California. I had what would be called a single subject credential in ESL from Washington D.C. California does not consider ESL a legitimate subject for a credential. I was given a one year preliminary credential in physical science and they tacked an ESL authorization to that. To renew the credential I would have had to take physics, astronomy and calculus. In order to teach ESL I was asked to take unrelated classes! Fortunately, I passed the NTE Spanish test and so my credential is actually in Spanish even though I never taught the subject.

My goal as a teacher is to learn the best methods and program models for bilingual students. I want to see poor and minority students receive a quality education. I would like schools to be democratic not just in theory but in reality. I would like gay and lesbian students and their friends and family to feel empowered to fight the hatred so prevalent in schools. I would like to be part of an exemplary bilingual program.

Kids in school, especially poor and minority kids need to be permitted to bring their own realities into the classroom. They need to know that as teachers from outside their communities, we need to be educated by our students in order to provide the right kind of environment. We all need to
understand racism, classism and homophobia. We all need to figure out what to do to change the schools so that education can be democratic. We need to define projects in the schools to make changes.

My own teaching is not that transformative. I'm not sure what it looks like exactly. I'd like to be involved with teachers that are doing transformative education so I could improve what I try to do.

I am currently studying at California State University at Sacramento in the Bilingual Leadership Training Program. I am pursuing an Administrative Credential and I hope to gain my doctorate some day.

## Toni

I was born in Cottonwood Maternity Hospital in Salt Lake City, Utah on June 15, 1941, six months before the bombing of Pearl Harbor. My father enlisted in the National Guard on the home front, since he was a student with a family at the time, and never saw foreign service. My grandparents on both sides were from original Mormon families. My father served as a missionary for the church in the Southwest before he went to college. Of my three siblings, my younger sister served as a missionary in France for two years. The rest of us are either apostalates or never-listed. My mother retains her Mormon beliefs to this day, and is still a practicing psychologist.

My father moved us to Palo Alto when I was five, where he earned his Doctorate from Stanford, then he took his first professional job teaching at San José State College. When his next job took him to Denver, Colorado, I was seven. My siblings and I had happy times for three years, then my father left us and filed for divorce. It was devastating to all of us. In the settlement, I was allowed to decide with which parent I wished to live, and I did so, with capricious regularity. I flew back and forth between Denver and Los Angeles,
where my mother had relocated, for the next six years. I had a Cinderella complex, and lived it out as well as I could. I'm sure it was very trying for my whole family.

I teach Spanish Immersion Kindergarten. I have taught for the Healdsburg Unified School District for ten years. The BCC exam (Bilingual Certificate of Competence) was particularly difficult for me to pass. I retook the oral portion several times over a period of nine years before I finally passed it, only a year ago. Prior to that, I taught Parent Education in two cooperative nursery schools for twelve years, while earning my Elementary Credential and later my M.A. in Developmental Education. My first teaching experience was in a neighborhood Vista Program preschool. My orientation is strongly based in Piagetian theory, with overtones of Maslow and Erikson.

I have found the work that I love. The five year old is eager, imaginative, excited, and unstressed by second language acquisition. I have the opportunity to provide a rich experience for each of my students, regardless of how impoverished or enhanced their life may be outside of school. My participating parents are supportive of my efforts, and delighted with each new stage in their children's development.

I live with my husband, Roy who is a hardware manager for Healdsburg Lumber Company. Our perspectives complement each other. He unravels the computer mysteries for me and I write with it. We built our house together eighteen years ago, from scratch, and have been constantly revising it ever since. Our grown daughter is finishing her Master's degree in Midwifery at Emory University in Atlanta. Our grown son is an electronic engineer working in Korea for a year. His nine year old daughter, Brittney Nicole, has lived with us since she was two. and is the joy of our lives. She is in her fifth year of the Spanish Immersion Program in our district, and felt
comfortable speaking Spanish for two weeks with our group in Teotitlán del Valle last summer. She recently helped me do a presentation to our bilingual staff about our experience there, and contributed significantly.

My mission as a teacher is to give the youngest learners in the formal system in our district a taste of learning that is richly self-motivating. I want my students to think that school is a place for finding out what you want to know. That being involved with a group of people with whom you can work and play in comfort and safety is a terrific way to spend your time while you discover the connections that are the essence of what life is about. I like to set the disequilibrium level just a bit above the comfort zone, so the children will reach for the next step, but not be afraid of falling. I teach my students right away, and constantly through the year, to take responsibility for their actions, and to communicate their feelings clearly to one another. My purpose is that children will realize that life does not just happen to them, but that they choose the path their life will follow by the actions they take.

My experience in Teotitlán del Valle, with Dr. Ada and her staff, helped me understand the value of writing as a self-educating tool. The participants each wrote a personal story for the community in which we found ourselves. I also wrote a children's story for the class of first-graders I was privileged to teach. In writing those stories, I experienced the empowerment within myself to be who I choose to be, rather than who my history may have foreordained me to be. My experience of the children in the class I taught was equally powerful. They seemed to be thinking about and valuing their personal experience in a new way when I asked them to author a class book. They all hesitated, as if pondering the idea of contributing an original idea, then they were each bubbling over with a plenitude of thoughts from which
they had to select the most important. Each final entry in the book was original and unique to the child who authored it.

## Victoria

I was born and raised in San Francisco, California, the second of four children in an Irish Catholic family. I attended Ecole Notre Dame des Victoires, a Catholic grade school for the French-speaking community, and Convent of the Sacred Heart, after which I received a scholarship to Barat College in Lake Forest, Illinois. I returned to San Francisco in my senior year to take care of my mother, who was dying of cancer.

I got a teaching credential from University of San Francisco in 1965 and taught high school history for two years until I moved as a newly wed to Washington, D.C. For the next twenty years I raised four children as the wife of a very busy anesthesiologist with terrible hours. I spent those years volunteering at my children's schools and coaching soccer and basketball to girls. During my children's childhood, I loved introducing them to good books, coaching sports to girls and helping my children clarify their writing assignments.

I returned to teaching when my third child was old enough to drive her younger brother to school. By that time we were close to having three children in college at the same time. I also was looking for a career that I would pick up when my last child went off to college. After doing many substituting assignments in English, I spent one day covering an ESL class. I made their assignment fun and the students really showed their appreciation. I was overwhelmed by their display of gratitude and from then on I was really hooked on teaching English as a Second Language. I found a course
that was starting at College of Notre Dame and enrolled, having decided that teaching English to students who really wanted to learn was a real treat.

In January of 1990 I was hired by the principal of Menlo-Atherton High School to set up a new program for advanced Second Language Learners, designed to increase the numbers of students transitioning to regular English. In order to create a curriculum that was innovative and successful, the principal encouraged me to visit other schools in the bay area to observe the best programs. I started the Power English Program (PEP) at M-A in February of 1990. The program combined lots of free reading, writing connected to the reading, and using computers to improve writing, plus teaching reading skills and bringing in motivational speakers, taking field trips and expecting good attendance and respect for each other. In 1994, the PEP Program received the J. Russell Kent Award, given by the San Mateo County Board of Education and the Readers' Digest Hero in Education Award. The Kent Award gave recognition to "a very strong program that successfully transitioned ESL students into the mainstream." The Readers' Digest Award gave $\$ 10,000$ to the PEP Program, affording me the opportunity to create an ESL Computer Lab at M-A.

The recognition by both of these awards gave credibility to the PEP Program and credibility to me as an educator. The end result at MenloAtherton has been that I am more able to advocate for the needs of ESL students, gaining for them a much stronger program that gives them more complete access to the curriculum in the content areas. I was recently named to a state instructional resource panel to evaluate new ESL curriculum offerings.

Without a high school education, today's youth have two arms tied behind their backs as they face the job market. I am passionate about my
students staying in school to finish their education despite all the pressures they face from their family and their peers. As I teach in a multicultural classroom, in a multiethnic school, I want my students to preserve and take pride in their own culture, learn about and respect the culture of others, and have some knowledge of American traditions, culture and idioms. I passionately believe that every student CAN learn. The trick is finding ways to help them learn and arming them with the academic tools they need to be successful in our classrooms and in life.

## Portrait of the Researcher

As an integral part of using a Participatory Methodology, it is essential to recognize that the researcher is also a subject of the research, and that her subjectivity plays an important role in this study. The choice to select Euro American bilingual teachers is justified not only because of the lack of literature and the need for their voice on this topic, but also because the researcher herself is well qualified to do this study. Who else should be investigating the Euro American bilingual teaching experience other than a member of the same community? This makes perfect sense and will lend authenticity, honesty, and integrity to the study because of its subjective nature. Therefore, it is appropriate at this point to describe the researcher's background, as it relates to the study.

I come from a middle class European American family of Irish, German, and English roots. My parents never finished college, but raised their three daughters and a son in the tradition of Western and Christian values; achievement, individuality, self sufficiency, and a "classic" education to prepare us for very traditional roles as adults in the 1960's. We were what
was considered "normal" in White society, and lived in a "normal" neighborhood of other White, middle class families. My older siblings were sent to private schools, but by the time I was ready for school, it was decided that I would go to the public schools, for financial reasons. My parents' increasing economic hardships through my years of schooling was a critical factor, I now realize, that pulled me out of the insulated, narrow community of early childhood and influenced my later decisions to become proficient in a second language, and to live in Latin American countries as a part of my college and professional experience.

My high school experience is what most influenced me to teach. I hated attending a school where girls were tracked into cheerleaders or secretary classes, and boys had more opportunities. There was a clear division among social and ethnic groups, where the "status" groups were given preferential treatment, but the "others" occupied the margins, and the middle "mix" of the invisible, who did not fit the mold were never noticed. I was one of those, who silently gave up, believing that it was not important to achieve because it was not expected, and nobody seemed to care. This experience has never been forgotten.

I found myself struggling with studies at Santa Barbara Community College, trying to recover what I had lost in high school, while working various jobs. Four years later I graduated from the University of California at Santa Barbara (UCSB) with a major in Spanish. The year after I earned a teaching credential at UCSB Graduate School of Education. My eighteen years of teaching include all elementary grades, most of which have been in Spanish bilingual classrooms, and ongoing professional development to acquire new skills and certification. It is through the experiences of learning to teach in culturally mixed classrooms that I realized how inadequately
prepared most teachers and administrators are for educating in diversity. This motivated me to pursue opportunities as a teacher trainer through the Bilingual Teacher Trainer program with the California Department of Education and as a bilingual program coordinator.

I now teach a bilingual sixth grade class at a middle school in a rural area of Northern California. The community is not very tolerant of bilingual education, but there are a few other bilingual teachers who sometimes come together in support of learning in two languages. It takes a lot of courage to continue teaching with the vision of what needs to change in schools, as in my experience. Teaching for inclusion, and in a way that values all students from whatever background, is my continuing goal.

## Summary

This chapter was written in hopes that the refining and development of participatory research will continue to allow for innovation and creativity. The presentation of how these teachers became involved in the study through the preliminary dialogue and their own self-portraits, is intended to bring the reader closer to the participants. The Euro American bilingual teachers selected for this study were all proficient in the Spanish language and have had significant cross cultural experiences to be most suitable as participants. The other common factors that brought the teachers into this field, are further explored and expanded in the findings in the next chapter.

## CHAPTER V

## FINDINGS:

## CULTURAL IDENTITY, TEACHING REALITIES

 AND CRITICAL EXPERIENCES FOR THE EURO AMERICAN BILINGUAL EDUCATOR
## Overview

The findings in this chapter are organized into four sections, representing the participants' voice in both the written reflections and oral dialogues. The first section, Living with White Heritage, investigates individual cultural and ethnic identity. The following section, The Realities of the Euro American Bilingual Teacher: Issues of Culture, Power, and Pedagogy deals with the participants' work in the community, the classroom, and within the structures of their schools. A third section, Critical Knowledge that Empowers the Euro American Bilingual Educator presents the themes that were generated by the participants' reflections on their successes and potentials, and also their thoughts on the role of the Euro American bilingual teacher. A final section, Participants' Final Reflections and Recommendation for Action, touches upon some of the participants' reflections from later dialogues and their individual recommendations for action.

## Living with White Heritage

The participants had a passionate response to this topic, as they each demonstrated sensitivity and strong feelings about how they perceived themselves. The essence of this research has been found in how each is perceived, especially in their positions as bilingual teachers.

As the participants and the researcher engaged in dialogue about individual cultural identity, it became apparent that "culture" encompassed numerous concepts, including ethnic identity, socio-economic status, political orientation, religious background, language, family background, attitudes about "race", and national identity. These concepts generated a multitude of themes.

The generative themes were no less complex, and being difficult to put them into simple categories, I have clustered the themes into four major areas: Revealing the Dominant Culture, Tensions and Ambiguity, Acceptance by Others, and Personal Acceptance.

## Revealing the Dominant Culture

"We have a culture we cannot see because we are inside it." (Ryan)

Each of the participants had a unique and individual interpretation of what was expressed as the "American" culture. Some were more positive than others. All of them unanimously shared that they did not wholly identify with most "Americans". The participants had a different point of view, as they situate themselves in a different reality than most monolingual European Americans. This daily reality and lived experiences have prompted
the surfacing of a clearer understanding which enabled each to see their own dominant culture. Having stepped outside of who they thought they were, they expressed a dualism with their own culture. Rebecca wrote the following:

As I have learned more and more about the Hispanic culture, it has become part of me. This has placed me in a unique position with my family, who cannot always relate to my experiences. I feel as if I turn off part of myself when I return home. Friday afternoons and Monday mornings are transition periods. My husband sometimes is aware of these times and can understand it to a degree because of his own child hood experiences living in Mexico.

I feel my understanding of my second culture (Hispanic) is limited by my desire to remain involved with the people of my own culture. I will never be able to wholly identify with the parents of my students because I always have the choice of withdrawing from it. I can choose to appear ignorant of the Spanish language around me because no one expects me to understand it. I feel the tension of this duality. She claimed later, "I'm not bicultural. I didn't have a quinceañera", I do not watch the tele-novelas**, I do not listen to Selena*** and was not impacted the way the Hispanic community was with her songs." This duality that she reflected, is representative of all the participants.

Although the participants had internalized, or adopted another culture, each expressed that they would never be bicultural. At the same time, they were not willing to say they were monocultural. Ryan's reflection also reveals and portrays this view:

I don't see myself as bicultural with regard to Chicano or Mexican culture. I don't see myself as monocultural either. I am European American with a deep interest and broad knowledge/experience with Latino culture. I am comfortable with the culture but not of the culture. At the same time, I am different from other European Americans because of my extensive experience with Latino culture. I

[^1]fit in best with bilingual people who have a lot of experience traveling and living around the world.

Dick, who rejects the identification with "American" points to his socio-economic status, ethnic, and religious background as a part of his culture. The desire to know more about his "roots" is overpowering. His interpretation reveals a political awareness of an "America" that is oppressive:

What I perceive is "American" is not me. I do not feel that there is "liberty and justice for all", and I often feel part of an oppressor group; guilt by association. I can say that I am proud to be part of a blue collarmiddle class family. This is more of an identification of a socioeconomic class than a "culture". I feel being raised as a Catholic is definitely part of who I am, despite the fact that I am no longer a member of that Church. But it did give me values that I think helped me develop my social consciousness. I am one half German, one fourth Polish and one fourth French Canadian (Quebecois). I have no real connection, nor strong memories, really from these cultures .... I think that definitely there is a part of me that craves "roots".

Elizabeth, in her very direct and straight forward manner, said in the first dialogue, "I never tell anybody I'm from America, because it just grates on me, like chalk on a blackboard". She later wrote:

My culture is a more or less even mix of German and English. I see value in my culture. I like what I feel are hard working, German values and I really like the English prose and poetry. I feel my second culture, (Hispanic) also has a great value and I particularly like the emphasis on family and not taking life so seriously.
All of the participants agreed that they did not like to associate with what they individually perceived as "American".

It seemed that identifying one's ethnic heritage was unclear for some, but still what each one was looking for. Being a European American was defined as being of mixed ethnic origins, or as stated in the preliminary dialogue, a result of the "melting pot".

Elizabeth referred to the melting pot rhetoric as an intolerance for cultural diversity that many European Americans perpetuate. She stated with sarcasm and frustration, "You turn to 'mush', and anybody who is not willing to be 'mush' needs to leave. No salads allowed."

Ryan added that there was, in fact, "salad" but, "... you drown in Ranch Dressing". His view of the dominant culture was one of a capitalistic society where commercialism defines the "American" national identity, which brings with it traditions of Christianity. He brings out several aspects of culture in the United States in his reflections:

I believe there is a European American culture. We have typical food hamburgers, sandwiches (peanut butter and jelly), pizza, mashed potatoes. We have holidays - Thanksgiving, Easter, Xmas - we are mostly a Christian culture. We have a relatively short history. We have native music - jazz, rock ' $n$ roll, blue grass, country western. We have legends - Pocahontas/John Smith, Paul Bunyan, etc. We borrow from everyone. We have a culture of cars, TV., magazines and frozen food. Our culture is not ancient, but it is real. Our history is full of brutality and greed. Our culture has a consumer oriented, capitalistic economy. Our art is found in advertisements, our songs are produced for mass consumption. We have a culture we cannot see because we are inside it. We don't have many quaint, colorful, traditions. We have a loud, audacious culture.

Ryan identifies with his Irish Catholic roots, which is not a common ethnic heritage where he grew up in Virginia. He stated that, although there was a lot of acceptance for other religions, "racism was alive and well in my childhood".

Racism and class consciousness was also raised in the dialogues with Toni. Through the individual dialogues, it was revealed that one element of being raised in the dominant culture is the transmission of the norms of a the society that sees its privilege as a birthright. I suggested that this was not one's choice, but one must still live with its consequences:

We are the result of a form of oppression, too, because of this kind of upbringing, we don't get a choice in the way people have taught us and the way our families have raised us, but we got pulled into this way of thinking ... that our place in the world is a different place than people of color. I'm angry that I was taught these things at so young an age.

Toni agreed:
Even my father, who I have to say, was an extremely liberal person in the general sense ... still believed that we were a privileged class. And actually my mother has this idea of aristocracy as being the OK people to be ... and she puts herself in that class, when ever she can manage to fit herself there.

Toni and I found a common perspective of this upbringing from one's parents, and could now understand it better:

And there is a definite difference between people who feel that education is important and that class is important. I don't know if it's gentility from a certain point of view, or ownership of things. It seems to be a pretty sick point of view. (Toni)

Other aspects of the European American culture surfaced as discussions led to classroom practices and political realities, as this theme, being a central concern to the Euro American bilingual teacher, is interwoven throughout the study.

## Tensions and Ambiguity

I do not make an effort to identify myself ethnically, I make an effort not to. (Toni)

Identifying what the mainstream, or dominant culture meant for the participants caused each to question their heritage. Most of them reacted with distaste for the term "American", with which they were associated. The negative elements of (European) American society was a deep-rooted concern that they felt during the dialogues.

The participants have also adopted aspects of Latino cultures, feeling a duality of culture, or multi-cultural. Tensions surfaced, as the group
recognized that multicultural perspectives do not seem to find a place in monolingual "American" society. They agreed, that "America" is not a term that acknowledges diversity. This has caused each of them some degree of internal conflict as most said, that they loved their country, but do not share the same values as the culture they represent:

The people that you talk to are saying, (you know, I really love our country and I don't want it to get torn apart) and they feel that all this multiculturalism is to blame, when actually it could be doing the opposite; it could be going ahead and making the country so strong, because we'd be getting all this wealth from all these other cultures. But a lot of people just can't see that and they don't want to see that, because they think we are being torn apart. And this business of speaking English. They don't really just want people speaking English, they want them speaking only English. (Elizabeth)

Having such a different viewpoint from people of their own culture, has caused these teachers a great deal of struggle and inner conflict. Each tried to reconcile their own heritage with the work they do in bilingual education. The expressions of pride against varying degrees of shame and denial of their heritage, caused the participants a great deal of tension and ambiguity.

For Toni, in particular, it was an ongoing inner turmoil, as she struggled with her feelings of shame about the oppressive role that the Church played, particularly the Mormon Church, in her background. The participants, including myself, have acknowledged that having a particular religious indoctrination has a strong influence upon one's world view:

It's a very intense relationship that you have with the church, and in order to free yourself from it, it's very difficult. ....

I think that within the Mormon culture you find the elements that exist in most cultures in the world. There are very few cultures in which women have a place that is equal to men, and certainly in the Mormon system, there isn't a place for women. There has only recently become a place for Black people, only recently. In fact, when that did occur, my mother and my sister both asked me, "Why aren't there a lot of Black people joining the church?" And I couldn't explain it to them because they couldn't understand it ... that, suddenly, there
had been a revelation that Black people were OK now, when they hadn't been for centuries? Because then, at that time, Black men were not allowed to hold the priesthood. It didn't change anything for women. Women were still second class.

Later she stressed:
I don't believe the way I was expected to ... and the way generations of my forebears have done. I feel that I don't want to claim that because I'm not proud of it. ... I know that I was unhappy having to report my origin to people because it says something that I don't want to say. And yet, if someone asks me about my dad, I'm very happy to report about him, because he was, in his later years, a political activist for integration in Louisiana. And I'm very proud of that .... I really appreciate that part of my inheritance. But, I don't much get a chance to say that, because people don't ask you that. They ask you where did you come from.

Toni led to an issue which has been critical for all of the participants, and that is the frustration and pain of not being understood as a human being. Talking about cultural identity brought out one set of tensions, which the Euro American bilingual teacher must deal with daily. Then, being misinterpreted by others, based upon certain notions about one's culture simply heightened this response in all of the participants.

The tensions of shame and denial are intensified when the Euro American bilingual teacher is confronted with misconceptions and stereo types about who they are in the eyes of non-European Americans. All the participants expressed sentiments similar to Ryan's:

Non Euro-American co-workers and students often carry around stereotypes of us - that we are all bigots, that we all are greedy for money; that we have no soul, no feelings, no rhythm. I feel I am hugely passionate under a quiet surface. People think we don't value family or that we throw away old people - not true.

Furthermore, it is not only the non-European American that perpetuates these stereotypes, as Ryan adds:

I have seen other "Minority Whites" who try to pretend they are Black or Latino. They put down Euro-Americans and perpetuate stereotypes
and hatred against Whites. They are not helping to open a true dialogue among the U.S. ethnic groups.

Ryan's reference to "Minority White" was a term that came out of the first group dialogue. Minority White became an alternative to "White" or "American" that helped the participants identify with their unique situation among European Americans. Most of them had difficulty identifying with "American", and the mixture of their ethnic backgrounds left some feeling ambiguous about their ethnicity. Each seemed to be looking for a new terminology that would help one define a cultural identity. There was a need for a new definition that was different from the stereotypes that they disliked. "Minority White" not only seems to describe the participants' place in a multicultural context, it defines a political orientation that opposes the view of the majority dominant culture, and does not share in the agenda of dominating other ethnic groups.

For Ryan, Toni and Dick, the power issues associated with one's ethnic identity were very clear. An interesting moment in another dialogue compelled Elizabeth, Victoria and Rebecca to examine the association between being "White" and political domination, or power. This occurred incidentally when Howla, a Palestinian born junior high school English (ESL) teacher joined the small group dialogue. Howla was not part of the study, but offered a contrasting view point to the European American perception of culture. It was if a curtain was raised when she offered this contrast to the group:

Howla: But you're all Anglos, see? Even though some of you are Polish or Italian or German. In the game of power, you are Anglos. And it's really not a culture ...

Elizabeth: Because we're native English speakers, is that why?
Victoria: No! Because we're White, blonde, you know ... It is power.

Howla: And people like yourselves, you're American, and you don't deal as much with the political issues. So you see it on a cultural level, but the real issue, I think is the color. I really think that people of color, when we, or they, uh, struggle for justice, if they don't analyze the issues very well, then they only see a "White", or an "Anglo". Isn't that the issue of justice?

Elizabeth: It shouldn't be, but it is.
Howla: You see? And that then brings a lot of the conflict that Dick is feeling; it's that he is very politically progressive, he has struggled for justice for any person of color, yet, by some Chicano who comes in with justifiably a lot of anger and bitterness and eagerness for justice, he would see somebody like Dick as an enemy in principle. And that is really bad for our cause.

Howla was able to put into words the implications of power associated with the Anglo or White culture, which is often difficult for most European Americans to see.

Nancy Jean, who works with European American pre-service teachers and teachers who have not worked in bilingual or multicultural classrooms, shared that most of them have no idea what another culture is like. They do not recognize White privilege, that unquestioned or "invisible" power:
... it comes from that privilege that they don't have to look. So, what I say is something like, "What does it mean to be White?", that's enough to press those buttons that make those people come unglued. ... You can just feel the tension rise in the room when you talk about, in the context of people of color, to talk about you're White, what does that mean, to be White. There's a whole bunch of stuff that they don't want to hear. They don't want to hear that big time. ... I think they live in denial with a lot of it.

This offers a contrasting perspective to the participants in this study, who have experienced being outside of their culture, and know what it is like to be different. But at the same time they, too feel the tensions of dealing with the "whiteness" of their heritage.

## Acceptance by Others

One of the major realizations that all the participants shared during the dialogues was they felt that they would never be entirely accepted into the Latino cultures with whom they worked. These teachers realized that even though they had access to two cultures, they could not claim to be bicultural.

Their situation was not only due to differences in language and culture, which they have worked tremendously hard to overcome, but because of the color of their skin. The participants are obviously "White". As discussed with Nancy Jean, power and privilege are often associated with being "White" by people of color. The participants shared that they were often the object of anger and resentment or that there were invisible barriers. This caused them to feel excluded and sometimes inappropriate in their positions. Dick wrote in his reflections "Sometimes I simply feel that I was born the wrong color." Toni explained this sentiment in more detail:

I have felt that. Not that I was born the wrong color, but there isn't anything I can do about it and I wish I could have. I wish I could have chosen a different skin so I could be more effective in what I do. Because what I do is with this community, and when I felt desperate about being where I am, and wanting to be anywhere else, I couldn't be somewhere else because this is what I do. And if I left, I would have to go to a White community. And I didn't want to do that, because this is what I like doing, this is what I do best, this is what I busted my butt to learn how to do, ...... and I want to do it, and I feel rewarded doing it, but, I also feel limited by the skin that I'm in.

I then added that the Euro American bilingual teacher is often confronted with their difference when they are reminded that they do not belong to the Latino community. This can cause a shocking realization for some. Toni confirmed this with exasperation:

It gives me that "Bleeding Heart Liberal" feeling, and I hate it, I hate that expression, and I guess I wouldn't hate it so much if I hadn't been
accused of it. But, ... I feel sometimes like I'm damned if I do and I'm damned if I don't.

Elizabeth wrote in her reflections that she could probably be more bicultural if she "looked" and "acted" more Mexican, and this would help her be more accepted.

Dick talked about how acceptance can happen over time as trust is established between people, as in his case, a simple handshake meant so much to him:

I think I started that job under some difficult conditions in regard to the community, because there was a lot of political stuff going on, and I was hired over a Chicano for a position that was a resource teacher. I think I had to prove myself a lot. No one has ever been negative to me, but one thing that really touched me, as simple as it can be, you know, working with Chicano teachers, very often they would give each other the handshake. And I never felt like I had the right to that, I mean I wasn't part of the "Raza" (race). And I helped out one time for a mother's day "Día de la madre" presentation. I stayed more than I had to stay and I did more than I had to do, and at the end, one of the guys just shook my hand and gave me the handshake. As simple as it was, I felt really good about that, to think that for at least a short amount of time, he considered me an "hermano" (brother), or something of that nature. Throughout the year I began to feel that just because I was an "Anglo", I wasn't an infiltrator from the administration; that I was taking stands with them, and I was defending their positions, and I wasn't betraying them. By the end of the year I was starting to feel, and that I'm hoping that by the beginning of next year they may say, "OK, this guy is all right. We can trust him, and he'll stand with us".

I was also able to share a story about a close associate who was Chicana, working with the Migrant Education program. We shared many duties, and worked on projects jointly. We became what I considered to be close friends, but we never shared the term, "comadre" with each other:

What it really means is someone who is the god mother of your children. But I hear people use it very loosely. I hear it used with Latina women very loosely when that's not the case. They just call each other "comadres". And I just felt really weird, knowing that I would never be a "comadre". (researcher)

Dick told of a similar experience he had when living in Ecuador, when he made an attempt at including himself as a "compadre":

I did that one time when I lived in Ecuador, and we were there with a bunch of Chilenos (Chileans), that was after the "golpe" (overthrow) of Allende. They were there as political exiles pretty much and, oh, I used to do quite a few things with them. They didn't necessarily have fixed houses. I remember one time I made that error, if you want to call it an error. They used to call each other "compadre" all the time. And one time, just in passing, I used the word "compadre", and they weren't negative, but they laughed, as if it were just enough to say, "you ain't livin' this buddy, you ain't livin' this". They weren't bad with me, but I just kind of realized so suddenly that, "whoa, you're no compadre."

A key point that was raised through the dialogue process was that this kind of exclusion is owed to the fact that the Euro Americans do not share, and most do not understand the experience that many of the oppressed cultures live on a daily basis. This was evident in their contact with parents, students and colleagues of the different Latino groups with which the participants have been working.

Ryan described a different kind of acceptance that he was seeking, which is reflective of the majority of the participants' need to be accepted for who they are as people, not just as White people:

I don't want to be accepted as another Latino, because I'm not, and I never will be. So I think I'm looking for a kind of acceptance that comes out of respect for what I know and what I can do. Sometimes I get a sense, for example, that from my Chicano colleagues, that Mexico is their country and it is their own, and that if I know something about it, it's not really valid; that my experience in Latin America is not really as valid as their experience in Latin America. And I do have this experience that is really just as valid as theirs.

He noted his surprise that among some of the Mexican American teachers who were in the Seminar in Oaxaca he saw aspects of their response to this experience that were "tourist like". They appeared to have more trouble adjusting to the environment than some of the Euro Americans did:

There are things that, to me don't seem strange because of my few years in Honduras, that I can see my Chicano colleagues thinking, "this is weird", or "I can't do that". Things they see - it's like you can really see the American tourist aspect coming out. And that surprises me. All I'm saying is that my experience is valid, and I don't really care if anyone calls me a "compadre" or anything like that.

In the end, Dick added some insights to this ironic situation, which revealed that the participants and I have been enriched with travel experiences that may not be easily afforded by others. This could be a source of resentment from Latino colleagues:

I've worked outside the country quite a bit, and things come out in talking. You feel kind of funny in that you have more experience in a Latin American country than they have, and sometimes you wonder if they're not a bit, I don't want to say the word, "envious", but some of them are thinking, "shut him up". I mean I had opportunities that they didn't, probably, that enabled me to get out of the country and be with the Peace Corps, and get the college education that enabled me to do that. I think that experientially right now, probably all three of us have more experience dealing with another culture, and sometimes they could be resentful of that.

## Personal Acceptance

Howla brought up the following question to the attention of the group for consideration, which is one that should be asked of everyone who is a teacher:

When you ask your kids, if you do have a multicultural class, when you ask them to bring something from their culture to share, what do you bring to share?

Through dialogue the participants were able to work through the tensions and associations that came out of defining their cultural identity. There was also a sense that coming to terms with one's heritage would be an ongoing process in the lives of the participants and as well as myself. This
element of the dialogue became a springboard for the participants to define new terms of cultural identity and begin to explore what their role is, as Euro American bilingual educators. Dick speaks to his experience in many cultures as he accepts his different personas within different contexts:

In Ecuador I was "Don Ricardo", in Independence, Oregon I am "maestro", in France I am "Deek". Each of these titles has a very different connotation to it. Some of the difference has to do with socio-economic status, and some has to do with race and culture. Those are hard to change. I will most likely never be truly poor, and I will never be brown. Therefore I perceive my role as an Anglo teacher as doing the best job I can, considering who I am and where I am coming from. I do have a strong sense of identity with oppressed people for some reason. I am willing to fight for what I believe is right and even risk my job because of my views. I see myself as a "culture broker" of sorts, who can make a difference in my school and in the community.

The dialogues with the other participants did not all follow the same patterns, and some did not go as in depth into the personal complexities of cultural identity. Victoria felt comfortable in describing her culture as American and her background as Irish Catholic. Of all the participants, she was one who did not express a duality of culture or ambiguity about her ethnic heritage. She has also had fewer experiences immersed in Spanish speaking cultures and is still mastering her skills in Spanish.

Elizabeth, as stated earlier felt comfortable identifying with her German/English heritage, but preferred not to be identified as an American.

Toni realized that she needed to do two things. One was to look for more connections to the part of her history that came from Europe, so she could describe her heritage as something besides Mormon.

I think that by going beyond that Mormon level to the prior level, I can find some things that I can bring to share on "sharing day". Because I've not had anything that I've been willing to share, I need to go farther back. I can do that.

The other was to look inside the traditions in her family for elements for which she felt pride. She found that the sharing and acceptance among her family during reunions were most remarkable, and she will continue to participate in this tradition.

Ryan expressed a wish that being an American could be more inclusive, which meant all of the Americas, and that people of all backgrounds, including gay people should be included as a part of the multicultural make-up of our schools. He added to the group dialogue, "We don't have to be ashamed of our roots."

# The Realities of the Euro American Bilingual Teacher: Issues of Culture, Power and Pedagogy 

## Language and Culture

Knowing a language is knowing a culture. Knowing these makes for understanding, which lessens problems among people. (Elizabeth)

Language is the key element that builds communication and acceptance between two cultures. This came up as a focus of the dialogue for all the participants. Working with two languages in bilingual education is a daily practice, and one's ability to communicate well is critical to building trust and credibility within the Spanish speaking community. All of the participants had a need to explore language issues that were present in their dealings with students, parents, fellow teachers and the curriculum they taught.

Although most of the participants felt comfortable and natural using Spanish most of the time, they also became painfully aware that they had limitations in Spanish as their second language. This was especially true when dealing with the familiar, informal and more affective uses of language. Most expressed a frustration, awkwardness and often embarrassment, as Rebecca described her limitations:

I find that some days I feel like Spanish feels just natural to me, it's coming out naturally. And some days I'll be uptight about something, worrying about something, and my tongue is tied all day, I just feel like I'm fighting it.
Dick described his inability, at times, to use and understand the common expressions, jokes, and idioms shared among members of a culture in which he already feels like an outsider:

Even when I do hear rhymes in Spanish, sometimes I have a difficult time, my ear is not attuned to them properly; sometimes they go too fast, or sometimes they're nonsense kinds of things, like "Hickory, dickory dock, the mouse ran up the clock"; if you were trying to understand that, you would say, "What the hell are they talking about? What's so special about that ?" and the same thing happens in Spanish, and I don't know what makes it good or what.
Dick explained how this affects his confidence level when working with Spanish speaking parents in the literacy classes that he teaches:
... it's just not having the cultural experience of growing up there, like this whole non-deficit approach to take with parents, I don't have enough confidence, I mean my Spanish is good, but I don't have the finesse with it. When I try to say something subtly, I don't want to come across as saying, "You need to know this".

During this dialogue we tried to come close to a term that described this experience. I suggested that "intercultural literacy" is the knowledge of the culture, including familiarity with the language of the community, which Euro American bilingual teachers do not acquire from formal training, but were learning on their own. Dick agreed, that this was the concept he was
looking for. Our Latino colleagues, who come from the community are bicultural and have access to this language because it's part of who they are. As the other participants reflected upon their previous training in college Spanish classes, they claimed that it fell far short of preparing them for using language for authentic interaction with another culture. Elizabeth offered her perspective:

Well, you're feeling inadequate, you're not feeling fully in charge of yourself, like you are. You're feeling remedial all the time. ... I still have to go around things. I have to listen to what somebody says and I want to answer them, and I've got to analyze in my mind very quickly. which of these words in what I want to say do I know in Spanish, and which ones I don't, and how am I going to skirt around it, so that I can still say what I want to say, but not necessarily have those words. I still am at that point.

Ryan, who had more experience learning and practicing the language from his time living in Honduras, felt that he still had to prove himself in order to be accepted:

A lot of people who work in bilingual education -- we talked before about having to prove ourselves. There's a lot of that. Always, somebody will ask me in English, "Do you speak Spanish?" and I'll say, "Yes", and then they'll switch in Spanish and then I feel like I have to prove that my Spanish is really good, and then once they hear me talk then they relax, and then they accept. And then I think, you know, I don't want to be accepted just because I speak Spanish good enough, that we're never, I mean where do you draw the line about how good your Spanish is before they're going to relax with you?

His comment is also reflective of the fact that people who judge Ryan by his outside appearances may only see his "Americanness", and expect him to fulfill a stereotype of a European American; a monolingual English speaker with limited cultural awareness. In order to participate in the Latino culture, a European American is constantly called upon to demonstrate his/her proficiency in the cultural norms, such as language, and to challenge the stereotypes. Basing judgment of a whole person upon their proficiency in a
particular language goes against one's need to be accepted as a human being.
Ryan's experience is much like what many English Language Learners are subjected to in an English speaking context. It also relates conversely to Rebecca's first statement in the section on cultural identity; that a European American can choose to withdraw from participating in the Latino culture because one does not "look" like a Latino, and is therefore not expected to know Spanish.

Toni's experience in building confidence in the use of informal Spanish has been similar to the others. In addition, she perceived that often European Americans are the brunt of a joke without knowing it because of their unfamiliarity of the nuances of the language.

My experience has been that the Mexican culture has a double meaning for most everything, and I don't know what all of them are. For example, when my son went to Mexico on a vacation with a friend, he came back with this apron that he had brought for me, and it said on it something that didn't fit the picture that was on it. It was a picture of a "macho" man with tequila in one hand, or a cerveza (beer), and his foot is up on a skull, and he is looking most drunk and mean, and there's a knife in there somewhere. And it said "me vale madre" (my mother is of value to me). Well, I now know that is a horrible expression.

Toni found out later from her Mexican born neighbors that this expression means the exact opposite of what it says, which is really; "I have no respect for anything, including my mother, which is the most valuable thing in Mexico." She continued to point out the irony of this seemingly innocent tourist item, "and they have it on everything; they have it on Tshirts, hats, everything. And tourists buy it. And then other people laugh at them!" She explained:
... it just goes with the territory, because we do represent, in some part, the oppressor, no matter what we do. ... and once you're inside of the parent society of the community, the people who respect you for what you're doing don't make that kind of joke about you.

Further consideration of the use of language and an ensuing discussion with my advisor on the research, Alma Flor Ada, raised an awareness of social class that was not perceived earlier by Toni or me in the dialogue. As this situation was brought to light in a Spanish speaking context, it can also be found in any culture where there exists distinct socio-economic classes and generational differences. The experiences of the Euro American bilingual teachers in this study have highlighted a natural process of entering into another culture and experiencing the norms and richness of a culture that is very different from their own. This process is compounded by the fact that within the experience of knowing a different culture, we also come to know the variety and complexities of the classes or subcultures within that culture.

Relationships of oppression exist within all cultures, as well as across cultures. The relationship that prevails in Toni's experience, as explained by Ada, is not necessarily cross cultural, that is, an expression of Mexican humor, (the oppressed), directed at American tourists, (the oppressor). This use of language can be attributed to a tendency for a lower socio-economic class within the Mexican society to express a vulgar and rude sense of humor that is antagonistic to anyone, not just to European Americans. As also evident on T-shirts, hats and bumper stickers in the United States, offensive slogans and jokes are prevalent within any culture. When people are put into conditions of being less, this use of language becomes a way for them to fight; to express their defiance and resistance (Ada, personal communication, 1996).

Victoria's experience with language and her actions to understand it were also shared. In her high school ESL classes she realized that there was some "inappropriate" language being used by the students:

I could tell by the looks on the girls faces that the boys were using some offensive language. And I couldn't catch it. My ear wasn't tuned finely enough. Even though the teacher aide would repeat what they were
saying, and she tried to teach me few words, the students talk so fast and they mumbled, that I couldn't catch it. So that next summer, I went to Cuernavaca, and I paid one of the tutors four hours of tutoring time to teach me all the foul language in Spanish. Then I walked into the classroom in September, and the first time some kid said "chinga" (synonym for the " F " word), out the door! And he looked at me, like, "How did she know that?".

Victoria went on to say that, as she needed to learn the codes of language within their cultural context, she also felt that it was her responsibility to teach students who are new to this country the codes of appropriate behavior in classrooms in the United States.

In teaching the formal constructs of language, the participants felt that they would always need to continue improving their Spanish. They also felt they had strong Spanish literacy skills, which aided them in the language structures and vocabulary necessary when teaching academic concepts in Spanish. In this respect, sometimes their Latino colleagues who were raised in the United States would ask them for help, or admit that they were not equipped to teach in Spanish. This point was raised by Ryan and Dick:

They have the ethnicity, the Chicano culture, and the Hispanic name, so they have to teach the Spanish classes, even though their Spanish really isn't that good. At our school we tend to use a behavioristicgrammar approach. My colleagues knew all the grammar, but, even they were saying, "No we don't know how to teach this, we've not been trained to teach Spanish", and they still get these classes. (Ryan)

That's an issue for me too, because they were pretty much dropped in to a situation that said, "you are going to be doing native language instruction, teaching reading, writing and literature", and they did not feel comfortable doing this. They said, "We've never done this, where's our program, what do we follow, what do we do? (Dick)

The sensitive topic of questioning one's ability to teach in their mother tongue was perceived as an area that needs further investigation. There is obviously a need for strong literacy, or academic language skills if one is to
teach, and there are also contexts in which proficiency in the language that is used in the community is essential.

Investigating the issues surrounding language and literacy, as raised by the participants, brought them to an awareness of the social inequities that cause some people to feel that their own language is substandard. On the other side of this is the perception by others that they are excluded from the culture by their limitations in language as it is used in common expressions, idioms, and humor that they do not always understand. As participants in this study, we concluded that knowledge of both the formal and common uses of language is necessary, and reflected on the implications of this for our own teaching and learning.

Beyond the recognition of different forms of language, is the understanding of the social conditions that mold our use of language, and the inseparable relationships between language, culture and class. The dialogue among the participants allowed us to begin to explore these concepts through our shared experiences. It also allowed us to acknowledge that a component of literacy instruction with our students as well as our own learning must reflect an awareness of the social phenomenon that are presented when working with a diversity of Spanish speaking cultures.

## Bilingualism and Language Acguisition

When a language, such as Spanish, is associated with support or lack of support from school staff and administration, it also becomes an expression, or the target of the values we teach in school, such as valuing bilingualism. The participants often feel that their skills are not appreciated and evaluated
appropriately because principals are not bilingual or bilingualism is not supported by their administration:

I don't think anybody knows, truly, how effective we are working in Spanish with the kids, because the other teachers and the administrators don't have a language base to go on, they don't speak Spanish, and they just assume that we're doing a great job. They don't know when we need help and they don't know how to evaluate us. (researcher)

Rebecca noticed that her principal in particular has difficulty relating to her instructional approaches and the use of Spanish in her classroom:

It seems like a lot of administrators are intimidated from going into bilingual classrooms. I had some really negative evaluations by my principal my first year. I was teaching in Spanish, and I felt really frustrated. He has a different approach to teaching than I do. He wants absolute control. He wants the students sitting in their seats, eyes on you, no talking, no squirming around. And I allow for some of that ... They're first graders! I felt like he was over focused on their behavior because he couldn't understand what the lesson was about. So, finally this last observation, I did it as an ESL lesson. It was one of the first good observations I've had. So I finally felt like he focused on what I was saying, not just on what little squirming kids they were. And he denied that that had anything to do with it.

He can't communicate with my kids and that frustrates him He'll bring me a student and say ,"You need to talk to this student!", and I'll ask him what is the problem. "He cannot wear this shirt to school. Please explain that to him. He is not to wear that shirt again."

The participants claimed that efforts to maintain programs that support teaching and learning in two languages are often challenged by forces that perpetuate transmissive, authoritative approaches to teaching. As perceived by Elizabeth, these latter approaches become the method by which students who speak another language are "molded" to fit into the dominant society, and are encouraged to get rid of their native tongue:

And if you want somebody to lose the culture, because you don't like the culture, and you want them to be whatever Americans are supposed to be, then the best thing you can do is take their language
away from them first. Because that's going to start taking everything else away.

A significant question arose at this point: what is the goal of an educational system that teaches literacy skills in a second language to English speakers as a "foreign" language, and that does not teach these skills to students who already speak these languages? Those who come to our schools speaking Spanish, too often have not had opportunities to develop their native language skills. These individuals, who would be best equipped to become future bilingual teachers, often cannot read and write in the language they first learned as a child.

The Euro American bilingual teachers, who have had the formal language training are more likely to be lacking in cross cultural experience, which, from their perspective, defines a clear boundary between them and the culture in which they are seeking acceptance. The participants clearly saw the need for a higher representation of native Spanish speakers in classrooms as teachers.

This did not mean that they perceived a Euro American bilingual teacher as unsuitable for these students. On the contrary, the participants saw themselves as uniquely equipped to work with language minority children, as they themselves have experienced the process of acquiring a second language, and have also felt the pain of being "out of place", and different. Having lived the experiences and understanding what it is like has made them more sensitive to the needs of these students.

One example of this is illustrated as Elizabeth shared how she was immersed in Spanish:

The first time I went to Mexico, and I went to Geronimo, we sat down at dinner one night, two hours, and the priest came to visit. I said about three words, that was about all. So he says in Spanish to the
others, "She doesn't talk very much, does she?", and I'm thinking to myself, "If my husband could be here, he wouldn't believe that I could sit two hours and only say three words". I went into my room and I slammed the door because I didn't want to hear any more Spanish. I had heard enough Spanish to last me for a long time.

Rebecca shared a similar example of how it feels to reach one's linguistic threshold, and simply tune out the noise:

When I was in Guatemala, I would go to bed, sometimes at seven or eight o'clock, exhausted, and I would just put the covers over my head because I didn't want to hear another word. I just didn't want to hear, I didn't want to think about it, I didn't want to see anyone.

An understanding of the process of becoming bilingual through their lived experiences was a major actualization that the participants felt had contributed to their success as bilingual or second language teachers. The cognitive benefits of bilingualism were discussed, and I as the researcher, also shared what students who have been in a bilingual program through the sixth grade were able to do in both languages; using books in both English and Spanish, able to write in both languages, and the pride students have for this valuable knowledge.

Rebecca and Elizabeth were both distressed over the push to have children exit bilingual programs, dropping Spanish as if it were a disease:

Rebecca: One of the weaker points of our bilingual program is that we are encouraging our kids to exit, like learn English and push them out. They just keep pushing them. So they push them into a class where they use mainly English, and they can't say anything in Spanish.

Elizabeth: I think it's a lack of those people knowing what language is about; the fact that these people still believe that your brain is compartmentalized, and they can only hold a certain amount of stuff in there.

Researcher: It's a limited perception. I also think that when you become bilingual, you are also able to understand concepts better.

Elizabeth: And that's why I think that could be a way of keeping kids in school, where they would be more interested in learning, more interested in staying in school, if they were truly encouraged to be bilingual, so that they were bilingual biliterate, and equal on both levels.

It was found through this dialogue the participants collectively experienced that in schools bilingual educators have to deal with what they referred to as a "monolingual ignorance" about language learning, and a viewpoint that is reactive to languages other than English. Elizabeth left the dialogue with a challenge to this view:

Students are seen with their language as a disease. They say these students only speak Spanish. Well, what about only speaking English, isn't that a disease, too?

It was the consensus of all participants in this study, that bilingualism needs to be fostered by all teachers. They unanimously believed that it is necessary to continuously encourage bilingualism in the classroom setting and within the school community not only for the language minority, but for the language majority as well.

## Unlearning the Dominant Paradigm

Because I went through a formal education, I tend to fall back on patterns of dominance over my students. I really hate myself when I get bogged down in dealing with student misbehavior in negative ways like scolding and punishing and embarrassing students. I think this is like a cycle of abuse because it is how I remember teachers dealing with me and my classmates in school. Luckily, students can be very forgiving. I try to overcome this by remembering caring teachers and imagining what they would do in a similar situation. (Ryan)

Ryan brought up a universal dilemma for one who is struggling with their practices in the classroom. For any teacher, the tendency to revert to practices that were instilled upon them is natural. In the bilingual classroom
especially, the Euro American teacher is compelled to rethink the teacherstudent relationship to find ways that are more culturally appropriate and humane.

Through the continued dialogues and reflections, this theme began to emerge in the variety of ways that the participants shared how they had to "unlearn" their own schooling and rethink new ways of teaching. This was not just a one time occurrence, but a continual process in their development as bilingual teachers. The participants in this study were particularly aware of an ethnocentric view point, or any point of view that does not incorporate the students' knowledge into the curriculum.

Cooperative versus competitive learning styles were considered in a dialogue between Toni and me. I related how, in my classroom, some of the most successful students are those who are able to support each other with homework and other class projects. This was contrasted to the European American child who is raised to be an individual, as Toni explained:

Each sibling in the family has to find a specialty of his own; he can't be good at the same thing that someone else is good at. They're usually quite different individuals, That goes along with our support individualism, and that is each one of us should be unique and different and special in our own way. We certainly work hard at doing that. And the children do it automatically. ... That sets up a combat situation among siblings. Whereas the Latin family generally is a cooperative system.

This paradigm is repeated in many classrooms in the way that teachers manage the lessons and interactions with students, such as grading systems which allow only a few top grades and class discussions where only one student can have the "right" answer:

We do so many things in order for an individual to succeed, there must be several others who fail. Students learn really quickly that a failure of someone else is a success for them, or that someone else will
make them fail. This makes some kids silent, and it makes others speak out. (researcher)

Another major realization brought to light by the participants is that most members of the dominant culture see all "Mexicans" or people of different Latino groups as the same culture. This is often expressed in the stereotypes that are perpetuated by other European Americans. This concept came into focus in a variety of ways. Elizabeth shared that, "Many teachers see all Mexicans as alike and accept a lot of stereotypes." She added that her experience in Oaxaca also helped her to understand the diversity of cultures among people of Mexico, and to understand the distinct social structures of the Zapotec community.

Ryan agreed with this universal misperception, of which most Euro Americans are unaware, as he emphasized that, "There are different Latino cultures. There is a big difference between a Mexican and a Mexican American. Central American culture is very different from both". Inherent in this statement is an awareness of class, as well.

A possible reason for the perpetration of stereotypes in the minds of the dominant culture is a lack of educational experiences that allow for students to develop broader viewpoints, as Ryan continued:

I grew up in the east and I never learned about California history. Coming down here it's really been hitting me how connected California is to Mexico. But coming here (Oaxaca) and meeting people who have been to Stockton, have eaten split pea soup at Anderson's, and they know as much or more about California as I do.

We became aware that the dominant culture does not know about other cultures because a traditional curriculum does not often incorporate anything outside of it.

Well, it's not that Spanish history of our culture is outside of our culture; it should be part of our culture. We shouldn't have to look at it as outside, but it is kept from us. ... Even going to Arizona and New

Mexico is an incredible education in what was never taught us, because I had no idea that was so much like Mexico. I heard that the Navajo Territory was there. The Navajo Reservation is as big as West Virginia, all these things I never knew until I actually went there and saw them.

In his written reflections, Ryan also noted:
Colleagues pay lip service to multiculturalism and justice, but it is not apparent in the structure of the school. Respect for children's culture is spoken about, but English language learning and bilingual learning is the sole interest of our separate bilingual program. English Language Learners are not incorporated into the school's magnet programs. Non bilingual teachers were hostile about receiving LDS (Language Development Specialist) training during staff development. Mainstream colleagues see bilingual education as remedial and geared only toward acquisition of English. At our school, children use the word "bilingual" as a put down synonymous with stupid. This is a direct reflection of the attitudes and structure found at our school.

There is no recognition of the multicultural make up of our school. Cinco de mayo is not celebrated. Hmong New year is not mentioned. Black history month comes and goes without notice. Students perceived to be gay or lesbian are harassed. Multiculturalism is not a curriculum priority at all.

Unspoken messages about cultural groups in the form of denial, and the lack of acknowledgment of different cultural viewpoints in the schools was seen by the participants as detrimental. When schools neglect the need to address issues of diversity, they deny students of different groups an opportunity to construct knowledge about their lived experiences in the world. Other forces outside of school will continue to operate, however, and influence the way students see themselves.

The way that people of Mexican heritage and other ethnic groups are portrayed in the media is a constant reminder for Nancy Jean of a paradigm that portrays people of color through a narrow lens. Her response is one of great concern for the subtle messages that are received by children of color.

We were at a pizza parlor and the news was on, .. and this guy comes on in the back seat of a car, with handcuffs, and he was a Chicano. On
of the Zapotec guys was with me and he says, "Oh, look , there I am", and I thought, wow that's right, there you are. .... You forget about the message that other people, people of color see. They see it clearly as all White. It's not their world. And when they see themselves up there, and they see somebody that looks like them, they see themselves. What is the message to kids who only see themselves as basketball players? Or on the cop shows you only see Mexicans and Blacks getting beat up by police. In what positions do you see them? I don't think that most White people, especially White educators understand how that plays with the minds of children of color . .... those messages are day in, day out, not only on the television screen, it's in the books they read, it's in everything. It's in the whole word around them. It's in the staffing in the school, everything that's around them. I don't know if they understand how painful those messages are.

In contrast, Toni shared that in her school the staff consciously practices this unlearning of the ethnocentric norms by trying to use language that acknowledges diverse groups. She also acknowledges that this was not a common occurrence:

One of the things that we're trying to do, at least in the immersion program, is to be more specific about groups. Rather than saying, "all Indians", we want to say "Sioux", or the "Navajo", or the "Hopi", or whichever group you're talking about, because they're all different. ... We are what you might call super dedicated to embracing diversity, to encouraging the recognition of diversity, not in turning us the same color at all, but recognizing the differences and embracing them. ... And we do have English only teachers at our school, in our immersion school, who support us, in addition to our own group supporting us. And it is unusual, very unusual.

Because the majority of the participants were involved in a constant reflection of their practices in the context of multicultural education, they were also becoming sensitive and wary towards the imposition of Euro American "agenda" upon Latino and other ethnic groups. This surfaced in their concerns about interfering or intruding upon other cultures.

Dick, being concerned about cultural invasion while the group was in Oaxaca describes the difference between this and operating on more equal terms through a genuine "dialogue", and exchange of ideas:

I think it's an invasion of people's privacy. I'm knowing people right now, who are getting approached by two or three of us from this group, to interview them, And there are people who have danced in this fiesta, who are tired, who are dead on their ass, and then we are asking them, "Can I spend two hours with you or about an hour and a half interviewing you? Can we record you? Can we take a photo of you?" I really felt like a "gringo".
(dialogue) is kind of like, real intricate, ... natural... You sit down with somebody, you have a mescal, or a cup of coffee, you have a cappuccino, sitting somewhere, you're talking about something and the conversation goes wherever it's going to go. (Dick)

Elizabeth added her example of "dialogue" between different cultures, which was a highlight for her during this Seminar:

We go in the museum. They recognized us as being part of the group at the Secundaria. So then they got chairs for us to sit down in, and they want to know why we're here and all these things are going on. She happens to have the book with her that started all this, she reads it to them, .... I mean it's like one of those things out of a movie.

Because of this and other kinds of experiences that have allowed these teachers to see Latino students with new "eyes", the participants, through dialogue, were able to share how they have become acutely aware of the "deficit" paradigm that has characterized the way most language minority students are treated in the United States. Dick spoke eloquently to this topic, revealing how this deficit view could be altered:

I think one of the things this has done for me, that I've really appreciated coming here, is going to the school, and seeing kids who were successful, that were bright, that were performing, that were eloquent when they spoke. Instead of being the kids who were always in the slow class, or always needing special help, or always needing all these extra things, we've seen kids who are in their home space, in their own environment, and they're flourishing, and they're shining.

If only American teachers could see that. I think that would give them an idea to say, "Hey, these kids are more capable than we ever imagined! Just give them a chance".

## Crossing Borders and Making Connections

Beginning to open a dialogue; breaking down barriers, and learning from each other became the key elements that the participants contributed to their being able to grow into becoming better bilingual teachers. An interesting trend, though not surprising, was that all of the participants expressed a firm belief through their practice that establishing personal and meaningful connections with the parents of these children was of extreme importance.

Dick connects with students and parents by showing a sincere interest in them and by respecting their culture and language.

I guess an insight is that I feel I can integrate myself more into the community by being patient and making a sincere effort to learn from parents and kids. When people feel you are genuinely interested in them and want to do what you can do what you can to make their situations better, barriers start to fall. It takes time, as I've said, but you gain people's trust and respect.

At one of the meetings I brought up the fact about being different. It was about the book, "El niño que tenía dos ojos" (The Boy Who Had Two Eyes). And I thought I'd say that I went to Mexico this summer. We stayed with families, and I felt really different sometimes, because I didn't know what I was supposed to do at times. I mean, when they were eating I didn't know if I was supposed to eat with them. They liked that, they really liked that. They laughed and started talking. I think they liked to realize that when I went to their culture I probably felt like they do in ours, and that I could kind of relate to it on that basis. They found if funny that I didn't know how to react to a situation like that, which to them was so, ... everydayish."

Although Dick expressed his pride in having success in connecting with the parents, he also felt unsure, as he is still learning about appropriate actions. He feels he is taking risks, and is still in the process of learning what works and what doesn't work:
... and sometimes you wonder if it's appropriate, how are they going to take that thing. If the conversation gets too real, ... critical, and we start
to talk about real important things, am I prying too deep? We were talking about "El niño que tenía dos ojos". We talked about the thing of being different and how do you think your kids might feel different at school. And we got onto the topic of fighting. And I started asking them, do you think that your kids ever get into fights because they feel that they're discriminated against? And sometimes there are silences, and I don't know if they're silences because just natural silences, or because maybe I shouldn't have asked that question.

Dick added that he feels limited by his lack of knowledge about the Mexican Latino, and that is possibly where his uncertainty working with parents comes from :

I've had South American culture, which is different, European stuff is different, and I'm realizing just how many times I've been just totally embarrassed by being with these Latino teachers, and they're singing "Las mañanitas". There are songs that come up, and they talk about people who are figures in Mexico, and I should know who they are. At this point, I'm just being direct in saying, "Teach me".

Being uncomfortable, not in control, feeling limited, or as Elizabeth mentioned earlier "feeling remedial" were all part of the experience as shared by the participants of entering a new culture. Learning new practices involved the willingness to surrender their power, of which they have become accustomed in their own language and society; and to learn new behaviors. As shared by Rebecca during a long bus ride into Mitla, a place in Oaxaca that was visited by the group during the summer seminar, these ways of behaving, and the rules to follow are not always spelled out for an outsider coming into a new environment. She compared the experience of learning the rules and boundaries of a new culture to encountering "invisible walls":
... It's like playing a game where everyone knows the rules but you, and when you've broken a rule, it's like hitting an invisible wall. The only way you know is from people's responses. The rules seem to be an unspoken code, which is innately understood by everyone who has been raised in the culture. You hear the words and understand the words but don't know the context in which they are spoken.

Nancy Jean, who was with us on the bus agreed, expressing how she also felt hurt and pain whenever she made a "faux pas" within a Latino culture, "What you think is reality is in limbo, you don't know what is acceptable and not acceptable".

Toni offered that learning new cultural codes were sometimes uncomfortable for her, as they go against the grain of European American behavior. She has had to learn to resist the temptation to "lift up the little chin of the child to look the teacher in the eye", as most Americans seek eye contact, and for many children of other cultures it is considered a sign of disrespect to look at an adult in the eye:

The Euro American eye contact rules are very clear and they're very common, and they don't change much from one person to the another. If a person's looking away from you, it slows down your presentation, because you don't believe they are listening to you. If you see them looking at you, then you're encouraged, if they're nodding, you're encouraged.

This caused us to reflect upon the fact that eye contact and "listening" behavior is indicative of the power relationships between men and women, as well as adults and children:

You can usually know right away when you are speaking to someone who puts himself (I say him?, laughing) in a superior position. But I see that as something that men do. I feel like men don't listen to me, ... most of the time, and when there are men that do, it's more of an exception. (researcher)

Her response to this was enlightening:
Well, different cultures emphasize that we're oppressed. Cultures that have a higher level of machismo emphasize that power difference more. And cultures to which that's not important emphasize it less.

Toni was acutely aware of the need for teachers to be informed of the cultural codes for behavior that would help them to understand their students. Just as Victoria mentioned earlier, Toni also emphasized that it is
important to teach students the acceptable codes of behavior in the dominant culture.

We model our culture to our kids all the time. By the time bicultural students reach sixth grade, they should be taught to articulate the norms of the dominant culture, such as how to respond to a discipline situation with an adult, and the traditions of growing up. They need the specifics.

Victoria expressed that a good teacher can make a difference for
students, regardless of color, as she has been able to connect with students:
From what I've seen at the high school level is that the students that I've moved on into regular English, they respect good teachers. Good teachers seem to cut right across color lines. It doesn't matter to them if you're trying to learn a subject, what color of skin the person is, if you're a good teacher, the student is able to learn. And I've had students come back to me and really show me their appreciation for people that I've placed them with that I consider the best teachers in the school. I know very strongly that minority students need role models, at the same time, they appreciate good teachers, whatever color.

It was inferred by their experiences that these teachers have looked for opportunities to open their minds to another culture, which involved taking risks and becoming vulnerable to making mistakes or failing. Where it would have been easier to not take chances, these teachers have crossed borders through their willingness to learn from their students and parents. As reflected in dialogue with Dick and Ryan:

What we're talking about really goes beyond bilingual education. It's really rooted in the way we go about teaching. ... And it seems like teachers who are open to change, who know that there must be a better way, who open themselves up to interacting with kids, those are the kind of teachers who tend to make it more successful for these students. (researcher)

## Forces of Support and Resistance

Support, or lack of it, proved to be one of the strongest themes that emerged from the dialogues with the participants. All of them had stories and "hot topics" that they felt were important to share. They all agreed, that without support from administration and fellow teachers, bilingual programs are endangered, and that the bilingual teacher's work is an effort in futility.

Each of the participants was in a different situation, and were effected by different forces that influenced the structure of their bilingual programs; school culture, political climate, administrative involvement, attitudes of colleagues and the history of bilingual programs within their schools. All of these forces were identified as critical factors that were either benefiting or harming their efforts in their school. Consequently, the participants either felt supported or isolated in their efforts as teachers in Spanish bilingual classrooms.

Issues stemmed mainly from the Euro American bilingual teachers' ideologies of teaching; their visions for their students and their school, in conflict with opposing ideologies. Toni's situation reflects staff unity for the dual immersion bilingual program in her district, but it was not without its cost:

There was a time when everyone was on a side. We have been through tremendous growing and division pains and reuniting pains, so that the majority of our staffs can know how painful it is for us to be divided, because we were, and we are no longer. We want to maintain what we are doing, and we want to improve it all the time. When we had our K-12 articulation day, which we have never had before in the entire history of our district, everyone went into different groups. and there was a really strong, unified feeling in all the staffs, in all the schools. We've been through this, we've been torn apart, the community's been torn apart with us. It's been in the newspaper for
years. It's still going on all the time, about bilingual as opposed to (Spanish) immersion, about what's best for children.
Elizabeth's situation at her school is quite different, and she is extremely frustrated with the resistance from her staff. Being involved in bilingual education for her means an ongoing battle among opposing forces for resources for the Spanish speaking children. In addition, she indicates that the school principal needs to be a stronger advocate for these students. Her written reflections reveal the many issues she is dealing with:

I have taught in a school where the principal is not bilingual and there is a group of teachers who don't like to spend money on bilingual education. Many are convinced it doesn't help the children and "English only" would. Our "Club Literario" has done a lot to bring our parents to the school, but there are still teachers who don't see why we need a separate group from the English speakers.

I think a bilingual school should have a bilingual principal sympathetic to Spanish speaking students. Some are bilingual but don't believe or practice bilingual education.

We have a Spanish speaking person to help parents in the office, but she needs many more hours than she has. She did receive the PTA Service Award last year.

Elizabeth continues:
I think that a bilingual school should only have teachers who believe in it. They don't have to speak Spanish. We need to convince other teachers that bilingual students deserve an equal share of the pie, i.e. same amount of materials. Bilingual teachers shouldn't have to always be translating language, books, ideas, etc., into Spanish.

We have a clerk who interferes a lot and puts up obstacles in the way of bilingual teachers. She orders materials and has much more influence than she should.

Our children need to be in a bilingual class. "Overflow" children shouldn't be stuck in English only. Our LDS (Language Development Specialist) teachers do not have enough knowledge about language development.

In a later dialogue, Elizabeth reflected:
I think if somebody came to me and said about wanting to be a bilingual teacher, I'd say, "Well, you better go find a district where they're going to support you."

She has a clear understanding of what is ultimately at stake, and is extremely concerned about the erosion of bilingual programs when they are not implemented well:

In our district they use Spanish as a vehicle into English and they have emphasized that to the point that they were even transitioning children at the end of first grade. They're not doing that anymore, but when they do the transition, they just chop it off and go into English. ... Here were these kids that had A's and B's and doing really well in school and their parents were real happy with them, and all of a sudden they put them in these mixed classes. They started making D's and F's. And then the parents started saying, "Oh my goodness, they shouldn't have been in bilingual! this has done a terrible thing to them!"

It was also noted by both Elizabeth and me that this scenario describes the selffulfilling prophecy that plagues bilingual education; badly implemented bilingual programs will produce poor results and the criticism against bilingual education becomes justified.

Rebecca did not experience the same total lack of support as Elizabeth expressed, however she did share a problem that was common to all the participants; that English Language Learners are perceived to be the sole problem and responsibility of the bilingual teacher, which made it difficult for her to build teamwork with the other teachers. As reflective of what Ryan stated earlier about his colleagues only paying lip service to multiculturalism, and English Learners not being incorporated into the magnet school program, Rebecca said that teachers and staff do not tend to want to become involved with these students:

I feel that at my school that the bilingual kids are "my problem"; ESL is "my thing". I was trying to get the other first grade teachers to work with me, and to develop a rotational system where one fourth of each of their class would be with my class, encouraging my (Spanish speaking) kids to socialize with their kids. They were going to have English speaking models that they could play with, that they could talk with, and we were going to do it with things like P.E., Art and Music. I
was going to teach Spanish to their kids and my English speakers as an enrichment, and they really didn't want to sacrifice their time. Finally, our Title VII Resource teacher said "You guys have to do this".

Rebecca was referring to federal grant monies that were made available for the implementation of bilingual programs. She added later that this funding has been instrumental in pushing more materials and support for bilingual education into her school. In fact, she was able to attend the California Bilingual Education Conference with this support, where she could meet with the the other participants and me to finish the study.

Victoria is another, who has had a greater degree of support, which has allowed her tremendous leeway and opportunities for growth. She was able to design an innovative program that later resulted in her receiving a distinguished national award and an award from her county office. The national award, The Readers Digest Hero in Education, gave her program ten thousand dollars to use as she wanted. She said that if it weren't for her principal, who nominated her for these awards, her program would not be nearly as successful:

Both these awards gave me credibility so that the administration trusts me in introducing something new, and the district seems to accept me as an advocate for my LEP students. The awards gave me the recognition that it might have taken longer to achieve on my own.

But even through her success, Victoria has had to fight battles to open opportunities for her students, who did not have equal access to the rest of the curriculum. Like Rebecca and Elizabeth, she has also faced ignorance and resistance on the part of colleagues and administration:

The success my students have gotten has led to the biggest issues in the five years that I have run the PEP (Power English Program) program. In September, 1995, I placed eight students in geometry. Most of them came to me within a few days and said they could not understand the teacher. The head counselor let me shop around and find a teacher who would speak more slowly. One of the teachers I
spoke to became angry and defensive when I told him that he spoke too rapidly to be understood by my recently mainstreamed students.

None of the teachers were interested in learning SDAIE (Specially Designed Academic Instruction in English) methods, and saw themselves not as a part of a whole learning process, but as a separate life in the world of mathematics. So a battle raged for the rest of the school year because a fellow LEP science teacher and I wanted a laboratory science taught in SDAIE or Spanish, plus I wanted a sheltered geometry class. We finally had to drop our insistence on both and unite to fight for a lab science, Biology, to be taught as an LEP course.

What I found that we faced was ignorance on the part of the administrators, even the principal who had wanted the PEP program in the first place said, "What are they going to do with biology?" and "Why can't they learn English first?"

Finally, the assistant superintendent came to the school, pointed out that there were enough students signed up, 38, that there was an interested available teacher and that state guidelines and district policy all dictated that the LEP student be given full access to the curriculum.

It is unfortunate that, in spite of the participants' tremendous efforts and progress that they can influence within their classrooms, it appears that systemic change comes from money, power and the law to back up programs for the English Language Learners. Victoria added, "We could not by ourselves solve the problem, but Mario Chacon (the assistant superintendent) could. All of this points out the need for more minority leaders in positions of power."

The importance of the administrative support was echoed by Toni, who although is in a program that is widely supported by parents and teachers, finds it difficult to understand why the administration will not hire a bilingual secretary at her school. Her district has been the fortunate recipient of continuous funding from federal grants, such as Title VII:

We have had several superintendents and our administration has been vocally supportive of our program, but their children are never in it. Our community has a very strong A.L.L. (Advocates for Language Learning) group who supports the teacher efforts, and understands the lack of administrative support. We have an Even Start parents' group
(Federal funds) which started out well and became a very strong voice, but which has been administered in such a way as to diminish it's power. We have no Spanish speaking office personnel, although the staff and parents continually ask for such support. Our district's most recent and most positive response has been to send three secretaries to Cuernavaca for two weeks this summer. It's always a money issue, but the waste we see in other areas could cover an office assistant's salary easily.

In Dick's situation, it has taken not only money from outside sources to begin to implement programs for Spanish speaking students, but complaints and lawsuits in order to hire Spanish speaking personnel at his schools. He stated that there was no bilingual secretary at his school until the district was forced to hire one as a result of a lawsuit. His biggest issue, however, is the situation in which he was hired, and the implications for him as he works with both the administration and the Latino community in his district:

We've got a big lawsuit going on. The guy that I work with, this Chicano, ... the job position came up, they got the Title VII program and they had place for two bilingual resource teachers. I was offered the full time position and my colleague was offered the part time position, and as soon as we got the jobs, I said, "Let's go talk." We went out and had a drink together and I said, "I don't feel comfortable about this because you should have this job. I'm glad I got it, I've got to live, and so do you. But I just want you to know this." He said, "You know, in one way it's better that you got the job, they'll listen to you. Because they won't listen to anything that I have to say." Well, in the meantime what developed over the year is he continued his activities, and he's connected with a pretty radical La Raza group. And right now we're going through a big meeting with the community, and there's twenty-some charges filed with the Office of Civil Rights.

As a result of this turmoil, Dick is caught in the middle of a battle between two polarized forces. He agrees with his Latino colleague, but finds it difficult to work with him, as he is implicated as a racist:

And I'm caught in the middle of this. Politically, I'm much more to the side of my Chicano colleague. But I also see some pretty strong racism coming from there. The first thing that happened when we
went out to talk like that, he said, "You know, all Anglos are racist", point blank, "All Anglos are racist." And I can't agree with that.

He is deeply concerned about the lack of Latino role models who can teach in Spanish in his district, and the continuing predominance of White teachers being hired out of the teaching colleges:

So then the question comes up, "Who should we give the job to?" And it's a real tough question to call because, well one principal says, "My main concern is getting the best quality education I can for these kids. And I'm not going to base it on race. If I can get a person who is Anglo, who can do the job better, I'm going to do it." and I'm saying, "Well, OK, then that means that you're never going to hire a Latino teacher from around here, because we've got a bilingual multicultural teacher training program that's about ninety-some percent White. And what about people from the community who can't get into that program? Where does that come into play?"

Dick touched upon the conditions that exist not only in his area, but are a universal dilemma in public education, as evidenced by the continuing debate over Affirmative Action policies, and the continuing underrepresentation of minorities in the teaching profession.
... they're right about hiring practices, I'm sorry, but take a look around, just like I said before, an Anglo is going to get the job every time because they're better qualified on paper, academically, they've been through teacher training programs. And what about all the people in the community who can't get into these programs, who can't pay for it, that don't have the academic things to get in there? ... If there's not something, with all the affirmative action stuff that's happening now, it's going to make it all the more difficult. Unless those people are given a chance to raise to the level, I mean paper level, of what people look at when they hire, unless they get an opportunity to have a fair shot at a job interview, they're never going to get one.

As Dick has been able to return to his school and work through these issues, he also become aware that some of his Latino colleagues were not entirely willing to put in the time and effort to work for the interests of their
students. This has caused him to soften his political stance, and rethink his views:

I'm changing my opinion about that, because I was a real advocate last year of, whenever possible, hiring people from the culture and who are native speakers. But, I am seeing people who are native speakers, from the culture, and they are not great teachers. I am working with some people who are, ... minimals. They'll do the least preparation, the least that they have to do. They don't want to put in any extra time, they don't want to put in any extra effort, really. And I wish, sometimes, God, we could do so much more if we just had some people who were willing to say, "I know I don't have to stick around an extra half an hour, but I'll do it because I believe it's for the benefit of everything." When they say, "OK, three o'clock, I've got to go", that says a lot about what they are willing to commit to.

Ryan said there had been assistance from his district to support local Latino paraprofessionals to continue with their education and obtain their teaching certification, however, he concurred with Dick, that the hiring in his district is heavily reliant on paper qualifications, as it is a legal requirement:

I think when it comes to administrators, that my experience has been that they don't care who you are, they don't care what you look like, if you have that BCC (Bilingual Certificate of Competence), you've got a job, even if you're a terrible teacher. They want to make sure that everything on paper is covered, the way it has to be legally, and after that, they just want that person in the classroom to do their thing.

Ryan is struggling with resistance that he is experiencing in his district among fellow teachers, who are, "working very hard to be traditional" (Ryan). He perceives the larger issue to be the conflict of progressive ideas against traditional paradigms, which don't change simply because there are Spanish speaking staff in the school:

We have a combined ESL/Bilingual department. Almost all of us are bilingual, but that doesn't mean that we are a progressive department, because we're not. Our school seems like it should be a really progressive, great place, but it's not. It's very traditional. We have tracking like you wouldn't believe, so having bilingual teachers is not a cure all. What happens in California, is that there is such a huge need for bilingual teachers that everyone is on the panic mode all the time.

Bilingual teachers are hired without regard to their educational philosophies because bilingual skill are the only priority.

In a later dialogue on the phone, he decided that his biggest concerns were centered upon how to improve his teaching methods, how to get along with his co-workers, and the need to talk with other like-minded people who believe in progressive ideas. He stated that attending classes at the California State University has helped him to establish networks and overcome the isolation that so many teachers feel. As he is in a program for leadership in bilingual education, he sees the school principal as a key for support for bilingual teachers.

Rebecca feels she is experiencing support from her administration for their bilingual program, but also perceives that poor decisions can jeopardize the experience for many new teachers:

Sometimes administrative decisions make an Anglo teacher dependent upon their aides. I had a friend who was hired for her first job and placed in a second grade bilingual classroom. The district understood that she did not speak Spanish and planned for her to take some classes, but we know that it takes more than a few classes to learn a language. She ended up being a language minority in her own classroom, was dependent upon her aide to communicate with her students, and struggled with classroom discipline.

After a year of that she and her family had a very negative opinion of bilingual education and from their experience, I couldn't blame them. Sometimes the districts are so concerned about fulfilling the letter of the law, that they make disastrous decisions for students and teachers.

This is similar to what Victoria had informed the researcher in a very brief follow-up dialogue. She stated that "It's really important that we don't force people to take English Language Development when they don't want to, as it can be a very negative experience for all."

Another measure of support for bilingual programs and a concern of the participants was in the school libraries. It was agreed by all that one of the
places where inequity of language and unequal access to participation in literacy exists is in the number of books in Spanish that are available to Spanish readers. Among all the interests that compete for money, bilingual programs, according to the participants, have been the losers, as they are the recipients of only token efforts from one-time funding sources and supplemental, categorical programs. This manifestation of the English only agenda is obvious to Spanish speaking students, as Rebecca stated:

In our library we got one book shelf, one shelf on the book shelf, that is Spanish books. And the rest of the library is all in English. And my little first graders, who can't read turn to me and ask, "Is this English or Spanish?" And they see all these neat picture books, and they are all in English. And my parents say, "Oh please don't let them bring home English books, I can't read it with them." So I have to tell them, "OK, kids, your books are over here." So they look at their shelf, and they've read them all. They've had them in kindergarten and in first grade, and by the time they get to second grade, well, my gosh! Who wants to read?

Elizabeth expressed similar frustrations:
We had some parents a couple of years ago that came to me and asked if they could check out books from the library, out of our library at school, to read to their kids. So this librarian went to the principal about it. I also went to the principal and said, "These parents will be responsible. They should be able to come in here and check out these books, because we want them to read to their kids." The librarian didn't want that to happen, so the principal sided with her and said, "No, we can't let these books be going home to these parents because they're not going to be responsible, and we will be losing all these books."

As a result of these kinds of situations, the participants, mainly Rebecca, Elizabeth and Victoria, have become innovative, resourceful and do not always follow proper protocol in finding ways for parents and students to get books. They have had to duplicate copyrighted material, buy Spanish books out of their own pockets, and have provided their students with their own classroom libraries with check out systems to students and parents.

Ironically, the participants shared that they are under constant criticism from those who claim that too much money is being spent on bilingual programs in the schools. Rebecca shared the truth on this matter:

Some people who say, "We're spending too much money on bilingual education." I really don't see where they're spending any more on us, and our bilingual program. They still have to have a teacher. They don't pay me significantly more than they pay an English only teacher. They still have to buy supplies. Those supplies don't cost any more. It's not like they're doing double. It's stuff they would have to buy anyway.

However, Elizabeth reveals the hidden message of this viewpoint:
They resent putting it into this other language, though, instead of putting it in English. The way we are going on this proposition 187 and all the other states that are trying to do things like that, and they're trying to skirt around the courts; it's an attitude that's represented in the United States right now.

It was perceived by the participants that the forces in society are brought into the school culture in insidious and covert ways, and that the truth is often hidden behind arguments that distort facts and ignore the obvious. Having only one book shelf in a library in Spanish is a very obvious message to Spanish speaking children; that their language is not valued, and the school does not care to spend money on the books they can read.

Critical Knowledge that Empowers the Euro American
Bilingual Teacher

Though it was evident through the dialogues and written reflections of the participants that the Euro American bilingual teacher has many challenges and must deal with forces that discourage, both personally and
professionally, there were elements of success that emerged. Through their strong sense of purpose and conviction that their students were achieving, these teachers were able to describe several examples of what was working for them as bilingual teachers and how they and their students were learning from these experiences.

The knowledge that was revealed and reconstructed through the dialogue process was empowering as the participants were able to recognize and validate their efforts and achievements as well as their struggles. This critical knowledge could be clustered around two major themes; Transformative Practices in the Bilingual Classroom, and The Role of the Euro American Bilingual Teacher. Each of these will be explored in the next section.

## Transformative Practices in the Bilingual Classroom

Victoria has given her students access to technology, and because of her initiative in writing grants for innovative programs for her ESL students, she has earned the respect of her colleagues as well as her students. Her Latino students are now seen as the "experts" in the computer lab, and the authors of a school newspaper, an elevated position in the eyes of a school culture, where the majority of classrooms are still in the dark ages:

I have written a number of grants to get computers for my classroom. Then I started taking students into a science computer room. The success those students had, publishing a newspaper and writing stories piqued the interest of my fellow teachers. Next, the ninth grade English teachers, under my direction, started using this lab and then upper level teachers became interested. This led to my writing a 1510 Technology Grant for the school. We received money in September to purchase and open a beautiful new Macintosh lab for English. .. By next September I was able to open a mini lab of twenty-two computers plus other peripheral equipment for LEP students. My students love
computers and see them as relevant to their lives. This also gives my students a lot of confidence when they move to regular classes because they have a skill that others are just learning.

Again, Victoria had a strong level of support from her principal, who recognized her talents, and allowed her to develop and create this very successful program. Being an ESL teacher is advantageous in one respect; she does not have to justify, as the other participants do, why students are being taught in Spanish. She does continue to fight for bilingual classes and classes of Specially Designed Academic Instruction in English (SDAIE) to complement the English language development that she provides. She stated that since her program started, her school is mainstreaming students into regular English classes at a greater rate and with more success:

With this kind of support from the beginning, the program was bound to succeed. This was in 1989. Within the next two years, I moved into regular English about 30 students a year, whereas in previous years, about five students a year changed to regular English. This amount of students began to have an impact on all of the English Department, since the students were still learning English, yet they could be successful in the lowest of our three levels of English.

Ryan's belief in his students' success at the middle school level is just as impressive, and he claims that his bilingual students are achieving better than justifying their placement into "regular" English classes. He feels that his students that are ready for mainstreaming should get the advanced, or "honors" programs:
... And of course, the best teachers in the whole school are in that program. They believe that their students are very smart, that they're really great. They pay lip service to the idea that English Language Learners are capable, but underneath you hear that really they consider the bilingual program a remedial program, that ELL kids just can't do what their kids can do.
(This perspective of the English only teachers reveals, again, the dominant paradigm that forms attitudes about students who are bilingual.)

Then I'm always telling them that some of the best students at this school are in the bilingual program, and they could be in there and run circles around their students. But they just don't have the mind to teach.

Ryan explained how the "tracking" program operated at his school, and how he would like to see it changed:

When bilingual students are redesignated, they are put into the "regular" program not the fast track, International Baccalaureate program. I would like to see that changed. Bilingual students placed in the "regular" class end up being the stars, but are not challenged as they would be in the International Baccalaureate program.

This was an interesting dialogue, and we came to the conclusion that if the best teachers were teaching in the advanced classes, then many teachers in the regular program are at best, mediocre. In Ryan's school, "traditional, oppressive teachers work with difficult students who really need to have the best teachers available." It didn't seem right that any students, regardless of academic preparation should have to submit to "regular" teaching.

In this dialogue, Ryan clearly defined the differences between "regular" teaching and progressive teaching that challenged students. Some of the examples of what he has done to reach students and challenge them are, as he listed them in a written response:

Staying in touch with the families,
Allowing students to choose the language they use in science class Using "hands on" projects
Creating a collaborative/ cooperative group environment Having high expectations
Maintaining a classroom library of books in Spanish
Reading stories in Spanish
Having the principal visit the room to see projects
Writing in journals
Making books
His progressive, or more specifically, his constructivist "hands on",
collaborative approach to teaching is also linked to a social consciousness or
critical pedagogy, which compels him to question the structures in his school that are inequitable, and take action with his students to create changes.

During a dialogue in the fall, he told a story of how his students in his Spanish Literacy class upset the entire school, by taking over the public address system and broadcasting the school announcements in Spanish during second period. According to Ryan, "The International Baccalaureate program set the stage. They would just take the P.A. system whenever they felt like it." So Ryan saw no reason why his students could not do the same:

People complained about the Spanish announcements, especially the bilingual teachers. They thought the Spanish speaking kids should hear the announcements in English so they could learn more English. I told the teachers that if the Spanish speaking kids could understand more school activities, they would feel more welcome and may participate more. The Spanish literacy class that worked on the announcements was very resistant to learning before we took on that project. I had to defend the rationale for the project at a faculty meeting. I presented petitions which the students had written and circulated, calling for continuing the morning announcements in Spanish. They had collected more than 250 signatures in 24 hours. The principal (a Chicana) was uncomfortable with the project at first, now she is really supportive.

Ryan added why he saw it as so important to make this challenge and carry it out:

They (the students) saw me as going to bat for them in front of all the teachers. I think this is something an Anglo teacher can do for the school and for the kids. Translation of school announcement is also a really good literacy skill, and I get the low literacy level kids.

This event exemplifies what Nancy Jean and I were trying to define in a discussion of constructivist teaching and critical pedagogy:

Nancy Jean:
Constructivism is great because it gives you a framework to put critical pedagogy in, because constructivism isn't in and of itself liberatory. Mary Poplin always talks about constructivism, but I hadn't really put it together how it could be liberatory, probably until last summer (Seminar on Transformative Literacy). I finally saw how, the vehicle it is.

Researcher:
It seems to me, though that maybe the essence of constructivist teaching is going in there and you don't necessarily have it already planned out for the kids, you create it.

Nancy Jean:
That's the critical pedagogy, that's your pedagogy. That's not the constructivism, constructivism calls for you to put everything into context and have it meaningful.

## Researcher:

Have it relevant to their lives, because they're constructing knowledge. To me constructivism is a way of looking at knowledge, that it's not the teacher's knowledge that you're dumping on the students, but that they construct the knowledge.

In this respect, Dick is also experiencing more success in those endeavors with students and parents, where the content is based upon their own words and ideas:

We are putting a lot of emphasis on literacy skills and I am currently developing a unit based upon a language experience story I did with a few second graders. I am using their story and making a big book out of it. The other kids in the class illustrated it. The theme is community helpers and occupations. I am trying to use the kids' ideas and words to teach them and other children to read and write. I have shown them the big book and they are excited about the fact that it will be used at other schools also. I feel that using their words and ideas will help them develop a self image of readers, writers, and artists.

This is a classic example of using Freire's methodology of developing "generative themes" from their own language and their own experience to "read the world" and develop literacy (Freire, 1986) . Dick is also using his office at one school as a lending library, where students can come visit and read to him, or check books out. His literacy program is also extended to the parents, where his emphasis on books, reading and writing is also being supported and validated by his Libros y Familias program (books and families).

Elizabeth's "Club Literario" is based upon the same concept, empowering parents to construct their own literacy experiences, thereby allowing them to read their world. By doing so, she feels that for the first time, Latino families were becoming more involved in school functions.

During the summer she wrote me a letter, in which she shared a new program, "The Homework Hotline", using telephone technology to connect parents to school events, homework assignments and projects that students and parents could do together at home:

The Homework Hotline that my son and I developed when he worked for "Call America" inspired 19 out of 26 parents to work at home developing stories and art work with their children. They sent this to school and I put this "homework" in books so all the children could enjoy it. Some of the themes were such as "Tell your child what you liked to do the most when you were little and describe it for him/her". We also did parent and child created math sheets and home science. Each week on Sunday I recorded a message giving the parents ideas of what they could do with their children. They could dial the number anytime that week and listen to the message as many times as they wanted. ... Before this hot line we had about two parents helping their children.

A constructivist approach to reading the world has also been explored in my own classroom to help students in the sixth grade look at their realities and the future choices which lie ahead for them. As students approach adolescence, their choices in school and in life in general become critical in determining their futures. Too often, students of oppressed groups are led into believing that certain "fates" await them in their lives, as if they were predetermined (Freire, 1970). I ask the students to create personal "timelines" in my classroom to allow them an opportunity to research their histories, and practice making conscious choices that will lead into desired outcomes.

After researching their past, and mapping it out on a timeline that is illustrated and sequenced, the students then project their futures. They must
think of future life events and consider what some of their goals are. For example, if a student wants to be able to drive a car when $s /$ he turns old enough, s/he must begin to consider the options and responsible choices in order to obtain that. Or if the student wants to someday attend college or enter a profession, they also must consider what kinds of conditions must be created in order to fulfill those dreams.

This has been a revealing way to see where students at this age, situate themselves in their lives, and what possibilities they are considering for themselves. It also gives the teacher an opportunity to ask the questions that cause students to reflect on the assumptions that they or others have made about them, as was shared in a dialogue with Toni:

If children can break out of the structures that subjugate them, and grow into making decisions for themselves; not allowing themselves to fall into the trap, like the one girl I was telling you about. Her two older sisters have gotten pregnant and dropped out of school. She is trying to put herself beyond, and is thinking of being a teacher. She is also trying to deal with teachers at our school that are not helping her. That's where I see my place. And if I can be a role model to some of these kids, that would be wonderful. I'm not from their culture, but I'm hoping that I'm allowing them to see other possibilities for themselves.

Toni and I reflected seriously about our roles as White educators with concerns about the issues of women in oppressed cultures. She was quite convinced that we have an opportunity to influence children to make their lives better:

Women in this country, from whatever culture they derive, have the opportunity to become more empowered. If they are made aware of it, if they feel that they have the right. And it begins before kindergarten, but I don't get them before then. As soon as I do get them, I teach them to be responsible for themselves; to be responsible for their feelings, and for telling other people how they want to be treated. Because they can't come running to me their whole life for me to protect them. So I don't protect them. I teach them how to talk to each other, so they can express themselves instead of depending on someone else to do it.

And in sixth grade you can be a very significant model for those young women who are on the brink, because they will be making decisions within the next two or three years that will effect the rest of their lives.

## Defining One's Role in Bilingual Education

Although my main focus is on minority students, I am concerned with all students - that all students receive a quality education. I don't see bilingual education as exclusive. I am an advocate for all students with a special, watchful eye for Latino students. (Dick)

Through their discoveries of their successes and potentials, the participants became aware that the role they carry out in their classrooms and in their daily contacts is significant and unique. As White educators who are bilingual and interculturally literate, they have begun to define a space for themselves among diversity. Through their reflections and dialogue, the participants have defined their role as one of being a bridge, of opening doors, and of being an advocate for their students.

Nancy Jean describe her role as:
I just see myself as an ally to people of color, and I see that my service is in knowing that I have privilege and using that privilege to wisely open doors for other people. And also to the teachers that I work with, the White pre-service teachers, to get them to understand a little bit, I mean they're not going to get what it's like for these kids, but some way to start a real dialogue in their mind about what kids need, the minority students.

All the participants agreed that one of their biggest roles in their positions of being "inside" of the dominant culture is to influence change that, as Nancy Jean said, would open doors for language minority students. Rebecca recalls several times when she has been able to stand up for and defend bilingual education:

People, honestly will come and tell me, "I don't like bilingual education", and they tell me why. They're not afraid of immediately having an emotional response. It's against the program that I work with, but it's not against me, because I'm not a Mexican American. They grew up with me, they're familiar with me, I have a lot of similarities with them. They can approach me, and they do. I have really discussed this with some people.

She has also had influence upon a professor, who did not support bilingual education, but is now starting a program at the local university for future bilingual teachers.

I had a whole language professor in college who said, "Use the language the children come with, make it a rich environment in language." But she also said, "I don't like bilingual education". So I asked her, "Dr. Martinez, everything you've been telling us; start with what the child knows, build on that, .... are you saying throw all that out? Throw out everything they've been learning for five years?" Later, after observing me in a bilingual classroom, she asked me for advice on starting a master's program. She said, "Becky, if you were going to do an ESL Master's or a Bilingual Ed. Master's, which do you think would be more beneficial?" She had changed her mind!

Rebecca felt proud that she would have an influence upon her former college professor's decision to implement a bilingual certification program. She takes her role seriously as an "ambassador" between two cultures:

I wondered at my role as I was hired in Colton, California, where there are a large number of second and third generation Mexican Americans. I see myself as an ambassador of my culture, but I wish that I could be Hispanic so that I could be a role model for them. I also see myself being placed as an ambassador of their needs to the mainstream culture. People feel freer to express their feelings of doubt and anger to me than to an Hispanic person. I also can explain to them the reasons for needing a bilingual program in schools.

Toni, also sees her role as one who can influence change. Being of the dominant culture, she has familiarity and knowledge of the codes that are practiced, which are instrumental in reaching a common understanding:
... because the people that we want to influence know what we are about in terms of tradition and background, and we know what they're
about. So we can play chess with them with equality between us. But if someone from another culture tries to play the same game with them, the rules are different. And if each player doesn't know the rules of the other, it's harder to reach an accord.

Toni lives her beliefs on the importance of becoming bilingual and interculturally literate through the experiences she is creating for her granddaughter, Brittney, who has been enrolled in the Spanish immersion program in her school district. She has consciously created opportunities for Brittney that will cause her to think about difference, to acquire another language, and to begin to understand the realities of Latino cultures. She describes their living situation, with another family:

She's living in a bicultural household, because our house is divided with a wall down the middle, and our neighbors come from Mexico, and we're not, and when she comes home from school, she goes to our neighbor's house and they play, and they only speak to her in Spanish. ... So she's getting a different culture from our side of the house than she gets from their side of the house, beyond what she's getting in school. So it's a more intense cultural experience from both sides of it.

Brittney, who is ten years old, accompanied the group of teachers who went to Oaxaca for the Seminar on Transformative Literacy, and Toni has a sense of purpose about what her granddaughter will do in the future:

My perspective as a young mother was very different as from what mine is now. And you get to do this again, and I get to have more wisdom than I had then, and I get to experience this child in a much more sensitive way. I just can't think of a better gift. I was going to get a doctorate, and now I'm not. And she is ... my doctorate. It's worth it to me, because she is going to do some wonderful things.

Toni is also aware of her position in her school as an advisor to her Euro American colleagues on sensitive cultural issues that may not be understood by all the staff. She told a story of a colleague who works in her team of kindergarten teachers and is in charge of leading songs for the children. On one occasion, the song she had chosen was expressing a
stereotypical "me, heap, big Indian" as a part of the refrain, along with some chest slapping, which had made the other bilingual teachers very uncomfortable. Toni was able to approach her colleague on a basis of trust and respect, and get her to change the song:

She's a flag waiver. She also, appropriately so, wants our American culture to be a part of their experience. So she wants them to learn the traditional, American folk songs, and I do, too. But on some points she misses the beat, and on this one, she missed it by a long way. So I went in and talked to her. I said, "I would really like to have a copy of that Sioux lullaby. I think it was really pretty, and I'd like to teach it to my children. But I'd rather not hear that 'Heap Big Indian' song again, it made me very uncomfortable". ... She, even though it offended her for me to tell her that, we talked on a little bit, and I talked about how all groups of Indians that I knew about refer to themselves as "the People". So she said, we could do that. A week later she had a chant she had written herself that was very simple, very rhythmic. The children patted their laps as if they were beating a drum, and it was a four word chant using the words "we, the people" and I don't remember what else. But, I was just thrilled that somehow I could reach her without knocking her off. I'm really glad I was able to talk to her in a way that would get her to change it.

Dick, in his position as a bilingual resource teacher finds that he must advocate and provide support for English Language Learners in classrooms where they may not have a bilingual teacher. As his duties encompass several elementary classrooms at more than one school, he often sees areas that have been neglected in their education and tendencies of the teachers to ignore their responsibilities in teaching these students. An issue that he deals with regularly is the tendency to retain students who have not progressed with their English speaking peers, as in this case, where his opinion was in the minority:

I really stood up against that and said, "No retention! You have a first/second grade split class, he can come back next year into the same classroom and continue on and let him develop. Everybody agrees that he's smart." ... And the principal changed on me, because when I first talked to her she was one hundred percent against. She was all for
grade appropriate placement, and then afterwards, she came back and said, "You know, Dick, you're the only one who's still opposing this." And I said, "Well, that's where I'm at." ... I told the first grade teacher, "The reason I'm opposing this so strongly, is that it's not this one particular instance. You may not be aware of what's happening at other schools, too, and sometimes it's not first grade. Sometimes it's in fourth grade. So what do you do with a fourth grader who come in and doesn't know how to read and write? Do you demote him to first grade? ... It makes it easier for you to do that from first to kindergarten because the age is much closer. But we have to learn to deal with it. We have to deal with the situation in the classroom."

Both Dick and I agreed that this situation is often complicated by the fact that the parents of students coming from Mexico are accustomed to an educational system, as in many schools in Mexico, that places any child who cannot read or pass the grade level tests into a primary level, regardless of age.

Consequently, they will tend to support a decision to retain or demote their child by one or more years, even when English speaking peers are moving ahead. This has often become an excuse for the school not to provide special education services, or the attention that is needed in the classroom.

Dick has seen his role fall short when he is unsure of a decision, or in disagreement with a native speaking colleague. This was experienced by him on the issue of perceiving the need for special education services to Latino children:

In one school where the woman is the native language teacher, she really is one who pushes kids towards special education, and we've had disagreements on that. She's real quick to say they should be in special education; they don't give our Latino kids special education services. ... Coming back to being an Anglo teacher; it's difficult when you've got a Chicana, who grew up in a Spanish speaking background, who knows the culture, and is talking about "our kids", to disagree with them. She's saying, "Our kids are underrepresented in special education."

Dick's experience points to the potentially different perceptions between Euro American and Latino educators about what is best for Latino students. I sensed that he was reluctant to challenge the viewpoint of a Latino in this
respect, and did not have a solution to offer that would remedy the dilemna for Spanish speaking students with special needs.

Although the other participants did not share that they had disagreed with or run into conflicts with Latino educators, they did indicate in their written reflections that Euro American and Latino educators should come together in dialogue. It has also been elaborated in the section on cultural identity that the Euro American bilingual teacher feels misunderstood, sometimes by Latino educators. As evidenced in Dick's situation, the perceptions of what is best for Latino students with special needs may be an appropriate topic to introduce as a follow-up action of this study. Because it emerged during one of the follow-up sessions with Dick, after having finished all dialogue sessions with the other participants, it was not pursued further within this study.

The notion that Euro American bilingual teachers may see themselves as only temporary in their positions was raised several times in the dialogues, as each one had reflected upon their role and the appropriateness for them to represent a community to which they did not belong. Some of the participants perceived the shortage of Latinos in the teaching force and felt that if someone of the culture were to be available, they would surrender their position, as Rebecca states:

I think that's true. I can't be a role model who says, "Yes, I'm an Hispanic. I made it through, you can, too". I want them to know that, "Yes, I can go through college, just like my teacher did". I wish I could be that for them, but I can't. I know I'm not the perfect language model. Sometimes I think that if an Hispanic person came and said, "I'd like to teach bilingual first grade", I'd step down, I'd say, "Great, you take it. You'd do a better job."

At the same time, it was noted by several that the majority of students in the teacher preparation programs are monolingual European Americans, and a
change in teaching demographics did not appear to be forthcoming in the near future. In this sense, the participants see their roles as Euro American teachers who are specially skilled and have a great concern for the welfare of Spanish speaking students, as Elizabeth added:

One thing I see about that, though, is that we can serve as a bridge, I mean, the fact that we make ties to the other part of the community so we can serve as a bridge that way. Plus the fact that these kids are going to be in this community that is predominantly English speaking. And so we can help them from that standpoint.

Elizabeth added later in her reflections:
I think that Anglo teachers who like Hispanic children and are willing to learn Spanish at a high level of proficiency along with the culture can make a fine contribution to bilingual education. We can be bridge between parents and the school, students and the school, administration and the school, etc.

Victoria particularly sees her role as someone who connects with and values the students' own culture, and prepares them to function in an English speaking society:

In the context of bilingual/multicultural education, I feel it is my responsibility as a teacher who prepares students for mainstream American classes to arm my students with some knowledge of American traditions, culture and idioms. Another goal I have for these young people is that they preserve their own language, customs and culture, and that they have a clear understanding of how valuable it is to be truly bilingual. Most of their writing focuses on family, their culture, stories from their childhood. I have worked very hard to learn as much Spanish as I can so that I can communicate with their families. From the beginning of my tenure as an ESL teacher, I have called home with good and bad news, so that I try to keep lines of communication open. I learn from the students about their culture and their customs as we go through a school year exchanging information in the classroom setting.

Ryan perceives his role not only as someone who will continue to develop an awareness of his students' culture and advocate for their rights, but as a role model for other White educators. Within this role he fully
understands his responsibility as a White Educator in confronting racism. His written reflections state the following:

I perceive my role to be to learn about the language and culture of my students and to learn about my students' communities and families; to learn to see and understand racism and the role of White people in perpetuating it. To learn to see the effects of racism on our students and to learn to fight racism in the system and within myself. I need to be a role model for other Whites and be a change agent. To overcome racism, one needs to work toward empowering individuals who belong to oppressed groups.

The role of the Euro American bilingual educator has continued to be redefined and expanded, as the participants and I reflected upon our experiences, our potentials and the goals we have for ourselves and our students. We all recognized that our role is not one of being substitute Latino teachers for our students, but as Euro American educators, we can be very effective as allies whose responsibility is to advocate for, learn from and be a resource to English Language Learners.

## Participants' Recommendations for Action and Final Reflections

It is essential for the student of bilingual education to thoroughly examine their own culture and their motives before embarking on a career that will carry with it a multitude of values issues as well as the necessity of, at some point, taking a stand. (Toni)

As the study progressed, the participants and I were better able to understand our own situations, our next steps for personal growth, and the recommendations that are seen as critical for future bilingual teachers who may not share the same culture of our students. I posed the scenario that perhaps the participants' voices would be influential if this study were to be
read by other educators; Latino and non Latino colleagues, administrators, college professors, and future bilingual teachers. If we could say something to all these other people in education, what should they know about the experience of the Euro American bilingual teacher? This question was addressed in all phases of the study; the written reflections, the dialogues and the phone contacts with the participants. The participants' response is evident in the findings thus far, but additional space is reserved for statements that are particularly directed to this question.

Final reflections are a result of the later dialogues, where the participants had some time to reflect and arrive at new awarenesses of their work in bilingual education. Each one of the participants were unique in their final analysis of the study and what it has meant for them.

## Participants' Recommendations for Action

The participants spoke specifically to the actions they would like to see occur in their schools, among their co-workers, and also actions upon the study itself. Some of the recommendations for action are self-fulfilling as a result of personal transformation, others are a direct message to others to listen to their message. For most of the participants, this study has opened up a dialogue that they would like to see continued, in one form or another.

Elizabeth from the beginning stated that it was important to continue meeting and to bring this dialogue to the attention of administrators and fellow teachers:

This shouldn't be the end, we're starting this as a nucleus, maybe as a way to give support, so we don't feel as if we're divided and separated. ... We've got people to talk to that understand where we're coming from and what our thoughts are and what's happening.

She later added:
I'd like us to meet at CABE and I'd like to receive an update on Peggy's project. I want to read her whole work when it is completed. I'd like other people in my district to read it, too.

The participants' belief in the importance of this project has given the researcher impetus and motivation for bringing the study to closure, so that the next steps can begin. Ryan also perceives the need for a study that deals with the Euro American bilingual educator, and a need for dialogue between White and non-White educators:

I would like to see a written, published analysis of the opinions and experiences of Euro American teachers in bilingual settings. I would like for non-whites to read it and enter a dialogue as equals.

He has continuously stressed that, "an important thing to be talking about is that more and more of the teaching profession is European American", and that, "There is more to us than just an oppressor; a dominator." Ryan would like to see that White educators "be treated fairly, honestly and as individuals."

During our last conversation over the phone, Ryan expressed that the bilingual teacher should be careful not to become isolated, and that there are ways of finding support, as he has in his graduate school classes. He felt that through this study he has become aware of the implications for future bilingual teachers in the areas of language, cultural sensitivity, the need for networking, and for ongoing support from mentors. The school principal, he added is a key figure to support the bilingual teacher.

Victoria's message speaks directly to the need for support, and ways to find that support. In an early dialogue she described:

You can get frustrated when you start spiraling down, when you start saying, "Yeah, well that doesn't work, and I'll tell you another thing that doesn't work", and then someone else can tell you a third thing
that doesn't work. ... I've figured out that I work with somebody who's interested and willing to move forward a little bit. So I forget the negative person, and I ignore the nay-sayer and I don't spend a lot of negative energy worrying about somebody who is not interested. But I focus on the person around me whom I can network with, that I can get ideas from, even if it's in the next school. I've had to do that for a while, and this year I've had wonderful support and networking from two young Latino teachers, and that has made a great difference. The science teacher and I were able to keep plugging along from February to May, and we finally got a bilingual biology class. I didn't keep haranguing the person who wasn't interested. I skirted that person and I made an alliance with the person that I knew was going to support the need for a lab science class.

When I was able to catch her for a few minutes at the CABE (California Association for Bilingual Education) conference she wanted to make sure that this message was emphasized, how to find support, as her contribution to the study.

She stated that our colleagues see Euro American bilingual teachers, "as conduits from the monolingual culture; they have a respectful attitude and see us as humanists." She added that, "It's really important that we don't force people to take ELD (English Language Development) classes when they don't want to. It's a very negative experience for all."

This left the me with some questions about how these issues were experienced by her, and how her beliefs compared to the other participants, however, a final taped dialogue was never made.

Toni's call for action addresses the need for the issues of the Euro American bilingual educator to be discussed at conferences, "so that nonHispanic and Hispanic teachers can be helped to accept and honor their own cultures as well as each other's". She felt it was important for readers to know that:

Anglo bilingual educators vary in their own culture and history as much as anyone else. Administrators and other staff need to know that we are each individuals and that our desire to teach in a bilingual
program may have many motives, from the "I need a job", to the dedication of the teacher who has the elimination of oppression as a goal.

As someone who has confronted her own issues on ethnic and cultural identity, she feels that the process of self-examination is an important action for future teachers to take. Her reflection at the beginning of this section seems to speak for all the participants, who implied in many ways that their charge as bilingual educators is a serious commitment, and can never be taken lightly.

Rebecca, in particular, as a relatively new teacher, has been questioning her role and finds that the dialogue among the participants has helped her to understand who she is:

This dialogue is helping me understand who I am as an individual working between two cultures. I am working out within myself the validity of my position. Would it be better for me to work in a regular classroom and leave the bilingual positions for Hispanics?

She added her own recommendation for action:
I would like to explain to Hispanic bilingual educators some of the difficulties we encounter and the need for support and understanding between the Hispanic and Anglo bilingual educators. I would like my principal to understand the need for the bilingual teachers at our school to have the professional support of conferences like C.A.B.E.
"When I look at the enormity of what I don't know", she added, she tries to remember the words of encouragement that she gives her own students, "Don't give up".

Dick was looking for an outcome of the study that was more concrete, and asked specifically how an action plan was to materialize. He had several recommendations for other educators to consider, as well as some thoughts on continuing the dialogue:

I would like to stay in touch and see what you do with this information. I want to see what transformative effect it might have on
others. I would be interested to hear of success that others have in confronting some of the issues mentioned in the group - how did they reach that success?

He would specifically like administrators to know that the bilingual educator does not have all the answers, and that the education of Latino English Language Learners is an opportunity and a responsibility of everyone in the school. Hiring Hispanic teachers is important, because the Euro American bilingual teacher is not truly bicultural. Dick continues:

Yes, we do have certain knowledge and sensitivity that comes from working with Latino populations, but we did not grow up Latino, nor did most of us even work in the fields, or make tamales, nor were we subject to racial discrimination.

He added that he will not support or tolerate district policies that are unjust or not in the best interest of Latino/minority students, or any students.

To the Latino educator, Dick conveyed a desire to work together as he strongly identifies with their cause. He is there to support them, not to criticize. He feels an urgency to know how the Euro American bilingual educator is viewed by Latinos, and that there should be a genuine effort to learn from each other. He also feels that he has a right to "express a difference of opinion as a human being - not as an Anglo, and that does not make me racist".

To the non-Hispanic educator, Dick expressed that there are many good teachers out there who may feel frustrated, but to be patient:

It's not their fault if progress is slow or tears of frustration are shed. The caring is what makes the difference. ... Celebrating the culture of their students can do so much for self image.

Dick feels that teacher trainers should recruit Latino students and focus on hands on community involvement projects. He warns them, "Don't avoid politics - teaching is not objective and especially not bilingual
education. Incorporate multiculturalism everywhere." Dick adds later in a letter:

As to what to do about racism in education - EDUCATE! Let me know if you get an answer to this question. I think all anyone can do is be an example of what an open, caring, sensitive person should be. Don't tolerate racist attitudes or actions in your classes or your personal life. It's like the 100th monkey effect, if enough people stop tolerating racist attitudes, others will follow suit. In the meantime, we must keep fighting and being an example for our students and other community members.

Nancy Jean reiterates the same message as an educator of pre-service teachers. She has often needed to confront resistance to participate from educators who are being forced to take classes that will certify them to work with students who are learning English. She spells out the reasons for teachers to learn how to speak with authority on the needs of language minority students:

Now I can stand here in front of you people and I can go on and on and on. And I can go listen to Stephen Krashen, and I can say, "Wow, that's great!" But how is that going to help me articulate the need for kids? How is that going to help me fight for them? And I can stand up here and say it very well for you, but how is that going to help you do the test? And to be an ally? What this training is about is for you to become good allies for language minority students and you're not going to be a good ally unless you can articulate it. And you're not going to articulate it unless you practice talking about it. So that's where we're at.

It is hoped that the messages from the participants will be read, shared and recommended to other educators to be incorporated into their action plans as they deal in bilingual education. It is difficult to imagine that given the increase in enrollment figures of students learning English, and the demand for bilingual educators, that one could not see how these issues would apply to them.

## Final Reflections of the Participants

"I feel more confident in what I am doing." (Dick)

The final reflections of the participants are by no means final, only the ending of one chapter as the culmination of our efforts working together. Every time a follow-up phone call was made during the writing of the findings, there was another story, a realization, and further insights into the participatory process. The following selections do not have a particular sequence, but represent some of the thoughts and final notes that stayed with the researcher as a last reflection from the participants in the study.

In our last discussion, Dick was becoming more reflective about his political activism, and was taking a closer look at where he is being most effective. He shared his disappointment that some of his Chicano colleagues, whom he had expected to join him in his efforts, were disappointing him: "people who are putting in time and energy are not the people who I wish were doing it". He was, however, putting his experience in Oaxaca to good use:

The experience in Oaxaca has most definitely shown me the extent to which Latino students can achieve and excel. I think that the immersion in Mexican culture was extremely beneficial to me. Again, as an Anglo teacher, I need person to person experience with the culture I am working with to understand my students and to have attainable and realistic expectation. The Libros y Familias program is also giving me a lot of exposure to parents, families and home situations. This exposure makes me feel much more comfortable and aware of the community that I am dealing with. I feel less of a stranger to the parents and I start to feel that they really appreciate the efforts I am making to help them and their children. I feel more confident in what I am doing.

Rebecca's contributions to the study have been incorporated mostly within chapters Four and Five, however her strong convictions to Christianity have yet to be shared. It becomes appropriate at this point to raise this as a springboard for later themes on which some of us have continued to dialogue. She stated in her written reflections:

I see cultures as part of the richness of God's creation. The separation and fears that we feel when confronted with another culture is the natural human reaction. Change is never easy. Christ is the perfect example of someone bringing change into a culture which valued tradition over all else. He set an example of a transformative educator which I try to follow.

This open desire to follow one's religious convictions can be contrasted to Toni and I, who, in our later discussions were becoming concerned that an expression of our culture, the dominant Euro American culture, was being manifested in a "mission", as in our daily work with Latino students. The concept of a teacher as a "missionary" reminded us of the legacy of early colonizers in the "new world", who went to other countries to "rescue" people by converting them into Christians. We are pondering the implication of this for all Euro American educators who see their "mission" as one of entering minority communities with a purpose to "save" them from their oppression.

This disturbing new awareness came about after she visited one of my doctoral classes at the University of San Francisco, in which a comment by an African American student was directed at White educators during a discussion. White educators were asked why they are so preoccupied with "saving" the "little minority communities" when they actually should be working to liberate their own communities. Toni was visibly shaken by this question, feeling guilty and shameful. She wrote me a letter stating:

I am still digesting my response to Jasmine's comments in your class. It had such an overwhelming effect on me; I remain in disequilibrium. I am grateful to her for posing the question, and am feeling more and more justified in my work as I examine what I do and why.

For Toni, this problem underscores the need for Euro American bilingual educators to come to terms with their own cultural "baggage" as a part of their preparation to work in multicultural classrooms. Her comments during a late night visit last November are reflective of her daily struggle with White heritage:

You can't wash off your freckles. The most difficult thing is to be who you are and with a compassion and understanding for the oppressed, fight the systems and the oppressive practices perpetuated by your own culture. It involves claiming your heritage, but taking responsibility for who you are now.

Ryan, also, reflected later that his Catholic heritage has influenced his life. However, instead of perceiving his religious background as a factor in pursuing a "mission", he sees it as a common theme that has helped him to bond with the Latino cultures of his students. His later reflections were more concerned about opposing philosophies and ideals among his colleagues, as he commented in a letter:

I've been thinking about our discussion with Dick about acceptance. I think my lack of acceptance in my current department has more to do with age differences and philosophy more than with ethnicity.

Ryan's voice has continued to enrich this study, as he also responded to the findings of this study with the following reflections on his work in bilingual education. He has understood well, the double standard of learning a second language in America:

I think that many people are in favor of white students becoming fluent in a foreign language, while students who already speak a second language are not encouraged or supported to maintain it. ... My family and friends and teachers really encouraged and supported me to
learn Spanish. Now I am a bilingual teacher in an area where children start school speaking Spanish and are forced to forget it.

He also pointed out that the more successful bilingual programs include English speakers in a dual immersion model where both language groups learn and maintain a second language. When the dominant culture benefits, bilingual education may have more validity.

Because he is gay, Ryan offers additional insights into how issues of oppression and discrimination fit into his work:

Although I have a privileged status as a middle class white male in this society, I have also experienced oppression and discrimination because of my own (middle class white male) community, so living and working in another community is inevitable. My experience in people of color communities have helped me understand my own oppression. ... Many people in the Latino community view homosexuality differently than we do. Some think that homosexuality is more prevalent in white society, and is not an area of concern for bilingual educators. There are, however, gay and lesbian Latinos in our schools who are suffering. It is essential for all schools and bilingual programs to take on gay and lesbian issues.

In our last dialogues, we were both coming to realize that one's experiences working with oppressed communities makes a more progressive educator. As we discussed the liberatory nature of our positions as "Minority Whites" or Euro American bilingual educators that work amidst many opposing forces, we both came to the conclusion that our experiences have put us out in the front lines of change. This concept is further developed in the reflections of the researcher.

## CHAPTER VI

# SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS, RECOMMENDATIONS, AND REFLECTIONS 

## Summary

The purpose of this study was to investigate the perspectives of Euro American bilingual teachers who work with Spanish speaking Latino students. The research questions were designed to explore common issues relating to cultural identity, background experiences, pedagogical orientations, attitudes, and personal qualities to enable the participants to describe their experiences in a meaningful context. It was the intent of the study to identify elements in the Euro American bilingual teaching experience that could contribute to their potentials for success.

The study utilized a participatory research design that included teachers of kindergarten through high school. Of the seven participants, six reside in different regions of California and one lives in Oregon.

The dialogic, reflective process used in the study allowed for the emergence of a multitude of themes relating to the nature of the participants' work. The major themes were identified as: (a) common backgrounds; (b) living with white heritage; (c) the realities of the Euro American bilingual teacher: issues of culture, power and pedagogy; and (d) critical knowledge that empowers the Euro American bilingual teacher. Within each major theme, several sub themes emerged. The participants' experience was examined in its political, cultural, and pedagogical contexts, as each reflected upon personal experiences that have influenced their teaching practices.

The topic of this study was viewed as one of particular importance, considering the lack of information and data found on the topic. At the time the research was conducted, the review of the literature unearthed no evidence that this topic had been addressed by any known author. Furthermore, the participants realized an opportunity to voice their perspectives and feelings on issues that were unique to them, as members of the dominant English speaking culture. Each has overcome various challenges to become bilingual and inter culturally sensitive. The participants, while continuing to work in the field, see their vocation as embedded with controversy. The social controversy adds a dimension to this study which is profound. The results of this research has implications for all Euro American teachers, pre-service teachers, bilingual teachers, and administrators who work with or anticipate working with Spanish speaking Latino students in grades K-12.

The study was conducted over a period of approximately nine months. It was initiated during a two week "Seminar on Transformative Literacy" for bilingual educators conducted in Teotitlán del Valle, in Oaxaca, Mexico, in July of 1995, and concluded in January, 1996 at the California Association for Bilingual Education (CABE) Conference in San Jose, California.

Preliminary dialogues in Oaxaca became a springboard for ongoing dialogues during this research. The contacts and correspondence between the researcher and the participants produced taped dialogues, written reflections, letters, phone dialogues, and electronic mail correspondence. At the CABE Conference in January of 1996, the participants reunited and conducted follow-up dialogues that produced meaningful results. The findings were analyzed with the participants during the conference and continued through the ensuing months, as needed.

The researcher's role was employed as a facilitator and a participant who is also a Euro American bilingual teacher, working with middle school students in a bilingual classroom when the study was conducted. This study includes the researcher's experiences, as a voice among the participants.

## Conclusions

## Results of the Study

The following conclusions are organized as they address the major research questions. The research question is identified and followed by the findings:

1. What are the goals of Euro American bilingual teachers who are working with Latino English language learners, as they relate to successful teaching in bilingual classrooms?

The questions for dialogue that were posed to clarify this question addressed the pedagogies and practices that the participants engaged in for student achievement. The findings, however, represented personal goals as well as pedagogical goals of Euro American bilingual teachers who participated in this study.

These personal and professional goals are integrated into all the themes that were generated among the participants. It was concluded that the goals of the participants were those areas in which the strongest desires for growth were expressed. These can be organized into four areas: (a) the need for gaining acceptance; by others and within themselves; (b) the need to
continue developing skill in (Spanish) language and cultural proficiency; (c) the need to question the dominant paradigms found in traditional practices and improve teaching methods through innovative and organic approaches; and (d) the need to make meaningful connections within the Latino communities in which they work.

Through the discussions and reflections relating to cultural identity, one of the key findings emerged as an issue that continuously confronts the Euro American educator who works with language minority students. As it is evident that they do not belong to what is termed an ethnic minority in the United States, the participants were cognizant and extremely self-conscious of the fact that they represent the dominant culture to their students and Latino colleagues with whom they work. Therefore, they expressed that an important goal for them is to be accepted as human beings; for their personal qualities and philosophies, rather than being lumped into a general category of "Americans" or "Whites" which, to them have some negative and questionable connotations.

The participants primarily seek acceptance within the communities in which they teach, and within the school structures, but they also wish to be able to accept their own cultural identity without feeling shame and embarrassment. They propose that through dialogue and mutual, open communication, among themselves and the different groups with whom they work, the terms of acceptance can be explored, and trust can be established.

As Euro Americans, the participants were constantly aware that Spanish is not their native language, and that they are not bicultural. They expressed that an ongoing process for them to become better bilingual teachers was to continue to develop higher levels of Spanish language
proficiency and continue to learn the less visible cultural codes and ways of behaving within the context of the Latino cultures in which they work. They often felt that they were left to teach without support from administrators, and that their needs for continuing development were not understood, as they are the assumed "experts" in their field. Therefore, they particularly wanted to communicate that they are bilingual but not bicultural, hence, they need more opportunities to become more culturally knowledgeable, so that they could function better in what some referred to as their "second culture".

Another concern of the participants as they relate to their goals is the need to change from the traditional, authoritarian approaches towards a more critical constructivist approach that embraces the students own experiences into the curriculum. One of the greatest challenges met by the bilingual teacher is that of resistance to changing the dominant paradigm of the Eurocentric curriculum, which was perceived as inhibiting students from succeeding.

The participants in this study had at different levels implemented innovative, organic, and constructivist pedagogies that challenged the traditional mold, and allowed more opportunities for students to achieve. This arose from the discovery that their students were not achieving using traditional approaches. For Victoria, it meant accessing technology, for Ryan it was helping students claim ownership into school systems by finding avenues to promote and use their own language, and for Elizabeth it meant getting Spanish language books into the hands of students and their parents through whatever means she could, even though school money was not being spent on Spanish materials. The participants stated that a goal for them is to continue to seek ways to improve their teaching methods so that their students could achieve.

Lastly, a common goal that was expressed by the participants was to establish meaningful connections between the Spanish speaking parents and the school. They had all made a commitment to improving their Spanish and cultural literacy skills so that they could better communicate with parents. Through this study, it has become apparent that when the participants felt they had achieved a personal connection with the family, their students were achieving. They felt that it was essential, therefore, to listen to the parents, open a dialogue, and to facilitate the Spanish speaking family's participation in school.
2. How does background experience contribute to the way these teachers work with students from Latino cultures?

It was not difficult to find common experiences in the participants' backgrounds that they felt contributed to their success working with students. These experiences were: Spanish language acquisition and cross cultural experiences, a strong desire to remedy oppressive conditions for Spanish speaking students, and appreciation: making a difference.

A relatively obvious common experience that emerged from the study was the acquisition of the Spanish language and gaining cross cultural experiences through living and working within Latino communities, either outside or within the United States. The participants who had extensive experience living in Spanish speaking cultures outside of the United States stated that these experiences are what have given them the most valuable insights as they relate to their abilities to connect with Spanish speaking students and their families.

It was found that all the participants have come into the field of bilingual education with a strong desire to remedy oppressive conditions in
schools that affect Spanish speaking children and their families. This has fueled a continuous passion to create change within their classrooms and within the school structures that would afford their students greater opportunities for success. Associated with this theme of altruism was the participants' disclosure of strong moral influences in their backgrounds, shared either implicitly or explicitly, that had contributed to a social conscience, a strong foundation of values and a sense of compassion that they all shared.

This latter finding was not expected, but it surfaced in later reflections and was revisited in many contexts of the dialogue. It particularly led Toni and the researcher into further questioning; to what extent is the nature of our work a possible manifestation of a European American, moral tradition? It seems appropriate to attribute the desire to serve and make a contribution to humanity to the ethics of a Christian culture. It also embodies the philosophies of Freire (1970; 1986), as an action of a critical pedagogy that questions and seeks to change the conditions that oppress humanity. Freire was strongly influenced by his Catholic background. As an educator, one has to leave these questions for interpretation by the individual, as $s /$ he reflects upon his/her own personal orientation towards education, either as a sense of "mission", or as an act of social reconstruction.

A final experience that was shared by the participants that encouraged them to be in the field of bilingual education was feeling appreciated by their students and the communities in which they work. Because of this, they felt that they could make a difference for their students, which was identified as an intrinsic reward of teaching Latino students.
3. How do attitudes about culture translate into practices of a teacher working with Latino students?

The participants' views on culture were interwoven throughout the dialogues. They expressed a heightened awareness of cultural differences that evolved through their experiences moving between Spanish and English speaking communities. This was not always comfortable, as some perceived aspects of domination by the English speaking culture that conflict with their own personal beliefs of social democracy. Through ongoing reflection on their own cultural traditions, they were, however, able to recognize and embrace aspects of their culture that were positive, and that they could claim as their own. It was perceived as important that Latino students learn the codes and practices of the dominant culture in order to become successful in school, and to gain appreciation for and function in the English speaking American society.

Their views on Latino cultures were expressed as respect, compassion, and appreciation for learning in two languages. The participants embraced the Spanish language, and the Mexican and other Latino traditions that they have learned through their connections with students and their families. They have actively sought ways to preserve and support those traditions and customs that are practiced within the community.

Through the participants' own experiences learning a new language and the customs of a culture that is different from their own, they expressed a sensitivity and appreciation for the difficulties encountered by students who are learning English. In this respect they felt that their perceptions about culture were very different from the majority of their English speaking peers.

The participants value and promote bilingualism, and perceive cultural diversity as an asset. They felt that are many, however, who
perceive that being a speaker of a language other than English is a deficit. They were concerned that too few of their monolingual colleagues and administrators understood and valued the process of second language acquisition, and the cognitive and social benefits of bilingualism. They compared these limited views based on a lack of knowledge to a "monolinguistic ignorance" which effectively translates into intolerance for other languages.

For some, their daily experience involved defending and fighting a negative image of bilingual education. Ignorance and insensitivity by their monolingual peers were credited as being responsible for perpetuating misinformation about bilingual education.
4. How do Euro American bilingual teachers deal with their own cultural identity in the context of a multicultural setting?

As stated earlier, cultural identity witin the Euro American bilingual teaching experience emerged as a predominantly dissonant undercurrent and unresolved dilemma that affects their daily practice. It emerged as a constant struggle for the majority of the teachers in this study to somehow find harmony between what they do and who they are, as perceived by themselves and as perceived by others.

The dialogues produced tensions about their own White heritage, which contradicts their perspectives of who they are as human beings. Although they had internalized, or adopted another culture, each expressed that they would never be bicultural. At the same time, they were not willing to claim that they were monocultural.

The daily realities and lived experiences which enabled each to see their own dominant culture, have also prompted the surfacing of a better
understanding of racism, classism and privilege that was prevalent within their own upbringings. As discussed in the Chapter Two, acknowledging White privilege has not been a common trend among European Americans. For the Euro American educator to see the invisible power associated with being White and English speaking is an ongoing, introspective process, on which the participants had much to share.

Many of the participants expressed shame of being associated with the "American" culture, and some even mentioned that they wish their skin were a different color, so they would not be constantly cast into a stereotypical association with the oppressor of ethnic minorities. There were positive associations made with individual ethnic identities and family roots, but these seemed to be overshadowed by a need to disclaim their association with the dominant culture.

This research question became a catalyst that sparked a dynamic response and aroused the participants to become a part of this study; they wanted to dispel the misperceptions about who they are and state their desire to bring the different cultural groups together in a dialogue. They also wanted to define new terms for themselves that would more accurately represent who they are.

The group identified with a "White minority" in reference to their orientation to the dominant culture. Individual ethnic identities were mixed and varied among the participants. For purposes of this study, all agreed that the term Euro American bilingual educator was most appropriate in describing their identity in a multicultural context. It remains to be further explored, other terminology that will expand the definitions that they accept for themselves.

It was concluded that dealing with their own cultural identity would be an ongoing process for the participants. They recommended that all Euro Americans, in order to prepare themselves for the many potential values laden issues that present themselves when working in a multicultural context, would need to take a close look at their own White heritage before becoming bilingual teachers.
5. What is the potential, i.e. what kinds of actions does the Euro American bilingual educator need to consider in order to reconstruct their experience into a liberatory, transformational one?

The participants' reflections upon issues of culture, power, and pedagogy in their daily realities brought to surface the necessary actions that they were already considering and would need to take after the conclusion of this study. Some of these responses were described in the participants' recommendations for action and final reflections. The process of generating themes for dialogue, and discovering the knowledge that emerged from all the previous research questions, constitutes the potential actions that each individual will need to consider for creating meaningful praxis in their roles as Euro American bilingual educators.

As the participants discovered their own strengths and successes they were already experiencing in their practices, new knowledge about their roles as Euro American bilingual educators and potentials for liberatory, transformational experiences began to emerge.

A Border Pedagogy is a concept that was explored in the earlier chapters. It is based upon the arguments posed by critical theorists who were consulted in the Review of the Literature (Banks, 1995; Darder, 1993a; Freire, 1994; Gay, 1993; Giroux, 1993; Poplin, 1991a; Walsh, 1995) and has offered a theoretical framework for this study. I will present the conclusions to this last
research question within the context of a Border Pedagogy, as outlined in the next section, and includes recommendations for action. This section offers the findings on the successes, potential roles, and steps for action that the participants have considered as a result of this study.

## Defining Terms for a Euro American Border Pedagogy:

Recommendations for Action

## The Role of the Euro American Bilingual Teacher

Having skills that are much needed in today's classrooms and being uniquely situated between two cultures has caused the participants in this study to confront ongoing political, cultural, and pedagogical challenges. These challenges have not been tackled easily, and have not been overcome without a constant process of re-evaluating their own cultural orientations. They have had to develop new tools, to grow and push their competencies. As the participants reflected upon the liberatory nature of their positions as "minority Whites" who work among many opposing forces, it was concluded that through these challenges they can see their potential for being in the front lines of change.

The participants see their roles and potentials as "border crossers" being fulfilled in the following actions:

1. Serving as a bridge between the Spanish and English speaking communities through cultural work in both communities:

Increasing awareness and sensitivity among school staff of other cultural perspectives,

Investigating the issues of inequity surrounding language and literacy that are caused by hegemonic structures in schools,

Acknowleding both formal language and the language used in the community as valid for vehicles in preserving and valuing cultural diversity, and

Using one's cross cultural experiences as an asset to establish meaningful connections with the communities.
2. Challenging the structures that perpetuate transmissive, authoritarian, and ethnocentric approaches to teaching.

Advocating for Spanish speaking students' access to core and enrichment programs where they can achieve high levels of academic performance and dispel the stigma of "remedial" and "deficit" that are too often associated with bilingual education,

Educating their monolingual peers on second language acquisition,

Reflecting on one's own practices in the classroom and how they may either perpetuate inequitable structures or contribute to changing those inequities, thereby empowering students,

Rethinking one's own ethnic "baggage", and
Breaking down barriers through open dialogue. Learning from each other through a willingness to surrender power.
3. Working from an established base of support to create changes within the system:

Understanding the school principal as a key agent in gaining support, and influencing programs for students,

Networking with other educators who share common goals to collectively achieve change,

Using innovative approaches to move around bureaucratic obstacles that may exist, such as lack of funding.

## Rethinking Whiteness

The concept of White privilege, as described by some (Keating, 1995; McIntosh, 1988) was an issue discussed among the participants. It is believed that as a result of this study, the awareness of privilege was quite present, and it's manifestation was articulated through the participants' feelings of shame and tension about their cultural heritage. The process of exploring this concept has remained open, as have the painful discoveries associated with this process. The dialogue must continue in order for the participants to continue to evolve greater understanding and acceptance of their place as White educators in bilingual education.

The findings of this study based upon the participants' reflections imply that the Euro American bilingual teacher needs to fully understand their ethnic identity, and be able to deal with their heritage. The participants shared that some Whites reject their culture and hope to identify with the Latino or another culture that is not their culture of heritage. It was concluded that one needs to come to terms with their ethnic heritage, and be able to find pride in who they are.

Too often White people who are doing good things are the objects of misdirected anger, which makes them feel guilty as experienced by the participants in this study. In order to survive as bilingual teachers, White educators must learn to understand this anger, understand themselves well, and not take on the guilt. White people who reject their culture and put down people from their own culture are living an unhealthy attitude, and as

Ryan emphasized, they do not help the cause for social justice. It is not healthy to live with guilt. Future Euro American bilingual teachers should closely examine their motivations for working within Latino cultures.

Of course, it is essential that bilingual teachers embrace and respect the cultures of their students, and they will need to recognize and challenge oppressive practices of the dominant culture. However, as elaborated in the works of Freire (1986), a tendency to react and operate at the opposite extreme is not a practice of liberatory education. To shame and deny one's own cultural background, will only perpetuate one's own internalized oppressor and prevent one from fulfilling one's human potentials.

## Exploring Alternatives in Two Cultures

An important difference is beginning to take form between being bicultural and having "adopted" a culture, as experienced by the participants in this study. These teachers who have had the choice of being in one culture or another, cannot claim to be bicultural in the same way as someone who has had a second culture imposed upon their native culture. Most people of subordinate cultural groups have experienced this cultural imposition through the schooling process in the United States. The outcomes are not always additive or enriching, because, as defined by Darder, "...students from subordinate groups must interact within societal structures that consistently produce varying levels of cultural conflict and dissonance" (Darder \& Upshur, 1992). The conflict is often reconciled by the rejection of certain norms and practices of their own culture in order to be accepted by the dominant culture.

On the other hand, the Euro American bilingual participants have become enriched with a new culture being added to their mother culture, but not at the expense of losing their first culture. This form of having two cultures is distinct in the fact that it is the experience of enriching one's first culture with another, by adopting and internalizing another culture through conscious choice, without risking the loss of one's mother culture. It could be compared to the choice some people make to go camping and endure rough and primitive living conditions, knowing that they do not have to live with these conditions every day of their lives. This experience will enrich their lives, and is not a condition for them to survive. Other people choose to physically push their limits, through exercize and "work-outs", but they do not have to endure extreme physical labor to the point of exhaustion, as with many of the subordinate classes.

Being situated in a position of privilege allows many European Americans the luxury of choosing different cultural and worldly experiences while retaining their position in the dominant society. They do not have to compromise their own culture to become successful because theirs is the culture in which one must proficiently operate in order to achieve that success.

Having two cultures has its tensions, as the participants have described issues of not being accepted, and feeling excluded from their second culture. It means not sharing biculturalism in the same way that their Mexican American colleagues do, not being of their culture. Nor can they ever return to their first culture with the same eyes, as they have pushed the boundaries open to a new existence. They have become border crossers.

Finally, having access to two cultures, the Euro American educator who becomes a border crosser has responsibility. The knowledge one holds
from both worlds is very valuable, not only to those who they serve from the Latino community, but to their own community of Euro Americans, who are embarrassingly limited in their world view, owing to a heritage of English colonialism and ethnocentric traditions. (And in California and the Southwest, it is appalling to me that although this region was colonized by Spain, a denial of our Spanish heritage prevails.)

It is the responsibility for the Euro American bilingual teacher to become the cultural workers whose job it is to break down the stereotypes, illusions, and misunderstandings that exist between people of different languages. Through their actions in schools and through critical dialogue among their peers, their students and their communities, the goals of mutual understanding and respect for each other may be attained. This kind of work is very necessary if we want to build alliances for a more harmonious world. And because they have choice, they have power. As Rebecca experienced, they can choose to cross borders or they can return to their comfortable worlds of privilege, and not participate in their second culture.

The participants shared that progress in their work has come out of several hard earned lessons about who they were as White teachers, what their strengths were and where their limitations existed. They realized that their work was infinitely more challenging than that of the English only classroom teacher, and that they were often not appreciated or understood. They would always have to be engaged in political controversy and always need to fight for and defend their programs. Their experiences have demanded that they continuously improve and re-examine their motives for teaching in bilingual classrooms.

An overarching finding of this study, and stated in the beginning of the preliminary findings, was that all the participants made a conscious choice to
become bilingual teachers and they felt that their jobs were of extreme importance in society. This alone proclaims the empowerment of choice and the commitment to step across borders.

## Transformative Versus Transmissive Approaches to Teaching:

## Implications for the Euro American Bilingual Teacher

In contrast, the traditional teacher is always in charge from beginning to end. His or her authority is fixed at an unchanging distance from the students. This authority must be fixed so that the programmed curriculum all the way from Lesson $A$ to Lesson $Z$ can be implemented on schedule, by virtue of the teacher's initiative. The fixed authority of the teacher here interferes with the students' own critical emergence. The teacher is empowered to be active, while students are made reactive.

But look, Ira, for me the question is not for the teacher to have less and less authority. The issue is that the democratic teacher never, never transforms authority into authoritarianism (Shor \& Freire, 1987, pp. 9091).

A border pedagogy for White bilingual educators must include a conscious effort to rethink student-teacher relationships to find ways that are more culturally appropriate and humane. This involves preparing themselves by learning the language and culture of their students as a way of gaining respect and credibility, and thereby a position of authority among their students. Rebecca and Elizabeth shared concerns about unprepared teachers being dropped into bilingual classrooms, and being left to "sink or swim" in much the same way that English Language Learners have experienced in mainstream English only classrooms. This has caused an erosion of authority and loss of credibility with their students.

As shared in the findings of this study, teachers will resort to oppressive practices when they fear that they have lost control, and authority. This leads to authoritarianism, which as described by Freire (Shor \& Freire, 1987), is anti-dialogic and causes students to become passive, non-participants and even resistant in the classroom.

A pedagogy that explicitly teaches the cultural codes of both the students and of the dominant society is one that allows for authority to be maintained as an authentic process in which students understand the relevance of what they are learning. This has been identified by researchers (Delpit, 1993; 1995; Giroux, 1993; Nieto, 1992) as well as the participants as essential in critical, constructivist pedagogy. It becomes essential to the practice of a border pedagogy for Euro American bilingual teachers.

## Gaining Administrative Support

It has been identified in a previous study, (Bernard, 1991) and by the participants that the school principal is a key player in the success of bilingual programs. Several elements can cause failure, and poor administrative decisions affecting bilingual programs can be disastrous.

The problems today that face administrators; tight budgets, political pressures, lack of job security, do not always facilitate easy answers. The school principal must deal with hiring issues, training current teachers, and dealing with negative attitudes among staff. Trying to comply with legal requirements and also implement solid programs seem overwhelming. Principals cannot solve these problems alone, nor can the bilingual teachers.

Bilingual programs that experience success are those which have a broad base of support; from parents, teachers, and administration (Berman, et
al., 1992; Dolson \& Mayer, 1991; Krashen \& Biber, 1988). This stuff must be taken seriously. Administrators cannot afford to be ignorant on second language learning and sound program designs for successful bilingual programs.

There is a strong implication and rationale for administrators themselves to become certified bilingual administrators if they are to become responsibly involved with their clientele. Their duties require them to facilitate meetings with the parents and community, which is increasingly a Spanish speaking population, they must know how to evaluate teachers skills in two languages to promote good teaching, and they must connect with the students if they are to maintain meaningful relationships at their schools.

It was revealing to note that once or twice, Elizabeth and Victoria alluded to the fact that when minority leaders were in positions of power, decisions were made for benefit of minority students. If this were true, then who do we suppose benefits from the decisions made by non-minority administrators? In whose interest are most decisions made?

Bilingual teachers must find ways to work with their principals and other leaders to ensure that all students are being represented in the decision making process. This means that it is not just a responsibility of the school leaders and administrators to learn about the needs of English Language Learners, but teachers also must step outside their four walls in the classroom to become informed and knowledgeable of the institution. They must acknowledge the political nature of their positions and participate in the governing bodies in which decisions are made, such as school board meetings, school site advisory meetings, budget hearings, parent organizations, and other organizations that hold power and influence.

Teachers must not remain ignorant of the educational regulations and
laws that were created to protect and serve all students if they hope to eliminate unjust and inequitable practices. Teachers have a responsiblilty to learn how funds are distributed among and within the schools if they wish to see that some of these funds are used for the benefit of English Language Learners. When teachers ignore or deny their responsibility to become informed, they are abdicating their rights and they lose power. When teachers look beyond the classroom walls and gain knowledge that has traditionally been reserved for the administrators, then they may gain their respect and become more empowered to influence adminstrative decisions

## Recommendations for Teacher Education Programs

These recommendations are intended for teacher preparation programs, however, it also evident that practicing teachers also need ongoing training and support in several areas. The findings among the participants of this study as well as many other studies lead to the conclusion that many bilingual teachers are inadequately prepared for the challenges of teaching in a bilingual/multicultural classroom. It is recommended that the following steps be included in teacher preparation programs, so the beginning bilingual teacher may have more self knowledge and self confidence, more cultural awareness, and a critical understanding of the nature of schooling and the construction of knowledge:

- Teach Critical Pedagogy and the dialogic process as a framework for developing relationships: with students, fellow teachers, with administration, with community. Reflection and critical inquiry is an essential practice that must begin to develop among educators. This
recommendation is also supported in the Review of the Literature and in the works of Ada, (1990), Darder,(1992), Freire, (1970, 1986, 1987, 1990, 1994), Giroux, (1988), Hidlago, (1993), hooks (1993, 1994), McClaren, (1989), Poplin (1991, 1992), and others.
- Use critical reflection as a process in teacher education classes as means of encouraging self-evaluation and understanding oneself. The use of journals, developing active listening skills, peer conferencing, and documenting the learning process. College instructors should be willing to adapt to the needs of students in their classes, with a strong focus on process.
- Offer courses on White Heritage in the Multicultural Classroom. Investigate and research how the Euro American tradition is reflected in curriculum, in the media, and what has been traditionally presented to students as the "norm". Do research on what the Euro American culture means to those who are not Euro American. Dialogue about one's views, one's feelings about race, class, language, and about difference. Ask the hard questions, "What does it mean to be Euro American? What does it mean to be White? What is it like to feel different?" Euro American teachers who are entering multicultural classrooms need to develop a strong sense of where they come from as an ethnic group. Explore issues that relate to these investigations, i.e. What does assimilation mean for them? What are the traditions that have been preserved? How do they perceive language loss in their families? What are the connections with their ancestors and their history?
- Offer classes in Spanish for bilingual pre-service teachers, as they will be needing to develop beyond conversational proficiency. This is relevant for the native speaker, who may not have had formal language instruction, as well as the Spanish as a second language speaker.
- Go outside one's culture - recognize the value of cross cultural experiences and living in a foreign country as a necessary preparation for bilingual teaching. Provide opportunities, or even require that pre-service bilingual teachers who are not from the target culture have a significant experience living among a non-English speaking culture. This may be achieved by:

Offering graduate credits or other incentives for teachers enrolling in programs for language development outside of the country,

Developing a field work seminar in which the preservice teacher would become involved in projects within the Spanish speaking community; this could be working in a Boy's or Girl's Club, a day care facility, a public health clinic, or tutoring in the home of a Spanish speaking family,.

Directing scholarship or other available funds into supporting teachers who enroll in such programs that specifically provide teachers with a cross cultural experience. There are many, but the researcher has direct experience with the Seminar on Transformative Literacy offered through California State University at Stanislaus and the University of California (Berkeley) Research Expeditions Program. The latter has a strong focus on developing science curriculum while practicing in the field with researchers in a Spanish speaking country.

- Integrate a philosophy of multicultural education that is socially reconstructionist into all areas of teacher education programs, including single subject classes such as math and science, as well as regular elementary education credentialing programs.
- Promote opportunities for those coming from non-traditional educational backgrounds, who have the cultural and language backgrounds of language minority students, to have a student teaching experience and obtain certification.


## Recommendations for Further Study

As a result of the findings and implications, of studying the experiences of the Euro American bilingual teacher, the following recommendations are posed for further study:

1. Consider studying children's attitudes about the need to learn another language, and attitudes about other cultures, as affected by language learning and monolingualism
2. Consider the role of Euro American bilingual educators working with students of their own ethnicity in bilingual classrooms
3. A possible finding of this study may indicate that women teachers have an inclination towards helping the women of the Latino cultures with whom they work. It is recommended to further explore the issues of oppression among women as perceived by women bilingual educators. It should also be investigated in terms of exploring differences between men and women teachers, as to what their perceived priorities are for working towards social justice in multicultural classrooms.
4. It was noted that money and power from people in positions of leadership have influence upon the perceived success of bilingual programs. Most of the participants indicated that more Latino leaders are needed to create the necessary structures that insure that the Spanish speaking student has equal opportunities. A study to investigate this premise would be timely and important.
5. Although this was not a theme that was pursued further in dialogue, it would have been interesting to probe further into the response of the teaching profession to the forces of new training and requirements being thrust upon them. Examples might include the California Teacher's Association opposing legislation on training in second language acquisition for certification of experienced teachers. This is especially important when being compared to the scarcity of Latino and other language minority teachers entering the profession, while the trend of White teachers coming into the profession continues. The potential for a major political confrontation is eminent, and comes at the same time of other political forces that determine the future of educating our population of students who are learning English.
6. It was posed by the participants that there is a need for Latino and Euro American bilingual educators to come together in dialogue. They perceived a need to find common ground and understanding so that they may create an alliance that supports their struggles toward common goals in the education of language minority students. This would be an ideal opportunity to conduct a study that might address one of several questions, such as:

How is the effectiveness of Euro American bilingual educators
perceived by Latino educators, and vice versa?

How do Euro American and Latino bilingual educators perceive their ethnic identity as a factor in teaching Spanish speaking students? What are the issues of language that are experienced by Euro American and Latino bilingual educators?

What can Euro American and Latino educators learn from each other through the process of critical dialogue?

On further reflections of the implications of this study, several additional topics might surface and be explored through participatory or other research methods.

## Reflections on the Findings

## Working Within One's Own Community

Does it not seem peculiar, as it must be asked, that the participants did not mention (nor did the researcher guide the dialogue in this direction) the need to help English speaking students become more culturally sensitive, or to become bilingual, or to help them to get along with their fellow students who do not come from the same language or cultural background? Or how about unlearning racism? Don't these students, more than anyone, need the most "fixing" because of the dysfunctional, hegemonic, and unfair system that teaches them to think that it is normal and good for White Americans to occupy more positions of privilege while Mexican Americans, Filipino Americans, African Americans, women and others whose parents are immigrants remain in the lowest levels of society?

How do we concern oursleves with an apparently monolinguistic attitude about language acquisition? Aren't these the children who are, in fact, functionally deficit in their inability to acquire a second or third language before graduating from high school? Are not our own colleagues of teachers, administrators, and college professors who set educational policies for all learners the ones who are at fault for not demanding that all children be taught two or three languages? Why are we not concerned?

Elizabeth is one who said several times in many of her dialogues that all children should be bilingual or tri-lingual. She has grasped how enriched we become from learning from another culture. Those who have not been able to know another culture through the language are the ones that have lost.

It was interesting to note that the need to educate and promote language learning for English speakers did not emerge as a dominant theme among the participants as one of their primary goals for teaching in bilingual classrooms. Again, Elizabeth was the only participant who directly stated that there is a need for all students to develop two or three languages as a part of their education. Toni mentioned in our follow-up review of the transcripts that an area of concern for her was that the English speaking students excel academically in the immersion Spanish bilingual program in her school district, but the Spanish speakers, unfortunately were following behind.

The participants did not see this as a primary concern of theirs, nor was it discussed as a role for them as bilingual teachers. With all the evidence pointing towards the most effective programs being those that offer a two-way bilingual experience in which English students would learn another language (Berman, et al., 1992; Collier \& Thomas, in press; Cummins, in press; Dolson \& Mayer, 1991), it was surprising that this did not surface as an avenue that
would be recommended for success. It was understood by most, that these programs were excellent, however none of them, with the exception of Elizabeth, felt that it was an issue for them. Perhaps that is not seen as one of the roles for bilingual teachers; to advocate for programs in which English speakers would become bilingual biliterate as well as their Spanish speaking peers.

A possible explanation for this finding could be that the I as the researcher did not bring this concept into the dialogue, nor was it a focus of the research to explore ways that bilingual teachers were successful with children of their own ethnic group. I believe it was an unspoken understanding that the participants felt comfortable working with European American students in their classrooms, and that this was not an area in which they felt they needed to improve. What remains a mystery is why second language acquisition for native English speakers was not perceived by most of the participants as a goal for bilingual education.

## The Emancipatory Potentials

## for the Euro American Bilingual Teacher

It wasn't until I was describing to my husband what generative themes are, and which themes were surfacing from this study, that I realized the critical, missing piece of this research. The dialogues had been focusing so much on the issues that we face, and our response to these issues, that we neglected to draw significant connections between our realities and the potentials for true, liberatory practices in our field.

We never directly considered the question, "How does a Euro American Bilingual teacher transform their experience into emancipatory practices?". But when I was explaining to him that for a White educator to be in this field is a constant struggle, which forces us into a praxis of a unique nature as compared to our monolingual colleagues, the realization finally came crashing down upon me that all of us had made a conscious choice to be bilingual teachers. We choose to be here, we want to do this. Somewhere within this constant struggle is the realization that this unique experience (as compared to monolingual, monocultural education) has offered us something more, not ordinary, and it has enriched our lives.

The Euro American bilingual teacher, as evidenced by the experiences of the participants, have pushed through walls, crossed into borderlands and experienced the rewards that only learning another language and opening ourselves to our Spanish speaking communities can bring. We have a wealth of experiences, often humbling, that have helped us to gain deeper insights into teaching and a greater understanding of what education really means today, in the real world.

We are creating new pedagogies in our praxis that will help us to become facilitators, role models and educational leaders in the future. who will not only survive the upheavals of traditional structures and changing demographics, but we will thrive on them, while others may still be left clinging to old views. We have the great potential of defining new roles for ourselves, as we have already adapted and created in our own stories. But the best part of all, is that we are in the extremely advantageous position of consciously choosing to participate in multicultural education, out of love, anticipation and a desire to embrace the diversity in our classrooms. And what better place is there to be; making conscious choices, rather than wishing
that cultural diversity and new realities would simply disappear, as some would like to see happen. That is how this experience has become transformational and liberatory.

## Reflections on the Process

## Insights of the Researcher

Conducting this study has been an enormous undertaking, especially as a full time classroom teacher. Although I was able to take two abbreviated leave periods for the writing of this dissertation, it was indicative of the nature of our profession, that the participants involved in this research, also full time teachers, were very pressed to read, analyze the data, return additional written reflections, and give of their valuable time to this effort. It is understandable, then that it was difficult to get their feedback during the school year. Other than our first meeting in Teotitlán del valle, Mexico, the only other time we met in person for follow-up dialogues was in San Jose for the conference. Most of the contact was maintained over long distance, except with Toni, who lives only an hour's drive from my work in Kelseyville.

It is also with great sacrifice to the six grade students in my classroom, who are coming into an age of new awarenesses and personal struggles, who need quality bilingual instruction, that this research has been completed. They were the ones who endured the ups and downs of their first year at a middle school without the consistent presence of their classroom teacher. I am personally suffering the consequences of surrendering my class to substitute teachers during my absences.

Something also needs to be said about the fact that all of the participants are comfortable in their jobs, their homes and in their neighborhoods. We are not dealing with a community of individuals who have experienced the harsh realities of poverty, violence or abuse. The nature of the dialogues were deeply intellectual, but not dramatically transformative on an emotional, personal level, with the possible exception of Toni. (For her, this has been a very timely experience, and perhaps all she needed was an opportunity to express herself.)

I wonder about the outcome of this. Does a person need to be forced into a position of having their world turned upside down, as in the experience of immigrants or other traumatic events before change can occur? Do Euro American Bilingual teachers need to look more deeply into their sense of security, and where it comes from? Do I need to re-evaluate the focus of this study, and think about developing questions that probe more into the participants personal struggles? Was this the nature of conducting dialogues in the presence of other participants? Perhaps this explains my constant feeling of "needing more" from them, when I really had everything there was for them to give.

## On the Importance of This Study

It has been asked of me, "Why is this study so important? What is the point?" On hearing this, repeatedly after continuous efforts to explain the theoretical and practical applications of this study, I found that my voice rose and my anger surfaced. It was the moment when everything that I had invested into this research was being called to test, and my words and explanations were falling upon deaf ears. At this most intense moment in
dialogue, I was then told that if I am to be an expert in my field, I would need to better articulate my rationale, and make my points better understood.

I guess it might be hard for some to understand how the experience of the Euro American bilingual teacher could be more important than anyone else's experience. That not everyone would immediately see the significance of this study was past my ability to comprehend, but it made me more determined to clearly define my argument. It caused me to reach into my mind to pull out the best way to answer this question. What is the point of this research?

First, the importance is seen in the fact that the majority of teachers in the United States are Euro American, and a growing number of students are not. In fact, the White population in California is now the minority. It is significant and important to understand the process of growth and transformation that these teachers have undergone in order to become more successful and more effective with their students, who come from Spanish speaking Latino backgrounds.

Second, it is important to raise the findings of the research itself. These teachers have a different perspective than those monolingual Euro American teachers who have not had cross cultural experiences. Through the dialogues and analyses of the findings, these teachers have shared a number of ways that their experience is unique. This should be shared. The likelihood that many more teachers will need to learn new ways to teach in order to work successfully with students who are not of their culture is growing every year.

Third, the implications of this study for teacher preparation programs are obvious. There is a continuing need to prepare teachers for work in diverse classrooms, and not enough focus is applied to examining the Euro

American perspective, and how this is translated into teaching practices and school structures. This needs to be constantly re-examined in order to decide which practices are meeting the needs of students. Too often, the assumptions and norms that we live by are ignored when we look at change. The dominant culture needs to be revealed to those who are part of it, and to those who wish to participate in it. If inequitable conditions are brought to light, then we become responsible for eliminating them. We share in the responsibility of eliminating them, in order to make a more socially just world for students in public schools; one in which they can participate.

Lastly, if no one else can understand the significance of this study, if no one can apply what the participants have learned to their own practices, then at least this research was perceived to be extremely important to the participants themselves, and myself as a participant in the research. It was immediately taken up as a topic of importance. The teachers I met in Oaxaca, Mexico were urgent in their response to the research questions, and equally urgent to convey their messages to other educators. Their need to come out and be heard was strong. It became a sort of cathartic experience to express the angers, frustrations and loneliness among others who have shared these experiences. Later, through the catharsis, we began to recognize our strengths and potentials for transforming our realities. Our plan for action is to use this study to continue an ongoing dialogue among our colleagues and other educators.

The participants and I have been able to recognize our issues as valid, through voice and community, we have revealed truths about ourselves and about the conditions in which we operate. Although we did not have identical conditions, we were able to critically analyze our situations and provide support for each other through the process of this research.

## APPENDICES

## INVITATIONTOPARTICIPATE

## Participant

This is a formal invitation requesting your participation in a study entitled "Successful Practices and Behaviors of Euro American Bilingual Teachers Working with Latino Students: A Participatory Study".

In reference to our prior conversations regarding this project, the framework within which we will be operating is the Participatory Research Methodology. Your active participation will include reflection and analysis of our dialogues, and I invite you to add or delete questions that will provide greater insight to the research.

Your wish to remain anonymous will be the highest priority throughout this study. If you request that your name be included in the research, it will be presented to my dissertation committee for approval. At any time during the study, you will have the right to terminate the research process and withdraw all our dialogues.

This Invitation to Participate is requested by:

Peggy Laughlin,
IME Doctoral Student
University of San Francisco

## CONSENT TO PARTICIPATE

I intend to participate in a study entitled, "Successful Practices and Behaviors of Euro American Bilingual Teachers Working with Latino Students: A Participatory Study".

I fully understand that throughout my participation in this study, the dialogues in which I participate with the researcher will be taped and transcribed. I will then be asked to review the transcription and reflect on the information that is generated. This information will then be included, anonymously, in the participatory study.

I fully understand that Margaret C. (Peggy) Laughlin is a doctoral candidate at the University of San Francisco and is conducting this study for her dissertation. This study is in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Education from the Department of International and Multicultural Education within the School of Education.

Print Name: $\qquad$
Address: $\qquad$

Phone:


# Appendix C 

## LETTER TO PARTICIPANTS

Peggy Laughlin 3514 Westlake Dr.<br>Lakeport, CA 95453<br>(707) 263-8423

October 28, 1995
Dear Friends,
It has been some time now that we've been in touch. I have been very busy teaching, but was able to take the month of October as leave time to work on the first part of the dissertation on Anglo bilingual teachers. I have obsessed with this study since July, and am hoping that each of you are also still interested in participating. I have transcribed most of the taped dialogues that we conducted in Oaxaca, and am sending you copies of the ones in which you participated. Since that time, I have been able to work out some additional questions that hopefully clarify or fine tune some of the issues that we discussed together. Some of the dialogue sessions we had in Oaxaca may not have addressed these issues.

Anyway, what I would like to ask each of you to do, is to:

1. Review the transcripts for accuracy. Some parts of conversation were not clear and you may be able to add things. Make notes in the margins. Change and edit any inaccuracies. Add thoughts that you weren't able to say at the moment but would be important to include.
2. Think about the follow-up questions (attached) in terms of your situation right now, and respond in writing, or if you prefer, we can arrange a meeting on the phone that can be recorded. If it is possible, and you think it might enrich this study, please invite a colleague to talk with you about these questions. This might help you to clarify some of your own thoughts. I would like to have your responses back by the beginning of December, (please), so that I can get the results prepared for you before the CABE conference. Enclosed is a stamped envelope for your convenience.
3. Be thinking about how you might like to present the findings of the group, or be involved in an action plan. This stuff is pretty exciting, (just read the transcripts)! It should be presented to other groups, or be published in a journal. Your thoughts and reflections can send a powerful message to policy makers, school boards, community groups, etc..I will be talking to you more specifically about this when the work is closer to completion.

The other important reason for this letter is to check on who will be attending the C.A.B.E. conference in San Jose in January. You must by now have received a letter from Nancy Jean. (Just in case, I have also enclosed a CABE package for you.) As a part of the three hour seminar, she would like us to have some time to present something on the "Anglo bilingual teacher experience", based on our dialogues and experiences in the village of Teotitlán del Valle. What do you think? Hopefully, we will have had some contact by phone by the time you receive this package, and all this will not be a big surprise.

If I can be of any help to anyone to make it easier to attend the conference, please let me know. I'll do whatever I can.

Just one last thing; some of you who wrote to me earlier may have been getting returned mail because the first address that was put on a mailing list of the Oaxaca group was incorrect. I hope you have not all had to deal with this. In any case, please note my address above. It is the correct one.

It's funny, how we came up with such intense interaction during the seminar in Teotitlan, and now we are all doing our teaching in our own worlds. I wonder how this experience has changed us. It will be great to see each other again, and find out where we have progressed since last summer.

I thought it might be helpful to include a short description on the research method we are using, so you can see how radically different participatory research is as compared to traditional research.

Please feel free to call me while you are working on this stuff. Respond mainly to the questions that were not addressed during our taped dialogues, and add any other concerns or questions that might be on your mind. If everyone can get this back to me in early December, I can get a huge portion of the research completed in time to share with you at the CABE conference.

I'm looking forward to seeing you again!

## Methodology

## A Participatory Study Using Dialogic Retrospection

The purpose of this design is to gain an in depth view of teachers' perspectives working with students from Latino communities. I chose the openness of a participatory research model because it does not test a hypothesis, does not look for causal links between particular variables, does not impose a theory, and does not prove a generalization. The research design of this project models the dialogic retrospection process developed by Charles Kieffer. Kieffer's research illuminates the phenomenon of empowerment of individuals working in organizations and the concepts developed by Paulo Freire of empowerment and powerlessness (Freire, 1970). By posing questions in dialogue sessions, the participants will be describing their teaching experience and life experiences that have been contributing factors in being successful as Anglo bilingual teachers.

Questions for the participants will be related to the research questions and designed to engage them in critical, reflective dialogue. The sessions will be tape recorded, transcribed and analyzed for emerging themes. As questions will emerge from the analysis of the first dialogue, a second dialogue session will be conducted to further explore these themes. Participants will have an opportunity to review the transcripts for authenticity and truthfulness.

Good luck with these questions. Please don't worry about the main research questions, they are answered as we complete the study. Just focus on your own experience by answering the dialogue questions (in italics). Tell the stories that are meaningful to you.
$V=$ questions that we talked about in Oaxaca, (you may have already
had enough to say about this)

* = new questions; areas that were not investigated in Oaxaca


## Research Questions

1. What are the perceptions, practices and behaviors demonstrated by Anglo American bilingual teachers that allow for successful teaching of Latino students who are learning English as a second language?

* Why or how are your students successful. Please describe.
* How do you consider that your students are achieving?
*What are you doing in your classroom to help your students achieve?

2. How does background experience contribute to the way these teachers work with students from Latino cultures?
$\checkmark$ How did you come into the field of bilingual education?

* What experiences have helped you relate to and effectively teach your students?
$\checkmark$ From what you have experienced, what do teacher training institutions, administrators, colleagues and Latino educators need to know about the Anglo bilingual teacher working with Latino students?

3. Do attitudes about culture influence the practices of a teacher working with Latino ESL students? How?

* How do you "connect" with the students in your class?
*What qualities do you have that strengthen this connection?
$\checkmark$ Are there aspects about your cultural background that have caused you to feel excluded or limited?
* How have you transcended these limitations ?
* What further insights have you gained about cultural boundaries and teaching Latino children?
* How would you compare your perceptions about culture with the perceptions of your mainstream teaching colleagues?

4. How do white, European American teachers deal with their own ethnic identity in the context of a multicultural setting?
$\checkmark$ How would you describe your cultural and ethnic heritage?

* Do you see yourself as bicultural as well as bilingual?
* What do you perceive to be your role as a white teacher in a multicultural setting?
* How do you overcome racism in education? (big question!)


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[^0]:    * This is an official designation that labels students by a deficit. Students whose mother tongue is not English and who are not fully proficient in English will be referred to in this study as English Language Learners.

[^1]:    * An important celebration of a girl's fifteenth birthday in Mexico and other Spanish speaking countries.
    ${ }_{* * *}^{*}$ Spanish language soap operas, broadcast from Mexican television stations.
    ${ }^{* *}$ Famous Chicana singer who was murdered.

