

UNDERSTANDING THE FACTORS THAT SHAPE LOW-INCOME IMMIGRANT  
STUDENT EXPERIENCE: A CASE STUDY OF AN URBAN PRESCHOOL

by

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ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

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Dr. Alan R. Sadovnik

The purpose of this case study was to describe the factors that shape the experiences of low-income immigrant preschool students of Hispanic or Asian descent. The overarching question was *How do various factors shape preschool experiences of low-income immigrant students of Hispanic and Asian descent?* Two research questions were addressed: (a) How do within-school factors (teacher-student interactions, peer interactions, and classroom culture) shape low-income Hispanic and Asian immigrant students' preschool experiences? and (b) How do outside-of-school factors (families' immigration processes, access and use of social and cultural capital, and culture) shape low-income Hispanic and Asian immigrant students' preschool experiences?

Three Pre-Kindergarten classes in a Head Start program in New Jersey were studied. Each class was studied in entirety: 15 students in Class 2 AM, 15 in Class 2 PM, and 20 in Class 3, along with the classroom teachers. In addition, 12 of the immigrant students were studied in depth (based on parental consent and parental availability to interview). Data were collected through a complex qualitative design consisting of parent and teacher interviews, field observations, the Classroom Assessment Scoring System (CLASS), and the Early Childhood Environmental Rating Scale (ECERS).

Findings indicate that a complex set of within-school and outside-of-school factors (including teacher-student interactions, peer interactions, and classroom culture, families' immigration processes, access and use of social and cultural capital, and culture) shape the experience of low-income immigrant students in preschool. The factors are complex in themselves and they produce complex processes as they interact. For example, parental limited language proficiency limits access to economic capital, which in turn limits access to social and cultural capital, including the family's ability to focus on schoolwork at home. The complexity of each child's story somewhat belied the stereotypes of Asian and Hispanic students. Each student's situation was not dependent on region of origin but rather on a set of these complex factors that interact to shape student realities.

## Dedication

This dissertation is dedicated to my wonderful family – Andrew Maulbeck, Elzbieta Cichon, Andrzej Cichon, Maria Pilat, Edward Pilat, Michal Cichon, Marcin Cichon, Magda Cichon, and the Maulbeck clan. A special thank you to my mother, Elzbieta Cichon, and grandmother, Maria Pilat, who have helped me develop a sense of faith and urgency. I am extremely grateful for their impact on my life, particularly in shaping my worldview, which ultimately allowed for my passion in this line of work to develop. A special thank you to husband, Andrew Maulbeck, whose love, support, and dedication are continuously inspirational to me, fueling my energy to live life to the fullest, as well as to take on all tasks, including this dissertation, with gratitude, patience, and determination.

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## **CHAPTER 1**

### **Introduction**

Three quarters of the nation's immigrants live in one of six states: California, Texas, Illinois, Florida, New York, and New Jersey (Borjas, 1999). In New Jersey, more than 1 in 5 residents are foreign born, with most coming from Central and South America or Asia (U.S. Census Bureau, 2010). These first-generation immigrant families are disproportionately likely to be low-income families. Nearly one fourth of all children from immigrant families lived below the federal poverty line in 2004 (Rector, 2006). With New Jersey's high concentration of immigrants, most of Hispanic or Asian decent, and many in poverty, it is important to understand the state's population in order to understand its schools. This study focuses on understanding factors that shape student experiences of low-income Hispanic and Asian immigrant children by studying their school and home lives, as well as their lives as immigrants.

This case study took place in two Pre-K classrooms in a Head Start program in New Jersey. To respect the confidentiality of the Head Start program, its students and families, as well as teachers, pseudonyms are used throughout the dissertation. The preschool, referred to herein as Brillar Preschool, is part of a network of Head Start programs that strive to deliver high-quality early childhood education and community services through data-driven decision making. Brillar follows a progressive education model, reflected in students' participation in thematic unit study, cooperative learning projects, and emphasis on social skills and experience. Brillar is located in northeast New Jersey in a town called Krasley (pseudonym). Although the town is small in area (5 square miles), it is part of the New York City metropolitan area and has various urban

qualities, including a dense population of more than 5,000 persons per square mile, and a diverse population that is 19% Asian and 31% Hispanic. Studying the Head Start program in Krasley allows focus on students from low-income families from Central and South America and South Asia.

The purpose of this case study is to understand and describe the factors that shape the experiences of low-income immigrant preschool students of Hispanic or Asian descent. The overarching question was *How do various factors shape preschool experiences of low-income immigrant students of Hispanic and Asian descent?* To answer this question, two research questions were addressed:

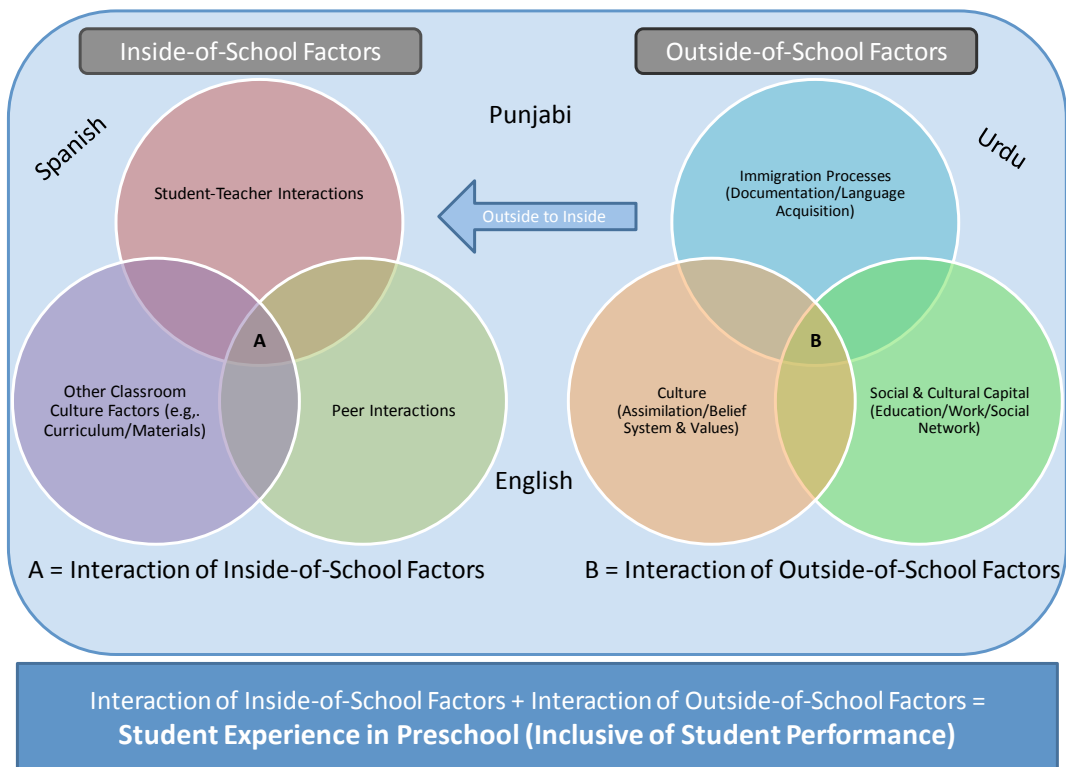
1. How do within-school factors (teacher-student interactions, peer interactions, and classroom culture) shape low-income Hispanic and Asian immigrant students' preschool experiences?

2. How do outside-of-school factors (families' immigration processes, access and use of social and cultural capital, and culture) shape low-income Hispanic and Asian immigrant students' preschool experiences?

It is necessary to define the terms *factor* and *experience*. In this study, *factor* refers to a person, event, material, or process to which students are exposed or in which they partake. Factors, therefore, encompass within-school phenomena (e.g., classroom culture, teacher-student interactions, and peer interactions) and outside-of-school phenomena (e.g., families' immigration processes, access and use of social and cultural capital, and culture). Collectively, these factors and their interactions provide insight into *student experience*.

The study also encompasses measures of student performance based on the notion that student experience is inclusive of student performance. Schools expose children to learning activities in an effort to augment performance and assessment to gauge performance, which shapes student experience. Therefore, while this study focuses mainly on the role of within-school phenomena (classroom culture, teacher-student interactions, and peer interactions) and outside-of-school phenomena (families' immigration processes, access and use of social and cultural capital, and culture) in shaping student experience, a degree of focus is also devoted to the study of student performance in an effort to understand student experience.

Figure 1 illustrates the relationships of these topics of study.



*Figure 1.* Understanding within-school factors and outside-of-school factors that shape the immigrant student experience in preschool.

Figure 1 consists of two Venn diagrams, one focusing on within-school factors and the other on outside-of-school factors, each representing a research question. The Venn diagram on the left features within-school factors (teacher-student interactions, peer interactions, and other classroom culture factors) and the Venn diagram on the right features outside-of-school factors (immigration processes, social and cultural capital, and culture). The arrow in the middle suggests a relationship between outside-of-school and within-school factors. It is critical to note that this relationship is not causal; nor does the model postulate any causal relationships among its components and student experience. Each circle represents a factor that shapes student experience. Some factors are self-explanatory; others require explanation.

In terms of within-school factors, Student-Teacher Interactions and Peer Interactions describe relationships that students have with teachers and one another. Other Classroom Culture Factors encompass cultural practices other than classroom interactions. As Van Der Westhuizen, Mosoge, Swanepoel, and Coetsee (2005) indicated, these include behaviors (such as rituals) and visual representations (such as classroom materials). In terms of outside-of-school factors, Immigration Processes refers to processes that are unique to immigrants, such as documentation and English language acquisition. Social and Cultural Capital refers to resources based on group membership, as well as physical objects, character or ways of thinking, and institutional recognition (all of which are described in Chapter 2). The category of Culture refers to the family's belief system and values, including perception of assimilation.

Venn diagrams are used to illustrate these factors for several reasons. Certain examples of factors do not “fit” solely in one category. Immigrant social networks, as

described by Stanton-Salazar (2001), “fit” in the Immigration Processes category and the Social and Cultural Capital category. After all, immigrant social networks are unique to immigrants, while simultaneously exemplifying social and cultural capital. Similarly, assimilation “fits” in the Immigration Process category, as well as the Culture category. As S. K. Brown and Beane (2006) indicated, *assimilation* refers to a process by which the culture of immigrant groups and host societies come to resemble one another. It is a cultural process that is unique for immigrants. Beliefs and values “fit” in multiple categories. They provide insight into “culture,” as well as exemplify “cultural capital.” Thus, since certain examples of factors are not rigid and fit in multiple categories, overlapping circles of the Venn diagram capture this dynamic and level of interconnectedness.

A Venn diagram is helpful in visualizing the concepts of the study not only because it portrays the elusiveness of strict categorization of all factors, but also because it shows that factors interact with one another as they shape students. Regarding within-school factors, for example, classroom materials are likely to shape interactions between teachers and students and among students. Materials will shape interactions, including topics of conversation. Regarding outside-of-school factors, the immigration process of documentation is likely to shape social capital. Documentation, for example, allows immigrants to have a driver’s license, which in turn allows more freedom of movement to interact with others.

Figure 1 reflects that within-school and outside-of-school factors are dynamic and shape each other, not only through the Venn diagrams but also the arrow in the middle that points from outside-of-school factors to within-school factors. It symbolizes that

home events shape school experiences. For example, if parents do not speak English and teachers do not speak the family's native language, communication between home and school is likely to be limited. If parents believe that it is disrespectful to approach the child's teacher, this cultural belief will shape communication between home and school. Ultimately, the disconnect will affect the child. Thus, within-school factors are not separate from outside-of-school factors. They are connected and shape each other. The connection is symbolized by the arrow that points from outside-of-school factors to within-school factors.

The equation at the bottom of the figure stresses the interaction between within-school factors and outside-of-school factors. The interaction of all within-school factors is denoted as A on the left and the interaction of all outside-of-school factors is denoted as B within the Venn Diagram on the right. Coupled, A and B provide insight into student experience in school (inclusive of student performance). In other words, understanding the interaction of within-school factors and the interaction of outside-of-school factors assists in understanding student performance and other student experiences. Some factors, such as teacher-student and peer interactions, are part of student experience. They are, therefore, described and their relationship to other factors is explained to fully understand overall student experience.

Language and socioeconomic status play important roles in the student experience. The languages spoken by the subjects of this study—Spanish, Punjabi, Urdu, and English—are scattered throughout Figure 1 because language is related to all factors. In terms of within-school factors, for example, if a student speaks only Spanish while the teacher speaks only English, the difference will shape their interactions. In terms of

outside-of-school factors, for example, if a family does not speak in English, it might be difficult for them to acquire social and cultural capital in a predominantly English-speaking nation.

While various languages are cited in Figure 1, socioeconomic status is not fully represented, as social and cultural capital are presented without mention of economic capital. Economic capital is not mentioned because it is rather constant across subjects, as all families enrolled in Head Start are classified as low income, a factor that is important in shaping student experience. As Pierre Bourdieu (2007) pointed out, all forms of capital are not exclusive of one another, but rather interdependent, often reinforcing one another.

Some factors that shape student experiences, such as gender, are not cited in Figure 1, as they are not studied within this dissertation. This dissertation focuses on immigrants of both genders, instead of examining gender differences. Since gender is an important factor, future research must examine gender differences.

This dissertation will examine the dynamics of the conceptual framework through a study of three classes (Class 2 AM, 2 PM, and 3) of immigrant students at Brillar Preschool. Chapter 2 provides a review of literature relevant to the themes of this dissertation. It examines literature about factors (teachers, peers, tracking and school culture) that shape student experience; factors (the school system, various forms of capital, and symbolic violence) that affect low-income students; and factors that affect immigrants (immigration laws and policies, language acquisition, assimilation, and social networks). As such, Chapter 2 provides information about the topic of study (within-school and outside-of-school factors that shape student experience) and the population of interest (low-income immigrants). Chapter 3 describes research methods, explains why



specific classes (Class 2 AM, 2 PM, and 3) within Brillar Preschool were selected for this case study, and why qualitative data, inclusive of interviews, field observations, as well as teacher and student assessments, were gathered to understand immigrant student experience. Chapter 4 contextualizes immigrant student experience by providing information about Class 2 AM, 2 PM, and 3, specifically pertaining to teachers, students, school curriculum and classroom schedule, interactions in the classroom, classroom culture, and student performance. Chapters 5, 6, and 7 jointly feature 12 holistic child-level accounts of immigrant students of Hispanic and Asian descent. Each chapter focuses on 4 students from each class, describing within-school and outside-of-school factors that shape their realities. Chapter 8 summarizes the study's major findings, its limitations, and offers recommendations for future research.

Through an examination of the school, teachers, students, and their families, I argue that a complex set of factors shape immigrant student experience. Language and documentation are particularly significant as they shape student experience in various ways, as well as produce complex processes when interacting with other factors. Language shapes peer interactions in the classroom, while limited language proficiency minimizes communication and understanding, affecting labeling in school, as well as cultural clashes between school and home. Limited language proficiency and documentation are sources of stress, affecting students' emotional and academic development, as well as barriers to social capital. Both, limited language proficiency and documentation, limit access to economic capital, which in turn limits access to social and cultural capital, including familial ability to focus on schoolwork at home.

## **CHAPTER 2**

### **Literature Review**

Based on this description of factors that shape student experience, as well their interconnectedness, this chapter reviews three bodies of literature regarding these factors and presents an overview of current understanding of low-income immigrant students. The first body of literature describes within-school factors (such as teachers, peers, tracking, and school culture) that shape all students' experiences in school. It includes work by Linda Darling-Hammond, Gary Ladd, Jeannie Oakes, and Philip Van Der Westhuizen. The second body of literature describes within-school and outside-of-school factors that shape low-income students' experiences in school. This section elaborates on how the school system, families' access to various forms of capital, and symbolic violence shape low-income students. It includes work by Bowles and Gintis, James Coleman, Pierre Bourdieu, Annette Lareau, and Basil Bernstein. The third body of literature describes within-school and outside-of-school factors that are unique to immigrants. It describes macro-level factors that shape immigrant experiences, specifically immigration laws and policies, as well as micro-level factors that shape immigrant student experiences, such as language acquisition, assimilation, and social networks. Some of this literature, including work by Douglas Massey, George Borjas, Ruben Rumbaut, John Ogbu, Virginia Collier, Ricardo Stanton Salazar, and Marcelo and Carola Suarez Orozco, differentiates experience based on ethnicity. Jointly, the three bodies of literature allude to the way various factors shape low-income immigrant students.

The literature review is divided into four sections. The first section, Focusing on the Classroom, provides information about within-school factors that shape student experience in general. The second section, Focusing on Low-Income Students, provides information about factors that specifically shape student experiences of children from low-income families. The third section, Focusing on Immigrants, describes factors that are unique to immigrants, at times specific to particular immigrant groups, in the United States. The three sections jointly provide a comprehensive view of low-income immigrant students in the classroom. The fourth section, Contributing to the Literature, is a summary of the three preceding sections, including a discussion of gaps in the literature and establishes the rationale for this study.

### **Focusing on the Classroom**

This section provides information about within-school factors that shape student experiences, including information about teachers, peers, tracking and ability grouping, and culture. It illustrates how and why such factors shape student experience. Within this context, student performance, outcomes, achievement, and academic gains are often mentioned because student growth is part of student experience.

### **Teachers**

Since the publication of Samuel Bowles and Herbert Gintis's *Schooling in Capitalist America* (1976), researchers have argued that social class is central to understanding educational outcomes (Anyon, 1980, 1997). The term *achievement gap* has been used to describe differences in student performance as measured by test scores and access to opportunities (e.g., higher education), and attainment (e.g., high school diploma) between minority and/or low-income students and their counterparts. Racial and

ethnic minorities, English language learners, and students from low-income families tend to experience the achievement gap (National Education Association [NEA], n.d.b). In the United Kingdom, the Training and Development Agency has determined that social class is the most significant factor in exam success in their state schools. In order to overcome social class differences, Graham Holley, the chief executive of Training and Development Agency, insists on placing highly qualified teachers in classrooms in impoverished communities (Garner, 2008). A similar type of effort has been made in the United States to remedy achievement gaps between social and racial groups. Many charter school networks, such as Knowledge is Power Program (KIPP), Uncommon Schools (including North Star Academy in Newark), and Harlem Success Academy, as well as organizations such as Teach for America, focus much of their education reform agenda on recruiting highly qualified, effective teachers to reduce the achievement gap.

What type of teacher is highly qualified and effective? Researchers and organizations disagree about the best way to prepare qualified teachers. For example, Teach for America (TFA) posits that individual characteristics are most important and that, if prospective teachers have a specific set of qualities, they can go directly to the classroom with minimal teacher education. Programs such as TFA provide routes to teacher certification alternative to the traditional university-based programs, which require fieldwork and student teaching prior to entering the classroom. Linda Darling-Hammond provided a critique of alternative route programs and argued that high-quality teacher education must provide more extensive teaching experiences prior to entrance into the classroom (Darling-Hammond, 2011).

Amanda Ripley (2012) described predictors and characteristics of quality teachers as defined by TFA. Predictors include extracurricular accomplishments in college, attendance at selective colleges, and histories (not solely attitudes) of perseverance. In terms of characteristics, quality teachers possess a strong work ethic and are content with their lives.

Ripley (2012) stated that the TFA conceptualization of qualified and effective teachers is predominantly based on individual characteristics of teachers, such as their levels of perseverance, work ethic, life satisfaction, and educational experience. Darling-Hammond (2011) was critical of TFA's definition of qualified and effective teachers, as well as TFA's model of education reform. She indicated that some TFA teachers, especially those placed in elementary schools, do less well than fully prepared novice teachers. She attributed this to limited preparation through short summer training workshops. She stressed the importance of preparation through high-quality university teacher education programs, concluding that teacher preparation and certification correlate positively with student outcomes when controlling for variables such as poverty (Darling-Hammond, 2000, 2011).

Darling-Hammond (2000) and Felter (2001) elaborated on the definition of effective teachers (in terms of level and type of education). Based on his study of mathematics teachers in California, Felter (2001) concluded that teachers' educational levels appeared to correlate negatively with student dropout rates (p. 164). Darling-Hammond encouraged teachers to obtain not only more education but also a specific type of education: teacher education in high-quality university teacher education programs.

Other research has identified student-teacher factors associated with positive student experience. Such student-teacher factors may be assigned to three categories: teacher expectations for students, teacher attitudes toward students, and teacher experiences with students. Higher expectations, positive attitudes, and teaching experience have been associated with positive student outcomes. The literature described below provides information about each student-teacher factor and its relationship to student outcomes. Rist (2011), Rosenthal and Jacobson (1968), Payne (2008), and Darling-Hammond (2010) focus on teacher expectations. Haggard (1954), Neckerman (2007), and Anyon (1997) focus on teacher attitudes. Borko and Livingston (1989), Darling-Hammond (2000), Felter (2001), and Jay (2002) focus on teacher experience.

Rist (2011) elaborated on the relationship between teacher expectations and student outcomes in his labeling theory. According to this theory the *label* or expectation that a teacher develops for his/her students shapes the student. Specifically, teacher expectations shape teacher behavior toward a student, which affects the student's self-concept, ultimately shaping student behavior and performance (p. 79). Eventually, the student parallels teacher expectations. It is critical to note that students' backgrounds, including racial and ethnic characteristics, shape expectations that teachers develop for their students (Brown, B., 1968).

Rosenthal and Jacobsen (1968) were among the first researchers to highlight the relationship between teacher expectations and student outcomes. The researchers tested elementary school students at the beginning of the school year and labeled 20% of the students, without any relation to their test results, as having "unusual potential for intellectual growth" (p. 20). Teachers were informed of this label. When students were

retested at the end of the school year, the students who had been labeled as having “unusual potential for intellectual growth” demonstrated more improvement than those who were not singled out for teachers’ attention. Although this study has not been replicated (and is very unlikely to be replicated for ethical reasons), it is critical to mention because it is one of the first to highlight the relationship between teacher expectations and student outcomes.

This relationship has been highlighted in more contemporary research performed by Payne (2008) and Darling-Hammond (2010). Payne (2008), when studying Chicago’s low-performing schools, indicated that they failed to challenge their students. For example, he indicated that, when the Consortium on Chicago School Research judged the complexity of mathematics and writing assignments, most assignments were considered to be “not challenging” or “minimally challenging.” In eighth-grade math, for example, 86% of all lessons were in these two categories (p. 85). Darling-Hammond (2010) elaborated on the relationship between student outcomes and teacher expectations by pointing out that underperforming groups are often subject to low-expectation environments. She noted that teachers “hold particularly low expectations for African American and Latino students” (p. 208).

Works by Haggard (1954), Neckerman (2007), and Anyon (1997) focused on teachers’ attitudes toward students. Haggard (1954) demonstrated that attitude makes a significant difference in how children perform on standardized tests, highlighting that the attitude of the student to the tester was important in determining how students performed on the test. According to Haggard, attitude toward the tester is a stronger predictor of performance than the content of the test. Neckerman (2007) and Anyon (1997) discussed

the power of attitude. They described the trend of negative teacher attitudes that characterizes struggling schools. Neckerman (2007) reported that teachers in low-performing schools in Chicago used racial epithets or insults toward their students (p. 162). Anyon (1997) described similar issues at Marcy, a low-performing school in Newark, New Jersey. Anyon reported that teachers expressed deep frustration in dealing with students, often verbally humiliated and degraded their students, and some even believed that their students were not deserving of nice treatment (p. 29).

Work by Borko and Livingston (1989), Darling-Hammond (2000), Felter (2001), and Jay (2002) focuses on teaching experience. Teaching experience is often defined as the amount of time spent within the classroom. “More experienced” teachers, according to this definition, have spent more time teaching students. Research tends to indicate that veteran teachers tend to be more effective because they simply have had time to practice teaching. Darling-Hammond (2000) summed this nicely by stating that teachers with less than 3 years of teaching experience are typically less effective than senior teachers. However, the benefits of experience appear to level off after 5 years (p. 7). With time and practice in the classroom, teachers gain insight on how to plan lessons effectively (Borko & Livingston, 1989) and understand pedagogy to cater to student needs effectively (Jay, 2002).

Teacher quality is often associated with student experience. Qualified teachers are often defined according to personal traits or characteristics. This type of definition is used especially by organizations such as TFA, who stress recruitment of a specific type of candidate. Desirable traits include but are not limited to extracurricular accomplishments in college, attendance at a selective college, a history (not solely an attitude) of



perseverance, a history of a strong work ethic, and life satisfaction. Qualified teachers are also often defined in a more student-centered way. Instead of focusing on individual traits of teachers, quality is assessed in terms of the type of teachers' expectations for and attitudes toward students, as well as the extent of experience in working with students.

### **Peers**

The literature indicates that not only teachers shape students; so do classmates. Peer influence research by Rubin, Bukowski, and Parker (1998), Ladd, Birch, and Buhs (1999), Ladd (1990), and Wentzel and Caldwell (1997) indicates a positive relationship between friendship in the classroom and student experience. Other scholars have focused on class composition and indicated that class size (Achilles, Nye, Zaharias, & Fulton, 1993; Mosteller, 1995; Word et al., 1990), gender (Center on Education Policy, 2010; Hoxby, 1998; Jennings, 2011), socioeconomic status (Carrell & Hoekstra, 2010; Coleman et al., 1966; Lazear, 2001; Vigdor, 2011), and race (Coleman et al., 1966; Goldsmith, 2003; Guryan, 2004; Hall & Leeson, 2010; Hanushek, Kain, & Rivkin, 2002; Vigdor, 2011) also shape student experience.

Friendship (voluntary, reciprocal relationship between individuals that is affirmed or recognized by both parties) in the classroom has been associated with academic growth (Rubin et al., 1998). Research indicates that children who develop and maintain friendships in their classrooms tend to outperform those who do not do so (Ladd et al., 1999; Wentzel & Caldwell, 1997). Ladd's (1990) study of academic growth and friendship status among 125 kindergarten students indicated that students who maintained friendships tended to develop positive attitudes toward school and make significant academic gains. Academic growth was measured using standardized measures and peer

status was measured via parent and student interviews. Parents commented on the type of relationship that their children had with classmates, while students, viewing pictures of their classmates, identified their best friends and those with whom they did not like to play. Results indicated that children who performed academically also tended to have many friends, while children who experienced peer rejection tended to struggle. Research by Wentzel and Caldwell (1997) indicated that this was also the case for older (middle school) students.

In addition to friendship in the classroom, class composition (in terms of the number of students in the class, as well as gender, socioeconomic status, and race) shapes student experience. Work by Word et al. (1990), Achilles et al. (1993), and Mosteller (1995) indicated that class size was related to student performance. One of the first influential studies regarding class size and student performance was conducted in Tennessee in the late 1980s. Project STAR (Student-Teacher Achievement Ratio) was a 4-year study of 6,500 students in 80 schools. The study measured performance by students in Kindergarten through third grade in reading, mathematics, and basic study skills. Results indicated that students in classrooms of 13 to 17 tended to outperform those in classrooms of 22 to 25 (Word et al., 1990). Follow-ups to the study, including the Lasting Benefits Study and Project Challenge, confirmed that smaller class size was likely to be characterized by higher performance and indicated that children who were originally enrolled in smaller classes continued in later grades to outperform those who were originally enrolled in larger classes (Achilles et al., 1993). As Mosteller (1995) indicated, smaller class size was associated with increased student performance because it

reduced distractions in the classroom and gave the teacher a chance to individualize instruction.

While work by Word et al. (1990), Achilles et al. (1993), and Mosteller (1995) indicated that class size was related to student experience, work by Jennings (2011), the Center on Education Policy (2010), and Hoxby (1998) confirmed the role of gender in the classroom. Females tend to outperform males in most subject areas at the elementary, middle, and high school levels (Jennings, 2011). Specifically, the percentage of boys scoring proficient on state reading tests was much lower than that for girls: more than 10% lower than girls' scores (Center on Education Policy, 2010). Hoxby (1998) indicated that girls outperformed boys on an individual basis and classes with larger female student populations tended to perform significantly better in writing in fourth through eighth grades. In essence, although boys slightly edge girls in some states in math, girls, overall, tend to outperform (especially in reading) their male counterparts (Center on Education Policy, 2010).

In addition to class size and gender, class composition shapes classroom experiences (Carrell & Hoekstra, 2010; Coleman et al., 1966; Lazear, 2001; Vigdor, 2011). Coleman's classic *Equality of Educational Opportunity*, known as the Coleman Report (Coleman et al., 1966) showed that achievement depressed when students attended predominantly low-income schools. Vigdor (2011) explained that this occurs because disadvantaged peers tend to enter school less prepared, display more antisocial and disruptive behaviors, and hold lower expectations for their futures. Not only does classroom disruption impede the teacher's opportunity to instruct (Carrell & Hoekstra, 2010; Lazear, 2001); high-risk students often alter their behavior when exposed to other

high-risk students. Thornberry and Krohn (1997) found that deviant behavior escalated when youth were exposed to deviant peer influences. While exposure to a predominantly low-income population tends to have negative effects on student performance, exposure to a predominantly middle-class population has positive effects. Coleman et al. (1966) indicated that achievement increases when low-income students attend predominantly middle-class schools. Furthermore, when low-income students attend predominantly middle-class schools, middle-class students and affluent students are not harmed.

Coleman et al. (1966), Vigdor (2011), and Lazear (2001) stressed the positive effects of integration. Similarly, Kahlenberg (2014) proposed economic integration in the school system. Kahlenberg stated that parents are key to positive student outcomes in two main ways. First, they are primary educators at home. Second, they are advocates for quality education in school. Since middle-class parents are more likely to be involved in school activities, ranging from PTA meetings to classroom volunteer opportunities, he proposed that each school has “pushy, middle-class parents” serving as “advocates for high standards.”

Research indicates that class racial composition shapes student experience in the classroom. Some scholars have indicated that racially balanced schools, even after controlling for socioeconomic backgrounds of students, are more likely to have higher student performance. As the population becomes more racially diverse, performance seems to increase, especially for Black students (Coleman et al., 1966; Goldsmith, 2003; Hanushek et al., 2002). Guryan (2004) estimated that half of the decline in black dropout rates during the 1970s occurred because of desegregation. Other scholars, on the other hand, such as Vigdor (2011) and Hall and Leeson (2010) have reported an inverse

relationship between racial balance and student performance. According to their studies, racial diversity is negatively associated with school performance. Some have contended that this occurs because students perform better when their race is the same as their teacher's race (Dee, 2004), partially because White teachers may discriminate against non-White students (Ehrenberg, Goldhaber, & Brewer, 1995), and students demonstrate loyalty to a race with low student achievement by underperforming (Ogbu, 1992). Along similar lines, children who feel rejected because of their racial and/or cultural background are more likely to involve themselves in gang activity (Dodge, Dishion, & Lansford, 2007). In sum, it is evident that these studies present various conclusions. However, most studies agree that racial diversity in a classroom is in some way (either positively or negatively) related to student outcomes.

In sum, peers in the classroom shape each other's experiences. As the research by Rubin et al. (1998), Ladd et al. (1999), Ladd (1990), and Wentzel and Caldwell (1997) indicates, relationships among students in the classroom are related to student outcomes. Students who develop and maintain friendships are likely to outperform those who do not do so. However, the influence of peers on student performance is much more complex. Aside from peer relationships, various peer characteristics, which together define class composition, seem to play a role in affecting students. Specifically, class composition in terms of size (Achilles et al., 1993; Mosteller, 1995; Word et al., 1990), gender (Center on Education Policy, 2010; Hoxby, 1998; Jennings, 2011), socioeconomic status (Carrell & Hoekstra, 2010; Coleman et al., 1966; Lazear, 2001; Vigdor, 2011) and race (Coleman et al., 1966; Goldsmith, 2003; Guryan, 2004; Hanushek et al., 2002; Vigdor, 2011) seem to shape student experience in the classroom.

### **Tracking/Ability Grouping**

As the section above indicates, class composition is related to student experiences. Some of the scholars cited above, such as Guryan, have encouraged diversity in the classroom. Others, such as Hall and Leeson, have reported negative effects of diversity on student experience. Guryan, as well as Hall and Leeson, focused on race. Other scholars have studied the positive and negative aspects of diversity in the classroom regarding other student characteristics, including academic ability.

The separation of pupils by academic ability is often referred to as *tracking* or *ability grouping*. According to Oakes (1986), tracking is the practice of “dividing students into separate classes for high, average and low achievers” (p. 2). Students are often assigned to curriculum tracks that dictate courses and course sequences to which students are exposed. Ability grouping, on the other hand, may take place within the classroom or between classes. Within-classroom grouping refers to a teacher’s practice of putting students of similar ability into small groups for instruction, while between-class grouping refers to a school’s practice of separating students into classes based on ability. Students in various ability groups may be, but are not necessarily, exposed to the same curricula, rigor, and expectation (NEA, n.d.a). In essence, tracking tends to be more extreme than ability grouping in that it differentiates to a greater degree the services that students of various abilities receive.

Curriculum tracks vary greatly across schools. Variations include the type and number of subjects that are tracked, the number of levels provided, and criteria for assignment to various tracks. Although there are differences across schools, tracking tends to have commonalities. The intellectual performance of students is judged; classes

and tracks are labeled according to this judgment (some classes, for example are labeled as *Advanced* while others are labeled as *Remedial*). Curriculum and instruction is tailored according to this judgment. All tracks form a hierarchy, with the most advanced tracks on top. Students on different tracks experience school differently (Oakes, 1986, p. 3).

Tracking emerged in the United States at the turn of the 20th century to prepare students for appropriate workforce assignments (Cooper, 1996). Tracking has been perceived as an effective way to enhance student performance and facilitate teaching. It has been viewed as a way to cater to diverse student capabilities and needs by placing students with similar needs together and separating students whose needs are distinctly different. In theory, this allows the teacher to specialize instruction to the class, thus easily meeting student needs. Tracking is often viewed as a structure that allows student needs to be met easily without lowering students' self-concept. In other words, tracking is also sometimes perceived as a way of avoiding frustration in lower-achieving students by sparing them from competition with their brightest peers. In terms of teaching, tracking makes teaching simpler because it automatically manages student differences (Oakes, 1986).

Does tracking work? Some research indicates that tracking fails to avoid frustration in lower-performing students. Students in low-track classes are often stigmatized as incapable of learning the same skills as those in higher-track classes (Braddock & Dawkins, 1993). Therefore, instead of avoiding frustration, tracking perpetuates it in lower-performing students. Research indicates that students on lower tracks tend to learn less than students on higher tracks (Barr & Dreeben, 1983; Hoffer, 1992). This discrepancy exists not necessarily due to student differences but because

lower tracks are characterized by lower quality of instruction (Oakes, 1985; Page, 1991), less time spent on instruction (Oakes, 1985), and less curricular coverage (Barr & Dreeben, 1983). Also, once a student is assigned to a lower track, it is difficult for the student to move to a higher track (Braddock & Dawkins, 1993). Furthermore, some tracking is believed to be discriminatory, favoring some students and penalizing others based on economic status, ethnicity, race, and so forth (NEA, n.d.a). Oakes summed the effects of tracking:

The effects of tracking on student outcomes have been widely investigated, and the bulk of this work does not support commonly held beliefs that tracking increases student learning. Although existing tracking systems appear to provide advantages for students who are placed in the top tracks, the literature suggests that students at all ability levels can achieve at least as well in heterogeneous classrooms. (Oakes, 1986, p .1)

On the other hand, within-classroom ability grouping, as the phrase implies, refers to the process of keeping students of various abilities in one classroom but placing them into groups based on ability. Students are grouped with those who are on par with their performance (Lucas, 1999). The practice is widely seen in elementary schools in the United States (Henke, Xianglei, & Goldman, 1999). Popular curricula and learning programs such as Balanced Literacy embrace ability grouping in reading instruction.

Justifications for within-classroom ability grouping parallel those posited for tracking. Proponents of within-classroom ability grouping often claim that it facilitates differentiation, allowing teachers to instruct in a way that better meets children's needs in terms of level of difficulty, pace of curriculum, or both. Because teaching is catered to students' needs, students are more likely to perform (Slavin, 1987).

Literature on within-classroom ability grouping is mixed. Lou et al. (1996) demonstrated that students who participated in within-classroom ability grouping



benefitted more than those who received whole-class instruction. On the other hand, a case study by Lleras and Rengel (2009) indicated that students assigned to a lower group for reading instruction learned substantially less and students assigned to a higher group learned slightly more, when compared to students who did not participate in ability grouping. Many studies illustrate the inequity of within-classroom grouping, highlighting that lower groups are usually exposed to fewer learning opportunities. Eder (1981) and Oakes (2005) indicated that lower groups are often taught at a slower pace, exposed to less-demanding material, and receive less encouragement.

In sum, differing conclusions have emerged about tracking and ability grouping. Proponents claim that grouping students according to their abilities allows teachers to specialize instruction, manage student differences, and elevate student self-concept. Opponents claim that tracking diminishes self-concept and does not provide everyone with an equal opportunity to learn. In addition, the fact that altering tracks is difficult and that minority and low socioeconomic students are often placed on lower tracks is quite often recognized as problematic.

### **School Culture**

Researchers (Basson, Van Der Westhuizen, & Niemann, 2002; Gruenert, 2000; Owens, 1991) indicated that it is difficult to define *organizational culture*. Culture has elements that are intangible and invisible. Nevertheless, a large body of literature has emerged (particularly since the 1970s) about organizational culture, including school culture.

Van Der Westhuizen et al. (2005) defined *organizational culture* as

the intangible foundation that encompasses common values, assumptions, norms, and convictions, which serve as guidelines for the behavior of individuals in an

organization. The intangible foundation is portrayed by those involved in the form of verbal, behavioral, and visual manifestations. (p. 93)

In other words, according to Van Der Westhuizen et al. (2005), culture stems from various beliefs (values, assumptions, norms, convictions). It is displayed through verbal expressions (such as language), behaviors (such as rituals), and visual representations (such as school uniforms). Utilizing this definition, Van Der Westhuizen et al. studied school culture in 341 schools in Mpumalanga Province, South Africa. The study revealed that effective schools were characterized by the following:

1. A clear school mission that principals, teachers, and students are aware of and agree on (p. 100);
2. Rituals (such as ceremonies) that recognize student efforts (p. 103);
3. Storytelling during morning assembly, where school members assemble to share stories of school activities and achievements (p. 103);
4. Facilities that are orderly, often displaying school symbols, such as the school flag, slogans, and badges (p. 104); and
5. An orderly, disciplined, and safe atmosphere (p. 106).

These findings by Van Der Westhuizen et al. (2005) suggest that effective schools have a unified purpose, recognize student efforts through rituals, have orderly facilities (often displaying school symbols), and create an orderly, disciplined, safe atmosphere. Some international studies (including in the United States) have confirmed these findings. Lipsitz (1984), Edmonds (1979), Purkey and Smith (1983), Stoll and Fink (1994), and Goldring (2002) stressed that effective schools tend to have a unified mission or purpose. Purkey and Smith (1983), Van Overwalle and De Metsenaere (1990), Wiersma (1992), and Cameron and Pierce (1994) stressed that learning is supported when student effort is

recognized by the school community. Hawkins and Overbaugh (1998), Duke and Griesdorn (1998), Dewees (1999), Lewis (2000), and the National Clearinghouse for Educational Facilities (2002) stressed that orderly school facilities (many of which display school symbols) are positively associated with student outcomes. Rutter (1983) explained orderly facilities improve morale but neglected facilities encourage vandalism. Edmonds (1981) and Warren (2007) suggested a relationship between an orderly, disciplined, and safe atmosphere and student outcomes. In *High School Achievement: Public, Catholic, and Private Schools Compared*, Coleman, Hoffer, and Kilgore (1982) elaborated this point. Even when controlling for family background, students attending private Catholic schools outperformed peers from other institutions on verbal and math assessments; they also developed higher educational aspirations. In *Public and Private High Schools: The Impact of Communities*, Coleman and Hoffer (1987) indicated that Catholic school students were more likely to stay in school and less likely to adapt destructive behaviors. They indicated that these discrepancies existed in large part due to an orderly, disciplined, and safe atmosphere.

In addition to recognizing that a unified purpose, recognition of student efforts through rituals, orderly facilities (that often display school symbols), and an orderly, disciplined, and safe atmosphere are associated with positive student experience, it is critical to note the importance of collaboration. Goldring (2002) indicated that effective schools also tend to display a culture of collaboration. *Collaboration* simply refers to working together internally (among staff members) and externally (with parents and stakeholders). Rutter, Maughan, Mortimore, Ouston, and Smith (1979), Esptein (2001), and Henderson and Mapp (2002) supported Goldring's position. Rutter et al. (1979)

indicated that schools whose teachers feel that their views are considered by administration have higher student outcomes trends. Esptein (2001) and Henderson and Mapp (2002) indicated that schools that collaborate with parents tend to have higher student outcomes trends.

In conclusion, although the definition of school culture is often contested, a body of literature describes cultural factors that tend to shape student experience. As indicated in the literature reviewed above, cultural traits that are associated with positive student experience include a unified purpose shared by principals, students, and teachers; recognition of student efforts through rituals; orderly facilities; an orderly, disciplined, and safe atmosphere; and internal and external collaboration.

### **Summary**

This study explores factors that shape low-income immigrant student experience in preschool. This section provided an overview of within-school factors that shape students of all ethnicities and ages (including various immigrant groups and preschool-age children). In providing information about teachers, peers, and tracking and ability grouping, as well as school culture, this section of the literature review took a step toward understanding within-school factors that shape student experiences in general. The following sections complement this understanding by focusing on specific characteristics (low income and immigrant status) of the population studied and outside-of-school factors.

### **Focusing on Low-Income Students**

First-generation immigrant families are disproportionately likely to be low income. Nearly one fourth of all children from immigrant families lived below the federal poverty

line in 2004 (Rector, 2006). Since low-income immigrants are representative of the contemporary demographic, this study focuses on low-income immigrant students. To understand the factors that shape student experiences of low-income immigrants, an understanding of social class is necessary. This section reviews low-income students' experiences in the American school system, their families' access to various forms of capital, and the role of symbolic violence in shaping student realities.

### **The School System**

Research indicates a positive relationship between students' economic status and academic performance. Some (e.g., Bowles & Gintis, 1976) suggest that this relationship exists because public education was founded by capitalists for the benefit of capitalists. Others (e.g., Anyon, 1980), without necessarily emphasizing capitalism as the root of educational inequity, acknowledge that children are exposed to various curricula based on their families' economic status. Collectively, such research indicates that schools preserve inequalities in the economic system.

Bowles and Gintis (1976) provided a historical account of the development of mass schooling and illustrated that education in the United States has been historically and is currently linked to capitalist pursuits. Kirk Boot, the man who established mass public education, was predominantly focused on capitalist undertakings as the manager of Merrimack Manufacturing Company. Boot's support for mass public education came from well-to-do artisans, shopkeepers, large merchants, and entrepreneurs (Bowles & Gintis, 1976, pp. 155–161). Since then, educational reforms have often been supported by corporate funds (Bowles & Gintis, 1976, p. 177). The vocational education movement,

for example, was funded by J. P. Morgan and John D. Rockefeller in 1898 (Bowles & Gintis, 1976, pp. 191–192).

More contemporarily, Diane Ravitch, former Assistant Secretary of Education, recalled foundations, such as Gates, Walton, and Broad (who are not subject to public oversight or review) assertively using their funds to promote their goals of competition, choice, deregulation, incentives and market-based approaches in the educational arena. According to Ravitch, billionaire entrepreneurs and corporate leaders continue to set the policy agenda not only for school districts but also for states and the U.S. Department of Education (Ravitch, 2010, pp. 313–359).

Bowles and Gintis (1976) noted that schools benefit entrepreneurs and corporate leaders by training young people for future economic positions. This is done in several ways. First, children are introduced to and taught to embrace structures that resemble those in employment settings in a capitalist economy. In school, children are mandated to function according to vertical lines of authority, embrace compartmentalized knowledge, and work toward acquiring external rewards (e.g., grades). Schooling thus prepares youth to respond to vertical line of authority, take on jobs in a fragmented work force, and receive external rewards (e.g., wages) for their efforts (Bowles & Gintis, 1976, p. 12). Second, in addition to training children to embrace structures that are conducive to capitalists, schools encourage children to develop personality traits that will benefit capitalists. Students are rewarded for being dependable, perseverant, docile, passive, obedient, and following orders (Bowles & Gintis, 1976, p. 138). Creativity and spontaneity are penalized (Bowles & Gintis, 1976, pp. 41–42).

Not all children are prepared to fit the mold that is described above. Students of working-class families are trained to be more obedient through traditional methods of instruction. Children from upper classes are trained to be more outspoken and creative through progressive methods of instruction (Bowles & Gintis, 1976, pp. 41–42). Such instruction maintains social class rigidity, allowing the wealthy to keep their status quo.

Jean Anyon has contributed to this argument by studying schools that serve children of various economic classes. Based on a full year of observation of fifth-grade classrooms, Anyon concluded that children on one end of the spectrum, from working-class families, are exposed to a curriculum that is mechanical and involves rote behavior, with very little decision making or choice; in contrast, children on the other end of the spectrum, from executive elite families, are exposed to a curriculum that expects them to reason, solve problems, and create intellectual products. In essence, the “hidden curriculum” of schoolwork prepares children for specific roles in society, aligned to and resembling the role of their families (Anyon, 1980).

In summary, Bowles and Gintis, as well as Anyon, stated that children with more economic capital perform well in school because the school system retains power and dominance in their hands. School structure and curricula perpetuate inequities of the capitalist system. Although Ravitch does not share this stance, her work somewhat contributes to this point as she describes the power of the elite over the education system.

### **Economic Capital**

Bowles and Gintis have been criticized for utilizing an overly deterministic conceptual framework to understand the inequities in the educational system and society at large. Their arguments attribute inequities directly to the capitalist economic structure.

Other scholars, without necessarily emphasizing capitalism as the root of educational inequities, acknowledge that wealthier families have more economic capital to spend on their children's schooling, as well as outside-of school educational services (Brooks, 2012; Chin & Phillips, 2004; Lew, 2007; Sacks, 2007).

Wealthier families are more likely to send their children to elite high schools and universities because of the high costs associated with attending such institutions. In York City, for example, the most prestigious high schools, such as Dalton, Spence, Loyola, and United Nations International School, cost more than \$20,000 annually and are, therefore, accessible only to those with ample economic capital. A similar trend exists in terms of universities, with renowned Ivy League universities being some of the most expensive in the nation.

In terms of outside-of-school educational services, David Brooks pointed out that, in the past 40 years, upper-income parents have increased spending on services for their children, such as tutoring, by \$5,300 per year. Lower classes, on the other hand, have increased spending by only \$480 (Brooks, 2012). Peter Sacks demonstrated that students with more access to test preparation services are likely to elevate SAT scores, enhancing their chances of admission to competitive universities. Gillian, a student described throughout *Tearing Down the Gates: Confronting the Class Divide in American Education* (Sacks, 2007), scored 1400 on the SAT. Dissatisfied with her score, her family invested their economic resources in hiring a private tutor who helped Gillian to elevate her score to 1580, "putting her in the game for elite college admission" (p. 32). Similarly, middle-class Korean immigrants in New York City tend to enroll their children in private after-school academies called *hag won*. Such institutions provide students extra



preparation for college through tutorials on entrance exams, as well as English and Korean language instruction (Lew, 2007).

Due to educational opportunity gaps, children's experiences vary depending on their economic class. Tiffani Chin and Meredith Phillips wrote about children's summer experiences. They observed that working class children's activities tended to be unorganized and nonacademic, while children from wealthier classes tended to engage in book clubs, piano lessons, and academic enrichment activities (Chin & Phillips, 2004, 185–210). Similarly, while middle-class Korean immigrant students often attend *hag won* after school, participating in academic activities, students of working-class background work to contribute economically to their households (Lew, 2007). Some plan for military service to gain eventual access to an affordable education (Lew, 2003).

In summary, scholars (e.g., Brooks, Sacks, Chin & Phillips, and Lew) have acknowledged that wealthier families have more economic capital to spend on their children's schooling, as well as outside-of-school educational services. They acknowledged the significant impact of economic capital on education.

### **Social and Cultural Capital**

Pierre Bourdieu's work is expansive in terms of the notion of "capital." Although Bourdieu (2007) recognized economic capital as "the root of all other types of capital", he acknowledged other forms of capital, particularly social and cultural capital, as contributors to inequity (pp. 83–95). According to Bourdieu, economic capital is often converted to other forms of capital (cultural and social) to reproduce status (Sacks, 2007, p. 18). Bourdieu distinguished among three subtypes of cultural capital: objectified cultural capital, embodied cultural capital, and institutional cultural capital. Objectified

cultural capital refers to access to physical objects, such as artwork. Embodied cultural capital is acquired through socialization and refers to character or ways of thinking. Institutional cultural capital refers to institutional recognition. A university degree is an example of institutional cultural capital (Bourdieu, 2007, pp. 84–88). Bourdieu defined social capital as

the aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to the possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition – or in other words to membership of a group—which provides each of its members with the backing of the collectivity-owned capital, a “credential” which entitles them to credit, in the various senses of the word. (Bourdieu, 2007, p. 88)

In brief, social capital refers to one’s resources based on group membership and social connections. All of these forms of capital tend to shape student experience and are interrelated, as indicated by the literature review below.

Orr (2003) and Yang and Gustafsson (2004) examined the relationship between objectified cultural capital and student experience. Orr found that possessing books, newspapers, and so forth at home, as well as being able to experience cultural events such as museum tours, contributes to math performance. Orr concluded, “The effects of wealth on performance is explained mainly by the effect of wealth on the amount of cultural capital to which a child is exposed” (Orr, 2003, pp. 281–304). Similarly, Yang and Gustafsson demonstrated in *Measuring Socioeconomic Status at Individual and Collective Levels* a positive relationship between academic resources at home, such as computers and books, and children’s reading ability. The study was transnational, consisting of a sample of 62,000 students from 23 countries. Acknowledging that economic capital is often a prerequisite for cultural capital, the researchers concluded that

cultural capital, even more so than economic capital, is related to students' reading ability (Yang & Gustafsson, 2004, pp. 259–288).

While Orr (2003) and Yang and Gustafsson (2004) focused on the relationship between objectified cultural capital and student experience, Coleman and Hoffer (1987) and Lareau (2003) wrote about embodied cultural capital (which is acquired through socialization and refers to character or ways of thinking). Coleman and Hoffer (1987) suggested that families play a role in shaping children's embodied cultural capital. With work by Richard Rothstein, this suggests that embodied cultural capital shapes student experience. Coleman and Hoffer (1987) indicated that families that have high levels of interaction within their families and communities foster development of social norms in their children that discourage deviant behavior. On the other hand, a lack of communication within families and with communities contributes to development of antisocial attitudes and behaviors. Coleman wrote that such attitudes and behaviors shape student performance (Coleman et al., 1966, p. 144). Rothstein similarly concluded that noncognitive traits, including nondeviant behaviors, leadership ability, self-confidence, and self-esteem, play an important role in student success and have especially served as predictors of labor market success (Rothstein, 2004, pp. 98–110).

Anne Lareau, in *Unequal Childhoods: Class, Race, and Family Life* (2003), discussed this relationship through the role of families in shaping children's embodied cultural capital. She concluded that children from middle-class families tend to be raised through a parenting style that Lareau referred to as “concerted cultivation,” whereas working-class and lower-class children tend to be raised through a style referred to as “accomplishment of natural growth.” Concerted cultivation encourages children to

question and discuss, whereas accomplishment of natural growth issues directives at children, as opposed to engaging them in negotiation. Different parenting styles prepare children to feel comfortable in different situations. Concerted cultivation, for example, facilitates children to develop comfort in questioning people in authority, whereas accomplishment of natural growth teaches children to respect people in authority (Lareau, 2003, pp. 1–11). In essence, children from wealthier families are encouraged to develop character traits that will assist them to embody upper-class status, while children of poor and working-class families are encouraged to develop character traits that assist them to embody poor and working-class status.

Various forms of cultural capital, including objectified (as discussed by Orr, and Yang and Gustafsson) and embodied (as discussed by Coleman and Lareau) are related to student experience. Social capital (which refers to one's resources based on group membership and social connections) is also related to student experience. Brooks (2012) described social capital in low-income neighborhoods, noting that low-income children tend to have less access to social capital now than they did in 1970. In the 1970s, children from poor families took on as many outside-of-school activities as those from the wealthiest families. Today, wealthier children are twice as likely to play after-school sports and much more likely to participate in other extracurricular activities, such as theater and art. Participation in after-school programs is often associated with improved student performance (Durlak & Weissberg, 2007; Huang, Cho, Mostafavi, & Nam, 2010; Zief, Lauver, & Maynard, 2006). In short, wealthy families convert their economic capital into types of social capital that are associated with improved student performance.

Just as it is possible for economic capital to be converted to social capital, limited access to social capital seems to limit embodied cultural capital. This interconnection was described by David Brooks (2012). Brooks indicated that, along with a decline in social capital (as demonstrated by low enrollment of low-income students in after-school activities), social trust has fallen among poor youth as they have become more pessimistic and detached. Robert Sampson indicated that disadvantaged neighborhoods have developed low levels of collective efficacy (Sampson & Raudenbush, 1999; Sampson, Raudenbush, & Earls, 1997). Limited access to social capital seems to shape embodied cultural capital, which, as noted above, is related to student performance. The complexity, interconnection, and interrelation of various forms of capital are evident.

In summary, various forms of capital shape student experience. In addition to economic capital, cultural capital (as described by Orr, Yang and Gustafsson, Coleman, and Lareau), as well as social capital (as described by Brooks) tend to shape student experience. It is critical to note that forms of capital are not exclusive of one another; rather, they are interdependent, often reinforcing one another.

### **Symbolic Violence**

Children from dominant classes are more likely to succeed not solely because they have more economic, social, and cultural capital but also due to symbolic violence. *Symbolic violence* is a term coined by Pierre Bourdieu, referring to “power which manages to impose meanings and to impose them as legitimate by concealing the power relations, which are the basis for its force” (Collins & Makowsky, 1993, p. 259). Michael Apple discussed symbolic violence in his *Ideology and Curriculum* (2004), pointing out that perceptions, knowledge, and interests of the dominant group in society are validated

as legitimate and correct, while those of other groups are often suppressed. This validation and suppression may be intentional or unintentional and may occur overtly or subtly; it is multifaceted. Its various facets have been captured in research by Annette Lareau (1989), Basil Bernstein (2007), and Jean Anyon (1997, 2005). Lareau (1989) and Bernstein (2007) provided examples of legitimization of dominant groups and marginalization of others through educational institutions, while Anyon discussed how this occurs through processes and policies outside of educational institutions, such as voting patterns, jobs, wages, housing, and tax policies. Directly or indirectly, all of these factors shape student experience.

*In Home Advantage: Social Class and Parental Intervention in Elementary Education*, Annette Lareau (1989) demonstrated that perceptions of education of middle and upper-middle-class parents are often validated as legitimate, while those of working and lower class parents are misunderstood. Lareau's interviews with teachers revealed that teachers equated a lack of parental involvement in school to a lack of parental value of education. However, parental interviews revealed that teachers often misinterpreted the intentions of less-involved parents. Less-involved, working- and lower-class parents value education just as much as middle-class and upper-middle-class parents, but they regard their role in their children's education differently. Working- and lower-class parents see teachers as professionals who are credible to judge children's academic progress (Lareau, 1989, p. 112). Meanwhile, middle- and upper-middle-class parents see themselves as equal to or even superior to teachers and are active in attempting to shape their children's school experiences (Lareau, 1989, p. 75). Lareau's study highlights that

the approach of the dominant group toward education is regarded as the norm, while the approach of lower-class parents is misunderstood and misjudged.

Schools not only value the perceptions of parents from the dominant class (as Lareau's study demonstrates); they also value the experiences and lifestyles of children from dominant classes. Basil Bernstein, in *Social Class and Pedagogic Practice* (2007), described two types of pedagogic practice: visible and invisible. He acknowledged that both are founded on a set of assumptions that are based on dominant economic groups. Therefore, both pedagogies are more aligned with the experiences and lifestyles of children from middle- and upper-income backgrounds. A classroom with visible pedagogy, for example, values pacing. An adequate home environment is needed to keep up with the pace of the curriculum. A child needs adequate space to do homework. Such an expectation clashes with the reality of low-socioeconomic-class homes. Although invisible pedagogy varies drastically from visible pedagogy, it also requires that a child have adequate space to study. Within this model of education, a child needs space to learn through experimentation (Bernstein, 2007, pp. 97–114). In essence, schools adopt various pedagogies, most of which tend to coincide with the experiences and lifestyles of children from the dominant classes. The experiences and lifestyles of the dominant group are validated as legitimate and correct, while those of low income and working class citizens are suppressed.

Lareau (1989) and Bernstein (2007) described how dominant groups are legitimized and groups with low economic, social, and cultural capital are marginalized through educational institutions. Anyon pinpointed that this also occurs outside of

educational institutions through various processes and policies such as voting patterns, jobs, wages, housing, and tax policies, all of which indirectly shape student experience.

In *Ghetto Schooling: A Political of Urban Educational Reform* (Anyon, 1997), Anyon noted that urban communities with low economic, social, and cultural capital have historically been much less likely to vote. In 1984, only 12% of the national votes in the Mondale-Reagan contest were cast in large cities, with 55% cast in suburbs and smaller cities, generally populated by wealthier residents. This trend has continued, and a majority of the votes continue to be cast in communities with capital (Anyon, 1997, p. 131). This shapes the way schools in nonpolitically active areas have been approached. As Anyon wrote in *What Counts as Educational Policy? Noted Toward a New Paradigm*, the political leverage of low-income urban parents is often insufficient to overcome outdated buildings, broken computer labs, and overcrowded classrooms (Anyon, 2005, pp. 65–88).

Along similar lines, Anyon noted that policies that discriminate against the poor in numerous ways shape children's educational opportunities. In the United States, several federal policies have contributed to deterioration and disinvestment in cities. In 1933, in Newark, New Jersey, the federal Home Owner Loan Corporation did not distribute loans for buildings or repairs in neighborhoods inhabited by Russian Jews, South Italians, Mexicans, or African Americans. The lack of loans to repair or build homes contributed to deterioration of several parts of the city (Anyon, 1997, p. 63). After World War II, federally subsidized mortgages encouraged middle-class White families to buy property in the suburbs. Suburbanization was encouraged through federal funding for building highways, sewage systems, and other systems that made suburbs attractive to



residents. Other policies of that time period allowed manufacturers to take tax deductions when they abandoned inner-city factories. From 1954 to 1981, manufacturing flight to the suburbs was worth \$120 billion (Anyon, 1997, p. 77). Deterioration and disinvestment in cities contributed to the decline of the school system. Since the cities relied on property taxes to fund education, the flight to the suburbs from 1930 to 1980 led to limited school funding (Anyon, 1997, p. 65).

Currently, efforts have been made to increase academic performance in traditionally marginalized schools, calling for improvement of curriculum, administration, funding, and increases in school choice and school accountability; however, such policies are offset by the poverty that was exacerbated in the 1930s and by other policies (regarding jobs, wages, housing, and taxes) that discriminate against the poor (Anyon, 2005, pp. 65–66). Examples of such policies and their follow.

First, disproportionate investment in affluent areas and lack of investment in poor areas deprives poor citizens of entry-level jobs. Along the same lines, location of entry-level jobs in the wealthy areas, along with limited public transit systems, hinders low-income minorities from accessing jobs. Lack of jobs exacerbates poverty, which is linked to lower student performance (Anyon, 2005, p. 71).

Second, payment of the lowest taxes on record by wealthy families and corporations is limiting the tax base. A low tax base lowers funding available for education (corporate tax policies allow 60% of large U.S. corporations to pay no federal taxes; Anyon, 2005, pp. 70–72).

Anyon (1997, 2005) demonstrated that potential for academic performance by children from particular backgrounds is minimized as the poor are marginalized through lack of political participation, as well as unjust jobs, wages, housing, and tax policies.

In summary, Jean Anyon (1997, 2005) described how nondominant groups' perceptions, knowledge, and interests are marginalized through processes and policies such as voting patterns, jobs, wages, housing, and tax policies, all of which shape student experience, including student performance. Similarly, Lareau (1985) and Bernstein (2007) demonstrated that dominant groups are legitimized in educational institutions, since schools' views regarding parental involvement and student expectations align with the realities of upper- and middle-class families.

### **Summary**

While the first section of the literature review, *Focusing on the Classroom*, provided information about within-school dynamics that shape student experience in general, this section provided information about within-school and outside-of-school factors that shape low-income children and families by describing the school system, various forms of capital, and symbolic violence. This section contributes to understanding the realities of low-income children and their families, providing insight into the population that is the focus of this dissertation. It also provides examples of various outside-of-school factors that shape students, including social and cultural capital, that were examined in this study.

### **Focusing on Immigrants**

This section describes factors that are unique to immigrants and provides a context for understanding the experiences of the students at Brillar Preschool. It starts by

describing macro-level factors that shape immigrant experiences, specifically immigration laws and policies. This is critical to include because, as Ricardo Stanton-Salazar (2001) pointed out, “Many scholarly works on minority youth, set as they are within functionalist paradigm, insist on remaining ahistorical and disconnected from analyses that situate schools, families, and communities within our highly class-stratified, patriarchal, racialized, and segregated society” (p. 15). As such, they are often misused and distorted, validating class, racial, and gender biases. After situating the study of low-income immigrant students in a historical framework, micro-level factors that shape immigrant students’ experiences are identified: language acquisition, assimilation, and social networks.

### **Historical Account of Immigration Laws and Policies**

This section provides insight into the mechanisms and attitudes that have and continue to work for and against immigrant groups. This is critical for two main reasons. First, it situates schools, families, and communities within society, attempting to avoid dangerous distortions and validations of class, racial, and gender biases toward minority youth. Second, it allows for a more complete understanding of immigrant students’ educational experiences. As Sadovnik, O’Day, Bohrnstedt, and Borman (2008) pointed out, “Schools do not operate in a vacuum” but rather “are affected by larger social, political, and economic forces” (p. 359). Neckerman, in *Schools Betrayed: Roots of Failure in Inner City Education* (2007) indicated that larger forces, in the form of policies, have impacted student achievement in Chicago’s public schools. “The problem of inner city schooling are the legacy of school policy choices made decades ago” (p. 2). Keeping in mind that policies trickle down and affect those to whom they pertain, it is

important to understand immigration policies when studying immigrant students. This part of the literature review outlines immigration and naturalization policies that have been enacted since American independence until the present. Not every policy is mentioned; rather, special attention is drawn to policies that represent favoritism and discrimination toward immigrant groups.

Although immigration was limited during the 17th and 18th centuries, the first naturalization law was formulated during this period, favoring European immigrants over others. During the 17th and 18th centuries, immigration was generally limited. Historians have estimated that fewer than 1 million immigrants, perhaps even as few as 400,000, entered America during that period (Daniels, 2002). Many arrived from Europe and Africa. More than half of the European immigrants arrived as indentured servants. They worked for several years without being paid. They worked for planters, farmers, and shopkeepers to pay off their debt, which had been incurred in various ways. Most commonly, they worked to pay off travel costs, food, accommodation, and clothing that had been provided for them. The great majority of Africans arrived as either indentured servants or slaves. Early laws geared toward newcomers favored Europeans. The 1790 Act limited naturalization to “free White persons.” The Act was not expanded to include Blacks until the 1860s and Asians until the 1950s (Daniels, 2002).

Discrimination of non-White, non-European immigrants is evident in the history of immigration in the 19th century, as the number of newcomers grew. As immigration increased, so did restrictive policies. A series of laws was passed during this period that specifically attempted to exclude Chinese immigrants. The Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882 prohibited all Chinese laborers from immigrating to the United States until 1892. In

1892, the Chinese Exclusion Act was renewed for another 10 years. In 1902, it was renewed without a time limit (Lee, 2003).

Exclusion of Chinese immigrants was common during the 19th century, as was exclusion of Native Americans. When the United States acquired new territories, such as California and Texas, not all of the territories' people were granted American citizenship. In 1848, for example, when the United States, under the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, gained control over much of the West, it gave the people who considered themselves to be Mexican the option of becoming U.S. citizens but did not make the same offer to Native Americans of the region. More than 200,000 Native Americans were simply described as "savage tribes exclusively under the control of the United States" (Griswold del Castillo, 1990, p. 190).

In the first part of the 20th century the number of newcomers increased again, as did restrictive policies. Restrictive policies targeted not only Chinese immigrants but Asians in general. The Gentlemen's Agreement of 1907 established that the United States would not impose sanctions on Japanese immigrants and, in return, Japan would not allow further emigration to the United States (Daniels, 1999). Ten years later, the Immigration Act of 1917 denied entry to immigrants from much of eastern Asia and the Pacific Islands. In 1922, the Supreme Court upheld that most Asians were not only denied entrance to the country but were also denied naturalization, under the 1790 Act (Ngai, 2003).

In addition to targeting Asians, certain European groups were targeted for the first time. The Emergency Quota Act of 1921 set quotas for immigrants from every country in an effort to slow immigration. Countries in northern and western Europe (e.g., Germany,

Scandinavia, and the British Isles) were granted large quotas, while those from southern and eastern Europe were given small allotments. This quota system was further tightened in 1924, particularly for immigrants from eastern and southern Europe (Massey, 2007).

Immigration policies of the first part of the 20th century were also implemented regarding Mexican populations. Partially due to the decline in Japanese immigrant labor after the Gentleman's Agreement and European immigrant labor after the outbreak of World War I, immigrant laborers were recruited from Mexico. They became "disposable" in that they were welcomed into the nation when labor was needed and deported when it was not needed (Massey, 2007). Although recruited to come during World War I, 458,000 (including children born in the United States) were arrested and expelled without due process between 1929 and 1937 (Hoffman, 1974). Temporary Mexican farm workers were again welcomed during World War II through the Bracero Program. Once again, after a brief recession after the Korean War, more than one million immigrants were arrested and deported by the Immigration and Naturalization Service during Operation Wetback. Many were arrested and deported for simply having a "Mexican look" (Calavita, 1992).

In addition to trying to limit the number of immigrants entering the country through such quota systems, the U.S. government began to guard its southern border. In 1924, the Border Patrol was established to control the 1,950-mile border with Mexico. Since then, more measures have been taken to maximize border control. As Massey (2007) stated, "The creation of border control brought into existence a new category of Mexican into the United States: the illegal migrant" (p. 122).

In the second part of the 20th century, numerous laws were passed to discourage illegal immigrants from entering and residing in the country. In terms of controlling population flow between the U.S.-Mexican border, Congress in 1996 increased funding for the Border Patrol by 148%. Ten years later, the Secure Fence Act of 2006 authorized the construction of a fence along the border (Ngai, 2005). Several laws have been passed to discourage illegal immigrants who reside in the United States. One such law, approved by California voters, was Proposition 187. Approved by voters in 1994, the effect would have been to cut off funding for illegal immigrants for all public services, including health care and education. Although the federal court ruled the Proposition unconstitutional, it is important to note that Californians voted in favor of it (Jacobson, 2008). Such measures targeting illegal immigrants were further fueled by the World Trade Center bombing of 1996 and the demolition of the World Trade Center on September 11, 2011. The 1996 Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act doubled border patrol agents, enhanced enforcement and penalties against alien smuggling and document fraud, and provided broader grounds for exclusion and deportation (Fragomem, 1997).

Although immigrants of various ethnicities are affected by these concerted efforts to bar illegal immigrants, it is important to recognize that Mexicans are particularly affected. The Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act focuses on securing the U.S.-Mexico border. Furthermore, about one third of the unauthorized immigrant population in the United States comes from Mexico (Fix & Passel, 1994).

Along similar lines, states with the highest Mexican immigrant populations tend to pass restrictive laws against illegal immigrants. California has the largest Mexican

population in the nation and voters approved Proposition 187. Arizona ranks fourth among states with large Mexican populations; 63.8% of Arizona's immigrants come from Mexico (Center for Immigration Studies, 2001). Arizona passed the Support Our Law Enforcement and Safe Neighborhoods Act (often called Arizona SB 1070), which is often considered to be the strictest anti-illegal immigration measure in recent U.S. history (Archibold, 2010). The law authorized local law enforcement to inquire about the immigration status of a person in a lawful stop, detention, or arrest. In other words, while enforcing other laws, officers have the right to question the immigration status of suspected illegal immigrants. Failure to carry immigration documents was deemed a crime (National Conference of State Legislatures, 2010). Similar bills have been introduced in six state legislatures: South Carolina, Minnesota, Rhode Island, Michigan, and Illinois.

In addition to excluding illegal immigrants, the laws passed in the second part of the 20th century facilitated deportation and limited access to social services for all immigrants. In terms of deportation, the U.S. Patriot Act states that immigrants may be deported on terrorism grounds, with the definition of *terrorism* extended to include involvement in any crime that involves a weapon. Thus, under this broad definition, as Chang (2001) pointed out, "Any immigrant who grabs a knife or makeshift weapon in the midst of a heat-of-the-moment altercation or in committing a crime of passion may be subject to removal as a terrorist" (p. 7). The Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act restricts legal immigrants' access to welfare, food stamps, and health insurance. Such restrictions are expected to promote immigrant self-



sufficiency, attract a certain “quality” of immigrants, and save the federal government billions of dollars (Fix, 2011).

The Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965 removed the national origins quota, accepting up to 20,000 immigrants from each nation. By the 1990s, only 17% of immigrants originated from Canada and Europe; the majority came from Latin America (50%) and Asia (30%). Furthermore, the newly arrived immigrants were much more likely to be of lower socioeconomic status than those of earlier generations. In 1960, for example, the average immigrant man living in the United States earned about 4% more than the average native man. By 1998, the average immigrant man earned about 23% less than the average native man. In terms of education, in the 1960s most immigrants were better educated than natives. By 1998, average immigrants had less schooling than average natives (Borjas, 1999).

This literature review indicates that U.S. policies have limited opportunities for certain groups to emigrate and naturalize in the United States more than other groups. The 1790 Act favored newcomers from Europe over others. According to this Act, only White free persons were allowed to naturalize, discriminating against Africans, Native Americans, Central and South Americans, and Asians. In terms of Asian exclusion, the Chinese were the first to be barred from entering the country, but such policies were later expanded to include Japan, Eastern Asia, Pacific Islands, and eventually most of Asia. Exclusion policies also eventually expanded to include Mexicans, as well as eastern and southern Europeans. Most recent policies, such as Proposition 187 and the Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act, target illegal immigrants. Such policies thus indirectly target certain groups, especially Mexicans. Although

contemporary immigrants tend to be of low socioeconomic status, they have limited access to social safety programs.

Entry into the United States was and continues to be restricted for people of certain backgrounds. Historically and contemporarily, ethnicity is not the only trait that restricts access; so do individual characteristics and beliefs. The Immigration Act of 1917, for example, favored educated persons. A literacy requirement was set for any immigrant over 16 years old. Furthermore, “idiots” were barred entry. In addition to discriminating against less-educated populations, this act barred mentally or physically defective immigrants, polygamists, anarchists, epileptics, and alcoholics. Convicts were barred (as early as 1882), as were those who had ever been affiliated with the Communist party (in 1954). Although current policies do not outright bar specific newcomers, they encourage specific types of newcomers (Bankston & Hidalgo, 2006). The Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act, for example, encourages immigrants who will not depend on welfare or social services.

### **Language Acquisition**

In 1974, the Supreme Court (*Lau v. Nichols*) ruled that Chinese students were denied equal opportunity in America’s schools based on ethnicity. Specifically, the Court acknowledged that equal opportunity was denied because schools failed to provide Chinese students with linguistically proper accommodations (Hakuta, 1986). Texas courts, in *Castaneda v. Pickard* (1981), established a way to assess the adequacy of accommodation for English Language Learner (ELL) students. The criteria included providing accommodations that are based on research-based practices, resourced adequately, and evaluated by the school district to ensure that language barriers are

overcome (Educational Testing Services, 2008). Thus, since the 1970s, accommodations for ELL students have become mandated by federal law. State mandates, such as that of *Castaneda v. Pickard*, have further interpreted and clarified the federal mandate.

Accommodations for ELL students have and continue to range in various schools, as described below. It is possible to combine some of these accommodations into one program. According to Krashen (1997), the best bilingual programs have three characteristics: sheltered subject matter teaching, instruction in the first language, and English as a Second Language (ESL) instruction (all of which are described below). While some of these accommodations are contradictory, others are complementary and may be fused into an efficient program that elevates language acquisition and learning for ELL students.

**Immersion programs.** According to Met (1993), *immersion* refers to a way of teaching a target language through the regular school curriculum in that language. In other words, in order to facilitate learning the English language, immersion programs teach students various subject areas in English.

Immersion programs have been supported for several reasons. Most notably, students have the opportunity to learn English in an organic way rather than “drilling.” As Krashen (1981) pointed out, “Language acquisition does not require extensive use of conscious grammatical rules, and does not require tedious drill” (p. 6). Furthermore, immersion programs allow students to associate meanings of English words with academic concepts in various subject areas. Thus, students learn English language as well as academic concepts in English. According to Collier (1995), this removes the obstacle

of having to transfer skills in a subject area to English once students have learned the language.

Various forms of “immersion” differ significantly from each other in terms of point of entry, type of support, and amount of instruction in the target language. C. Baker (2006) identified three levels of immersion: early, middle, and late immersion. Early immersion refers to students who begin the program at 5 to 6 years old, middle immersion refers to students who begin at 9 to 10 years old, and late immersion refers to students who begin at 11 to 14 years old. Early immersion is preferable to late immersion. A. D. Cohen (1976) encouraged immersion to begin in Kindergarten at the latest because the critical stage for language acquisition is 2 to 10 years of age. Some support adjusting the regular school curriculum for ELL students more so than others (Hakuta, 1998). Regarding the amount of instruction in the target language, some programs teach in the target language entirely (total immersion), while others teach in the target language for part of the class time (partial immersion; Kamehameha Schools Research & Evaluation, 2010).

**Structured immersion/sheltered instruction.** Immersion focuses on learning the target language through regular school curriculum. However, immersion programs vary, based partially on the level of adjustment of regular school curriculum for ELL students. In structured immersion/sheltered instruction programs, curriculum is adjusted for ELL students. For example, teachers accommodate students by using simpler English to assist in understanding subject matter (Hakuta, 1998).

Krashen stressed the importance of adjusting curriculum for ELL learners. Krashen (1993) noted that *immersion* is different from *submersion*. *Submersion* (the idea

of sinking or swimming in the target language) is not supported by any research, while *immersion* (with proper support) has the potential to be effective (Krashen, 1993). Proper support, according to Krashen (1985), is partially characterized by teaching regular school curriculum in a way that is comprehensible to ELL students.

Within a structured immersion/sheltered instruction program, ELL students are segregated from native language speakers. Some scholars are skeptical of such segregation. According to Wildavsky (2000), in that setting students do not receive enough exposure to “everyday” English. Along the same lines, Rothstein (1998) noted that immigrant students should be around the regular school population in order to learn how Americans use English.

**Bilingual education.** Immersion programs vary based on the level of adjustment of regular school curriculum, as well as the amount of instruction in the target language. Total immersion programs teach students completely in the target language, while partial immersion programs teach in the target and native languages. Therefore, some partial immersion programs are bilingual. Johnson and Swain’s (1997) definition of *immersion* entails a bilingual component. To them, not only is the target language used as a medium of instruction in an immersion program but features also include curriculum in the native language paralleling the curriculum in the target language, a support of the development of the native language, and bilingual teachers.

Andersson, Boyer, and Southwest Educational Development Laboratory’s (1970) classic definition of *bilingual education* is as follows: “Bilingual education is instruction in two languages and the use of those two languages as mediums of instruction for any part, or all, of the school curriculum” (p. 12). Bilingual programs may be transitional,

one-way, or two-way programs. In transitional and one-way bilingual programs, students from the same language background are placed into a class together. The teacher teaches in two languages: the students' native language and English. In transitional bilingual programs, the native language is eventually phased out; in one-way bilingual programs, the native language is not phased out but is supported and encouraged. In two-way bilingual programs, students are more integrated; native English speakers join bilingual and ELL students in the classroom. All students are expected to develop proficiency in two languages, as they receive instruction in English and another language (Collier & Thomas, 2004).

Thus, transitional, one-way, and two-way bilingual programs have similarities and differences. In terms of similarities, transitional programs are what Lambert (1980) referred to as *subtractive*, while one-way and two-way programs would be *additive*. Transitional bilingual programs are subtractive because the native language is eventually phased out. One-way and two-way programs are additive because use of the native language is encouraged. Students are segregated based on native language and ability in one-way programs but not in two-way programs. Two-way bilingual classrooms provide language minority students the opportunity to learn from native speakers (Harley, Allen, Cummins, & Swain, 1990) and they encourage cultural sensitivity and awareness (Christian, 1994).

Some scholars have criticized bilingual programs. A common argument against bilingual education is that many students have succeeded without them. Rodriguez (1982) and De la Pena (1991), for example, reported school successes without bilingual education. Another common argument, often made by one of the strongest critics of

bilingual education, Keith Baker, is that there is little evidence that bilingual education is superior to total immersion programs. K. A. Baker and de Kanter (1983), as well as Rossell and Baker (1996), have reported that students in bilingual programs do not necessarily outperform ELL students who are accommodated in other ways.

Two-way bilingual programs have been criticized in contentious debate not necessarily due to their effectiveness but rather due to the nation's political climate. David Berliner and Bruce Biddle, in *The Manufactured Crisis* (1995), pointed out that some of the criticisms of bilingual programs, in general, stem from blatant racial prejudice, as well as a fear of foreigners. In the 1970s and 1980s, when fears of foreigners flourished, specifically fears of "foreigners who use resources and steal jobs," an "English only" type of mentality was embraced. The Reagan administration referred to bilingual language as a "failed path" and "bankrupt course." However, as the U.S. General Accounting Office indicated, such criticisms were not rooted in research.

According to Berliner and Biddle (1995), biases and fears aside, taking research-based evidence into account, four main points may be made about bilingual education. First, bilingual education builds competency in children's native language and English. Second, bilingual education is not always effective, but neither is any complex educational program. It is unfair to judge bilingual education in general terms based on a few failed examples. Third, bilingual children from various backgrounds are more able to accomplish challenging, higher-order cognitive tasks than are monolingual students. Fourth, there are various model of bilingual education. The most successful are those that instruct in English and the child's native language (Berliner & Biddle, 1995).

Various researchers have supported Berliner and Biddle's last two points. In terms of comparing bilingual and monolingual students, Cummins (1986), Snow (1987), and Genesee (1987) indicated that students who spoke two or more languages outperformed (on standardized tests and in school) those who spoke one language. In terms of bilingual programs that instruct in the target language and the child's native language, Creese and Blackledge (2010) also indicated that teaching in both (the student's native language and the target language) was most effective. Creese and Blackledge (2010) contended that such an environment allows students to correlate linguistic capabilities and leads to cognitive production in both languages.

Thomas and Collier (1997) described a type of program that facilitates learning: cognitively complex grade-level instruction in the students' first language for the majority of the day, complemented with complex grade-level instruction in English for part of the day. According to Thomas and Collier, the curriculum in both languages should be interdisciplinary, incorporating art and technology, and reflective of students' life experiences. They maintained that the school should have a supportive sociocultural context for non-English speakers so they feel as supported as their English-speaking peers. This is most easily accomplished in two-way bilingual classes.

A positive effect of supportive sociocultural context is depicted by the case of Magdalena Municipal School District in rural New Mexico. After acquiring a 4-year grant from the U.S. Department of Education's Office of English Language Acquisition, a program was developed that offered Navajo language and culture classes. Students were instructed in English and Navajo. After implementation of the program, students improved math, science, and reading test scores (Smallwood, Haynes, & James, 2009). It



was conclude that improvement occurred because curriculum became relevant to students' lives, allowing them to develop school pride and elevate learning.

**ESL models.** In immersion programs, the target language is taught through the regular school curriculum. In ESL models, the target language is taught with a focus on grammar, vocabulary, and communication, rather than on academic content areas. Students are often removed from their mainstream classroom for assistance (individually or in groups) with the language (Hakuta, 1998). Students in a group may come from many linguistic backgrounds. Meanwhile, the teacher speaks English and assists with teaching the English language (Baker, C., 2000). Academic content is addressed in the mainstream classroom without special assistance (Hakuta, 1998)

Evaluation of ESL models is mixed. K. A. Baker and de Kanter (1983), as well as Rossell and Baker (1996), have found such programs to be comparable to other programs, such as bilingual education. Thomas and Collier (1997), on the other hand, concluded that ESL pullout instruction was less effective than bilingual education. They found that students who were enrolled in ESL pullout instruction typically finished school in the 10th to 18th percentiles, and some did not complete high school. On the other hand, English learners who were enrolled in enrichment bilingual education finished school with average scores (about the 50th percentile). Why would ELL students in ESL programs underperform? Several studies indicate that, with strong emphasis on the English language, students do not gain insight into regular school curricula (Berman et al., 1992; Olson, 2010) and are thus deprived of knowledge needed to graduate and enroll in college.

**Summary.** As shown in the literature review, since the 1970s, numerous programs have been instilled in schools to accommodate ELL students: total immersion, partial immersion, structured immersion/sheltered instruction, transitional bilingual, one-way bilingual, two-way bilingual, ESL, or a combination of these. Programs differ based on three key features: the student's point of entry into the program, the type of support, and the amount of instruction in the target language. Research indicates that all programs have advantages and disadvantages. Evidence regarding the most effective methods is inconclusive. As Berliner and Biddle (1995) suggested, this is likely due to the political environment in the country: The effectiveness of bilingual education is likely to be downplayed due to conservative political agendas.

As the debate on program efficiency continues, ELL students struggle in school. Although traditional standardized achievement tests are developed and field tested for the mainstream population and are not sensitive to the needs of ELL students due to their unnecessary linguistic complexity and cultural biases, they are still used to measure ELL student performance (Abedi, 2010). These tests indicate that ELL students perform below their peers. The 2005 National Assessment of Educational Progress indicates that only 29% of ELL students scored at or above the basic level in reading, compared with 75% of non-ELL students. Immigrant student performance tends to vary based on background and socioeconomic status. ELL students from wealthier, Asian, and White families tend to outperform those from poorer, Hispanic, and Black families (Center for Great Public Schools, 2008). In essence, while a debate about most effective English language learning programs continues, ELL students, especially those of particular backgrounds, continue to struggle.

## **Assimilation**

*Assimilation* is the process by which characteristics of immigrant groups and host societies come to resemble one another (Brown, S. K., & Beane, 2006). According to Milton Gordon (1964), philosophies of assimilation have been grouped around three main axes: Anglo-conformity, melting pot, and cultural pluralism. The Anglo-conformity philosophy envisions immigrants exchanging their native culture for Anglo-Saxon ways and values. The melting pot philosophy envisions immigrant cultures blending with Anglo-Saxons to form a new indigenous American culture. Cultural pluralism envisions preservation of the cultures of immigrant groups within the context of the American culture. These philosophies have been applied in an effort to explain immigrant student experience, specifically performance. The relationship between student performance and assimilation, as Kao and Tienda (1995) pointed out, is captured by three unique hypotheses: straight-line assimilation, immigrant optimism, and accommodation-without-assimilation.

Straight-line assimilation hypothesis is related to the Anglo-conformity philosophy of assimilation. It is based on the assumption that immigrants adapt to life in the United States in such a way that they eventually become indistinguishable from the American population (Gordon, 1964; Park, 1914). During the 19th century, proponents of compulsory education contended that schools should facilitate this process (Crosnoe & Turley, 2011). Schools were expected to Americanize newly arrived immigrants. The straight-line assimilation hypothesis suggests that, as Americanization escalates over generations, so does student performance. Thus, immigrant youth are likely to start out

with the lowest academic performance but performance is likely to increase with generational status (Kao & Tienda, 1995).

Such a positive correlation between assimilation and student performance is displayed somewhat by research by Matute-Bianchi (1986). Matute-Bianchi found that students of Mexican-descent who embraced “American” ways were more successful in school. Specifically, successful students spoke English and participated in mainstream activities, including school clubs, rather than those geared toward Mexican students. However, research supporting the straight-line assimilation theory is limited. The empirical support for this model, as Crosnoe and Turley (2011) indicated, has eroded over time, largely due to the Nationality Act of 1965, which abolished national origins quotas, creating a diverse influx of immigrants in terms of race, ethnicity, and socioeconomic class. Straight-line assimilation theory became too simplistic to explain the assimilation of individuals into a complex, diverse society.

New explanations, such as the immigrant optimism hypothesis, have emerged. The immigrant optimism hypothesis is similar to the straight-line assimilation hypothesis in that it states that a successive generation is more likely to outperform first-generation immigrants (immigrant children of immigrant parents) in school. However, the immigrant optimism hypothesis suggests that immigrant student performance increases not with each generation but specifically with second-generation students (native students of immigrant parents). Second-generation students are considered to be in a unique position in that they are proficient in English and have been raised in immigrant households. Due to these two factors, second-generation students are likely to outperform not only first-generation immigrants but also most students in school (Kao & Tienda, 1995).

Why is it beneficial to be raised by immigrant parents? As Schneider and Lee (1990) pointed out, immigrant parents tend to be optimistic about socioeconomic prospects and they pass these values and attitudes on to their children. Ogbu (1991) indicated that recent voluntary immigrants have often faced harsher circumstances in their home country than those that they face in the United States. They also view problems encountered in the United States as “temporary,” as they adjust to life in a new society. Therefore, immigrants remain optimistic about their situations and prospects, instilling a sense of optimism in their children. As Caplan, Choy, and Whitmore (1992) indicated, children with such optimistic attitudes are likely to perform well in school. On the other hand, as Ogbu (1991) indicated, those who have lived in the United States for many generations, particularly racial minorities, have become disillusioned with the idea of upward mobility because of their experiences. Many have not experienced social mobility and have encountered discrimination along the way. These limited aspirations are passed on to their children, impeding student performance.

In addition to more optimistic attitudes, immigrant parents, especially those of Asian descent, tend to place higher value on education than do nonimmigrant parents. Caplan et al. (1992) indicated that immigrant parents are more likely to have rules about grades and homework than are nonimmigrant parents, encouraging children to prioritize schoolwork. Southeast Asian youth devote about 3 hours each evening to homework, and television watching is restricted. Thus, according to the immigrant optimism hypothesis, second-generation students are at a unique advantage, largely due to parenting.

The accommodation-without-assimilation hypothesis is different from straight-line assimilation and immigrant optimism hypotheses described above. While straight-

line assimilation stresses elevated student performance by successive generations and immigrant optimism stresses elevated student performance by second-generation students, accommodation-without-assimilation indicates that first-generation immigrants are most likely to succeed in school. Accommodation-without-assimilation occurs when immigrants learn English and follow American customs at school but place most value on ethnic peers and ways. Contact with Americans is often limited (Kao & Tienda, 1995). Thus, student performance increases for first-generation immigrants because they are not “tainted” by American peer culture, especially oppositional forms of the culture (Ogbu, 1991). Preservation of local culture assists first-generation immigrants to perform in school.

According to the accommodation-without-assimilation model, assimilation hinders student performance. Assimilation is especially not desired by Black immigrants (Kasinitz, 1992; Laguerre, 1984; Vickerman, 1994). Many Black immigrants come from societies that are rather racially homogeneous, or at least where the Black race is a majority. Thus, upon arrival in the United States, their status changes from racial majority to racial minority. Since being a racial majority is often associated with leadership and authority, a change to minority status is sometimes perceived as “a step down.” This perception manifests especially because American Blacks are considered to have low status in American society. In fact, immigrant Blacks are often perceived to have higher social status than American Blacks. Therefore, to avoid stigmatism, Jamaicans cling to their Jamaicanness (Foner, 1985) and Haitians cling to their native culture (Zephir, 1996). In short, Black immigrant groups shield themselves as much as possible from

assimilation because they may lose status if they lose their cultural distinctiveness (Kasinitz, 1992).

Research indicates that first-generation immigrants outperform peers not only because they do not assimilate but also due to personal traits, familial traits, and within-school experiences. Gibson (1988), Duran and Weffer (1992), Caplan et al. (1992), and Rumbaut (1990) discussed unique personal traits of immigrant children. These scholars indicated that first-generation immigrants do not need to assimilate to perform; they already outperform their peers. This occurs because first-generation immigrants tend to be more motivated to perform in school than are their American counterparts.

Immigrants excel not only due to personal qualities but also due to familial traits. Caplan et al. (1992) indicated that immigrant parents, especially those of Asian descent, have a very high value of education. They also have high expectations and standards for their children's schooling. The children are often encouraged to prioritize schoolwork and television viewing is limited.

Gibson (1988) studied the favorable within-school conditions of immigrant students. Teachers often favor recent immigrants because they consider them to be less "corrupt" than American-born students. Orozco-Suarez, Rhodes, and Millburn (2009) showed that supportive relationships in the classroom positively shape immigrant student outcomes. In short, a body of research indicates that first-generation immigrants benefit from personal traits, familial traits, and within-classroom factors that seem to elevate their performance.

Whether it is due to avoidance of assimilation, student characteristics (personal and familial) or within-school experiences, student performance tends to be high for first-

and second-generation immigrants. Palacios, Guttmanova, and Chase-Landsale (2008) demonstrated that first- and second-generation children had higher reading achievement than those of successive generations. De Feyter and Winsler (2009) concluded that preschool-age immigrants excelled in socioemotional and behavioral skills. This phenomenon is often referred to as the “immigrant paradox.” Why a paradox? First, immigrant youth enjoy academic advantages in the absence of socioeconomic advantages, such as high parental educational and income, which are associated with student performance. Second, student mobility is typically an academic risk. Moving to a school in the same country, even in the same district, typically negatively affects student performance. Paradoxically, first-generation immigrants are often able to outperform their native-born peers despite relocation (Crosnoe & Turley, 2011).

The body of literature that has emerged regarding the “immigrant paradox” supports the immigrant optimism and accommodation-without-assimilation hypotheses (both of which state that recent immigrants are likely to outperform successive generations in school). The question remains: Do first-generation immigrants perform best, as the immigrant optimism hypothesis suggests? Or do second-generation immigrants perform best, as the accommodation-without- assimilation hypothesis suggests? Kao (1999) posited that the answer to this question may vary depending on ethnicity. Second-generation Asians and Latinos outperformed first-, third-, and successive-generation youth on math tests but first-generation Whites and Blacks outperformed those of successive generations. In short, it is clear that more recent immigrants tend to outperform those whose families have been in the United States for



generations. However, as Crosnoe and Turley (2011) pointed out, the definitive answer about which generation (first or second) best illustrates the immigrant paradox is elusive.

Although most students with immigrant parents outperform those with U.S.-born parents, the influence of generational status on student performance is not uniform among ethnic and gender groups. Generational status accounts for most variation in Asian students (Kao & Tienda, 1995). It is also pronounced in African students (Crosnoe & Turley, 2011). The paradox is stronger for boys than for girls. Analyses of the National Education Longitudinal Study have revealed that the difference between first- and third-generation youth on middle school math assessments was 5% of a standard deviation for girls and 20% for boys (Crosnoe & Turley, 2011).

Along similar lines, not all immigrant groups of similar generational status have identical educational experiences and therefore do not perform similarly in school. For example, as Hao and Bonstead-Burns (1998) indicated, Chinese and Korean parents and students tend to have higher expectations regarding student performance than Mexican parents and children. Furthermore, Mexican parents and students tend to have lower levels of interaction about schooling than other immigrant groups. Ultimately, Chinese and Korean students outperform Mexican students. In more general terms, students from Asian and White families tend to outperform those from Hispanic families (Center for Great Public Schools, 2008). Thus, as Kao and Tienda (1995) indicated, although student immigrant or generational status has importance consequences for school performance, it always intersects with race and ethnicity in shaping educational outcomes.

Different racial and ethnic groups tend to have different experiences and outcomes in school, although this does not mean that those of similar racial and ethnic

backgrounds tend to have similar experiences and outcomes in school. As Jamie Lew (2011) indicated, high-achieving middle-class Korean students who attended a competitive New York City magnet high school were more likely to associate and identify with their background. They were likely to highlight that they were bicultural, calling themselves Korean and American. In contrast, low-achieving working-class Korean students in New York City who have dropped out of high school are more likely to “disassociate themselves from the wealthy and studious Koreans and Asian Americans” (p. 414), usually identifying themselves with minorities. The difference in performance and assimilation by students of a common Korean background captures the complexity of the relationship between student performance and assimilation. This relationship is shaped by various factors, including generational status, gender, race, ethnicity, and culture, as well as social and economic contexts.

In summary, theories regarding the relationship between assimilation and student performance have evolved. In the 18th century, schools adapted the Anglo-conformity philosophy and tried to create social cohesion by “Americanizing” immigrants. Straight-line assimilation theory was often used in an effort to explain the relationship between student assimilation and student performance. Students of successive generations were expected to outperform those who had not yet been “Americanized.” The Nationality Act of 1965 diversified the immigrant population, making it difficult to apply the straight-line assimilation hypothesis to a more diverse and thus more complex society. Within the new complex society, first- and second-generation immigrants seem to outperform their peers in school. Contemporarily, philosophies of cultural pluralism are often used in an effort to understand this “immigrant paradox.” Two hypotheses (immigrant optimism and

accommodation-without-assimilation) stress the positive influence of preserving immigrant culture on student experience, specifically performance. This literature reports significant variations in assimilation and performance by immigrants of various ethnic, racial, gender, cultural, social, and economic groups.

### **Social Networks**

A person's *social network* consists of the people that he or she knows or is connected to directly (e.g., family members, classmates) or indirectly (e.g., friends of friends). As Stanton-Salazar (2001) pointed out, social networks have also been called "social webs," alluding to their function of connecting individuals and groups. Such connections serve a variety of purposes. Some purposes are resourceful, allowing for access to resources and opportunities. Some purposes are exclusionary, locking an individual or group in place. Research, particularly work by Stanton-Salazar (2001) and by Suarez-Orozco and Suarez-Orozco (2001), indicates that immigrant children's social networks, including those pertaining to family, school, and community, are unique. This uniqueness and its implications are discussed in this section.

**Focusing on family.** Immigrant children have unique relationships with their parents. Caplan et al. (1992), Schneider and Lee (1990), and Ogbu (1991) identified positive aspects of these relationships. Caplan et al. (1992) indicated that immigrant parents, especially those of Asian descent, place a very high value on education and have high expectations for their children's schooling, so they encourage their children to prioritize and excel in schoolwork. Schneider and Lee (1990) and Ogbu (1991) noted that immigrant parents, having faced harsher circumstances in their home country, tend to be

optimistic about their prospects in the United States. Such optimism is passed on to children, further contributing to positive academic outcomes.

While noting positive aspects of relationships that immigrant children have with their parents, the previous section also indicated that such relationships are not applicable to all immigrant families. For example, Mexican parents and students tend to have lower levels of interaction about schooling than other immigrant groups (Center for Great Public Schools, 2008). Stanton-Salazar (2001) elaborated on this in his study of Mexican low-income adolescents. He found that some adolescents did not seek support from immigrant parents for fear of overburdening them. Immigrant parents are often perceived as overwhelmed with economic problems and cultural adjustments. Adolescents also perceive their parents' views and culture as misaligned with dominant views and culture. This sometimes leads to role reversal at home, in which adolescents take on adult roles and act as "cultural brokers" and translators for their parents. Within this relationship, they are also expected to manage schoolwork effectively. Such a role reversal can be empowering under certain conditions but limiting under other conditions. It may be limiting in that it may shape adolescents into perceiving themselves as unentitled and undeserving of care, undermining help seeking and thereby limiting their development of supportive relations with adults and institutions, including teachers and schools.

Suarez-Orozco and Suarez Orozco (2001) noted similar ramifications of parenting within a new culture. They described immigrant families in general, not just those of Mexican descent. Parental self-doubt in a new environment has shaped some parents into relinquishing parental authority. In elaborating on this point, Suarez-Orozco and Suarez-Orozco (2001) quoted an immigrant from Poland talking about her parents: "They don't

try to exercise much influence over me. ‘In Poland, I would have known how to bring you up, I would have known what to do,’ my mother says wistfully, but here she has lost her sureness, her authority” (p. 76). While some parents relinquish authority, others adapt disciplinarian parenting techniques. In feeling threatened by the possibility of their children adapting a new culture, some parents design very strict rules for their children. Some disciplinarian parenting techniques (e.g., pulling a child’s ear) that were acceptable in their native country are discordant with American ideas of child rearing. This sometimes intensifies parental fears and frustrations (Suarez-Orozco & Suarez-Orozco, 2001).

Parental adaptation to a new culture shapes child-rearing practices, which in turn shapes children. In addition to this, many immigrant children are affected by family separation and reunification, which are very common during the immigration process. Many children are separated from a parent or both parents before coming to the United States. A Harvard Graduate School of Education (2011) study reported that, in the Bay Area of California, 85% of immigrant children had been separated from one or both parents during migration to the United States. Parents tend to come a few months or a few years before their children. When children are reintroduced to parents, some do not remember them and some are quick to disrespect them. Orozco-Suarez, Director of the University of California at Los Angeles Institute for Immigrant Children and Youth, called this a “developmental challenge” (Kim, 2001). In addition to being separated from parents, immigrant children often leave behind extended family in their home country. In some cases, extended family members—grandparents, aunts, and uncles—had served as primary caretakers. Such separation leads to feelings of abandonment and is often

confusing, stressful, and even traumatic for children (Nazario, 2006; Suarez-Orozco & Suarez-Orozco, 2001).

The effects of separation are perpetuated when undocumented immigrants are detained due to immigrant status. The American Immigration Council featured a story about a boy named Miguel, born in the United States to undocumented parents from El Salvador. In 2006, his parents' workplace was raided and his parents were detained by Immigration and Customs Enforcement. Miguel, a second grader, stayed home to care for his younger brother, with no information regarding his parents' whereabouts. When Miguel's grandmother eventually arrived to care for the children, Miguel returned to school. Upon his return, Miguel's teacher said that the "happy little boy" turned "absolutely catatonic" (Waslin, 2009). From 2010 to 2012, 200,000 parents of children who are American citizens were not only detained but deported, leaving 5,000 children in foster care (Nazario, 2006). Children of undocumented immigrants have been separated from their families repeatedly, first due to relocation and then due to detainment or deportation. Undocumented immigrants who have not been detained or deported live in constant fear of detainment, deportation, and separation.

**Focusing on school.** It is clear that immigrant children have unique relationships and experiences within their families due to immigrant status. They also have unique experiences with school personnel. As mentioned in the Assimilation section of this literature review, some of these experiences are favorable. For example, Gibson (1988) noted that teachers often favor recent immigrants, considering them to be less "corrupt" than American-born students. However, although some students are favored due to their

immigrant status, others are discriminated against. Darling-Hammond (2010) noted that some teachers “hold particularly low expectations for Latino students” (p. 208).

Along similar lines, Stanton-Salazar (2001) reported Mexican students’ lack of engagement in supportive relationships with teachers. This lack of engagement occurs for several reasons. First, it can be attributed to a lack of trust, perpetuated in part by the school’s bureaucratic structure and organizational culture. Next, students who do not develop mentorships with faculty often consider themselves to be unworthy of supportive relations because of their low academic performance and past disruptive behaviors. In other words, low self-confidence and fear of rejection impede supportive relationships. Past disappointing or alienating encounters with school personnel also can act as inhibitors.

Stanton-Salazar (2001) reported that Mexican immigrant parents are often misunderstood by the school system. His analyses parallels that of Lareau (1989), who claimed that teachers tend to equate a lack of parental involvement in school to a lack of parental value of education, when the two are not necessary related. This is certainly the case with low-income Mexican immigrants. Lack of parental involvement is often attributed to educational values and expectations. However, in reality, Mexicans generally hold strong educational values and exhibit great hopes for their children. Their lack of involvement in school can be attributed to fear of deportation, illiteracy and limited education, lack of English language proficiency, chronic illness, stress of low-wage work, embarrassment affiliated with these factors, and embarrassment about their parents exhibited by the children (Stanton-Salazar, 2001).

**Focusing on communities.** Social networks in immigrant communities are unique and they shape immigrants and their children in specific ways. Most immigrants live in immigrant communities, sometimes referred to as ethnic enclaves, with high concentrations of fellow immigrants of similar backgrounds.

On one hand, such communities can be resourceful. Since native languages tend to be spoken in ethnic enclaves, living there facilitates communication for newcomers. It also exposes them to social networks to obtain information regarding affordable housing, transportation, and employment (Massey, 1999). In her study of Dominican communities in New York City, Reynoso (2003) found that Dominicans tended to live and work concentrated in Washington Heights-Inwood. Such association with one another “furnishes migrant individuals and families with resources beyond their individual reach by creating connections and support” (p. 72). Patel and Vella (2007) identified specific advantages of such social networks, indicating that those who reside in ethnic enclaves tend to benefit economically, experiencing a positive effect on their earnings.

Although such connections are resourceful, they can also be limiting. Pessar (1997) indicated that such connections sometimes limit the potential for solidarity with other groups. Due to limited contact with other groups, immigrants in ethnic enclaves are less likely to learn English. “Immigrants are most likely to be fluent in English when they live in communities that have small proportions of individuals from their own native country” (Lazear, 1999, p. 124). Borjas (2006) argued that, in order to make economic gains, immigrants must acquire skills that are valued by American employers, which include adapting the norms of the American workplace and learning English. He concluded that ethnic enclaves may create obstacles to social mobility. He noted that, in



order to advance economically, immigrants “will often have to move to economically vibrant areas far from the ethnic enclave” (p. 57).

In essence, ethnic enclaves have particular impacts on immigrant parents. On the one hand, they provide support in that they facilitate communication in native languages and connect immigrants to vital information regarding various services and job opportunities. On the other hand, ethnic enclaves diminish the need to learn English and thus are sometimes conceptualized as contributors to social immobility. As Stanton-Salazar (2001) noted, social networks have even been referred to as “social prisons,” locking a certain group of people into a certain space (p. 7). These social network effects on immigrant parents (particularly their social lives, economic prospects, access to resources, and language acquisition) indirectly shape immigrant children.

Social networks also shape children in more direct ways. According to Ellen et al. (2002), ethnic enclaves may lead to isolation of immigrant youth, creating a barrier to mainstream culture. Such a barrier may eventually prevent them from acquiring desirable jobs due to limited connections, less practice in interacting with other groups, and less familiarity with cultural norms. On the other hand, ethnic isolation may provide children with a more intricate network of connections within their ethnic group. Also, it may ease transition to the United States by providing an opportunity to interact with others who understand the immigrant experience and therefore can assist in the transition to life in America.

**Summary.** Social networks affect immigrant children in unique ways. Immigrant children are likely to have unique connections and experiences within their families, schools, and communities. Within each context—family, school, and community—

immigrant children face both favorable and disadvantageous circumstances. Within the family, for example, immigrant children are exposed to optimistic attitudes and high academic expectations on one hand, while on the other hand they face the hardships of acting as parents in their households and confronting the stress of migration and family separation. In school, immigrant children may be favored by teachers, even as they struggle to develop supportive relationships with adults. In their communities, they find support from others immigrants but are separated from society at large. This dichotomous description captures the complexity of social networks and the peculiarity of experiences based on ethnicity and various other case-by-case differences.

### **Conclusion**

This section of the literature review described factors that are unique to immigrants. It started by describing macro-level factors that shape immigrant experiences, specifically immigration laws and policies, and then described micro-level factors of language acquisition, assimilation, and social networks. This information is critical for contextualizing the current study, which focuses on low-income immigrant student experience in preschool.

### **Chapter Summary**

In an effort to understand factors that shape student experience of low-income immigrants, three bodies of literature were reviewed above. The first, *Focusing on the Classroom*, describes within-school factors that shape student experience in general; the second, *Focusing on Low-Income Students*, describes factors that shape student experience of low-income students; and the third, *Focusing on Immigrants*, describes factors that shape student experience of immigrant students. Specifically, *Focusing on the*

Classroom describes how teachers, peers, tracking, and school culture shape student experience in general. Focusing on Low-Income Students describes how the school system, economic, social, and cultural capital, as well as symbolic violence shape student experience of low-income students. Focusing on Immigrants situates the study of low-income immigrant students in a historical framework by providing an account of past immigration laws and policies and describing how language acquisition, assimilation, and social networks shape the experience of immigrant students. Overall, this literature provides insight into the topic of study (within-school and outside-of-school factors that shape student experience) and the population of interest (low-income immigrants).

This literature review is the foundation for the dissertation, including its conceptual framework. Student experience is considered to encompass within-school (teacher-student interactions, peer interactions, classroom culture) and outside-of-school factors (families' immigration processes, access and use of social and cultural capital, and culture), each extracted from the three bodies of literature. Elements considered in studying each factor also emerge from the review. For example, since scholars, including Rist (2011), Rosenthal and Jacobson (1968), Anyon (1997), and Darling-Hammond (2000), stress the role of labeling, teacher attitudes, and teacher experience in teacher-student interactions, such elements are described when providing insight into teacher-student interactions in Chapters 4 – 7. Similarly, class composition and friendships are explored to better understand peer interactions (in Chapters 4 – 7); consistency and order are described when studying school culture (in Chapter 4); and Brillar's language immersion program is studied to understand a facet of immigrant student experience (in Chapter 4). Lastly, questions about documentation, educational background, social

networks, and values are directed towards students' caretakers in an effort to understand outside-of-school factors that shape student experience. Responses are analyzed in Chapters 5 – 7.

This dissertation pinpoints shortcomings in literature. Shortcomings include limited study of specific immigrant groups, and simplistic labeling of diverse students. Literature on immigrant students is adolescent-centered, with Litwicky (2010) focusing on college students, Kao and Tienda (1995) on 8th and 12th graders, Van Geel and Vedder (2011) on 15-year-olds, and Orozco-Suarez et al. (2009) on 9- through 14-year-olds, neglecting the study of younger students. In addition, while Mexican student experience has been analyzed in detail by scholars such as Ogbu (1991), Padilla and Gonzalez (2001), Kendel and Kao (2001), and Stanton-Salazar (2001), the same has not been done for students from Central and South America, as well as Pakistan and India, even though immigrants from India are the fourth-largest immigrant group in the United States (Migration Policy Institute, 2008). When immigrants from various nations are studied, those of unique and diverse backgrounds are often labeled as Hispanic or Asian. As Lew (2007) pointed out, "Portrayal of Asian Americans has remained overwhelmingly homogeneous" (p. 370). Specifically, although experiences of Asian Americans in the American school system are diverse, with differences especially across socioeconomic classes, the stereotypical idea that Asian Americans are a model minority that uniformly excels in school prevails (Lew, 2007).

To ameliorate these shortcomings, this dissertation examines various within-school and outside-of-school factors, and describes the dynamics among them in an attempt to understand the complexity of student experience. It applies this complex

conceptual framework to study immigrant students from various countries, particularly of nationalities that tend to be neglected in the field of study. Chapters 5-7 feature in-depth stories of immigrant students from Bolivia, Uruguay, El Salvador, Mexico, Puerto Rico, Chile, Peru, Pakistan, and India. Such detailed accounts, tracing children to particular towns and countries of origin, serve as tools to capture reality, as opposed to cling to generalizations described by Lew (2007).

Lastly, since literature on immigrants students is adolescent-centered, in an effort to build a well-rounded understanding of immigrant students, I conduct a case study of Brillar Preschool. Preschoolers are likely to have varied experiences from older students. They, for example, are highly dependent and affected by adults (Lightfoot, Cole, & Cole, 2013). Thus, teacher-student interactions, and outside-of-school factors are likely to shape their experiences in pronounced ways. Also, preschoolers are still acquiring vocabulary and grammar in their native language, and find it difficult to take perspectives of others (Lightfoot, Cole, & Cole, 2013). Thus, the factors of language and peer interactions are likely to affect their experiences in unique ways.

In conclusion, the literature review is the foundation for the dissertation, particularly its conceptual framework and methods of study. The various factors within the conceptual framework stem from three bodies of literature - Focusing on the Classroom, Focusing on Low-Income Students, Focusing on Immigrants. This dissertation describes within and outside-of-school factors, and explains the dynamic among them, connecting various bodies of literature, ultimately capturing the complexity of student experience. The sample, preschool students from various parts of Central and South America, as well India and Pakistan, is selected purposefully to diversify literature

according to age and national origin. Each student is traced to a particular town and country of origin to avoid generalizations. Generalizations are also avoided through the collection of qualitative data, inclusive of interviews, field observations, as well as teacher and student assessments, all used to build an in-depth understanding of immigrant student experience. Methods are fully described in the following chapter.

## CHAPTER 3

### Overview of the Study

#### Methods

The overarching research question of this study was, *How do various factors shape preschool experiences of low-income immigrant students of Hispanic and Asian descent?* In an attempt to answer this question, two research questions were developed: (a) How do within-school factors (teacher-student interactions, peer interactions, and classroom culture) shape low-income Hispanic and Asian immigrant students' preschool experiences? and (b) How do outside-of-school factors (families' immigration processes, access and use of social and cultural capital, and culture) shape low-income Hispanic and Asian immigrant students' preschool experiences? This chapter describes the methods used to address these questions, including where the study was conducted, who was part of the study, and how data were collected. It also explains why each decision was made. Approval for the study was obtained February 15, 2013 from the Institutional Review Board of the university (Protocol 13-427 MC).

#### Where?

The study was conducted in a preschool Head Start program in New Jersey, referred to herein by the pseudonym Brillar Preschool. The school's educational model is holistic, supporting child development across various domains, including academic, social, emotional, and physical. The school has partnerships with local communities to provide students and their families with various support systems. During the time of the study, for example, a dentist visited the building and examined every student. Also, each student is assigned to a family advocate who is responsible for assisting families with a

range of issues, including access to services such as welfare. The preschool is data driven. For example, the preschool staff collects a variety of information about child outcomes, students' family goals, and employee satisfaction. Utilizing this information, the school makes decisions about serving its students, families, and employees. Several studies have indicated that this Head Start program has outperformed others in terms of student gains in vocabulary and math.

Brillar Preschool was chosen because its population aligned with the goals of the study. Studying a preschool allowed diversification of adolescent-centered literature on immigrant students. Also, the preschool is a Head Start program, receiving funds from the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services to provide services to low-income families. First launched in 1965 as part of President Johnson's War on Poverty, it is one of the longest-running programs to address systemic poverty (Kagan, 2002). Studying a Head Start program allowed a focus on children from low-income backgrounds. The program is located in a diverse town, with a population that is 19% Asian and 31% Hispanic. Thus, the study could focus on immigrants from Central and South America, as well as Asia, specifically India and Pakistan. The school was a viable option because of access, which I gained because of my prior work with one of its employees.

During the course of the study I spent time in two of the four classrooms in the center and studied three classes in those rooms. First, since the study's goal was to develop a rich, deep understanding of factors that shape immigrant student experience, it was more constructive to limit the number of classrooms and focus on depth rather than breadth of data. Second, since this was a study of Hispanic and Asian immigrants, classroom population was considered in selecting classrooms. All classrooms in the



school have Hispanic and Asian students. However, the one half-day classroom in the center has an especially high Asian student population. (Priority for the three full-day session classrooms is given to single-parent households or households with two working parents. Many of the Asian students come from two-parent family homes and have stay-at-home mothers, so they are placed in the half-day preschool.) Because of the high Asian population in the half-day classroom, the one half-day classroom was selected as a site of study. The children who attend the AM and PM session were studied. I also took into consideration the comfort of teachers when selecting classrooms to study. The half-day classroom teacher expressed comfort and excitement about the study. In terms of the full-day classrooms, since all have similar student populations, I chose the classroom whose teacher enthusiastically volunteered to participate in the study.

All families with children in the two selected classrooms received consent forms (Appendices A and B).

### **Who?**

The whole-class dynamic was studied in three classrooms, designated 2 AM, 2 PM, and 3. Each class was studied in entirety: 15 students in Class 2 AM, 15 in Class 2 PM, and 20 in Class 3, along with their teachers. In addition, 12 of the immigrant students were studied in depth (based on parental consent and parental availability to interview). Four students were studied from each class; six were from Central or South America and six were from Asia.

Sampling was purposeful. Conducting class-level study contextualized the study, while studying students in detail provided in-depth information about immigrant student experience. Class-level study was conducted in three class in two classrooms. Since the

preschool entails five classes and 12 of the 26 students, the study included the majority of the school population. I studied each student holistically to understand the school and home factors that shape their experience. The sample size was chosen strategically: large enough to draw parallels between various cases but small enough to meet the goal of the study, which was to provide an in-depth analysis of immigrant students. A larger sample size would have reduced the ability to focus on individuals in detail. Thus, in addition to parallels between cases, the design met the study purpose (Bogdan & Knopp, 1998; Cohen, L., Manion, & Morrison, 2011; Lewis-Beck, Bryman, & Futing Liao, 2004; Sandelowski, 1995).

The population was chosen because it relevant to contemporary immigrants to America, including New Jersey. By focusing on low-income immigrants, the study relates to the current immigrant demographic. As the literature review indicated, the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965 removed national origins quota, and newly arrived immigrants were much more likely to be poorer than those of earlier generations. In 1960, for example, the average immigrant man living in the United States earned about 4% more than the average native man. By 1998, the average immigrant man earned about 23% less than the average native man (Borjas, 1999). Children from first-generation immigrant families are disproportionately likely to be poor; nearly one fourth of all children from immigrant families lived below the federal poverty line in 2004 (Rector, 2006). Understanding low-income immigrant groups is contemporarily relevant because immigrant children are disproportionately affected by poverty.

This study focused on students from Central and South America, as well as Asia, for similar reasons. Currently, more than half of U.S. immigrants come from Central and

South America, and the number of Asian immigrants is on the rise (U.S. Census Bureau, 2010). At the turn of the century, 50% of immigrants to the United States came from Latin America and 30% came from Asia (Borjas, 1999). Studying these groups is especially relevant in New Jersey, a state with a historically high immigrant population. In 2011, 1.9 million immigrants, most from Central and South America or Asia, resided in New Jersey, comprising 21% of the state's population (Britz & Batalova, 2013).

### **How?**

In an attempt to understand and describe the factors that shape student experience of immigrant children, I used a qualitative research paradigm. Qualitative research was used because, as Locke, Spirduso, and Silverman (1987) pointed out, it is an investigative process that is instrumental in attempting to understand a particular social situation, event, role, group, or interaction.

This study was qualitative for several reasons. First, data collection took place in the natural setting. Two Pre-Kindergarten classrooms, housing three classes, were observed. Second, multiple forms of data were collected, through interviews with parents and teachers, observations of the classrooms and the interactions within, and analysis of documents (student work samples and assessments). The research process was emergent in that I welcomed changes or shifts to the research agenda if doing so allowed me to address the research questions more effectively.

**Class-level analyses.** Chapter 4 presents the results of class-level analyses of factors that shape student experiences. The class-level data were collected to contextualize the study (by providing information about each classroom) and to provide insight into student experience in that classroom. Data were collected in interviews and

field observations. Teachers were interviewed about their background and teaching experience. The Interview Consent Form and Protocol are included in Appendix C and Appendix D. Field observations were conducted from March 1 to June 1, 2013. They include notes regarding culture and interactions in the classroom. Supplemental information regarding teacher-student interactions and culture was gathered in observations using the Classroom Assessment Scoring System (CLASS) and Early Childhood Environmental Rating Scale (ECERS).

CLASS measures the quality of teacher-student interactions that support learning, based on three domains: emotional support, classroom organization, and instructional support. Head Start considers CLASS a reliable tool and utilizes the instrument to assess teacher-student interactions in various centers (Head Start, 2013). This instrument assisted in contextualizing the study and understanding classroom culture and interactions in the classroom.

The CLASS assessment was performed four or five times in each classroom. Each time CLASS was administered, the class was observed, on average, for four consecutive cycles (each cycle consisted of 20 minutes of observation and 10 minutes for scoring). Thus, four cycles equated to 2 hours of observation and scoring. CLASS was administered in this way in Class 2 PM and Class 3 four times and in Class 2 AM five times. Class 2 AM was observed an additional time because the first four observations were limited due to various events, mainly class schedule changes and elongated parent interviews.

ECERS is more holistic than CLASS in that it not only focuses on interactions in the classroom but also evaluates the physical space, including learning materials and

furnishings. Although the physical space in the classroom changed somewhat each time a new theme was studied, most fundamental furnishings that determine ECERS scores remained the same throughout the 3-month period. Observation of each classroom utilizing ECERS was performed twice during the course of the study. These visits resulted in data about the classroom, providing information to contextualize the study through insight into classroom culture and interactions in the classroom.

ECERS is acknowledged as a valid and credible tool to assess and study preschool classrooms. It has been used in major studies, including the Head Start FACES Study (Zill et al., 2001), Georgia Early Care Study (Maxwell, Early, Bryant, Kraus, & Hume, 2010), and Cost, Quality, and Child Outcomes Study (Helburn, 1995).

I took measures to ensure that my observations utilizing CLASS and ECERS were reliable. I was trained and certified to use CLASS through Teachstone. I attended a 2-day Observation Training session provided by a certified CLASS trainer and passed the required reliability test. I was trained in the use of ECERS by the National Institute for Early Education Research, where I attended training and passed a reliability test.

As stated in Chapter 1, student performance is part of student experience. Classroom observations assisted in understanding student performance. To further understand student performance, teachers shared their evaluations with me. Specifically, they completed the Preschool and Kindergarten Behavior Scale, 2nd Edition (PKBS-2) test for each student to provide information regarding social and behavioral skills. The PKBS-2 was selected because, as Brassard and Boehm (2007) indicated, the scale is brief and yet has excellent psychometric characteristics. The scale has been shown to be reliable, especially in terms of internal consistency (Fernandez et al., 2010).

I administered the Woodcock Johnson III Applied Problems Test 10 (WJ III) and the Peabody Language Inventory (PPVT). The WJ III assesses math performance and the PPVT assesses vocabulary development. These tests were administered to each student twice: once at the beginning of the study and once at the end. They were used to measure growth during the 3-month period of the study. The two measures were selected because they have been widely and successfully used in many studies, substantial information is available on technical properties, and the tests are considered reliable, as based on measures of split-half reliability and test-retest reliability (Barnett, Lamy, & Jung, 2005).

Information was collected about each classroom through teacher interviews, field observations that focused on the class as a whole, tools that evaluated the interactions in the classroom and the physical space (CLASS and ECERS), and tools that gauged student performance (PKBS-2, WJ III, and PPVT). These data accomplished two goals. First, they contextualized the study, meaning that it provided information about the setting. Second, in doing so, they provided insight into within-school factors (classroom culture, teacher-student interactions, and peer interactions) that shape student experience.

**Child-level analyses.** Chapter 4 provides a macro view, presenting information about the classroom and Chapters 5, 6, and 7 provide a more micro view, presenting information about individual immigrant students. Child-level analyses were critical to the study, especially since the primary purpose was to distill generalizations and assist in understanding immigrant students. Child-level field observations resulted in information regarding individual student performance, complementing data from teacher and parent interviews.

Child-level field observations took place from March 1 until June 1, 2013. These field notes were pivotal to the study, as they provided insight into each child's school experience in terms of student-teacher interactions and peer interactions. They also provide insight into student performance, which is part of the student experience. I tended to observe one child during a designated time to capture, in detail, the child's experience in the classroom. In other words, if I observed one child during a particular time on a given day, I observed another child on the following day. Since this was an emergent study, I did not always abide by the designated times that I had assigned for myself. When an event was occurring that related to the study, I shifted focus to that event. Ultimately, this led to collection of meaningful and relevant notes on each child at diverse times of the day: during independent time (such as quiet "reading" time), whole group interactions (such as introductory whole group meetings), small group interactions (such as playtime at centers), and meal times.

Field notes also provided insight regarding how the child was performing in the classroom. This insight was supplemented through a collection of work samples (specifically play plans) and the formal assessments (Early Learning Scale [ELS], WJ III, PPVT, and PKBS-2). This information was important because understanding student performance helps to understand student experience.

In addition to general teacher interviews, teacher interviews were also conducted about each child. The protocol for this interview is located in Appendix E. The interview provided valuable insight into each student's school and home life.

Parent interviews were also conducted about each child. Consent forms and protocols are located in Appendices F through J. As shown in the appendices, parents

were interviewed once or twice, depending on the breadth of the first interview and parental availability. The second interview asked parents to elaborate on ideas shared in the first interview. Also as shown in the appendices, interviews were conducted in each parent's preferred language: English, Spanish, or Urdu. Spanish and Urdu interviews were performed with the assistance of translators who were native Spanish and Urdu speakers. The Spanish translator was Damaris DeJesus, a clerk and friend from the preschool, and the Urdu translator was Marryum Hafeez, a colleague and friend from graduate school. These interviews provide information regarding each student's family life, including information regarding familial social and cultural capital, culture, and immigrant experience.

All interviews were conducted individually and face to face. The interviews addressed the complexity and diversity of the factors that shape immigrant student experience without grouping immigrants of distinct backgrounds into a general category. The interviews were semistructured. A protocol was used as a guide but was not strictly followed. The semistructured format assisted in staying on topic but also left room for conversations to unfold naturally. At times, this allowed participants to share relevant information beyond the questions that were posed to them.

Information was collected about each child via field observations, tools that assessed student performance in the classroom (field notes, play plans, ELS, WJ III, PPVT, PKBS-2), and teacher and parent interviews. These data provided insight to address the research questions. They focused on within-school factors (teacher-student interactions, peer interactions, and classroom culture) and outside-of-school factors



(families' immigration processes, access and use of social and cultural capital, and culture) that shape student experience.

## **CHAPTER 4**

### **Class-Level Analyses**

Chapter 4 is not solely about immigrant students. Instead, it provides information about the classrooms where immigrant students learn. Although this chapter is not solely about immigrant students, it is critical in understanding the dynamics that shape immigrant student experience in preschool. It contextualizes the immigrant student accounts that are presented in Chapters 5, 6, and 7 by reporting class-level data about (a) teachers, (b) students, (c) school curriculum and classroom schedule, (d) interactions in the classroom, (e) classroom culture, and (f) student performance.

### **The Teachers**

This section first provides information about Katie, the head teacher of Class 2 AM and Class 2 PM, and Jade, who is the head teacher of Class 3, a full-day session. Information is included about their personal and professional backgrounds.

#### **Katie's Personal Background**

Katie was born in Jersey City and raised in Secaucus. Her father is an immigrant from the Philippines who came to the United States as a 10-year-old boy. As a teenager, he began college in the United States. While in college, he was offered a job with the postal service. He accepted it and has worked as a mail carrier ever since. Katie's mother is also an immigrant from the Philippines who came to the United States in her early 20s. Although she earned a Bachelor's degree in psychology in the Philippines, she is unable to use it in the United States. Therefore, she works for Liz Claiborne as an allocator. Katie has three sisters. One is a nurse who graduated from Farleigh Dickinson University, another is a nutritionist who graduated from Montclair State University, and the youngest

is studying journalism at Boston University. Katie has spent her whole life in Secaucus. She attended high school there and continues to live there.

Katie considers herself to be Filipino. She said that when she completes forms that provide limited options to specify her ethnicity, she usually classifies herself as Asian, but she explained that she does not think Asian is the same as Filipino. She mentioned that some believe that Pacific Islander is a better description, but others think that Pacific Islander is just as limiting because it refers to Samoa. However, she mentioned that she was very involved with the Asian club while attending Montclair State University.

Katie speaks only English. Although her father speaks Tagalog and her mother speaks Tagalog and Elongo, they did not teach her their native languages because they did not want to confuse her. They spoke to her only in English, which she considers to be a limitation, particularly in terms of connecting with her culture. She commented that some people from the Philippines judge her for not speaking the language. As a result, she encourages her students' parents to teach their native language to their children.

### **Katie's Professional Background**

Before working at Head Start, Katie completed Family and Child Studies at Montclair State University. She earned a Bachelor's degree there, along with certifications to teach Early Childhood Education and Elementary Education. She learned about this Head Start program at a job fair at Montclair State University. After graduating, she worked as a substitute teacher during summer 2012 and became the lead teacher in August 2012. During the course of the current study, Katie was in her first year of teaching.

Katie wanted to be a teacher because of her past experiences. Coming from a large and close-knit family, she often took care of her younger cousins. Through her interactions with them, she realized that she enjoyed working with children. Her field experience in high school further shaped her desire to teach and helped her to realize which level she preferred. While attending Secaucus High School, she participated in the Educators in Training program. During her junior year, the program allowed her to serve as a teacher's assistant in a Pre-Kindergarten classroom. Because the experience was positive, she participated in it again in the following year, this time dividing her time between kindergarten and fifth-grade classrooms. It was through this experience that she discovered her preference for early childhood education.

Katie named a few challenges that she encountered as a teacher. First, she noted that her college program focused more on elementary education than on early childhood education. She wished that she had been exposed more to early childhood curricula before starting at the preschool. Once Katie began teaching a diverse class, she encountered language as a barrier. Translators were not always available to accompany her to visit her students' homes and to assist during parent-teacher conferences, so sometimes she was unable to communicate with parents. It upset her that parents were not able to communicate their concerns and were uncomfortable during meetings. She also had difficulty in communicating with her students. "For the first couple months, I'm like 'I can't talk to anybody.' It was really upsetting." She also shared, "At the beginning of the year I actually was relatively depressed because like I can't talk to any of the kids, you know?" In addition to the language barrier, Katie found the half-day schedule to be

too compact. She found it difficult to stay on schedule, yet cater to all the children's needs.

I feel like it's a very fast pace, like it's a very fast-paced day and I do feel guilty for the children who are really just confused. I would love to just be like . . . "write this down, write this down" . . . but now I feel like it's constantly like we're doing this . . . go here . . . go here.

### **Jade's Personal Background**

Jade was born in Perth Amboy to parents of Puerto Rican descent. Her father was born in Puerto Rico and her mother was born in the United States to Puerto Rican parents. At the age of 10, when Jade's parents were divorced, she moved to Puerto Rico with her mother. She completed elementary, middle, and high school there, as well as college. Jade returned to the United States a couple of years after completing college in Puerto Rico. She lives with her husband and daughter, with extended family nearby. After school, she helps run her family cleaning business.

Jade sees herself as a mix of Puerto Rican and American, as well as Hispanic. She speaks Spanish at home and encourages her students' parents to speak in their native language to their children. When she learned that her students' parents were speaking in their native language, she told them, "Never stop that." When parents expressed concern about their children responding only in English, Jade told them about her daughter, with whom she has had similar experiences. When Jade spoke to her daughter in Spanish, her daughter often responded in English. This changed when Jade was firm, indicating that she would not respond to her unless she spoke in Spanish. Her daughter began to understand the importance of speaking Spanish once Jade explained the need to communicate with family in Puerto Rico.

**Jade's Professional Background**

Jade attended the Inter-American University of Puerto Rico, a private school. She chose a private school over a public school because it was less stressful and allowed her to complete her degree quickly. She finished a Bachelor's degree in 3.5 years, which included a semester off to have her baby. She finished school with a certificate that allowed her to teach in Puerto Rico. She is certified here to teach ESL to students in Kindergarten through 12th grade. She recalled that she had known that she wanted to be an English teacher who worked with younger students since she was a little girl.

Jade started teaching in Puerto Rico in a federal program that assisted children in poverty, where she worked with seventh graders. Shortly after that, she taught 10th, 11th, and 12th graders. After graduating, she filled in for a maternity leave at a private school, teaching Pre-K for 6 months. She also worked at the public school, teaching first grade for a year.

Jade's first teaching job in the United States was at Brillar. She was the head teacher for 2 years, then left to work as an assistant at a preschool in another town and affiliated with the town's public school district. That preschool gave her the opportunity to work in a district school, which is her ultimate goal. Being an assistant gave her time to complete requirements for teacher certification in Early Childhood Education. At the time of the interview, she had taken the Praxis and was going through the last steps of her paperwork to acquire certification. At the time of the interview, Jade has been teaching for 5 years.

When I asked Jade about difficulties in her classroom, she mentioned the advantage that she has because she speaks Spanish. She commented that it is difficult at

the beginning of the school year for teachers who share a common language with their students.

If I understand the language, fine. If you don't understand the language, it is difficult because you can't communicate with them. And probably, they're hurting but you don't know . . . and it's really hard to understand what they need if you don't understand them.

In addition to being able to communicate with her Spanish-speaking students, at the beginning of the school year Class 3 often had a substitute teacher who spoke Hindi and could serve as translator for Punjabi- and Urdu-speaking students.

Although Jade did not mention struggles as a teacher, she observed that her English is not perfect. She completed second grade in the United States but the rest of her education was in Spanish in Puerto Rico. She and her assistant (who struggles in Spanish) tend to correct each other in their preferred language.

### **The Students**

Information about the students was collected through review of census data and school records. As a Head Start program, Brillar Preschool has students from low-income backgrounds. The school is located in a town in New Jersey that is diverse, with a population that is 19% Asian and 31% Hispanic (U.S. Census Bureau, 2010). The diversity of the students in the studied classrooms is somewhat reflective of the diversity of the school population. The school serves mostly Hispanic students, as well as a significant number of Asian students. Within the target classrooms (Class 2AM, Class 2PM, Class 3), the demographics were as follows: 21 Hispanic students (13 from first-generation immigrant families), 13 Asian students (all from first-generation immigrant families), 9 African American students, 4 White non-immigrant students, and 2 students who do not fit in any of these categories (they are from first-generation immigrant

families from Jamaica and Poland). Table 1 summarizes the demographics of the students in the targeted classes. As evident in the table, half-day classes (Class 2 AM and Class 2 PM) were predominantly attended by Asian students from first-generation immigrant families, while Class 3 (the full-day class) was predominantly attended by Hispanic students from first-generation immigrant families.

Table 1

*Distribution of Classroom Populations in Brillar Preschool*

Class	Hispanic students from first-generation immigrant families	Hispanic students from subsequent-generation immigrant families	Asian students from first-generation immigrant families	African American students	White non-immigrant students	Other
Class 2 AM	3	2	5	2	2	1 (Jamaica)
Class 2 PM	4	3	5	2	1	0
Class 3	7	3	3	5	1	1 (Poland)
Total	13	8	13	9	4	2

### **School Curriculum and Class Schedules**

This section describes the curriculum and class schedules of the study's teachers and students. Data were derived through study of the Tools of the Mind Curriculum, as well as field observations.

At the time of the study, the school was using the Tools of the Mind Curriculum, established in 1933 at Metropolitan State College of Denver by Dr. Deborah Leong and Dr. Elena Bodrova, who studied with students and colleagues of Lev Vygotsky.



Vygotsky was one of the most famous developmental theorists. His theories, developed at the beginning of the 20th century in modern-day Russia, transformed the field of child development. Vygotsky (1986) developed the concepts of *zone of proximal development*, which stresses that new knowledge is dependent on previous learning, and *scaffolding*, a related concept that refers to the level of support that a learner needs to grow. Both concepts are often implemented in classrooms, including those that are reported in this dissertation. The classrooms applied Vygotskian-based concepts that encourage the teacher to know students' developmental levels and develop an awareness of what to expect next from students. This awareness allows the teacher to scaffold children, or support them with appropriate hints and prompts to move them to the next developmental level. The curriculum assists students to develop self-regulation, which enables learning (Tools of the Mind, 2013a).

At the core of the curriculum is the practice of play planning. In most preschools it is common to have specific types of play materials organized in specific centers. Preschools that follow the Tools of the Mind curriculum assign a specific color to each center. Each color-coded center serves two purposes. First, each center houses various toys that are used for free play. The brown center has blocks, the blue center has table toys, the orange center has dramatic play materials, the green center has science materials, and so forth. Second, each class studies a thematic unit for several weeks, such as "Doctor's Office" or "Community Helpers." Each center is then transformed into a setting that coincides with the theme of that particular unit. When studying "Doctor's Office," the brown center, in addition to housing blocks, had an ambulance and helicopter made of cardboard, signifying the Emergency Medical Technician; the blue center, in

addition to housing table toys, had various medical supplies, such as bandages, signifying the supply store, and so forth. The Tools of the Mind curriculum encourages students to choose a play center. Children in Class 3 may choose from thematic unit centers in the morning and from free play centers in the afternoon. Children in Class 2 AM and Class 2 PM (Katie's classes) may choose from thematic unit centers only.

After choosing a center, students are to plan their play for that center. Planning consists of drawing, and eventually writing, what they will do in the center. Their drawing and writing are done with a marker whose color matches the color of the center. This practice helps the child to remember which center was chosen. By selecting a center, devising a plan, and adhering to the plan, children learn self-regulation (Tools of the Mind, 2013b).

In addition to teaching self-regulation, play plans encourage development of literacy. At first, as they play plan, students may draw pictures while teachers write messages, elaborating on the pictures. Students are encouraged to verbalize the message, which teachers write under the picture. Eventually, children take increasing ownership of their messages. They begin by making lines to symbolize words. Again, the teacher assists in writing the message, but this time tracing the lines that the students have created. Next, students begin to write initial sounds on top of their lines, followed by initial and final sounds. In essence, students are encouraged, step by step, to draw a picture and write a message that denotes the plan for their play (Tools of the Mind, 2013b).

While play planning is an integral part of each day, classes also participate in other activities. All participate in the "mystery game" in the morning. Upon entering the

classroom, students are asked to solve a “mystery” that is displayed on a pocket chart. Mystery games vary, some targeting math skills, others literacy skills. For example, one mystery game featured a card with a certain number of items and two numbers below them. The children were asked to place their name tags under the number that related to the picture. Although various subject areas are targeted through the mystery game, students are always asked to place their name tags in the pocket chart below the correct answer, and they always choose from two options. After the game, the group convenes for morning meeting, in which the day of the week, weather, and message of the day are discussed. The teacher writes the message of the day on the whiteboard. This message foreshadows an event that will take place in the classroom. Other activities that are part of the schedule are story time, outside play, and two meals.

In terms of catering to ELL students, Brillar Preschool embraces an immersion program. Students are taught English through regular school curriculum in the target language (Met, 1993). Krashen (1981) noted the importance of adjusting curriculum for ELL students. His research highlights the effectiveness of teaching regular school curriculum to ELL students in a way that is comprehensible (Krashen, 1985). Such a method of instruction is embraced in all Brillar classrooms. Katie attempted to make her curriculum comprehensible by devising visuals, such as cards with pictures of potential activities for centers. Jade emphasized teaching through Total Physical Response, a language-teaching method that emphasizes the importance of listening to the target language. She also gave Spanish-speaking students the option of using their native language when the need arose.

The activities described above are consistent between classes. Because Class 2 (Katie's class) hosts two half-day classes and Class 3 (Jade's class) hosts one full-day class, there is some variation in schedules. There are three major differences, entailing naptime, play in centers, and length of activities. Full-day students take a nap but half-day students do not take a nap. Also, full-day students use centers for dual purposes. They have time in the morning to use centers for thematic play (described above) and time in the afternoon to use centers for free play. Half-day students, on the other hand, participate only in thematic play. Certain activities, such as outside play, are allotted less time in Class 2 (Katie's class).

### **Interactions in the Classroom**

This section explores factors within the classroom: teacher-student interactions and peer interactions.

#### **Teacher-Student Interactions**

As described in Chapter 3, CLASS and field notes were utilized to gain insight into teacher-student interactions. CLASS assesses three broad domains of interactions between teachers and students: emotional support, classroom organization, and instructional support. Each domain includes several dimensions. Emotional support includes positive and negative climate, teacher sensitivity, and regard for student perspective; classroom organization includes behavior management, productivity and instructional learning formats; and instructional support includes concepts development, quality of feedback, and language modeling. CLASS scores are derived from a 7-point scale. A low score range is denoted by 1-2 points, middle by 3-5 points, and high by 6-7 points. For all domains (with the exception of negative climate), a higher score indicates

a more effective classroom. For the negative climate domain, a lower score indicates less negativity in the classroom, which is more effective and desirable.

This section on teacher-student interactions addresses each of the three domains: emotional support, classroom organization, and instructional support. CLASS findings are supplemented with field observations to describe teacher-student interactions in Class 2 AM and 2 PM (Katie's classes) and Class 3 (Jade's class).

**Emotional support.** Description of all emotional support dimensions (positive climate, teacher sensitivity, regard for student perspectives) and the scores for each class (2 AM, 2 PM, and 3) is presented in Table 2. Class 3 (Jade's class) scored highest on CLASS in all dimensions of emotional support (positive climate, teacher sensitivity, and regard for student perspectives), except for negative climate. Scores in Class 2 AM and Class 2 PM (Katie's classes) were very similar to one another, with Class 2 AM's scores only slightly higher than those for Class 2 PM.

Field notes indicate that Class 2 AM and Class 2 PM (Katie's classes) and Class 3 (Jade's class) displayed similarities. The teachers were observed to comfort students in all three classrooms. In Class 2 AM and Class 2 PM (Katie's classes), students were usually comforted when they experienced anxiety due to separation from their parents. On April 2 and April 22, Katie and her assistant approached and usually held upset children in their arms, reassuring them that they would see their parents soon. In Class 3 (Jade's class), a student was anxious about seeing the dentist. Holding the student's hand, Jade went to the dentist with her.

Also, in both classrooms, the teachers were observed being responsive to students' needs, including academic needs. In Class 3 (Jade's class) on April 2, for

Table 2

*Averages of Classroom Assessment Scoring System (CLASS) Results: Emotional Support*

Dimension	Description of Dimension	Class 2 AM	Class 2 PM	Class 3
Positive Climate	Considers the warmth and respect displayed in teachers and student interactions with one another as well as the degree to which they display enjoyment and enthusiasm during learning activities (Hamre, Goffin, Sayre, 2009).	4.6	3.8	5.9
Negative Climate	This is the only place on the assessment where a lower score is a better score. Negative climate encompasses negative affect (irritability, anger, use of harsh voice), punitive control (yelling, threatening, physical actions/punishments), and teacher, as well as child negativity (sarcasm, teasing, escalation of frustration, escalation of negativity).	1.2	1.4	1.0
Teacher Sensitivity	Encompasses teachers' responsiveness to students' needs and awareness of students' level of academic and emotional functioning. The highly sensitive teacher helps students see adults as a resource and creates an environment in which students feel safe and free to explore and learn (Hamre et al., 2009).	4.9	4.5	6.3
Regard for Students' Perspective	The degree to which the teacher's interactions with students and classroom activities place an emphasis on students' interests, motivations, and points of view, rather than being very teacher-driven. This may be demonstrated by teachers' flexibility with activities and respect for the students' autonomy to participate in and initiate activities (Hamre et al., 2009).	4.1	3.9	5.7

example, when a student told the teacher's assistant that she had made a rainbow, the assistant elaborated, stating, "That shape is an arch." Similarly, in Class 2 PM (Katie's class), on May 9, when a student told the teacher that she had made a triangle, the teacher asked a follow-up question: "How do you know it's a triangle?" The student responded, "Because it has three sides." Such interactions indicated that teachers in all three classrooms comforted students and were responsive to student needs.

Differences emerged in the degree of consistency of such interactions. In Class 3 (Jade's class), comforting interactions were rather consistent. In Class 2 AM and Class 2 PM (Katie's classes), they occurred but so did episodes of negative affect and episodes of limited responsiveness. In Class 2 AM and Class 2 PM, negative affect was displayed, particularly toward ELL students. In Class 2 AM, when an ELL student did not clean, a teacher screamed the child's name and announced, "This kid does not pay attention." Such interactions were even more pronounced in Class 2 PM. When a Spanish-speaking student tried to express himself in English on May 14, the assistant did not make an effort to understand the student. Instead, she looked at him and said, "English please." Similarly, when the same student tried to express himself a few days later, he was told, "I have no idea what you're saying. Who speaks Spanish? I have no idea what is going on. Just stop." In essence, although comforting interactions took place in Class 2 AM and Class 2 PM, negative affect was pronounced at times, particularly in Class 2 PM toward ELL students.

Similarly, there was more consistency in Class 3 in terms of responsiveness. In all classrooms, teacher responses were elaborate, challenging students to think further about various concepts. However, in Class 2 AM and Class 2 PM, in addition to elaborate responses, brief responses that did not lead to student learning were observed. For example, on May 22 in Class 2 PM, a student pointed to a name tag and asked, "Is this me?" The teacher responded very briefly, "No." She answered the question but did not direct him to the proper name tag. Similarly, in Class 2 AM on May 28, when a student asked where his center was, the teacher responded by naming the color of the center that he had chosen: "Green." The student seemed unaware of which center was the "green"

center, so he asked, “There?” while pointing to the blue center. The teacher quickly responded, “No, the green.” The student stood confused for quite a while, as opposed to engaging in play, until he was directed to the proper center by having it physically pointed out to him.

Along similar lines, teachers did not consistently elaborate upon student answers. On March 19, during play planning in Class 2 PM, one student chose a center that was full and continued to talk about it, even after the teacher had stated that it was closed. Another student did not respond when asked what he planned to do in his center. Even though one student fixated on a center that was not a viable option for play and another did not respond, the teacher went on to play plan with other students. The two students who seemed to need further direction began to scribble on their play plans.

To reiterate, teachers in Classes 2 AM and Class 2 PM (Katie’s classes) and Class 3 (Jade’s class) comforted students and were responsive to students’ needs. In Class 3, such interactions were quite consistent, while in Class 2 AM and Class 2 PM, particularly in Class 2 PM, such interactions were sometimes episodes of negative affect and limited responsiveness. This is reflected in CLASS scores.

**Organizational support.** This section focuses on organizational support, which includes behavior management, productivity, and instructional learning formats, all of which are described and rated in Table 3 .

As indicated in Table 3, Class 3 (Jade’s class) scored highest on this domain. All scores for Class 3 are in the high range, while those in Class 2 AM and Class 2 PM are in the low-middle range. Field observations explained why this was the case.



Table 3

*Averages of Classroom Assessment Scoring System (CLASS) Results: Organizational Support*

Dimension	Description of Dimension	Class 2 AM	Class 2 PM	Class 3
Behavior Management	Encompasses teachers' ability to use effective methods to prevent and redirect misbehavior by presenting clear behavioral expectations and minimizing time spent on behavioral issues (Hamre et al., 2009).	4.2	3.8	6.2
Productivity	Considers how well teachers manage instructional time and routines so that students have maximum number of opportunities to learn. Not related to the quality of instruction, but rather teachers efficiency (Hamre et al., 2009).	4.3	4.2	6.1
Instructional Learning Formats	The degree to which teachers maximize students' engagement and ability to learn by providing interesting activities, instruction, centers, and materials. Considers the manner in which the teacher facilitates activities so that students have opportunities to experience, perceive, explore, and utilize materials (Hamre et al., 2009).	3.7	3.9	5.8

Field observations indicated that episodes of misbehavior occurred all three classrooms. In Class 3, such misbehavior was usually noticed, acknowledged, and addressed by the teacher. This was not usually the case in Class 2 AM and Class 2 PM, where rules were not enforced. It was not uncommon for students to wander around the room and play in a center that did not match the play plan that the child had produced. At times, the teachers addressed the issue, asking children to return to the proper center; at other times, they began to address the issue but stopped when the child refused to follow directions; and at other times, misbehavior was overlooked and not addressed at all. This often led to escalation of misbehavior. In terms of behavior management techniques, teachers in Class 3 (Jade's class) tended to be more proactive and teachers in Class 2 AM

and Class 2 PM (Katie's classes) tended to be more reactive. In Class 3, when children were seated on the carpet, it was common for both teachers to be there with them. In Class 2 AM and Class 2 PM, there was usually one teacher on the carpet until an episode of student misbehavior took place, at which time the assistant joined the group on the carpet. Along similar lines, in Class 3 the carpet was colorful and had pictures and letters on it, and certain students were strategically asked to sit on a specific letter or picture before a lesson started. In Class 2 AM and Class 2 PM, the carpet was one color and the children selected their own seats. Once the lesson was conducted, children were redirected, which interrupted the lesson.

The point that actions have consequences was often reinforced in Class 3. Children were reminded that they were allowed to dance to their favorite song only if they had cleaned up properly, to go outside if they had finished playing a game, and to play as soon as they had planned their play. The children were reminded that they were in control of the day and that their actions led to specific consequences. In essence, although misbehaviors occurred in all classrooms, they were more likely to be addressed in Class 3, and often in proactive ways. Proactive behavior management included increasing the teacher-to-student ratio on the carpet, assigning seats on the carpet, and making the point that actions have consequences.

An important aspect of behavior management is consistency. As demonstrated above, the teachers in Class 2 AM and Class 2 PM (Katie's classes) sometimes addressed misbehaviors but at other times began but stopped when children refused to follow directions, and even sometimes overlooked or failed to address misbehavior. The Class 3 teachers were more consistent. With the exception of children who struggled with

particular issues during a given day, all were usually expected to participate in specific activities. Expectations were consistent and students displayed familiarity with routines. For example, on April 5, before starting an activity, the teacher said to the students, “When you get your marker cap off and marker in the air, what will that tell me?” The group responded, “That we’re ready!” Specific proactive methods of behavior management had been presented consistently enough for students to predict how they should behave. They seemed to understand and live up to expectations.

Behavior issues escalated at times in Class 2 AM and Class 2 PM (Katie’s classes). This often diminished productivity. In Class 2 PM on April 23, for example, the teacher attempted to read a book and then teach a lesson using buttons. However, misbehavior escalated, and she spent about 12 minutes redirecting students. Unable to get the students to tune in, the book and the button were put away and the students were asked to move to the next activity: play planning. The lesson did not take place. Thus, misbehavior impeded productivity. Productivity was also disrupted, especially in Class 2 PM, due to long periods of waiting. On April 23, two students waited for 10 to 15 minutes to have their play plans checked. While waiting, they began to draw on the tables. An interesting cycle often unfolded in which misbehavior led to prolonged transitions that led to further misbehavior.

The analysis of instructional learning formats (the degree to which teachers maximize students’ engagement and ability to learn by providing interesting activities, instruction, centers, and materials) examines the way in which directions were offered to students. In all classes, directions were offered through physical (e.g., touching a student’s shoulder to get the student’s attention) and verbal cues, or a combination of

both. Verbal cues were often quite to the point. For example, on May 13 in Class 2 PM (Katie's class), the teacher wanted a student to tune into the lesson, and said, "Bart, listen!" Similarly, on May 13 in Class 3, when the teacher wanted a student to get up, she said, "Yurem, get up please. We are going to dance." At other times, verbal cues were less "to the point." Instead, students were required to use their imaginations for a given purpose. On May 13 and 20 in Class 2 PM (Katie's class), students were asked to get on a train. They were asked to use their imaginations as they lined up, thinking of the line as a train instead. Similarly, on March 13 in Class 3 (Jade's class), the teacher asked students to act like sleeping bunnies in an effort to calm them down, and on April 2 to fly over to their cubbies, just like the characters in *How I Lost My Mother*, to put on their coats. When the students were asked to use their imaginations, particularly coupled with movement (e.g., flying by moving their arms), they tended to be more engaged.

The students tended to follow directions easily when an activity was foreshadowed; it seemed to help students to mention an activity before it took place. For example, in Class 2 PM on May 13, the teacher said, "Few more minutes and the clean up song will come on." Similarly, in Class 3 on May 7, the teacher announced that clean up would take place in 5 minutes, which led to one student cleaning up early. Although proactive strategies were employed in all classes, directing through the use of imagination coupled with movement was frequently and consistently used in Class 3.

In conclusion, differences between Classes 2 AM and 2 PM (Katie's classes) and Class 3 (Jade's class) in terms of organizational support emerged through CLASS and field observations. Major differences between Katie's class and Jade's class included inconsistent versus consistent rule enforcement and reactive versus proactive classroom

management techniques. Since Jade enforced rules consistently and was proactive with behavior management, misbehavior rarely escalated and learning was rarely disrupted.

**Instructional support.** To this point, teacher-student interactions have been described in terms of emotional support and organizational support. This section presents student-teacher interactions regarding instructional support, which is studied through analysis of concept development, quality of feedback, and language modeling, all of which are reported in Table 4. Class 3 (Jade's class) scored highest on this domain. Analysis of field notes (which feature information regarding consistency and persistence, teacher engagement, and language) assist in understanding the discrepancies between classes.

Table 4

*Averages of Classroom Assessment Scoring System (CLASS) Results: Instructional Support*

Dimension	Description of Dimension	Class 2 AM	Class 2 PM	Class 3
Concept Development	The degree to which instructional discussions and activities promote students' higher order thinking skills versus focus on rote and fact-based learning (Hamre et al. 2009).	2.8	2.6	4.5
Quality of Feedback	Considers teachers' provision of feedback focused on expanding learning and understanding (formative evaluation) not correctness or the end product (summative evaluation) (Hamre et al., 2009).	3.4	3.7	5.5
Language Modeling	The quality and amount of teachers' use of language-stimulation and language-facilitation techniques during individual, small-group, and large-group interactions with children. Components of high-quality language modeling include self and parallel talk, open-ended questions, repetition, expansion/extension, and use of advanced language (Hamre et al., 2009).	3.0	3.3	5.0

Just as the teacher in Class 3 (Jade) was consistent and persistent with behavior management, she was also consistent and persistent with instructional routines. For example, although all classes participated in the mystery activity, only Class 3 reviewed the correct answer in a whole-group meeting on a daily basis. (The Mystery Activity is practiced in all classes, engaging students independently at the beginning of their school day. A question related to literacy or numeracy is placed in a pocket chart, with two potential answers below, one of which is correct. Students are to place their name tags below the correct answer.) Also, although all teachers were encouraged to model activities and play scenarios that were likely to unfold at centers, the modeling occurred routinely in Class 3 but sporadically in Class 2 AM and Class 2 PM. On April 3, for example, the Class 3 teacher and the assistant acted out how to play in the pharmacy. One teacher was the customer and the other was the pharmacist. The children were engaged by being asked questions regarding their interaction, such as, “How many [vitamins] are there? Are they all the same size?”

Limited consistency in Class 2 AM and Class 2 PM was attributed to teacher absence. Katie was absent first due to medical reasons and then because she left the job altogether (partially because she did not know whether the preschool would remain open due to sequester cuts). When Katie was absent, Class 2 AM and Class 2 PM were taught by various teachers, some who handled situations very differently from one another and some who were not trained as teachers. Substitute teachers often rotated, sometimes leading to unfulfilled promises. On April 14 in Class 2 AM, for example, the teacher told a student that she would teach him how to draw a body the following day. She was not

there on the following day. The new substitute teacher did not teach the student how to draw a body.

The teachers in Class 3 were more engaged than those in other classes. Even when children were playing independently, Jade provided ideas for play. On May 6, for example, she provided guidance for children playing in the hairdresser center. She told a student, “Ask the customer, ‘How would you like your hair done?’” She also provided ideas as they danced on April 3. As she danced along with them, she commented, “Hands up, move your feet. Good job. I like the volume,” followed by “How about if you kick and jump, kick and jump?” Teacher engagement was not as pronounced in other classes.

In addition to differences between classes in terms of consistency and engagement, language differences were observed. Although teachers made grammatical mistakes in Class 2 PM and Class 3 while interacting with students, the mistakes were most pronounced in Class 3. Some of the grammatically incorrect comments that Jade made were, “I don’t have no money with me” (April 3), “I don’t have no more babies” (April 3), “You can draw awesome” (April 8), and “I don’t have no more money to buy no more bins” (May 24). Students were observed to imitate the teacher’s speech. Furthermore, in terms of language, Jade used Spanish in the classroom to communicate with parents, and, very rarely but at times, to talk to students. She also sang Spanish songs and played games in Spanish with the entire class.

In summary, differences emerged between Classes 2 AM and 2PM (Katie’s classes) and Class 3 (Jade’s class) regarding instructional support. In Class 3 there was more consistency and persistence, as well as more teacher engagement than in Class 2 AM and Class 2 PM. Also, Spanish was used at times for whole group instruction and

one-on-one communication with students. However, grammatical mistakes made by the teacher were more pronounced in Class 3 .

### **Summary**

Similar teacher-student interactions in terms of emotional, organizational, and instructional support were observed in all classrooms: comforting interactions, responsiveness to students, effective directing (through use of imagination coupled with movement, as well as foreshadowing), as well as consistency, persistence, and teacher engagement during instruction. However, the use of imagination coupled with movement to direct students, as well as consistency, persistence, and teacher engagement during instruction were most pronounced in Class 3. Similarly, while comforting interactions and responsiveness to students were consistent in Class 3, in Class 2 AM and Class 2 PM they were coupled with episodes of negative affect and episodes of limited responsiveness. Major differences between Class 3 and Classes 2 AM and 2 PM entailed behavior management, use of proper English, and use of Spanish to instruct. Behavior management techniques were more consistent and proactive in Class 3. Proactive behavior management included increasing the teacher-to-student ratio on the carpet, assigning seats on the carpet, and stressing that actions have consequences. In terms of using proper English, the teacher in Class 3 tended to make more grammatical mistakes while teaching; she also used Spanish at times to communicate and instruct.

### **Peer Interactions**

This section describes interactions in the classroom by focusing on peer interactions. The data for this section were obtained via field observations. In all classes,



children were observed in scenarios of collaboration, conflict, and indifference. Most pronounced was the dynamic of mimicking one another's actions.

Children were observed in times of collaboration, conflict, and indifference in all three classes. In Classroom 2 AM on April 17, for example, a student was observed describing her play plan to a peer. The peer listened and then reacted by hugging the student. In Class 3 on March 13, a student asked a peer for help when unable to open a container; the peer gladly assisted. During times of play, some students were observed to speak in their native language or instruct others how to speak their native language. Two boys spoke to each other in Spanish while playing at the water table on April 2 in Class 2 PM, and two boys spoke to each other in Punjabi quite consistently in Class 3 (including on April 23 as they collaborated in building a structure with wooden blocks). In Class 3 on March 13, at the water table, one student was teaching another how to say *water* in Polish, while the other student was teaching him how to say *water* in Spanish. Such interactions in native languages occurred during times of play at centers.

Situations of conflict also emerged. Conflicts between peers in Class 3 tended to be verbal, while in Class 2 AM and Class 2 PM they tended to be physical. In Class 3, students called each other names, such as “baby” (April 18) and “stinky” (April 26). In Class 2 AM and Class 2 PM, students hit (April 11 in 2AM), kicked (April 24 in 2 AM), and pushed (May 9 and May 29 in 2 PM). In addition to these two extremes, many cases were noted in all classes, especially 2 AM, of children playing independently without reacting toward peers. Even when sharing a center, children participated in separate activities. In Class 3, the teacher often encouraged students to play together by providing ideas and phrases to use with one another.

In all classes, students imitated and mimicked one another, which at times shaped desirable behavior. In Class 3 on March 19 one student was fidgety on the carpet. He tried to place his head on his peer's back. The peer moved away, which led the fidgety student to focus on the teacher's instructions. Similarly, in Class 2 PM on April 8, a student climbed on the furniture to get a doll that the teacher had taken from her. When she had the doll in her hands, she told another student about it. When the student did not react enthusiastically, the first student became less excited about the doll. She put it down before moving to lunch. In general, as described above, Class 3 students were better behaved and positive behaviors were imitated more often than in the other classes.

Regarding learning, students were observed to repeat phrases after one another, particularly ELL students. In Class 2 AM on April 11, after a student had described the jungle that he had drawn, an ELL student at the same center looked at me and said, "jungle." In Class 2 PM on May 22, as a student spoke while playing, an ELL student repeated his phrases, including "Get out" and "You have 15 dollars?" In Class 3 on April 2, a student asked two ELL students, "Is the fire hydrant okay?" The two looked at each other and repeated the last part of the question: "fire hydrant."

While imitation and mimicking were sometimes positive, shaping desirable behavior in the classroom and facilitating learning, particularly vocabulary acquisition for ELL students, these actions sometimes led to chaos. In Class 2AM on May 2, for example, a student was making noises that interfered with the teacher reading a story to the class. Eventually, the majority of the class joined him in making such noises, limiting literacy time. Similarly, in Class 2 PM on April 6, several students walked off the carpet instead of participating in the instructional activity. In Class 3 on April 18, a student

imitated the student next to him and played with jewels on the bottom of her pants during instructional time. As evident from these three examples, imitation of misbehaviors tended to lead to chaos in Class 2 AM and Class 2 PM due to ineffective behavior management. Misbehavior tended to escalate in Class 2 AM and Class 2 PM, sometimes involving several people. Such misbehavior was often curbed in Class 3 before children mimicked the behavior.

In summary, in all three classrooms, children were observed in scenarios of collaboration, conflict, and indifference. Collaboration during center play sometimes led to children using their native languages with one another in Class 2 PM and Class 3. Teacher engagement, particularly sharing ideas for play, motivated students to play together. Most pronounced was the dynamic of imitating and mimicking another's actions. This simply replicated and intensified both positive and negative behaviors in the classroom. Since Class 3 was characterized by less misbehavior, positive behaviors were more likely to be imitated there. Along similar lines, since misbehavior tended to escalate in Class 2 AM and Class 2 PM, imitation of misbehaviors tended to lead to more chaos. In all classes, playing with peers at play centers led to learning. Students, particularly ELL students, were often observed to repeat phrases after one another. They were utilizing center time to communicate in their native languages in Classes 2 PM and Class 3 and to practice English in all classes.

### **Additional Aspects of Classroom Culture**

As Van Der Westhuizen et al. (2005) noted, culture is displayed through verbal expressions (such as language), behaviors (such as rituals), and visual representations (such as school uniforms). The preceding sections described classroom culture with focus

on verbal expression and behaviors. This section extends understanding of culture by presenting ECERS results to provide insight into verbal expressions, behaviors, and visual representation.

Findings from ECERS, particularly the subscales on Language and Reasoning, Interactions, and Program Structure, parallel findings from CLASS and field observations. Table 5 summarizes ECERS results, highlighting the three categories.

Table 5

*Early Childhood Environment Rating Scale (ECERS) Results*

Class	Date	Space and furnishing	Language and reasoning	Activities	Interactions	Program Structure
2AM	3/5/13	4.3	6.3	5.0	5.2	4.7
Katie	5/20/13	4.3	5.0	4.2	4.0	4.0
2 PM	3/5/13	4.3	5.8	5.0	4.4	4.3
Katie	5/20/13	4.1	3.5	3.9	4.2	4.0
3	3/4/13	4.5	6.3	5.1	6.4	6.7
Jade	5/23/13	5.6	6.3	5.1	7.0	6.0

As shown in Table 5, ECERS scores were highest in Classroom 3 for Language and Reasoning, Interactions, and Program Structure. Scores for Language and Reasoning were lower in Class 2 AM and Class 2 PM because of limited conversations between staff and children, particularly during free play and routines. For Interactions, the lower scores indicate limited engagement with children, particularly during gross motor activity, more reactive methods than proactive methods of behavior management, and lack of consistent positive affect between students and teachers and among peers. For

Program Structure, long transitions lowered score, so Class 3 had higher scores than Class 2 due to several factors: more frequent conversations between children and staff, fewer behavior management issues, more respect among class members, and quicker and more efficient transitions between activities. (All of these factors were described in reference to results obtained via CLASS and field observations.)

While the three categories lend to understanding expressions and behaviors in the classroom, more information was needed regarding visual representations to understand classroom culture. The two remaining categories listed in Table 5—Space and Furnishing and Activities—provide this information.

Scores for these two categories were highest for Class 3. Regarding Space and Furnishing, the score for Class 3 increased during the course of the study, mainly because furnishings for relaxation and quiet time were introduced into the classroom. At the beginning of March, cozy materials were rather scattered throughout the room. Several weeks later, quiet centers were established and placed so they did not interfere with more active centers. One such center allowed students to relax and provided materials to help them tune into and manage emotions. In addition to a couch and stuffed animals, the center housed a relaxation thermometer (where children could indicate how they were feeling), as well as books focused on molding strong character (e.g., *Hands Are Not for Hitting*). While scores on Space and Furnishing for Class 3 increased due to restructuring, they remained the same for Class 2 AM and Class 2 PM because cozy materials remained rather scattered throughout the study.

Classes 2 AM and Class 2 PM scored lower on Activities due to lack of availability of certain materials for a substantial portion of the day. As noted in the school

curriculum and class schedules, the preschool features a variety of centers: The brown center has blocks, the blue center has table toys, the orange center has dramatic play materials, the green center has science materials, and so forth. ECERS suggests that students have a substantial portion of the day to interact with these materials. However, in the half-day schedule that Class 2 AM and 2 PM follow, participation in these centers is limited. Since the priority is to cover thematic units (described in the section on school curriculum and class schedules), children interact in centers that are transformed into themes, as opposed to participating in free play utilizing the blocks in the brown center, table toys in the blue center, dramatic play in the orange center, and science in the green center. The shorter day and prioritizing the study of themes limits time for children to use with certain materials, particularly fine motor and science toys.

In summary, culture is displayed through verbal expressions (such as language), behaviors (such as rituals), and visual representations (such as school uniforms). The results of ECERS on Language and Reasoning, Interactions, and Program Structure were consistent with other observed differences between Classes 2 AM and PM and Class 3 in terms of verbal expressions and behaviors. Furthermore, results of ECERS regarding Space and Furnishing and Activities highlighted differences between the classrooms in terms of visual representations, stressing differences, particularly in terms of furnishings and time allotted for free play.

### **Student Performance**

Although the discussion of teachers, students, curriculum and schedule, interactions (teacher-student and peer interactions) in the classroom and classroom culture are important, this section addresses student experience by focusing on student

performance, since student experience is related to student performance. Because students are exposed to learning activities and assessments, collecting data about student performance can assist in understanding student experience.

Various data were collected regarding student performance. The PKBS-2 was used to gain insight into student social skills and behaviors. Teachers completed the PKBS-2 for each student. I administered the PPVT and WJ III to gauge student growth in vocabulary and math during the course of the study. Both were administered twice: once at the beginning and once at the end of the study.

Table 6 displays class averages of PKBS-2 scores and class averages of growth demonstrated on the PPVT (which tests vocabulary) and WJ III (which tests mathematical concepts). The PKBS-2 features two scores: Social Skills and Problem Behaviors. A higher Social Skills score is more desirable. Students with a standard score ranging from 88 to 71 are considered to be at moderate risk, while students with a standard score below 69 are considered to be at high risk. Students at risk have difficulty in socializing; they have trouble sharing toys and other belongings, are not confident in social situations, do not show affection towards others, and so forth. A lower Problem Behavior score is more desirable. Students with a standard score from 113 to 126 are considered to be at moderate risk, while students with a standard score above 126 are at high risk. Such students exhibit problem behaviors such as defiance, aggression, and restlessness.

The PKBS-2 scores parallel the findings discussed in the *interactions in the classroom* section. Class 3 (Jade's class) was managed in terms of behavior. As the PKBS-2 indicates, the students were rated, on average, as having highest social skills and

Table 6

*Class Averages: Preschool and Kindergarten Behavior Scale, 2nd Edition (PKBS-2), Peabody Language Inventory (PPVT), and Woodcock Johnson III (WJ III) Test 10 Applied Problems*

Class	PKBS-2 Social Skills Score	PKBS-2 Problem Behavior Score	Final PPVT Score	PPVT ScoreGrowth	Final WJ III Score	WJ III ScoreGrowth
2 AM (Katie)	103	104	38.9	+6.5	9.5	+2.2
2 PM (Katie)	91	101	30.4	+7.5	9.4	+3.3
3 (Jade)	115	81	46.5	+4.1	11.5	+2.9

lowest behavior problems. Class 2 PM, on average, had lowest social skills, while problem behaviors were similar to those in Class 2 AM.

Analysis of PKBS-2 scores resulted in an interesting theme. Only one student in Class 3 was labeled by the teacher as “at risk,” and he was not an immigrant student. In combined Classes 2 AM and 2 PM, eight students were labeled as “at risk,” each from a first-generation immigrant family and each in the process of learning English.

Table 6 reports PPVT and WJ III scores, used to assess growth in vocabulary and math skills during the 3-month field study period. All students (whether or not immigrants) were tested twice: once at the beginning and once at the end of the study. PPVT and WJ III final scores were highest in Class 3 (Jade’s class). Growth occurred in all classes, especially in Class 2 PM, where there was most room for growth.

In summary, this section provides interesting information regarding student performance. Children in Class 3 were rated as having highest social skills and lowest



problem behaviors. Although they did not show the most growth on the PPVT and WJ III during the 3-month period of the study, their scores were highest on the two assessments, which meant that they had the least room for growth. As expected, student performance was highest in Class 3, which was the strongest classroom according to CLASS, ECERS, and field notes analyses.

### **Chapter Summary**

This chapter provided class-level data, contextualizing the study and identifying factors that shape student experience in the classrooms in general. It included information about the teachers, the students, school curriculum and classroom schedule, interactions in the classroom (teacher-student interactions and peer interactions), classroom culture, and student performance. Similarities and differences in Class 2 AM, Class 2 PM, and Class 3 are summarized in Table 7.

This chapter contextualized the study of immigrant students by describing their classrooms. Although it focused on classrooms in general and the entire classroom population, it began exploration of factors that shape student experience specific to immigrant students.

First, Jade, teacher of Class 3, is certified to teach ESL and speaks Spanish. Having a few years of experience working with ELL students and speaking Spanish means that Jade has a certain level of knowledge in terms of instructing diverse populations and can communicate in Spanish with students and parents. Jade also involves Spanish in instruction, teaching students to count, sing, and play games in her native language.

Table 7

*Comparisons of Classrooms: Class-Based Analyses*

Elements of class-based analyses	Class 2 AM/ Class 2PM (Katie)	Class 3 (Jade)
Teachers	<p>Katie's parents are immigrants from Philippines.</p> <p>Katie was born and grew up in the United States.</p> <p>Katie speaks only English.</p> <p>Katie studied Family and Child Studies at Montclair State University.</p> <p>Katie is a first-year teacher.</p> <p>Katie indicated the following obstacles in teaching: limited training in early childhood education, language barrier in a diverse classroom, and a compact half-day schedule.</p>	<p>Jade's parents are immigrants from Puerto Rico.</p> <p>Jade was born in the United States, but spent most of her life in Puerto Rico.</p> <p>Jade speaks English and Spanish.</p> <p>Jade studied English as a Second Language at the Inter-American University of Puerto Rico.</p> <p>Jade has several years teaching experience.</p> <p>Jade believes that fluency in Spanish is an asset because it allows communication with students and families; however, she indicated that she struggles with English.</p>
Students	<p>Classes 2 AM/2PM have a higher population of Asian immigrants. Many are enrolled in these half-day classes because one parent is at home.</p>	<p>Class 3 has a higher population of immigrant students from Central and South America. Many are enrolled in the full-day class because they are raised in single-parent households or both parents work.</p>
School curriculum/class schedule	<p>Play planning is central to the curriculum.</p> <p>Due to the half-day schedule, there is no nap time; certain activities (such as outside play) are allotted less time; centers are used for only one purpose (thematic play).</p> <p>Immersion is embraced as a method of teaching ELL students. Katie used visuals to individualize instruction for ELL students.</p>	<p>Play planning is central to the curriculum.</p> <p>Due to the full-day schedule, there is a nap time; activities are allotted more time; centers serve dual purposes (free play and thematic play).</p> <p>Immersion, with some bilingual education, is embraced as a method of teaching ELL students. Jade mostly used the total physical response (TPR) technique to teach English, and sometimes taught concepts in Spanish.</p>

Table 7 (Continued)

Elements of class-based analyses	Class 2 AM / Class 2PM (Katie)	Class 3 (Jade)
Interactions in the classroom	<p>The classroom was characterized by inconsistency and limited persistence: (a) Teachers were observed to comfort and respond to student needs in most situations but sometimes the classroom was characterized by episodes of negative affect and limited responsiveness; (b) classroom rules were not consistently enforced, at times leading to escalation of misbehavior and disruption of learning; (c) the teachers were involved in play with students at times, and (d) the teachers were persistent in questioning students/teaching, and inconsistency resulted partially due to teacher absence.</p> <p>Behavior management techniques were sometimes reactive (e.g., students were told to stop misbehaviors after they had occurred).</p> <p>The teacher taught in English and rarely made grammatical mistakes.</p> <p>Students often imitated one another in both positive and negative behaviors.</p>	<p>The classroom was characterized by a level of consistency and high persistency: (a) Teachers comforted students and responded to their needs consistently; (b) classroom rules were consistently enforced, misbehaviors did not escalate or disrupt learning; (c) teachers were consistently involved in play with students, and (d) teachers tended to be persistent in questioning students/teaching.</p> <p>Behavior management techniques were often proactive (e.g., assigning seats on the carpet).</p> <p>The teacher taught mostly in English but integrated Spanish activities into the curriculum, sometimes making grammatical mistakes when speaking in English.</p> <p>Students often imitated one another. Since Class 3 was characterized by less misbehavior, positive behaviors were more likely to be imitated.</p>
Additional aspects of classroom culture	<p>Furnishings for relaxation are scattered throughout the classroom/integrated into active areas.</p> <p>Free play is limited to due schedule.</p>	<p>Furnishings for relaxation do not interfere with active play.</p> <p>Free play occurs routinely and frequently.</p>
Student performance	<p>Students have lower social skills scores and higher problem behavior scores.</p> <p>Only immigrant students are labeled as “at risk” in terms of behavior.</p> <p>Students improved in Math and Vocabulary during the study. They improved more than students in Class 3 but their final scores were lower.</p>	<p>Students have higher social skill scores and lowest problem behavior scores.</p> <p>Immigrant students’ behavior was average.</p> <p>Students improved in Math and Vocabulary during the study. They improved less than students in Class 2 AM and Class 2 PM but their final scores were higher.</p>

Second, in Class 2 AM and Class 2 PM (particularly Class 2 PM), negative attitudes toward ELL students were observed. One Spanish-speaking student in Class 2 PM was often disregarded when trying to communicate. Along similar lines, students in Class 2 AM and Class 2 PM who were labeled as “at risk” according to PKBS-2 scores due to social skills and problem behaviors were from first-generation immigrant families. In Class 2 PM and Class 3, ELL students were observed to speak in their native language or to instruct others how to speak their native language while at play centers. ELL students in all classrooms were observed to mimic their peers’ vocabulary.

The following chapter builds on the ideas that emerged in this chapter. It provides child-level data, with information about the within-school (teacher-student interactions, peer interactions, and classroom culture) and outside-of-school factors (particularly families’ immigration processes, access and use of social and cultural capital, and culture) that shape immigrant student experience. Child-level data also contain accounts of each student’s performance.

## **CHAPTER 5**

### **Child-Level Analyses of Immigrant Students in Class 2 AM**

This chapter presents holistic child-level accounts of immigrant students in Class 2 AM, one of Katie's classes. The information about students was derived via interviews, observations, and assessments. Child-level analyses are critical to this study because the study's primary purpose was to distill generalizations and assist in building in-depth understanding of immigrant students. As the Students section in Chapter 4 indicates, in the three classrooms under study there were 13 Hispanic students and 13 Asian students from first-generation immigrant families. Twelve of these students were studied in detail (based on parental consent and parental availability for interviews). Four of these students—Miguel, Hareem, Sadeep, and Maneet—were from Class 2 AM. Their stories are featured in this chapter. The chapter concludes with an analysis of similarities and differences among the experiences of these four students, including common trends that emerged.

#### **Miguel**

##### **Background**

Miguel comes from a town that is adjacent to and resembles Karsley. It is densely populated and has many diverse residents, many of whom are originally from Central or South America. Miguel lives with his parents and a 6-year-old brother. Both of his parents are originally from South America: the mother from Bolivia and the father from Uruguay. Both have been in the United States for about a decade. Because Miguel's mother is adamant about her children keeping their culture, she speaks to them only in Spanish at home, even though she is fluent in English.

### **In the Classroom**

When Miguel started school in fall 2012, he did not speak English. His teacher and mother indicated that he was frustrated due to the language barrier. “Miguel would get so frustrated that he couldn’t talk . . . he would just completely disengage. . . . He’d sit in the corner and not want to talk to anybody” (Katie). Miguel’s mother said that it was frustrating for her, as well. The child that Miguel was at home did not parallel with the child that he was at school, where he was not his vocal self. Both the teacher and mother expressed frustration in terms of gauging Miguel’s progress. Katie often described Miguel as “very bright,” stating that he had acquired print and numeric awareness, was independent and analytical, and was quick to understand concepts. However, he could not always communicate that knowledge in English, leading to discrepancy between his abilities and academic evaluations.

The teacher used visuals to instruct Miguel and collaborated with his mother, who was eager to create a partnership with Katie. When Miguel was homesick in the classroom, Katie showed him the class schedule. She pointed out and explained where they were at the given moment and how much longer before dismissal. In order to make sure that Miguel understood, Katie asked his mother to explain Katie’s efforts to him in Spanish.

Katie viewed Miguel and his family in a very positive light. At several points in her interview, she said, “I love Miguel” and indicated that he is “very bright.” She said that she “liked working with his family.” I observed Katie and Miguel’s mother hug upon greeting. Katie was invited to Miguel’s birthday party, which took place weeks after Katie had left the position. In addition to praising Miguel during her interview, Katie

praised Miguel in the classroom, usually during play planning. He was praised for his drawings on April 11 and April 15. Miguel's mother indicated that Miguel was comfortable with Katie. He told his mother that Katie was nice to him and loved him.

While Miguel and his efforts were sometimes acknowledged, at other times he received only limited feedback from the teacher. This parallels the classroom dynamic described in Chapter 4. There were times (March 20 and April 11) when he was not engaged in the whole-group activity and instead looked into space or played with other materials; he was not redirected at those times. When he was redirected and ignored the redirection, the teacher continued to teach. The feedback that he received from the teacher regarding his work was sometimes limited and inconsistent. Sometimes he was asked to describe the picture in his play plan; sometimes he was just asked to draw the picture.

Miguel heard limited Spanish in the classroom. Katie made an effort to learn certain phrases to communicate with her Spanish speakers. For example, she knew how to ask Miguel in Spanish whether he wanted his mother. In addition, one of the aides who floated between classes, Ms. Maritza, spoke Spanish. She had some conversations in Spanish with Miguel. On April 11, for example, she asked Miguel in Spanish to help clean up. He listened and started putting blocks away.

All in all, Miguel seemed very comfortable with his teachers. He often initiated conversations with them. On April 11, for example, after drawing a picture, he exclaimed, "Look! A truck!" Similarly, on May 13, he pointed to the picture on his T shirt and said, "Do you like bumble bee?"

Miguel mostly kept to himself but sometimes played with other students. He was especially quiet during lunch. During center play he often played independently. On May 1, for example, he quietly assembled star builders, and on May 16 he wandered around at the “school center.” At first, Miguel’s mother was concerned about his tendency to keep to himself. She feared that he was displaying autistic tendencies. However, she eventually recognized that his social skills were improving. Miguel began to play with others. On May 9, for example, he played in the “fire station center” with a peer. The two used the makeshift cardboard “truck,” pretending to be firefighters. Miguel even invited another student to join the game.

Katie indicated that Miguel tended to gravitate toward a student in the class who spoke Spanish. Although the two did not converse much, Miguel expressed himself in Spanish. The student reacted by laughing or handing Miguel materials. Thus, even though these conversations were not elaborate, Miguel expressed himself to a fellow Spanish-speaking student, who reacted to Miguel’s verbal cues.

When in a time of conflict with peers, Miguel was not likely to react. On April 11, for example, when a peer snatched a block from him in centers, he did not react. Similarly, on April 15, when a peer waved stationary items in his face during play planning, Miguel did not react. The teacher cited this during her interview. “Miguel would not speak up for himself. . . . He was like so submissive. He let everyone kind of walk all over.” She elaborated, “[A] kid would just take the toy and he’d just stand there. . . . He wouldn’t say anything. He would just stand there being sad.” Katie explained that she modeled how to solve such situations for Miguel. She told him to address the children who were bothering him. “Tell him, ‘I don’t like it. Please don’t push me.’” Miguel



repeated after her. Katie noticed that, at Miguel's birthday party in the summertime, he implemented her advice. When his brother sprayed him with water, Miguel expressed, in English, that he did not like it.

Katie reported that Miguel improved, not only in social problem solving but also in other areas. She indicated that his language improved throughout the year. Although he tended to make grammatical mistakes and his vocabulary was still developing, he was able to get his point across by the end of the school year. According to Katie, he was more "comfortable" in speaking. Miguel identified various letters toward the end of the school year: He knew A, E, I, M, Q, W, D, H, L, P, T, and X in uppercase and lowercase. He even associated some letters with people or objects. He said, "Sebastian is my brother" when looking at the letter S. Furthermore, he could write his name. In terms of numeracy, Miguel developed awareness in both English and Spanish. He could count to about 20 in Spanish and early teens in English. He showed understanding of mathematical concepts. For example, on March 13, he distinguished between a shorter object and a longer object.

During observations it was evident that Miguel tried to follow directions and engage in schoolwork, and he knew how to express himself politely. He was one of the few students who tried to follow through with his play plan. On May 28, when Miguel was unaware of which center he had selected for play, he asked the teacher to clarify. When play with peers escalated and became rough, he often removed himself from play. When drawing, he displayed excitement. On April 11, Miguel drew a house and a truck. He drew a rectangle, wheels under it and a circle in the front of it (to represent a steering wheel). He said to the teacher's assistant, "Look! A truck!" When she complimented him

in response, he smiled. After finishing play planning and waiting for his work to be checked, Miguel often continued to occupy himself in a constructive way by drawing additional pictures. I observed him calmly saying, “Excuse me” (May 28 and 30) when trying to get someone’s attention.

This section summarizes Miguel’s experience in the classroom and its shaping dynamics. Miguel experienced frustration with the language barrier and at times isolated himself from the class due to inability to communicate. As his mother remarked, he was not able to be himself. He loves to talk at home but was not able to do so at school. The frustration lessened with time. Initially, Miguel tended to play independently and ignored social problems, rather than attempt to solve them. With time, he socialized more, tending to gravitate toward Spanish-speaking children. His mother remarked that she was satisfied with his progress. Katie was also satisfied with his willingness to speak up for himself eventually. In essence, Miguel progressed, not only with language and socially, but also in other content areas, such as literacy and math. Miguel was well behaved, trying to follow directions and attempting to speak politely to others. When the teacher attempted to communicate with him, she often used visual cues. At times, teacher-student interactions were not consistent. For example, Miguel was sometimes expected to draw a picture when play planning and at other times to draw and describe the picture. The feedback that he received was often limited. The teacher collaborated with Miguel’s mother in an effort to assist him. Miguel’s mother retaught in Spanish the concepts that Katie was teaching in English. Katie had a positive reaction to this. She developed a close-knit relationship with Miguel and his family. Miguel seemed comfortable in class, engaging the teacher in conversation.

## Student Performance

Based on observations and interviews, Miguel improved in language ability, social skills, and math and literacy skills. He also exhibited positive behaviors in the classroom. Table 8 summarizes Miguel's final scores on the ELS, as well as his improvement on the ELS from fall 2012 to spring 2013. Students are rated, using the ELS, three times a year by their classroom teacher. They are rated on a 5-point scale, with 1 being the lowest score and 5 the highest. Table 9 summarizes Miguel's score on the PKBS-2 (in spring 2013), as well as his score and growth on the PPVT (assesses vocabulary skills) and the WJ III (assesses math skills) during the course of the study. The teacher completed the PKBS-2 scale and I administered the PPVT and WJ III (once at the beginning and once at the end of the study). Table 8 gauges growth during the school year and Table 9 gauges growth and student standing at the time of the study. Some content areas in Table 8 are marked with N/A because the teacher did not score those areas completely.

Miguel's ELS scores are mid-range. Although Katie praised Miguel for improving, his ELS scores do not reflect improvement. This parallels Katie's frustrations with grading Miguel and his mother's frustration with these grades. Miguel's mother stated

Because Miguel is so bright . . . I'm teaching him how to read in Spanish and he's learning so fast and he could read like small words now. . . . Ms. Katie . . . says that she also feels like . . . how do you say . . . limited? Like when she has to evaluate him, she evaluates him of what she sees and of course it's in English . . . he doesn't know a lot in English.

It seems that Miguel's scores did not improve significantly not because certain skills and understandings have not improved but because he could not communicate fully in English.

Table 8

*Miguel's Growth on Early Learning Scale (ELS) From Fall 2012 to Spring 2013*

	<u>ELS math/science growth</u>				<u>ELS social/emotional growth</u>		<u>Language/literacy</u>			
	Numerical Operations	Classification & Igebraic Thinking	Geometry & Measurement	Scientific Inquiry	Self regulation	Play	Oral Language	Phonological Awareness	Print Awareness	Writing
Final Score	2	N/A	3	2	4	N/A	3	1	4	N/A
Growth	-1	N/A	+1	0	-1	N/A	0	0	1	N/A

Table 9

*Miguel's Growth in Spring 2013*

Measure	PKBS-2 Social Skills Score	PKBS-2 Problem Behavior Score	PPVT	WJ III
Final score	105	102	16	13
Growth			+6	+5

Based on the PKBS-2, PPVT, and WJ III, Miguel showed progress. Miguel's PKBS-2 Social Skills Score was above the class average, while his Problem Behavior Score was below the class average. This means that Miguel's social skills were more developed than the class average and his problem behaviors were less pronounced than the class average. His PPVT score increased by 6 points and his WJ III score increased by 5 points in 3 months (March to June).

**Outside of the Classroom**

Miguel's mother is from La Paz, Bolivia. She comes from a family that is rather established. Her mother completed high school and her father was an electronic engineer for the Bolivian army. Due to her father's work, Miguel's mother had lived in the United States as a child. When she was 9 years old, her father came on a 1-year scholarship to the School of Americas in Georgia. She learned English while attending elementary school in Georgia. She went back to Bolivia after that year and eventually took up the study of English again at a university in Bolivia. She described all of her siblings as "professionals" and noted that her family values education greatly.

Miguel's mother came back to the United States about 10 years ago. She said that she immigrated in order to live closer to her boyfriend at that time and to attend graduate school. Her boyfriend assisted her in applying to graduate schools. After obtaining a student visa, she earned a Master's degree in Business Administration. After completing the degree, she was sponsored by a company and worked for them for 6 years. Within that time, she bought a house and started a family in the United States.

Miguel's father came from Uruguay to the United States in search of better opportunities about 10 years ago. He came on a tourist visa and overstayed. The father's family was described several times in the interview as "very poor." Miguel's mother indicated that her husband sends money to Uruguay to support family.

The father worked as a construction worker. The mother, due to the recession, lost her job and her sponsorship. Since she was laid off, the family has been undocumented. The family has faced several issues due to their immigrant status. They have experienced frustration and stress. When Miguel's mother had children, she was documented,

planning to raise them here. Upon losing the sponsorship, she faced the stress of being undocumented but felt that she could not go back to Bolivia or Uruguay due to her children, both of whom were born in the United States. She feared bringing them to Bolivia partially based on conversations with family. Her parents discouraged her from coming back, especially since they moved outside of the capital to a less affluent area. Also, her sister shared with her that her child, who has special needs, is educated in the standard education system, due to lack of options, and has not learned to read or write. Although frustrated with the system in the United States, Miguel's mother indicated that she appreciated that there is a system at all.

I think like even though there are things that I don't agree with the system. . . . In general, there is a system. In my country there isn't any system at all. So, I like that idea, having a health system, education system. Back in my country you can't find anything.

Therefore, Miguel's mother wanted to stay in the United States but has not been able to attain legal status. She felt that she has done "everything right": studying in the United States legally, obtaining sponsorship, buying a home, and paying taxes. She called it "ironic" that she was not able to obtain documents, given that she had followed the law upon moving here.

Having lost documentation, Miguel's mother lost her driver's license once it expired. Katie indicated that the loss had a negative impact on Miguel's school attendance, as Miguel's mother kept Miguel home more frequently. She was nervous about driving, fearing deportation and ultimate separation from her children.

Miguel's mother was separated from her family: mother, father, sisters, and brothers. Due to paperwork, she could not visit them in Bolivia. Fortunately, her parents have come to the United States to visit a few times, although infrequently. She stated that

she is here “all alone.” Her husband has his family here but she does not. One of the issues that she has encountered is lack of a support network. She does not feel close enough to friends or neighbors to request help, so she often takes her children with her. For example, they went with her to the dentist’s office when her wisdom teeth were removed.

In addition to expressing frustration regarding documentation and separation from family, Miguel’s mother expressed frustration regarding the language. She speaks English fluently. She could speak in English to her children but does not want to do so. She stressed the importance of “keeping” their culture. Because of this, Miguel has not been able to communicate his knowledge at school. His discomfort was apparent, especially at the beginning of the school year.

Being in a new country, Miguel’s mother was learning of various procedures, sometimes with fear. For example, she heard that children who do not speak English at home are expected to score well on the Kindergarten entrance exam and that failure to do so would result in a “special needs” label, with the child potentially attending a special needs school. Hearing rumors like this from other immigrants made her fearful and sometimes hesitant about holding on to the Spanish language in the household.

In addition to navigating and learning about the American culture, Miguel’s mother was in a unique position in that she also needed to learn about the Uruguayan culture because her husband is from there. She indicated that the Spanish language is different in Bolivia and Uruguay. Misunderstandings have emerged between Miguel’s father and mother due to different meanings of various expressions, as well as cultural differences in intonations. In addition to pointing out language differences, Miguel’s

mother acknowledged that her view of education was different from that of her husband. Her husband encouraged their older son to be a soccer player, while she stressed the importance of school. Along similar lines, she urged her husband to earn a General Education Diploma (GED). When he did, her family was very proud but his was not as enthusiastic. She pointed out that the differences may have been due to social class. She said, “I don’t know if it’s the culture . . . because they’re very poor. Maybe it’s that. I don’t know.”

Despite these obstacles, Miguel’s mother was very involved in her children’s education. She indicated that while her husband worked, she played a “big role” in reinforcing material learned in school. She spoke to Katie about twice a week to learn what Katie was covering in the classroom. Then she covered the same topic at home in Spanish. For about an hour or two each day, she educated both of her sons. While her older son did homework, she used workbooks to teach Miguel to write. In addition to this work, the family read before bed—one or two books, depending on behavior. Better behavior was rewarded with more reading. In addition to more formal education in the household, Miguel and his brother were also exposed to scooters, blocks, water play, outside play, and movies, especially on the weekends. Miguel’s mother took it upon herself to educate her children in Spanish. She believed that the school gave her tools to help her children. In addition to teaching her children in Spanish, with her knowledge of English, she was able to teach her children key phrases to use to feel more comfortable in school, such as “Ms. Katie, can I use the restroom?”

In summary, Miguel’s mother, who came from a family that values education, devoted her time to educating her children. She made an effort to teach her children in



Spanish, ensuring that they would be bilingual. Her knowledge of English allowed her to communicate with Katie and work jointly in educating Miguel. This occurred even though her husband's value of education was misaligned with hers. As an undocumented immigrant, Miguel's mother faced several critical issues that shaped Miguel's experience in preschool. Fear of deportation due to driving with an expired driver's license affected Miguel's attendance in school. She feared that the school system would misdiagnose his abilities due to limited English. In fact, limited English did lead to misaligned evaluations, as well as frustration on Miguel's part, especially when starting school. His mother was frustrated by the fact that he was unable to be himself at school due to the language barrier. Separation from distant family also diminished the family's support network.

### **Summary**

Table 10 displays how the above information addresses the research questions with regard to Miguel.

## **Hareem**

### **Background**

Hareem comes from a family of four: two parents and an older brother. Both of his parents are originally from Pakistan. His father has been in the United States for about 17 years, while his mother has been here for 7 years. Hareem's father left the United States temporarily to go to Pakistan to find a bride. The marriage between him and Hareem's mother was arranged. The father speaks English and Urdu, while the mother speaks only Urdu. For the most part, Urdu is spoken at home. Periodically, the children speak in English to one another. The family of four lives in a joint family home that

Table 10

*How Have Various Factors Shaped Miguel's Preschool Experience?*

Factor	How it has shaped Miguel's preschool experience
Teacher-student interactions	The teacher used visuals to instruct Miguel. She collaborated with his mother, often asking her to explain events in the classroom. Katie could do this due to the mother's knowledge of English. The teacher had a positive view of Miguel and his family. She often complimented him. Miguel told his mother that he felt loved.
Peer interactions	Miguel did not speak the language. When frustrated, he disengaged from the class. Miguel gravitated to Spanish-speaking peers. Miguel removed himself from chaotic situations. Miguel was learning how to socialize and speak up for himself in times of conflict.
Classroom culture	Miguel was not always redirected or feedback directed to him was inconsistent, which sometimes led to misbehavior. At other times, Miguel asked the teacher for assistance. Miguel's assessment scores were not necessarily reflective of his abilities but rather of his ability to communicate.
Immigration processes	Lack of immigrant documentation was frustrating and stressful for the family. Due to an expired license, the mother feared driving, which led to a rise in school absences.
Social and cultural capital	Miguel's mother obtained a Master's degree in Business Administration and his father earned a GED in the United States. The mother did not work, the father worked in construction. Since the mother spoke English, she worked closely with Katie to coordinate Miguel's education. She taught the curriculum to Miguel in Spanish. The mother stressed the value of education, just as her parents had done. Support network was very small, partially due to separation from extended family.
Culture	Since the mother wanted Miguel to know Spanish, only Spanish was spoke at home. The mother was unfamiliar with American education practices. Fear and stress evolved related to hearsay regarding misdiagnoses of ELL students as special needs students. The mother compared her situation to that in her own country, remaining somewhat positive. Miguel was exposed to various cultures: that of the classroom, of his mother, and that of his father. His mother's and father's ideas regarding education did not align.

includes Hareem's grandparents, aunt, uncle, and baby cousin, all from his father's side of the family.

### **In the Classroom**

When Hareem started preschool in fall 2012, he did not speak English. Katie reported that he experienced severe separation anxiety upon starting school. "From September to about February, March, [he] had the worst separation anxiety." His older brother, who had previously attended the preschool, had had a similar experience. Katie speculated that this had occurred due to the boys' limited interaction with children outside of their family, as well as the language barrier. Hareem's mother stated that it occurred due to fear and lack of understanding as to why he had to go to school while his brother was home schooled (after attending preschool). The anxiety, along with self-regulation, concerned Katie, who eventually suggested an evaluation for Hareem via the public school system. The evaluation indicated that Hareem did not need outside-of-classroom support and predicted that, with time, he would grow more comfortable in the classroom.

Hareem was in a unique situation because of his limited knowledge of Urdu. He acquired language late. With time, the more English he learned, the more English he spoke. Since his mother did not speak English, at times she was unable to understand him.

Katie indicated that, before Hareem grew more comfortable with English, it was difficult for her to work with him. She was unsure of his needs. It was more difficult for her to comfort him than to comfort English-speaking students. "When a sub was here who spoke Punjabi and Urdu, she told me what he was saying. But for the longest time he

would just go off, saying ‘blah blah blah’ you know, and I honestly didn’t know what he wanted.”

Katie described Hareem as “not very verbal.” She indicated that his vocabulary expanded with time. At the beginning of the year, he would scream, eventually say “Mom,” followed by “I want mother,” to “I want to be home with mother.” Katie indicated that she added to Hareem’s expressions and he eventually expanded his vocabulary. She noted that he was able to say “I want to be home with mother” because of the questions that she asked him, such as “Do you want to go home? Mom is home.”

I observed the teachers guiding Hareem, including his vocabulary, in this manner. On May 1, the teacher assisted Hareem and a peer in a center. She provided ideas for play, including phrases for play. “Do you have dog food there, Hareem? Sadeep wants to buy dog food.”

However, most teacher comments addressed Hareem’s behavior. I did not observe Hareem replying to teachers in the classroom. There were times when teachers spoke to Hareem but he did not respond. The teachers remarks to him such as, “Please come here,” “We don’t grab from our friends,” “Don’t touch. You’re not at this center,” “Let’s go slow, Hareem.” Such comments tended to pertain to Hareem’s behavior, as opposed to encourage communication.

Sometimes Hareem made brief remark to his peers, such as “I’m making cookie monster” to Yurem, who was sitting next to him during play planning. However, for the most part, Hareem communicated physically with peers. For example, he tended to snatch items from peers when he wanted them.

Despite limited language, Hareem interacted with peers frequently. On March 13, for example, he built an ambulance with two other students. On April 3, he cleaned with two other students, and on April 24, he painted with another student. Sometimes Hareem acted silly with peers. On April 11, he pretended to have a sword fight with a marker with a fellow student, and on May 16, he rolled around on the rug, snorting during a whole-group activity, making another student laugh.

At times, students imitated Hareem, while at other times he imitated them. On March 3, Hareem played with his shoelace on the rug during a whole-group activity. Eventually, another student did the same. On May 5, when another student did a flip on the rug while moving to play plan, Hareem imitated the action.

Katie posited that Hareem's friendships contributed to his growth. She indicated that basic speech with another Pakistani student in their native language, Urdu, encouraged Hareem to communicate in general. Also, a student of Indian descent often explained academic concepts to Hareem, particularly related to the Mystery Question of the day (described in Chapter 4). He counted and encouraged Hareem to model after him. When Hareem arrived at the correct answer, the peer hugged him. The Indian student usually communicated with Hareem in English. The teacher encouraged students to maintain such friendships, sometimes seating students strategically to encourage this.

Class 2 AM was often characterized by negative affect and inconsistencies. Some negative comments and behaviors were directed toward Hareem. On May 16, for example, a teacher was frustrated with Hareem's behavior and declared, "Hareem! This kid does not pay attention!" In terms of inconsistencies, Hareem was sometimes asked to follow his play plan but at other times it was acceptable for him not to do so. He was

observed to float around the room rather than play in a designated center several times, including on March 13, April 4, April 15, and May 30. Sometimes, Hareem was redirected but continued to pursue his own agenda. On April 24, for example, when Hareem was not cleaning up, the teacher took his hand to walk him in the right direction. Once she let go of his hand, he went back to the water table and grabbed two sponges. He walked around with them and danced with them to the clean up song instead of cleaning. In essence, the classroom culture, sometimes characterized by negative affect and inconsistency, shaped Hareem's school experience.

Katie indicated that working with Hareem's parents was difficult. Hareem's mother did not speak English but his father did. However, the mother spent the most time with the child. Ironically, the father attended parent-teacher conferences and dominated conversation (even in the presence of a translator). The father's concerns did not align with Katie's concerns. Katie was concerned first and foremost with Hareem's self-regulation. The father, on the other hand, was most concerned with improving Hareem's speech. Katie indicated that he often got defensive, especially when she expressed her concern regarding self-regulation. Thus, lack of communication with the primary caretaker and misaligned concerns limited collaboration between school and home.

Nevertheless, Katie indicated that improvement took place with Hareem. He grew more comfortable in the classroom.

I think . . . now he's mischievous, but at least he's playing, he's happy . . . he wants to interact with other children, he wants to know what's going on, it's like typical little boy behavior, he just doesn't know when too much is too much . . . but at least he's happy, he's wanting to explore and play with his friends . . . so I'm like, "Go for it."

In terms of academic concepts, Katie rated him behind because of the time needed to adjust to being in the classroom. Learning started to take place only after comfort had

been achieved. Therefore, Hareem performs at a lower level than other students. Katie indicated that he can barely count to 5, and his drawings are very basic.

In summary, Hareem improved during the school year, primarily in terms of comfort in the classroom. This improvement, according to his teacher, occurred due to her questioning, as well as to peer interactions. Hareem was observed to interact often with others. Some peers, particularly a peer from India, guided Hareem in learning. Hareem was encouraged by his peers to interact in Urdu and in English. Because Hareem took a long time to feel comfortable in the classroom, he started learning later. His knowledge of math and literacy was basic. Some limitations that Hareem faced included episodes of miscommunication with his mother (as he began to use more English and his Urdu remained limited), hints of negative affect in the classroom, inconsistency in terms of rules and expectations, limited verbal interaction with teachers, and limited collaboration between parents and teachers (partially because his primary caretaker did not speak English and his father's ideas of Hareem's needs misaligned with Katie's ideas).

### **Student Performance**

The ELS scores presented in Table 11 summarize the discussion above. Hareem's ELS scores are toward the lower end of the range. However, he showed improvement in all categories, particularly social/emotional growth.

As shown in Table 12, Hareem's PKBS-2 score placed him at "moderate risk." This means that his social skills and problem behaviors were of moderate concern. His social skills were less developed and his problem behaviors were more pronounced,

Table 11

*Hareem's Growth on Early Learning Scale (ELS) From Fall 2012 to Spring 2013*

	<u>ELS math/science growth</u>				<u>ELS social/emotional growth</u>		<u>Language/literacy</u>			
	Numerical Operations	Classification & Igebraic Thinking	Geometry & Measurement	Scientific Inquiry	Self regulation	Play	Oral Language	Phonological Awareness	Print Awareness	Writing
Final Score	2	N/A	2	2	4	2	2	N/A	2	2
Growth	+1	N/A	+1	+1	+3	+1	+1	N/A	N/A	+1

Table 12

*Hareem's Growth in Spring 2013*

Measure	PKBS-2 Social Skills Score	PKBS-2 Problem Behavior Score	PPVT	WJ III
Final score	80	118	25	3
Growth			+5	+2

compared to other children his age. His PPVT (Vocabulary) score improved by 5 points and his WJ III (Math) score improved by 2 points during the course of the study.

**Outside of the Classroom**

Hareem's mother comes from Jhelum, Pakistan. She arrived in the United States in 2006 to live with her husband, who, sponsored by his aunt, already had lived in the



United States for a decade. The couple had met in Pakistan through their families. In fact, Hareem's father and his family went to Pakistan temporarily in search of a bride for him. Shortly after marrying in Pakistan, the couple returned to the United States.

Hareem's mother comes from a rather established family in Pakistan. She attended private school in Pakistan, where she completed Grade 10. (In Pakistan, Grade 10 is the final year of high school. Students are about 15 years old in Grade 10.) Hareem's father also completed Grade 10. In addition to his education in Pakistan, he completed 4 years of public school education in New York.

Hareem's mother (in the United States for 7 years) did not speak English but was in the process of looking for ESL classes during the course of the study. His father (in the United States for 17 years) spoke English. Hareem's mother did not work; his father worked as a taxi driver. Before working as a taxi driver, he worked in a cell phone store.

The family was legally documented. When asked to describe the immigration process, Hareem's mother remarked that it was "fine." Due to proper documentation, she could visit her side of the family, all of whom lived in Pakistan. During the time of the study, she was preparing to go to Pakistan for a second time, this time for her sister's wedding.

In addition to being able to visit family, Hareem's mother felt supported by her husband's family, particularly sisters-in-law. In addition to living with her in-laws and her husband's brother and family, she had three sisters-in-law, all of whom lived in proximity and visited frequently. She expressed, "Thank God" for her sisters-in-law, indicating that she felt a sense of support from them.

Although she was able to visit her family in Pakistan and felt supported by her husband's side of the family, she struggled with a few issues. She missed her own family. She was also concerned that not knowing the language was isolating. Along similar lines, since Hareem's Urdu was limited (due to delayed language development), he tried to communicate with his mother using the bits of English that he learned in school. However, this led to confusion between the two because her English was limited. Furthermore, not having her driver's license was limiting. She indicated that she wanted to take her children out more, and having a driver's license would allow that. Not having a license also limited her ability to be a part of a religious community. She had felt closer to her religion in Pakistan. Without a license, her ability to integrate into a religious community was limited.

Hareem's mother indicated that she was not integrated into any community. All of her support came from her husband's side of the family. She had basic conversations with Indian and Pakistani parents from the preschool but such conversations were just "small talk." Although she was not integrated in a community, she had learned of various resources via other Pakistani families in the area. For example, she found out about an Islamic School in Edison, New Jersey, where she planned to send Hareem and his brother.

Hareem's mother was adamant about her children living according to Islamic values. In addition to indicating in the interview that she planned to send them to Islamic school, she stressed the importance of them knowing their religion, being good people, and "only doing what is Islam." She even mentioned that both she and her husband would

like to live in Pakistan, if there is a change in government, so they could fully adopt Islamic values and allow their children to be a part of that culture.

Hareem's parents' marriage is different from typical marriages in the United States, chiefly in that it was arranged. Also, the father is more expressive regarding his child's education, even though the mother spends most of her time with the child. She was often quiet in interviews with school staff, allowing her husband to talk, unless she was specifically addressed. A similar dynamic was apparent in her interview. When the interview started, she said, "My husband sent me here" and proceeded to share the messages that he wanted to pass on to the school. Also, when asked why they wanted to go to Pakistan when a change in government occurs, she simply said that she does not know; it is her husband's decision, and she respects it.

Although Hareem's mother had ideas about education similar to those expressed by Miguel's mother, her experience in collaborating with Katie was very different. Hareem's mother indicated that she believes that parents should reinforce what children are taught in school. She knew where Hareem stood and what he still needed to learn. At the beginning of the interview she indicated that, even though Hareem knew the ABC song, he did not recognize letters. She wanted teachers to focus on helping him to do that. She also indicated that the only color he knew was red and the only shape that he knew was triangle. She has worked with Hareem at home, reviewing ABCs, colors, numbers, and shapes. She also said that her husband reads the letters that are sent home from school. A recent letter suggested that parents take their children grocery shopping and discuss their experience with the children as it takes place. She followed that advice. However, she also indicated that she did not know what Hareem was studying in school.

Her conversations with the teacher usually did not go past “hi” and “bye,” she stated. She was somewhat disconnected from collaborating with the preschool.

Partially due to limited communication, Hareem received conflicted messages in home and at school. Before I asked Hareem’s mother any questions in the interview, she utilized the translator to communicate, first and foremost, her concerns. One of them (as discussed above) was Hareem’s inability to identify letters and the other pertained to the contradicting directions that Hareem was receiving regarding using the bathroom. She indicated that, in her culture, men are to sit on the toilet. She encouraged Hareem to do this. However, in school, the teachers encouraged him to stand.

In summary, Hareem’s mother contended that a parent ought to reinforce the material that children learn in school. However, she was limited in her ability to do so because she did not speak English. She taught Hareem about letters, numbers, colors, and shapes but recognized that her teaching was potentially disconnected from the material covered in school. Due to lack of communication, Hareem received contradicting messages (regarding using the bathroom, for example) in school and at home. The language barrier contributed to isolating Hareem’s mother from school, while not having a driver’s license limited her (as well as her children’s) connection to activities and community. Although her interaction with the community was limited, she felt supported by her husband’s family and visited her family in Pakistan. She also communicated enough with other Pakistani families to learn of an Islamic school in Edison, where she was looking forward to educating her two sons.

## **Summary**

Table 13 shows how the above information addresses the research questions with regard to Hareem.

## **Sadeep**

### **Background**

Sadeep lives with both of his parents, his older (11-year-old) brother, as well as his aunt (his father's sister), uncle, and their two children. His aunt's children are older: a boy who completed high school and enrolled at New Jersey Institute of Technology for computer engineering and a girl in sixth grade. Sadeep's immediate family (including Sadeep) emigrated from India a year ago. Sadeep was born in India. His aunt and her immediate family have been in the United States for 20 years. Within the house, both Punjabi and English are used to communicate, with English used mostly by the children.

### **In the Classroom**

When Sadeep entered preschool in fall 2012, he did not speak any English but he was exposed to it at home through his cousins. While some ELL students, such as Miguel and Hareem, experienced a level of discomfort when coming into the classroom, Katie indicated that Sadeep "was fine coming in."

Katie shared that, although Sadeep seemed skeptical and angry on the first day of school, he grew comfortable and learned the language very quickly. When describing his language acquisition, Katie used the analogy of a "switch" that was just turned on. He was also described as "determined" to communicate. He began to engage in the classroom shortly after the beginning of the school year, in late October/early November.

Table 13

*How Have Various Factors Shaped Hareem's Preschool Experience?*

Factor	How it has shaped Hareem's preschool experience
Teacher-student interactions	<p>The teacher questioned Hareem strategically to encourage vocabulary growth.</p> <p>The teacher implemented "hand over hand" instruction, sometimes physically walking Hareem to the desired spot in the classroom.</p> <p>Hareem experienced anxiety in the classroom, especially at the beginning of the school year. This led to the teacher focusing on comfort instead of instruction, which delayed learning. Due to anxiety, Hareem was evaluated by public schools personnel. The father was defensive regarding the evaluation.</p> <p>Since teachers focused on redirecting Hareem's behavior, he did not verbalize much with them.</p>
Peer interactions	<p>Hareem rarely spoke to peers but often attempted to communicate physically; he often snatched items from others or tried to get peers' attention through silly gestures.</p> <p>Hareem imitated peers and they imitated him.</p> <p>Hareem learned from peers. An Urdu-speaking student encouraged communication, while a Punjabi-speaking student assisted Hareem in English.</p>
Classroom culture	<p>Hareem was not always redirected and feedback was inconsistent. Misbehavior sometimes escalated. He sometimes ignored redirection. Comments tended to address Hareem's behavior, as opposed to encouraging learning.</p>
Immigration processes	<p>Due to not having a driver's license, the mother felt limited in terms of catering to her children and integrating in the community.</p>
Social and cultural capital	<p>Hareem's mother and father completed Grade 10 in a private school in Pakistan. His father also completed 4 years of public school education in New York. The mother did not work, the father was a taxi driver.</p> <p>Lack of a driver's license limited connection to the community.</p> <p>Extended family served as a support network.</p> <p>Hareem's mother was the primary caretaker but she could not communicate with teachers due to the language barrier.</p> <p>Hareem's mother worked with him on ABCs, colors, numbers, and so forth at home.</p> <p>The father spoke English but his ideas misaligned with Katie's. He became defensive.</p> <p>Hareem's language development was delayed. Since his Urdu was limited, he tried to express himself in limited English. His mother could not understand him at times.</p>
Culture	<p>Mostly Urdu was spoken at home. Hareem was exposed to English when playing with cousins.</p> <p>The mother wanted to go back to Pakistan and stressed the importance of Islamic values.</p> <p>The mother allowed the father to do most of the speaking and decision making, even though she was the primary caretaker.</p> <p>Miscommunication between school and home occurred (e.g., how to use the bathroom).</p>

During the course of the study, Sadeep was very vocal, often asking questions and sharing stories. On March 11, when I entered the classroom as the class was eating, he asked me, "Do you want to have breakfast?" After conversing with me about breakfast, he talked to his classmates and teachers. At one point, he said, "I saw a rocket ship. I'm going to go to the moon." On April 3, Sadeep asked his teacher to explain why we have wisdom teeth, and on May 30, he said, "Look at my soccer shirt. There is a soccer ball, football, baseball."

In Class 2 AM, teachers provided students limited feedback at times and elaborate feedback at other times. Sadeep had such interactions with his teachers. At times when he played in various centers instead of carrying out his plan, the teacher did not react. Along similar lines, sometimes feedback pertaining to his work was limited. On April 1, for example, Sadeep chose to play in the medical supply store. When asked to name the center, he responded, "band aid." The teacher said, "There are band-aids there but it's called a medical supply store." "What is at the medical supply store?" Sadeep answered "food." Although his answer was not correct, the teacher did not correct it or react to it. Similarly, when, on May 9, the teacher asked Sadeep why an air tank is needed, as he played with one in the fire fighter center, he responded, "To put it on our back." The teacher asked, "Why do you need it on your back?" Sadeep replied, "To wear it." Again, the conversation ended there. In both cases, the teacher asked questions in various ways to encourage learning but did not provide feedback regarding his answers, even when they were incorrect. At other times, feedback was elaborate. On April 3, when Sadeep mistook an oval for a circle, the teacher corrected him, saying, "You have an oval." Sadeep especially tended to receive guidance during play planning. After drawing his

play plan, he usually made lines below for a message. The teacher usually asked him to repeat the message, one word at a time, as she pointed to a line. Sadeep's teacher-student interactions paralleled those of the greater classroom dynamic: sometimes limited feedback, at other times elaborate feedback.

Katie reported that, when she planned activities for the class, she needed to plan extensions of these activities for Sadeep because he was quick to understand concepts and, therefore, needed additional challenge. While some students practiced drawing certain designs during graphics practice, Sadeep was encouraged to draw and count his designs. Providing Sadeep with more challenging work kept him engaged.

Sadeep gravitated to one particular peer (who spoke Urdu). Since Punjabi and Urdu are similar, they had elaborate conversations in their native languages. They also eventually spoke in English to one another. Katie indicated that she believes that the two will be "best friends forever." In the classroom, Sadeep often included his friend in his play plan. In other words, while most students described what they planned to do in centers, Sadeep described what he and his best friend planned to do. Katie said that the connection between the two students assisted them both. She reported that Sadeep became very engaged in school, partially because of this friendship.

This friendship developed, partially because of the classroom culture. The mystery question of the day, as Katie indicated, encouraged socialization. Children were supposed to solve the mystery together. Sadeep and his best friend usually came into the classroom at the same time and thus answered the question at the same time. They figured out that they understand one another when speaking in their native languages, so they often worked on the mystery question together.



In addition to developing an intricate relationship with his best friend, Sadeep socialized with other peers. On April 18, for example, he was painting with a peer. He also assisted Hareem quite a bit. He coached Hareem through answering the mystery question properly. When Hareem answered properly, Sadeep often provided positive feedback by saying, “Good job, friend” or hugging him. Sadeep also coached Hareem during play planning: “Do you want to go to this center?” while pointing to a card that featured pictures of related activities. In a sense, Sadeep developed into a leader. Katie often encouraged Sadeep to assume this position by asking him to explain certain ideas or activities to his friends.

So far, this account indicates that Sadeep was entrusted as a leader in the classroom. He was also described as “quick” to adjust to the classroom and “quick” to acquire language and academic concepts. Furthermore, Sadeep was described as “bright” and “confident” by his teacher. Sadeep often described himself as “smart.” In terms of areas of improvement, while Katie indicated that he was sometimes impulsive and bossy, his self-regulation was age appropriate. All in all, she considered him to be “on track.”

In summary, Sadeep was quick to develop comfort in the classroom. He was also quick to learn English, as well as other academic concepts. Some student-teacher interactions paralleled the greater classroom dynamic described in an earlier chapter. Sadeep sometimes received limited feedback from his teachers (particularly regarding behavior) and at other times elaborate feedback (particularly regarding his work). Because he was quick to grasp concepts, the teachers had to plan extension activities for Sadeep to keep him engaged. He was also asked to assist others, and he developed into a leader in the classroom. He especially helped Hareem (an Urdu-speaking student),

guiding him through the mystery question of the day and play planning. The two boys had elaborate conversations in Urdu/Punjabi, as well as in English. The classroom arrangement (including choice of activities) facilitated such peer interactions.

### Student Performance

Sadeep excelled in social and language skills. Table 14 summarizes these findings. Sadeep's ELS scores were in the high range for Social/Emotional and Language/Literacy concepts and in the mid-range for Math/Science concepts. Based on his ELS scores, Sadeep made significant gains in Social/Emotional skills and Language/Literacy during the school year and stayed steady or decreased in Math.

Table 14

*Sadeep's Growth on Early Learning Scale (ELS) from Fall 2012 to Spring 2013*

	<u>ELS math/science growth</u>				<u>ELS social/emotional growth</u>		<u>Language/literacy</u>			
	Numerical Operations	Classification & Igebraic Thinking	Geometry & Measurement	Scientific Inquiry	Self regulation	Play	Oral Language	Phonological Awareness	Print Awareness	Writing
Final Score	2	3	2	2	5	4	5	3	5	5
Growth	+1	0	0	0	0	+1	+2	0	+2	+4

Table 15 illustrates Sadeep's performance and growth in spring 2013. His social skills score was the second highest in the class and his problem behavior score was the second lowest in the class. This indicates that Sadeep's social skills were more than those

Table 15

*Sadeep's Growth in Spring 2013*

Measure	PKBS-2 Social Skills Score	PKBS-2 Problem Behavior Score	PPVT	WJ III
Final score	118	94	N/A	10
Growth			N/A	+2

in the rest of the class and his problem behaviors were minimal. In essence, Sadeep was well above average in terms of behavioral and social/emotional skills. He displayed a 2-point improvement on the WJ III (Math Assessment) during the course of the study. His improvement on the PPVT (Vocabulary) could not be calculated because he lost focus on the reassessment.

**Outside of the Classroom**

Sadeep's family is from Punjab, India. His father's side of the family comes from a town called Denham. I interviewed Sadeep's aunt to learn more about his family. She often goes to school functions, representing his parents, because of her knowledge and comfort with English. She, her husband, and their two children live with Sadeep's family (mother, father, and an older brother).

The aunt arrived in the United States 20 years ago to live with her husband. Her husband, after spending 2 years in the United States, returned to India in search of a bride. He put an advertisement in the newspaper. Upon seeing the advertisement, her parents talked to his parents, ultimately arranging the marriage. Sadeep's aunt indicated that the scenario aligned with her goals, as one of her goals was to marry a foreigner.

(She explained that only the most beautiful and qualified women marry foreigners). Once in the United States, she eventually sponsored her entire family to join her, including Sadeep's parents (who also had an arranged marriage). Sadeep's immediate family has been living with the aunt since arriving about a year ago.

Before coming to the United States, Sadeep's aunt had attended college in India. (In India, college refers to U.S. Grades 11 and 12, which are completed after Grade 10, the final year of high school, and before starting university.) While in college, she studied various subjects, including Economics, Political Science, English, and Punjab. She never worked in India. She became interested in the medical field. While in India, she wanted to take courses to become a medical assistant but "never got the spot." In the United States, she continued to pursue her interest in the medical field. She completed medical assistant training and worked at a doctor's office part time, 2 days a week.

Sadeep's aunt worked part time, her husband and Sadeep's mother worked full time, and Sadeep's father was training for work. Her husband started working at the gas station. Once he obtained his driver's license, he became a taxi driver. Sadeep's mother worked at a packaging company. His father was working to become a truck driver.

Sadeep's aunt indicated that family friends have been helpful in finding jobs. "When we are looking for something, we need a job, so we are talking to friends and asking." Similarly, she found out about the preschool through family friends. Some friends came from the temple, which the family attended every Sunday.

When asked about her reaction to the immigration process, Sadeep's aunt stated, "Everything is perfect for me because I never face any problem here." She linked this to

her status as an immigrant. “I never had any problem with immigration . . . because . . . we are here according to the law.”

Although at times she indicated pride in living in America, at other times she demonstrated fear, particularly of values. On one hand, she claimed to be American because her entire family is here, and her children were raised here. “My kids, they born here. They’re growing here. How we are Indian?” She also indicated that, when she went back to India, it was for only short intervals. She is so far removed from India that she now experiences allergies to dust there. She is displeased with the lack of safety in India. She noted that children are often unsupervised and play in the streets. While demonstrating pride and joy in being in America, she also indicated some fear. She asked for advice in approaching health education in the public school system, indicating that she does not want her daughter to be exposed to the health education curriculum. She also fears that in high school her children will be exposed to subcultures that involve drugs.

Collaboration occurred between school and home, but sometimes difficulties emerged. Katie said that Sadeep’s family was very willing to work with the school – asking for suggestions and open to collaboration. Sadeep’s aunt picked him up and dropped him off at times, as his father sometimes did. Both were often accompanied by Sadeep’s older brother. The aunt was able to communicate with the teacher. The father, on the other hand, is hard of hearing and does not speak English. When the father was in the classroom and Katie needed to communicate with family, she asked Sadeep’s brother to translate for her, which made her a bit nervous. “I hope what he’s saying actually makes sense,” she remarked. Either way, Sadeep’s aunt could call the school anytime.

At home, Sadeep's family does not formally work with him by "bringing him to the table to study." Sadeep spends time on his Ipod and often plays outside. Although the family does not work with him formally, they ask him about his day at school and ask him to reflect on the world around him. For example, the aunt indicated that, when driving, she asks him questions such as, "Why is there a red light?" and he answers. The aunt also talked about Sadeep's brother, who she said struggled in terms of acquiring the language.

In summary, Sadeep's immigrant experience did not seem to interfere with his learning in any way. His aunt indicated that, due to their legal residence, the immigration process was "perfect." She expressed satisfaction with life in the United States, specifically physical safety. Although some cultural practices and values (e.g., exposing middle school students to health education) were feared, she was proud of being American. Sadeep lived in a joint-family home, which led to exposure to English (by his cousins) and Punjabi. Although his family did not work formally with him by "sitting him down," his aunt indicated that he learned through play and informal conversations at home. In terms of difficulties, Sadeep's parents did not speak English and his father is hard of hearing, so Katie could not communicate with the father. She often asked Sadeep's older brother to translate conversations. Despite this barrier, Sadeep's aunt could call the school to inquire about anything due to her comfort with and knowledge of the English language. She often represented the parents at school. In addition to being supported by family, Sadeep's family was supported by their community. His aunt indicated that they asked family friends for help when seeking employment and had found out about the preschool through family friends, some of whom were from temple.

## **Summary**

Table 16 shows how the above information addresses the research questions with regard to Sadeep.

## **Maneet**

### **Background**

Maneet's family brought him to New Jersey from Punjab, India when he was 1.5 years old. He lives with his father and mother, as well as his uncle (father's brother), aunt, and younger cousin. Maneet's father has family in Woodbridge, New Jersey, whom Maneet sees often. Punjabi is spoken at home, but Maneet's cousins tend to speak to each other in English. However, Maneet responds to them in Punjabi.

### **In the Classroom**

Maneet started preschool in fall 2012, encountering a unique situation. He started in mid-September and attended school for about a month. A month into his experience, family advocates realized that Maneet was still too young to attend school. He was disenrolled for several weeks until he was of proper age. He came back to the preschool near the end of November.

Maneet encountered difficulty in growing comfortable in school and was often frustrated. Katie indicated that he cried very often. Also, he was frustrated when he could not communicate. "He's one of those kids that really wanted to communicate . . . and he would get frustrated if he couldn't. So he would try to tell me something and be like "Eeeeeee!" He would get so frustrated." This occurred when he first started school and then again when he re-enrolled. From the time he initially started until he was disenrolled, Maneet improved. He stopped crying and began to observe his peers and

Table 16

*How Have Various Factors Shaped Sadeep's Preschool Experience?*

Factor	How it has shaped Sadeep's preschool experience
Teacher-student interactions	<p>The teacher offered Sadeep extension activities to keep him engaged. He learned quickly.</p> <p>Katie often encouraged Sadeep to assume a leadership position by asking him to explain certain ideas or activities to his friends.</p>
Peer interactions	<p>Sadeep developed a close friendship with an Urdu-speaking friend. They communicated in Urdu and English. Katie attributed some of his engagement in school to this friendship.</p> <p>Sadeep often helped another Urdu-speaking student (Hareem). He grew into a leader, coaching other students in various classroom activities.</p>
Classroom culture	<p>Sadeep's teacher-student interactions paralleled the greater classroom dynamic. At times, he received limited feedback (particularly regarding behavior); at other times, teachers elaborated (particularly regarding his work).</p> <p>Certain materials (Mystery Question) encouraged peer collaboration, assisting in building the friendship between Sadeep and his best friend.</p>
Immigration processes	<p>Sadeep's aunt said that the immigration process had been perfect for her due to her legal status. The family's immigrant experience did not seem to shape Sadeep's learning in any way.</p>
Social and cultural capital	<p>Sadeep's aunt completed college (Grades 11 and 12) in India. She worked part time as a medical assistant. His father did not work; his mother worked full time at a packaging company.</p> <p>Sadeep lived in a joint-family home. His aunt often attended school meetings, since she is fluent in English. She also asked Sadeep about school and taught him informally (e.g., by asking him about traffic lights as they drove).</p> <p>When seeking employment, Sadeep's family asked family and friends for suggestions and help. They learned about the preschool through friends. They are connected to others through the temple.</p> <p>Katie described Sadeep's family as very willing to work with the school.</p> <p>Katie sometimes used Sadeep's brother as a translator (when the father picked up Sadeep). She felt nervous about using a child as a translator.</p>
Culture	<p>At home, both Punjabi and English were used to communicate, with English used mostly by the children.</p> <p>Sadeep's aunt had fears about education in the United States. She did not want her daughter exposed to the health curriculum. Also, she feared some of the subcultures that develop in high schools, some of which involve drugs. However, she was grateful for general safety in the United States.</p>



activities in the classroom. Katie commented that, upon his return in mid-November, “It’s like he was never there.” He again cried. So he basically entered preschool twice: once initially in September and then upon being re-enrolled at the end of November.

During the course of the research study, Maneet was more comfortable in the classroom and seemed to understand English and several concepts. However, he was very limited in verbally expressing himself. During my observations in March, I did not see Maneet cry about being in school. I also noticed that he understood English. For example, when on April 29, the teacher praised him by stating “I like the way Maneet is sitting,” he smiled and hopped to sit even closer to the group. He understood that his behavior was complimented. Similarly, Katie indicated that once, when play planning with Maneet, she asked him, “You want to fly the helicopter?” he nodded. Once he moved to his center, he was indeed pretending to fly a helicopter. In addition to understanding the language, Maneet seemed to understand certain concepts. On April 4, when playing a game with a classmate, he followed rules and placed each counting bear on one picture. He displayed understanding of one-to-one correspondence. Although Maneet seemed to understand the language and several concepts, he rarely spoke in English. Instead, he responded to questions by nodding or shaking his head or pointing. He basically communicated using gestures. For example, on April 1, when asked whether he would like to take on the role of patient in pretend play, he shook his head. Similarly, on April 25, when asked what he drew, he drew a circle with his finger in the air.

Maneet communicated with his teachers mostly through gesturing. It is important to note that the feedback that he received from teachers was inconsistent. On March 14, when Maneet was asked to return to the center that he selected during play planning, he

complied. However, several minutes later he was asked whether he would like to leave his center to paint, the feedback that he received was contradictory: first encouraged to execute his play plan and then asked to consider neglecting his plan. The feedback that Maneet received about his work was also inconsistent: sometimes elaborate, sometimes brief. On April 25, when Maneet was asked what he had drawn, he demonstrated by drawing a circle in the air with his finger. The teacher praised his response: “Around and close? Good work.” She then gave him a high five. However, feedback was not always elaborate. On April 3, for example, Maneet was asked about his play plan. He pointed to a picture of a dentist’s office. The teacher asked, “What will you do there?” Maneet acted out brushing teeth but he did not receive any feedback. In essence, the inconsistent interactions paralleled the classroom dynamic described in Class-Based Analyses.

Although Maneet did not initiate conversation and responded with gestures, he attempted to repeat phrases when asked to do so. After Maneet constructed a structure with blocks on April 15, I asked him, “Which colors did you use?” I pointed to each color and asked Maneet to repeat. He did so. Similarly, when I asked him to count the puzzle pieces we were working with, he was quiet. When I asked him to repeat after me as I counted, he did so. Katie indicated that she had similar interactions with Maneet. When teaching him how to solve social problems, he repeated pieces of her phrases. When she said, “Tell him ‘I don’t like it,’” Maneet repeated, “Don’t like.” She then said, “Tell him, ‘Keep your hands on your own body.’” He repeated the last part of the phrase, “Own body!”

Katie pointed out that some cultural miscommunications occurred between her and Maneet. She noted that he cried when asked to stand near the toilet. At first, she

thought that he was simply afraid of the toilet because, especially at the beginning of the school year, he seemed to be afraid of everything. However, after Katie learned from my interview with Hareem's mother that in some cultures boys are expected to sit on the toilet, she began to think that Maneet may have cried due to confusion. He was potentially taught practices that contradicted practices at home.

Regarding socialization, Maneet tended to keep to himself. He often walked away from a group to participate in an independent activity. On March 13, while members of his center searched for materials to build an ambulance, Maneet walked away and squatted by the science center instead. He ran his finger across the floor, watching it intently. While the class participated in a whole-group activity on April 4, Maneet crept behind a bookshelf and played independently with trucks.

Although it was rare, Maneet sometimes collaborated with and imitated his peers. On April 24, for example, he painted with Hareem. He often mimicked Sadeep, which usually led to learning. During play planning on April 11, Sadeep drew a jungle. He came to me with his picture and said, "Look! I made a jungle." I responded, "It's beautiful. Who lives in the jungle?" Sadeep answered, "Fish and a lion." A second later, Maneet walked up to me with his drawing and said, "jungle." On May 28, Sadeep took a break from dancing, indicating that he was tired. Shortly after Sadeep sat down, Maneet sat next to him.

In summary, Maneet was challenged to grow comfortable in school twice (because he was disenrolled due to an administrative error). This led to compounded stress and frustration. Katie indicated that Maneet was initially very frustrated about communication. In the spring, he seemed to be content in the classroom. He

communicated with teachers mostly via gesturing, often using picture cards (that featured various activities at centers) during play planning. Maneet verbally expressed himself mostly when asked to repeat specific phrases. He tended to repeat only the last words within a given phrase. A few miscommunications emerged between him and the teacher, possibly pertaining to bathroom use. Maneet mostly kept to himself, often walking away from group activities to take on independent activities. Although it was rare, he collaborated with other students. He especially seemed to gravitate to Sadeep. Imitating Sadeep led to encouragement of verbalization. Some of the interactions that Maneet experienced in the classroom, such as inconsistent feedback, paralleled the greater classroom dynamic.

### **Student Performance**

Table 17 summarizes Maneet's final scores on the ELS and his improvement on the ELS from winter 2012 to spring 2013. Unfortunately, the teacher did not score Maneet in spring 2013 in any area except Math/Science. His scores in Math/Science were in the low range but demonstrated improvement in geometry/measurement. Maneet was not scored in the spring for Social/Emotional or Language/Literacy content areas. Therefore, the table reports growth in only one content area.

Table 18 reports Maneet's standing and growth at the time of the study in terms of his score on the PKBS-2 (spring 2013) and his final score and growth on the PPVT (assesses vocabulary skills) and the WJ III (assesses math skills). Maneet's PKBS-2 score indicates that he struggled with Social Skills and Problem Behaviors, indicating that he was a high-risk student and social skills and problem behaviors were of high concern. His social skills were less developed and his problem behaviors were more pronounced,

Table 17

*Maneet's Growth on Early Learning Scale (ELS) from Fall 2012 to Spring 2013*

	<u>ELS math/science growth</u>				<u>ELS social/ emotional growth</u>		<u>Language/literacy</u>			
	Numerical Operations	Classification & Igebraic Thinking	Geometry & Measurement	Scientific Inquiry	Self regulation	Play	Oral Language	Phonological Awareness	Print Awareness	Writing
Final Score	N/A	N/A	2	1	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Growth	N/A	N/A	+1	0	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A

Table 18

*Maneet's Growth in Spring 2013*

Measure	PKBS-2 Social Skills Score	PKBS-2 Problem Behavior Score	PPVT	WJ III
Final score	70	110	20	5
Growth			+14	+1

compared to other children his age. His PPVT score and the WJ III score demonstrate that his vocabulary and math improved during the course of the study (from March to June).

### **Outside of the Classroom**

Maneet's parents came from an urban area in Punjab, India. Maneet's father studied until Grade 10 (in public school) in India before coming to the United States. He emigrated in 1999, thanks to sponsorship by his father. After spending 10 years in the United States, Maneet's father went to India to get married. After his marriage and after Maneet was born, the family moved back to the United States. At the time of the study, Maneet's father worked as a truck driver and his mother was planning to learn the language and acquire a driver's license.

Maneet's father indicated that the immigration process was easy for him due to family sponsorship. He was a citizen at the time of the study, and his wife was in the process of becoming a citizen. Although he indicated that the process was easy for him, he also stated that he understands that it is very difficult for others.

In addition to assisting with documentation, extended family played a role in Maneet's immediate family's life. The mother's family was still in India but the father's family was mostly in the area. Maneet and his parents lived with extended family in a joint-family home with the father's brother and his wife and baby. Maneet's father indicated that their support network consisted mainly of close-knit family. It is through this network that they have learned of various opportunities, including the preschool.

Maneet's father viewed his life in the United States mostly in a positive light. Although he had fear pertaining substance abuse, such as smoking and drug use, he expressed overall satisfaction with life in the United States, where he was more "comfortable" with the standard of living than in India. He also considered the United States to be more equitable than India. He described the education system in India with

inequities between rural and urban schools, which he stated is not the case in the United States. In general, he seemed positive about his life in the United States.

Regarding involvement in community, Maneet's family knows Pakistani neighbors and is connected to the temple. Maneet attended summer school at the temple, where he learned about the Hindi culture, including the language. Maneet's father was glad that his child had the opportunity to learn more about his culture. The family attends temple every Saturday and has formed relationships with its community.

At home, Maneet eats, sleeps, watches cartoons, draws, and plays. He enjoys playing with his baby cousin. While he plays with all cousins, he is exposed to English, although he continues to respond to them in Punjabi. Maneet's father wants him to respond in English. He hopes that Maneet's English improves.

Katie described Maneet's parents as welcoming and open. She indicated that they welcomed her when she conducted home visits. Also they were "very open to suggestions." They tried to implement her suggestions. However, she was unsure of how much they understood. For example, she explained to them that, when Maneet was homesick, she reviewed the classroom schedule with him. She asked them to explain this to Maneet. She also suggested ideas for potty training.

I was really trying to break it down to them. . . . if they actually did it or not, I have no idea. You can tell they were trying really hard to understand what I was trying to say to them but I just wish we spoke the same language.

The language barrier was most pronounced between the teacher and the primary caretaker, the mother. When Katie gave the father advice, he responded, "Okay, I'll tell the wife." Katie indicated that Maneet's mother was not readily available for conversation due to the pronounced language barrier.

Maneet's father moved to the United States because of sponsorship by his father. He indicated that the process was easy because of family. Family was described as helpful not only in terms of obtaining documentation but support in general. In addition to having a close-knit relationship with extended family, Maneet's family knows other families in town. They know their next-door Pakistani neighbors and are involved in their temple. Maneet attends the temple's summer school, where he learns about his culture. Maneet's father wants his son to understand their culture and at the same time adapt to the culture in the United States. He hopes that Maneet will learn more English. Overall, Maneet's father had a positive reaction to America. He indicated that he is fearful of substance (cigarette and drug) use, but appreciates the level of "comfort" that America provides. He also sees his new country of citizenship as more equitable than India. He reported that at home, Maneet likes to eat, sleep, watch cartoons, play with his cousin, and draw. Regarding Maneet's education, his parents communicated with Katie to the best of their ability. They were open to suggestions but a barrier existed due to language. Due to the mother's limited English, messages were often passed via multiple parties before reaching the primary caretaker.

### **Summary**

Table 19 shows how the above information addresses the research questions with regard to Maneet.

### **Analysis**

This chapter features the stories of four immigrant students (Miguel, Hareem, Sadeep, and Maneet) who attended Class 2 AM. The students are diverse: Miguel's parents are from Bolivia and Uruguay, Hareem's from Pakistan, and Sadeep's and



Table 19

*How Have Various Factors Shaped Maneet's Preschool Experience?*

Factor	How it has shaped Maneet's preschool experience
Teacher-student interactions	<p>Maneet communicated with teachers mostly via gestures.</p> <p>Although Maneet was rarely asked to repeat after the teacher, he repeated phrases when asked. He tended to repeat the last part of the phrase.</p>
Peer interactions	<p>Maneet mostly kept to himself. He often walked away from a group to participate in an independent activity.</p> <p>Maneet imitated Sadeep most. This led to learning.</p>
Classroom culture	<p>Maneet attend school two times because he had been disenrolled due to an administrative error.</p> <p>Maneet used picture cards to assist with play planning.</p> <p>Maneet often cried when asked to stand next to the toilet. Katie thought that he was simply scared of the toilet but she learned that some cultures insist that boys sit on the toilet. She concluded that Maneet may have been crying due to contradictory messages from home and school.</p> <p>Maneet received inconsistent feedback. For example, he was first encouraged to execute his play plan and then asked if he would like to neglect the plan. Feedback about his work was also inconsistent: elaborate at times, brief at others. This paralleled the greater classroom dynamic.</p>
Immigration processes	<p>The immigration process was defined as easy due to family sponsorships. Maneet's father is a citizen and his mother is in the process of becoming a citizen.</p>
Social and cultural capital	<p>Maneet's father completed Grade 10 in public school in India. Maneet's mother did not work yet and his father was a truck driver.</p> <p>Katie described both parents as open to suggestion. However, she was not sure that they understood her suggestions. Language was cited as a barrier in communicating.</p> <p>The language barrier was most pronounced between the teacher and the primary care-taker, the mother. When Katie gave the father advice, he responded, "Okay, I'll tell the wife."</p> <p>Maneet's immediate family felt supported by extended family. They found out about the preschool through family.</p> <p>Maneet's family was connected to their temple. Maneet attended summer school and learned Hindi there.</p> <p>When describing Maneet's schedule at home, the father did not mention educational activities.</p>
Culture	<p>Punjabi was spoken at home. Maneet's cousins spoke to each other in English but Maneet responded to them in Punjabi.</p> <p>Maneet's father feared that some older children use substances, such as cigarettes and drugs, in this culture.</p> <p>Maneet's father recognized inequities in India but not here. He described his life as more comfortable here.</p>

Maneet's from India. Their preschool experiences were shaped by a variety of within-school and outside-of-school factors. All factors are described below and followed by a discussion of emerging themes.

### **In the Classroom**

Each of these students' experience paralleled the classroom dynamic described in Chapter 4. All of the students received somewhat inconsistent, and at times limited, feedback from teachers. Sometimes the times feedback regarding behavior or schoolwork was curt and directions were sometimes inconsistent. For example, students were sometimes redirected but not expected to follow the redirection; instead, they were allowed to pursue their own agenda .

Although all of the students experienced a level of inconsistency and limited feedback, each was provided unique types of attention from the teacher. The teacher had a high opinion of Miguel, and his efforts were sometimes praised in the classroom. He received positive feedback on his drawings. Maneet received some positive feedback, as well. The teachers focused on Sadeep's academic skills, often providing extension activities. Sadeep often assumed and was encouraged to take on classroom leadership roles. At the other end of the spectrum, interactions about schoolwork were very limited with Hareem. When the teacher interacted with Hareem, she was usually commenting on behavior and redirecting him. In addition to receiving limited feedback about schoolwork, negative affect targeted Hareem. When a teacher was frustrated with Hareem, she remarked in the presence of the students, "Hareem! This kid does not pay attention!"

These four students experienced a range of challenges. While Sadeep learned English very quickly, Miguel was developing his language skills with time. Meanwhile, Maneet and Hareem spoke minimally. Hareem struggled with Urdu, which led to complications. When he started preschool, his general language development was delayed. As Hareem was learning English, he began to use it at home but his mother could not understand him. Hareem, Miguel, and Maneet also faced separation anxiety when they started preschool. Sadeep was the only one who seemed to enter preschool nonstressfully.

Since language was a barrier at some point for all four students, visuals and gestures seemed helpful in communicating with teachers. As Miguel struggled with separation from his mother, especially at the beginning of the school year, Katie used a class schedule (with pictures of various class activities) to indicate when he would see his mother again. Visuals were also used to assist in play planning. Maneet pointed to cards that featured potential activities for play in centers. He also relied on gestures for communication, nodding or shaking his head or pointing.

Although visuals and gestures were helpful in communicating, some of the students chose to speak their native language to communicate. Miguel was observed speaking Spanish to a Spanish-speaking peer. Although the peer did not speak back in Spanish, he reacted to Miguel's comments by laughing or handing requested materials. Sadeep engaged in elaborate in-depth conversations with an Urdu-speaking peer. While two of the students (Miguel and Sadeep) used their native language in the classroom, the other two (Hareem and Maneet) did not do so. Although Hareem and Maneet rarely spoke with peers, they still gravitated to peers from a similar background. Hareem and

Maneet both gravitated to Sadeep. Sadeep often helped Hareem with the message of the day, and Maneet imitated him at times.

All of the students, with the exception of Sadeep, approached communication with peers differently. Miguel tended to isolate himself and ignored social problems, rather than trying to engage in solving social problems. Similarly, Maneet kept to himself. In contrast, Hareem was very physical. The children seemed either to avoid communication or to communicate in ulterior ways.

In essence, the four students shared some but not all experiences. All imitated peers, resulting in learning at times and misbehavior at others. All received somewhat inconsistent and limited feedback from teachers. All tended to gravitate to peers of a background similar to their own. Two (Miguel and Sadeep) even engaged in conversation in their native language with peers. All were exposed to a variety of visuals. I observed visuals and gestures assisting Miguel and Maneet in communicating. In terms of differences, Hareem was in a unique situation due to delayed development of his native language. Since his Urdu was limited, he tried to speak to his mother in English as he learned it, leading to lack of understanding at home. Sadeep learned the language very quickly and did not experience separation anxiety when starting school, unlike the other three students. The students were also different in terms of approaching communication with peers. Sadeep verbalized rather consistently, Miguel and Maneet avoided interactions at times, and Hareem communicated physically. The teacher approached the four students differently. There was a degree of positive affect and attention toward Miguel, Maneet, and Sadeep. Sadeep was encouraged to take on leadership roles. On the other hand, interactions about schoolwork with Hareem were limited. Interactions often

pertained to misbehaviors. Also, there was negative affect toward Hareem, displayed by teachers who were not trained as teachers but served as substitutes.

### **Student Performance**

I asked Katie to share her ELS scores and to rate her students using the PKBS-2. The ELS scores indicated Sadeep's high, Miguel's mid-range, and Hareem's low achievement across three areas of development: Math/Science, Social/Emotional, and Language/Literacy. Maneet was not evaluated. Through the PKBS-2, Katie expressed satisfaction with Miguel's and Sadeep's developed social skills and minimal problem behaviors. She rated Hareem's social skills and behaviors as "moderate risk" and Maneet's as "high risk." Ironically, the student who seemed to need the most guidance, Hareem, received the least academic guidance.

Katie reported difficulty in evaluating students, particularly Miguel. She noted that Miguel understands many concepts in Spanish but is not able to communicate that knowledge in English. Therefore assigned grades were reflective of his language but not necessarily of his skill set.

### **Outside of the Classroom**

Regarding familial context, Miguel's mother seems to stand out. She completed higher education in the United States, graduating with an MBA. She also stands out in terms of the level of involvement in her son's schooling. She communicates with Katie often and teaches the preschool curriculum at home in Spanish. She also stands out in terms of language. She is the only one of the four parents who stresses that her children speak only Spanish at home. She feels very strongly about their bilingualism. She has a

limited social network and views the immigration system as “unfair.” She is here without documents.

Miguel’s mother is unique from the other parents for the reasons above. The other students’ parents have completed Grade 10 to Grade 12 in their home country. Most are somewhat involved with their children’s schooling. Sadeep’s aunt, for example, gauges Sadeep’s learning by questioning him about the world around him. Hareem’s mother worked with him on ABCs, numbers, and other topics. Although there is a level of concern, the other parents were not teaching preschool curricula to their children. Other parents did not speak to Katie as much as Miguel’s mother. Other parents allowed their children to couple English with their native language at home. Hareem, Sadeep, and Maneet were exposed to English through cousins and siblings. Sadeep was especially exposed because his siblings and cousins lived with him. All three families indicated that they felt supported by extended family. Miguel’s mother’s family is in Bolivia and she considers herself to be “all alone.” She is unable to visit because she is undocumented. She feels that it is unfair that her permanent residency was revoked after she lost her job and established a family. Other families did not have grievances toward the immigration system.

Some parents did not develop as close of a relationship with Katie as did Miguel’s mother. In some cases, language and various views served as barriers. Katie was not able to communicate with most primary caregivers. While Miguel’s mother spoke English, Hareem’s mother, Maneet’s mother, and Sadeep’s father did not. Luckily, Katie was able to communicate with Sadeep’s aunt, Hareem’s father, and Maneet’s father. However, communication issues arose with certain caregivers. Katie was not sure whether Maneet’s

father truly understood what she was saying or whether he passed the messages to his wife. Priorities for Hareem were conceptualized differently by his teacher and his father. While the teacher stressed Hareem's need to develop socioemotional skills, his father stressed the importance of academics. His father tended to dominate the conversation about his son, although his mother was the primary caregiver. In addition to having different priorities, the teacher and parent also gave Hareem different messages. Hareem encountered a clash between home and school values, for example, being taught to use the bathroom in contradictory ways.

Although there were some clear differences between Miguel's mother and the other parents, there was a similarity between Miguel's mother and Hareem's mother. They discussed being limited by not having a driver's license. Miguel's mother did not have one because she is undocumented, and Hareem's mother has not had the opportunity to gain one due to her recent arrival in the United States. Miguel's mother is afraid to drive, which has led to school absences for Miguel. Hareem's mother indicated that not having a license limits access to social and cultural capital.

While Miguel's mother's experience was unique, Hareem's mother was different from the group in terms of immigrant optimism. The families of Miguel, Sadeep, and Maneet shared reservations about life in the United States but ultimately concluded that they were glad to be here. They compared their lives here to their lives in their native country. Miguel's mother appreciated the school services here, Sadeep's aunt appreciated the safety, and Maneet's father appreciated comfort. In contrast, Hareem's mother was eager to return to Pakistan. She is most concerned with teaching her children Islamic values.

Certain themes emerged in comparing the students' home environments.

Hareem's, Sadeep's, and Maneet's parents were of similar educational background. The primary caregivers spoke no or limited English and encountered a level of difficulty in communicating with the teacher. Although language was a barrier at times, views added to the barrier in Hareem's case. Most of the students were exposed to English outside of school through siblings and cousins. In addition to providing the child a chance to practice English, extended family served as a network for support for most parents. Sadeep's aunt, for example, often attended school meetings because of her English language proficiency. However, Miguel's mother did not fit this description. She had common ground with Hareem's mother. Although for different reasons, both were limited because they did not have a drivers' license. Miguel's mother also had common ground with Sadeep's and Maneet's families in terms of expressing immigrant optimism.

### **Discussion of Common Trends**

The comparison and contrast of the experiences of Miguel, Hareem, Sadeep, and Maneet resulted in emerging themes. These themes have various implications, which are discussed below.

First, the chapter stresses the importance of classroom culture, which shapes all immigrant students. These four students received curt and inconsistent feedback about their work and behavior. Limited and inconsistent feedback about behavior often contributed to escalation of misbehaviors. This implies that the classroom culture is important to consider when studying students. It also implies that classroom culture should be considered when modeling an effective education for immigrant students and for students in general.



Second, Katie expressed frustration about evaluating immigrant students, particularly Miguel. She graded him partially on his ability to communicate knowledge. Since his English was limited, his scores did not always reflect his abilities. This dilemma raises questions about effective evaluation of ELL students.

Third, labels were powerful. The teacher praised Miguel's mother for her involvement. Miguel's efforts were sometimes praised in the classroom. Sadeep was considered a leader and he proceeded to embrace that role. These two students were scored higher on the ELS and PKBS-2 instruments.

The experiences of Miguel, Hareem, Sadeep, and Maneet reflected connections among emotional well-being, language, behavior, and learning. If students struggled with a preceding element, the next element seemed more difficult to achieve. Sadeep did not experience separation anxiety at the beginning of the school year, learned English quickly, and solves problems via speech. His performance was extremely high. The teacher provided extension activities to challenge him. His experience was "positive" with each of these elements. However, difficulties in one domain shaped the experience in the following domain. For example, Katie indicated that she had to focus on making students feel comfortable, first and foremost. Since the primary focus was on comfort, the boys who experienced separation anxiety—Miguel, Hareem, and Maneet—were slower in developing language. Since they had limited language to solve social problems, they did so in different ways, either by isolating themselves or by physical means (e.g., grabbing materials that they wanted). Hareem, who was especially physical, tended to be redirected rather than introduced to academic concepts, so the opportunity to learn was minimized.

Hareem's physicality was significant in his experience. Grabbing, pushing, and touching without direction from the teacher is often interpreted as misbehavior in a preschool classroom. However, immigrant students who do not speak English and cannot verbalize may resort to communicating their needs and wants physically. Such physicality, as in Hareem's case, may be interpreted as misbehavior when in reality it is a form of communication.

### **Chapter Summary**

In addition to stressing classroom dynamics and teacher-student interactions, this chapter stresses the impact of peers. All four of the immigrant students in this classroom imitated one peers. This led to escalation of misbehavior at times and learning at other times. All four students seemed to gravitate to students like themselves. Miguel and Sadeep spoke in their native language to other classmates. Katie indicated that her students felt comfortable, especially at the beginning of the school year, when around others who spoke their language. This implies that having immigrant students of similar backgrounds in a classroom may be beneficial.

In addition to illuminating the role of within-school factors that shape immigrant student experience, the chapter brought attention to outside-of-school factors. Language, a common vision between home and school, culture, documentation, and family were factors that shaped student experience. Miguel's mother spoke English fluently and collaborated with Katie. She taught the curriculum to Miguel in Spanish. She also seemed to share a vision with Katie. Katie and Hareem's father did not share a common vision, which limited collaboration. Mixed messages arose between school and home. For example, Hareem was asked to use the bathroom in different ways, leading to confusion

and breakdown of cultural practice. Culture shaped students in the classroom in other ways, as well. Miguel's mother, for example, felt very strongly about her children being bilingual. Therefore, she spoke to Miguel and taught him in Spanish. Since he heard only English in school, he was not always able to express his knowledge in school, which frustrated him, Katie, and his mother.

Immigrant documentation played a critical role in shaping student experience. Since Miguel's mother was undocumented, she did not have a driver's license. This limited how much she drove, sometimes contributing to Miguel's absence in school. Although she was documented, Hareem's mother did not have a license, which limited her access to social and cultural capital, both of which, as Chapter 2 indicates, are linked to student experience.

Family shaped student experience. Sadeep, Hareem, and Maneet were exposed to English from the family. Also, students were supported due to close-knit extended families. Sadeep's aunt attended school meetings due to her proficiency in English. It is important to note that documentation and family life are linked. Only Miguel's mother was involved in his education, partially because her extended family was in Bolivia. While Hareem's, Sadeep's, and Maneet's families were able to sponsor extended family, Miguel's mother could not do so due to her undocumented status.

This chapter captures the complexity of immigrant student experience. Although each experience was unique, the common themes that have emerged provide insightful information. Immigrant students were shaped by both within-school factors and outside-of-school factors. Classroom culture, including labeling and teacher misunderstanding of physicality, and composition of and interaction with peers played a critical role in

shaping preschool experience. Assessment options proved limiting for these immigrant students. Relationships among initial preschool experience, language, behavior, and performance also emerged. Outside-of-school factors were critical in shaping experience, including language, a common vision between home and school, culture, documentation, and family. All were factors that shaped student experience.

## **CHAPTER 6**

### **Child-Level Analyses of Immigrant Students in Class 2 PM**

This chapter presents holistic, child-level accounts of four immigrant students in Class 2 PM. Child-level analyses are critical to this study, especially since the study's primary purpose was to distill generalizations and assist in understanding immigrant students. The four students featured in this chapter are Julieta, Bart, Ricardo, and Faria. After their individual stories are told, the chapter concludes with a analysis of similarities and differences in their experiences, including emerging trends.

#### **Julieta**

##### **Background**

Julieta comes from a family of six. She lives in a two-parent household with three older half-siblings, ages 10, 8, and 6. Julieta, the only child from the mother's new marriage, is the youngest in the household. Both of her parents are Hispanic: the mother from El Salvador and the father from Mexico. Both parents have been in the United States for an extensive period of time: the mother for 14 years and the father for 18 years. Because the mother does not speak English, Spanish is mostly spoken at home. However, the children sometimes speak to one another in English.

##### **In the Classroom**

Julieta started preschool in fall 2011. At the time of the study, she was in her second year of preschool. Katie and Julieta's mother noted that Julieta had improved in her 2 years of school. When she started, she did not speak English. At the time of the study, she was very articulate in English. Her literacy skills were very developed, as she was in the process of writing initial sounds. Several times in the interview, Katie

described Julieta's language as "very strong." Julieta also improved in terms of self-regulation. Julieta's mother indicated that, when Julieta first started school, she often had tantrums. Her mother speculated that the tantrums developed partially due to their family dynamic. Julieta often got her way at home because, as the mother stated, she was a girl and the youngest. Thus, she had to learn how to react when life did not align with her desires and expectations. Katie indicated that, although Julieta still needs to work on regulating her emotions, she has improved.

In addition to having developed language and self-regulation, Julieta grew into an independent, determined learner. In terms of independence, Katie said, "She's very independent. . . . She'll take the counting fruit and she'll just randomly choose to sort them and put them in a certain order. . . . She's very independent in that sense." I also observed this trait. On April 22, for example, she independently picked up a book and began to count the polka dots in a picture. She is also very determined. I observed her play planning for an extended period of time, drawing her picture and working on her message until she was satisfied. She was often the last student to move from play planning to play, on her own decision. Katie noted that Julieta often drew a picture several times until it met her own standard. "She'll go through so much paper because she didn't draw her circle perfectly," said Katie. Katie called Julieta a "perfectionist."

Julieta was also very observant and analytical, and she excelled in math. She made several insightful comments throughout the course of the study that demonstrated a sense of cause and effect. When a peer threw something in the garbage, Julieta remarked, "I am going to check if it's getting bigger." She walked over and looked at the garbage. Similarly, when Katie pretended to wash the assistant's hair, Julieta exclaimed, "You

better close your eyes!” She demonstrated the ability to connect concepts. In terms of numeric awareness, Julieta was observed teaching her classmates how to count. On May 13, she displayed a notion of one-to-one correspondence by placing one counting bear on top of a picture of a shopping cart. She did this with several bears and carts. The teacher often catered to Julieta’s needs. For example, she allowed Julieta to re-do her play plans. “She’ll start [play planning] a couple times, and when she gets it, she like goes and does everything. So, I’m like if this is going to help you, then fine.” The teacher also provided Julieta with potential solutions, particularly pertaining to resolving social problems. On March 11, when Julieta was upset because she did not get her seat of choice, Katie suggested, “You can have these seats,” as she pointed to three seats. Julieta eventually took a seat suggested by her teacher. Similarly, on May 5, when Bart was painting on Julieta’s paper instead of his own, Julieta screamed, “Stop!” Katie gave Julieta advice: “Tell him you don’t like that.” Julieta looked at Bart and said, “I don’t like that.” Julieta attempted to solve problems independently on April 11, telling Bart, “Ah! I don’t like it,” as he was stomping toward her.

In addition to solving social problems, other trends emerged when analyzing Julieta’s social experiences with her peers. At times, Julieta took on a leadership position, either asking her peers to behave in accordance with the rules or teaching them academic concepts. On March 11, for example, she reminded a peer that he was to take only one scoop of food for lunch, not two. On April 9, she counted the number of bowls that another student had. She told her peer, “1, 2, 3. You’ve got 3.” She pointed to each bowl as she counted. On May 13, when a classmate did not place the right number of counting

bears into a cup, Julieta corrected her, first in English and then in Spanish, saying, “No! Three. One, two, three. Uno, dos, y tres.”

At times, Julieta worked collaboratively with her peers and at other times she had difficulty in doing so. On March 19, for example, she painted with a group. While painting, she asked her peers for help. “Where is my paint?” At other times, she struggled with sharing. While at the block center with another student, she gathered all of the cars, guarded them with her hand, and said “No!” She told the student that she did not want to play with him. On April 2, she and a student took materials from one another.

As described in Chapter 4, inconsistencies characterized Class 2 PM, and these affected Julieta. Sometimes she was asked *how* and *why* questions that led to critical thinking. On April 25, after Katie read a story about mice, she asked the group, “Why couldn’t the cat find them [the mice]?” Julieta responded, “Because they’re on paper.” Katie elaborated, “Oh, because they’re on white paper and the mice are white?” Similarly, on May 9, after Julieta shared that she made a triangle, the teacher questioned, “How do you know it’s a triangle?” Julieta answered, “Because it has three sides!” However, feedback was sometimes limited. On May 14, Julieta was handed a chart (featuring pictures and their beginning sounds) during play planning but was not instructed how to use it and so she did not use it. Most feedback that was limited concerned Julieta’s behavior. Julieta often abided by her own agenda. On April 23, while Katie wrote the message of the day, Julieta walked in circles around the rug. She was not redirected or to tune into the lesson. Julieta received inconsistent feedback, sometimes characterized by negative affect, partially due to inconsistency in staffing. On May 13, for example, when Julieta was upset because Bart had pushed her, the substitute teacher



remarked, “Julieta is a cry baby today!” Later, the assistant approached Julieta and talked to her about the issue, eventually asking Bart to apologize. Similarly, on May 22, when Julieta seemed upset, the substitute teacher mocked her by making a pouty face. Julieta went to the bathroom and washed her hands for several minutes. As Katie pointed out, Julieta had a tendency to separate herself from the group by going to the bathroom when she was upset. The assistant tried to incorporate Julieta back into the group, “Will you join us?” In essence, Julieta received some detailed feedback and some limited feedback from her teachers. The detailed feedback usually pertained to her work, while the limited feedback tended to pertain to her behavior. Sometimes she received different feedback from different teachers.

These inconsistencies parallel the findings described in Class Level Analyses. CLASS results indicated that long periods of waiting limited productivity. This was apparent in observing Julieta. On May 9, she drew a very clear and detailed picture during play planning but, while waiting for the teacher to check her work, she scribbled over the picture.

Julieta was in her second year of preschool at the time of the study. She was very strong in language and math, and was an analytical and determined student. Her language and self-regulation especially improved during her preschool experience. Julieta interacted with her peers, attempting to direct or teach them at times. Although she sometimes collaborated with peers, at other times she struggled, particularly with sharing. Katie was in the process of teaching Julieta about social problem solving. Katie often catered to Julieta’s needs, for example allowing her to re-do her play plans. Katie sometimes provided Julieta with detailed feedback, particularly regarding her work, and

sometimes limited feedback, particularly regarding behavior. At times, Julieta was allowed to follow her own agenda. Some inconsistencies that Julieta experienced in terms of teacher feedback could be attributed to frequent staffing changes. Long periods of waiting in the classroom led to alterations in Julieta's work.

### **Student Performance**

Table 20 summarizes Julieta's final scores on the ELS and her improvement on the ELS from fall 2012 to spring 2013. Most scores reflect the previous discussion but some contradict it. Julieta's language/literacy scores were in the high range, supporting the teacher's statements and my field observations regarding her performance in the content area. Similarly, Julieta's scores were in the mid-to-high range for math, supporting the description. The Social/Emotional score is somewhat puzzling. The score is nearly perfect, even though the teacher indicated Julieta's need to work on self-regulation, as well as my observations of Julieta following her own agenda instead of classroom protocol.

Table 21 illustrates student standing and growth at the time of the study. It summarizes Julieta's score on the PKBS-2 (in spring 2013), which indicate that her social skills were well above the class average and problem behaviors were well below class average. Altogether, via the PKBS-2, the teacher indicated that Julieta was excelling socially and behaviorally. The table presents Julieta's final scores and growth on the PPVT (assesses vocabulary skills) and the WJ III (assesses math skills). Both scores improved by a great margin, almost doubling during the course of the study.

Table 20

*Julieta's Growth on Early Learning Scale (ELS) from Fall 2012 to Spring 2013*

	<u>ELS math/science growth</u>				<u>ELS social/emotional growth</u>		<u>Language/literacy</u>			
	Numerical Operations	Classification & Igebraic Thinking	Geometry & Measurement	Scientific Inquiry	Self regulation	Play	Oral Language	Phonological Awareness	Print Awareness	Writing
Final Score	3	N/A	3	4	5	4	5	3	5	N/A
Growth	+1	N/A	+1	+2	+2	0	0	0	+3	N/A

Table 21

*Julieta's Growth in Spring 2013*

Measure	PKBS-2 Social Skills Score	PKBS-2 Problem Behavior Score	PPVT	WJ III
Final score	107	98	80	18
Growth			+38	+9

**Outside of the Classroom**

Julieta lives in New Jersey with her parents and three older half-siblings. Julieta's parents come from Central America: her mother from El Salvador and her father from Mexico. Julieta's mother is from the farmlands of the province of San Miguel. She has been in the United States for 14 years, and the father for 18 years. The mother tells her children that they have three cultures: American, El Salvadoran, and Mexican.

Julieta's mother came to the United States just before her 18th birthday. She was sponsored by her father. Before coming to the United States, she was separated from her family due to emigration. The father came to the United States when Julieta's mother was 5 days old. The mother came when she was 7 years old. Julieta's mother did not know her father as a child and did not see her mother from the age of 7 until 18. Eventually, even the eldest sister left for the United States, leaving Julieta's mother to live 4 years with an uncle who was described as "strict." Eventually, at 17, she was recognized and sponsored by her father. Although, as the translator explained, "she didn't know why or for what," her father finally sponsored her, she came to the United States after completing high school in her home country.

Julieta's mother first settled in Long Branch, New Jersey, near her family. She moved to New Jersey after crossing paths with her first husband. He wanted them to live closer to his family. They settled in the area and had three children. Eventually, they separated. After the separation, she stayed in New Jersey, eventually connecting with her current husband, who is Julieta's father.

Overall, Julieta's mother considered her immigrant experience to be "positive." She attributed this to entering the country legally. Due to the sponsorship, it was easy for her to find a job, only a month after arriving. A year after that, she had a driver's license. She described herself as "like a normal person." She recognized that it is not as simple for everyone. Her sister, who entered the country illegally, struggled much more. "I was really blessed," said Julieta's mother.

Julieta's father entered the United States illegally. He eventually acquired documentation due to his work. However, after acquiring his paperwork, he faced several

issues with immigration. In fact, while Julieta was at preschool, her father was detained by Immigration and Customs Enforcement. He was in jail for 12 days, first in New Brunswick and then Newark. Julieta's mother explained that this resulted from a misunderstanding. Somebody had used his papers to acquire a driver's license, which was eventually suspended due to several violations. The situation was stressful and expensive for the family. They paid for him to be released and for restoration of his license.

Being separated from her father stressed Julieta in school. She threw tantrums and separated herself from the group. Katie said, "She would actually go into the bathroom . . . pull down her pants and sit on the toilet. . . . I would say, 'Julieta, are you okay?' and she would say 'I'm in the toilet. Leave me alone!'" Katie indicated that she felt limited during the "good 2 or 3 weeks of panic for the family." She explained, "We can only do so much. And all I could really offer was comfort for the kid. . . . I was like 'I don't have control over any of that stuff.'" Katie said that, when the father finally came home, Julieta "came in and was the happiest kid."

While Katie was sharing this story, she indicated the important role that translators played. It was not until a parent-teacher conference that she found out why Julieta had not been herself. "If we never had a parent-teacher conference with the translator, we wouldn't have known what was going on with Julieta." In that sense, Katie indicated that having two Spanish-speaking family advocates in the building was very helpful. Julieta's mother also expressed gratitude regarding communication in her native language at school.

In addition to this particular event shaping Julieta's experience in school, other family events have shaped Julieta. Julieta's mother indicated that her family life shaped

the way she approaches child rearing. She told the translator that “she tries to help them [her children] the most she can because of what she didn’t have in her childhood.” She stays involved in her children’s lives. Past experiences have shaped the way Julieta has been treated. Julieta’s mother’s brother died in a tragic accident. Because of losing her son, Julieta’s grandmother, who used to live with Julieta’s immediate family, tended to favor her male grandchildren. Julieta’s mother tried to balance this dynamic by catering to Julieta. Julieta got used to being catered to and having her way. Julieta’s mother indicated that this may have been the source of her tantrums when starting school.

Julieta’s father is a warehouse manager. Her mother does not work. The family spends much time together. On Sundays, Julieta and her siblings often see their grandmother. The family spends time over meals, at the park, and at church. They are especially involved in their church. Julieta and her siblings participate in the children’s chorus and children’s club. Julieta’s mother assists with programming at church. She teaches the children and often heads activities with adults. Julieta’s father sings at the church. Through church they have met many friends from various parts of Central and South America, including Dominican Republic, Puerto Rico, Guatemala, Nicaragua, and Venezuela.

Julieta’s mother is satisfied with her life in the United States, especially when she compares it to life in El Salvador. She shared that, when she was living with her uncle, she “couldn’t do anything.” She had to follow his guidelines. Here she is independent. She is also satisfied with the school system. She noted that children are ahead academically in the United States. However, she recognized inequities that characterize the United States. She contended that discrimination has targeted Mexicans and that

illegal immigrants are at an educational disadvantage, being limited in obtaining a higher education due to lack of documentation.

Julieta's mother is from El Salvador. She is from rural San Miguel. She obtained a high school education before coming to the United States at the age of 18. Due to emigration, she was separated from her parents and sister as a child. This experience motivates her to be available to her children. She wants to give them what she did not have. Julieta's mother considers her immigration experience to be "a blessing." She entered the country legally due to her father's sponsorship. She obtained a job and driver's license shortly after arriving. Julieta's father, on the other hand, entered the United States without proper documentation. Although he is currently documented, he was recently detained by immigration for 12 days, which affected Julieta strongly. She had tantrums at school and isolated herself from peers.

Translators were very helpful in helping Katie understand this case. One of the family advocates who is bilingual translated a parent-teacher conference between Katie and Julieta's mother, which provided insight into the family situation at the time. Other family dynamics have shaped Julieta, as well. Julieta was allowed to "have her way" at home. Her mother speculated that this contributed to tantrums at school.

Julieta's father is from Mexico. He currently works as a warehouse manager in the United States. The family spends time together. They have meals, visit the park, connect with distant family, and attend church. Church is an integral part of their lives, with Julieta attending the children's activities. Julieta's mother is satisfied with her life in the United States, including the advanced school system and the independence that she

has been able to established here. She recognizes inequities in the United States, specifically those targeting Mexicans and illegal immigrants.

### **Summary**

Table 22 shows how the above information addresses the research questions with regard to Julieta.

## **Bart**

### **Background**

Bart comes from a family of four. He lives in a two-parent household with one older sibling, 10 years old. Bart's family is originally from Marparaíso, Chile. They come from a small beach town located close to Vina del Mar. Bart's mother arrived in the United State 11 years ago. Because she does not speak English, the children usually speak Spanish at home. The older brother speaks to Bart in English "to help out" in learning the new language.

### **In the Classroom**

When Bart started preschool in fall 2012, he did not speak any English. Katie indicated that, at the end of the year, Bart was functioning but "could not communicate." When compared to classmates, he improved least in language and other content areas.

Katie's descriptions of Bart included "very active and impulsive," "pouty," and "mischievous." On the positive side, Bart was described as "good at sports." Regarding activity and impulsivity, Katie described that at the water table Bart tended to pull the plug, spilling water on the floor almost daily. Although aware of the consequences of his actions, he still pulled the plug. My field observations highlight Bart's high levels of activity. He was often in motion, and sometimes his behavior escalated. On May 5, for



Table 22

*How Have Various Factors Shaped Julieta's Preschool Experience?*

Factor	How it has shaped Julieta's preschool experience
Teacher-student interactions	<p>Katie often catered to Julieta's needs, for example, allowing her to redo play plans.</p> <p>A substitute teacher was sarcastic with Julieta, mocking her when she was upset. This led Julieta to grow more upset.</p>
Peer interactions	<p>Julieta took a leadership position in the classroom. She tried to offer guidance to peers (e.g., by showing them how to count).</p> <p>At times Julieta collaborated with peers, while at others she struggled, particularly with sharing.</p> <p>Katie was in the process of teaching Julieta to solve social problems. Julieta began to implement Katie's lessons.</p>
Classroom culture	<p>Katie sometimes provided Julieta detailed feedback, particularly regarding her work, and sometimes limited feedback, particularly regarding behavior. Julieta was sometimes allowed to follow her own agenda. Some inconsistencies in terms of teacher feedback were the result of frequent staffing changes.</p> <p>Long periods of waiting in the classroom led to alterations in Julieta's work.</p> <p>Having bilingual family advocates allowed for partnership between home and school.</p>
Immigration processes	<p>Julieta's mother considered her experience "a blessing." She obtained a job and driver's license shortly after arriving in the United States because of legal entry.</p> <p>Immigrant services detained Julieta's father for 12 days, and Julieta had tantrums in the classroom and isolated herself.</p>
Social and cultural capital	<p>Julieta's mother obtained a public high school education in El Salvador. She did not work. Her father worked as a manager of a warehouse.</p> <p>Julieta's family was involved in church. Julieta participated in children's programs.</p> <p>Julieta's family valued family time, having meals, park visits, connecting with distant family, and attending church together.</p>
Culture	<p>Mostly Spanish was spoken at home. The children sometimes spoke in English with one another.</p> <p>Julieta's mother considered the American school system to be advanced. She was glad that she had established independence from her uncle.</p> <p>Julieta's mother recognized inequities in the United States, specifically those targeting Mexicans, and limitations (e.g., to higher education) faced by undocumented immigrants.</p> <p>Julieta's mother approached child rearing in a certain way partially due to her experiences as a child. Because she was separated from family, she wants to be with her children.</p> <p>Family events shaped the way children were treated. Julieta's mother lost her brother and she believes that this influenced Julieta's grandmother to favor her grandsons. Julieta's mother tried to balance this dynamic by allowing Julieta to have her way. She believes that this made transition to schooling difficult for Julieta, as Julieta often threw tantrums when she started school.</p>

example, he chased another student around the room, eventually pushing him. Katie also described Bart as “pouty.” She said that he got upset when corrected or when he could not play at the water table. In terms of “mischief,” Katie indicated that he was aware of routines and rules but still made undesirable choices. On May 25, for example, Bart was playing with an abacus instead of lining up to go outside. The assistant indicated that children who were not ready would stay inside. Upon hearing this, Bart raced on line, showing that he was aware of his actions. When the teacher indicated that he would not be going outside, he squatted behind his peer as if to hide from her.

The descriptions of Bart provided by Katie give insight into the teacher-student dynamic. Bart was one of the few students who was punished for his actions in class. On March 14, May 9, and May 22, Bart was placed in “time out” for making noises, pushing a peer, and playing with an abacus instead of lining up. Some interactions between Bart and his teachers were characterized by negative affect. On May 14, for example, when Bart attempted to express himself, the assistant said, “English please” in an irritated manner. On May 20, a substitute teacher said to him, “I have no idea what is going on. Just stop.” Although the teacher had qualms about Bart’s limited communication, staff sometimes discouraged him from communicating.

Sometimes Bart was discouraged from communicating, at other times he was encouraged to communicate, particularly by being asked questions during play planning and in small-group and whole-group activities: “What will you do [at centers]? What is your connection? What letter is that? Do you know who we read about yesterday?”

Bart usually attempted to vocalize when responding to these questions. Although his answers were sometimes disconnected from the question, he attempted to speak in

English. On April 11, the assistant asked Bart to connect the story that they had read to his life. “What is your connection?” He responded, “Baby.” Similarly, on May 28 he was asked, “Do you know what vacation is?” He responded with “Chicken.” Although the responses were not correct, Bart was attempting to use English.

Feedback to Bart’s incorrect responses varied. Most often, the teacher elaborated on his response. When Bart responded “baby” to the first question, the teacher explained to him what a connection was. “A connection is maybe something you saw on TV or something you played with at centers.” When Bart responded with “chicken “ to the second question, the teacher connected his response to the question by stating, “Chicken? Sure you can eat chicken on vacation.” Although the teacher elaborated on Bart’s response, it is not clear whether the feedback helped Bart to understand the meaning of “connection” or “vacation.” In other words, the teacher elaborated on his response but did not necessarily break down the concept for him to enhance understanding.

At the beginning of the school year, Bart often responded to the teacher in Spanish. Katie said, “He was convinced that everyone spoke in Spanish.” I observed Bart responding to the teacher in Spanish. On April 9, when the teacher asked, “What color is that?” about a card that he was holding, Bart accurately described it in Spanish: “*rojo*.” As the year went on, Bart mixed more English into his responses. Katie called his speech “Spanglish.”

Bart sometimes initiated conversations with teachers. He asked questions when seeking direction. On April 22, when asked to set the table, Bart placed a plate by each bowl. He missed one bowl and had a plate left. He held it and asked the assistant, “What

do I do with this one?” Similarly, when sitting down to play plan, Bart pointed to a nametag and asked the assistant, “Is this me?”

Bart developed relationships with his peers that were characterized by a variety of interactions. Just as with many other ELL students, Bart communicated most with a student who spoke Spanish. The two often played at the water table together. They had elaborate conversations in Spanish. Bart also played with other children, as well. Sometimes he treated his peers with respect; at other times he struggled to do so. On April 23, for example, he assisted a peer in putting on an apron. On May 28, he attempted to use his words to speak up for himself. He said “No!” when another student began to take apart a structure that he had built. However, he was sometimes physical. For example, he hit a child who tried to sit next to him on March 21, and pushed a peer on May 9.

The interactions with his peers shaped Bart, sometimes encouraging misbehaviors and at other times encouraging learning. For example, on March 14, he imitated a student who was making noises while the teacher was trying to talk. On May 9, he picked up a book of stickers instead of preparing to go outside, asking a student, “Hey, want a sticker?” When the student ignored his question, Bart lined up with the rest of the class. His peer’s act of ignoring him led to his following directions. Bart also repeated phrases after his peers. On May 22, he played at centers with a peer who said “Get out!” Later, the peer asked him, “You have 15 dollars?” Bart repeated both of these phrases.

The classroom culture regarding behavioral expectations and productivity also shaped Bart’s experiences. Bart was allowed to follow his own agenda at times. On March 19, for example, while the rest of the class was selecting centers for play, Bart was

hiding behind a bookshelf, dipping up and down to hide or watch the group. Sometimes such behavior was redirected. However, Bart often disregarded misdirection, which was accepted by the teachers. On April 2, Bart and a peer were rolling on the carpet instead of sitting and engaging in whole-group discussion. The teacher asked them twice to sit up. When they did not comply, she stopped asking. Sometimes long periods of waiting characterized activities or transitions, and at those times, Bart often acted out. On April 16, while waiting extensively for his play plan to be checked, he screamed, "I'm done!" About a week later, while waiting for his play plan to be checked, he drew on the table.

While the classroom culture regarding behavior expectations shaped Bart's experiences in class, so did the materials in the classroom. Bart used the supplemental cards (which featured pictures of possible activities in centers) that were provided during play planning. At times, he pointed to activities in which he wanted to participate. On May 22, for example, he pointed to a picture of scissors and acted out cutting his hair to communicate that he wanted to go to the hairdresser center. At times, particular distribution or lack of distribution of materials led to a level of chaos in the classroom. On April 16, Bart selected a center but was not given a marker and was not sitting in proximity to the marker bin, so he did not illustrate his play plan. Instead, he fidgeted, dropping his play plan and jacket on the floor. On April 22, one puzzle was taken out for the group. Ten children, including Bart, attempted to assemble the puzzle, eventually snatching pieces from one another.

Katie's views of Bart's relationship with her and the other teachers were mostly critical. He was one of the few students who was punished, although his behavior did not vary much from that of other students. He was discouraged from communicating at times,

and encouraged at other times. When encouraged via questioning, he usually responded verbally, although his responses were not always correct. When communicating, he attempted to speak in English, but sometimes he responded in English, sometimes in Spanish, and sometimes in both. When the teachers provided feedback, they tended to elaborate on his responses. It is not clear whether this helped Bart to understand new vocabulary and concepts.

Bart established friendships, especially with one Spanish-speaking student. He was helpful to his peers at times and instigated negative responses at others. He imitated his peers and they imitated him, leading either to misbehaviors or constructive behaviors. He repeated phrases in English by modeling his peers' speech. The classroom culture also shaped Bart's experiences. He was allowed to follow his agenda at times, acted out during long periods of waiting during activities, particularly play planning, and used picture cards when play planning.

### **Student Performance**

The ELS scores presented in Table 23 provide limited information regarding Bart because the teacher did not score him in all areas. Some of the scores reflect the discussion above. Katie indicated in her interview that Bart had improved the least of all of her students. The ELS scores for Language/Literacy do not show improvement, but this somewhat contradicts my observations of Bart. My anecdotal notes, discussed in the previous section, highlight Bart's attempt to use English.

As Table 24 shows, Bart's PKBS-2 score placed him at "moderate risk," indicating that his social skills and problem behaviors were of moderate concern. His social skills were less developed and his problem behaviors are more pronounced in

Table 23

*Bart's Growth on Early Learning Scale (ELS) from Fall 2012 to Spring 2013*

	<u>ELS math/science growth</u>				<u>ELS social/emotional growth</u>		<u>Language/literacy</u>			
	Numerical Operations	Classification & Igebraic Thinking	Geometry & Measurement	Scientific Inquiry	Self regulation	Play	Oral Language	Phonological Awareness	Print Awareness	Writing
Final Score	N/A	N/A	3	2	N/A	N/A	1	1	N/A	N/A
Growth	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	0	0	N/A	N/A

Table 24

*Bart's Growth in Spring 2013*

Measure	PKBS-2 Social Skills Score	PKBS-2 Problem Behavior Score	PPVT	WJ III
Final score	72	118	15	6
Growth			+12	+4

comparison to other children his age. His PPVT (Vocabulary) score improved by 12 points and his WJ III (Math) score improved by 4 points during the course of the study.

**Outside of the Classroom**

Bart's parents were born in Chile. After his father had finished high school in Chile, he came to the United States, with proper documentation, to join his mother. Bart's

mother completed semiprivate high school in Chile and then continued with vocational school, studying to become a secretary. She worked in the field for 3 to 4 years before moving to the United States. Bart's parents met when the father returned for vacation in Chile. Eventually, they were married in Chile and moved to the United States together. Both of their children—Bart and his 10-year-old brother—were born in the United States.

Bart's father currently works at several jobs. His main job entails "getting things out of a truck" at a warehouse. Bart's mother currently does not work. Bart attends the PM session at the preschool, starting school at 12:30 PM. Her oldest son is at school until 3:00 o'clock. This schedule does not allow her to work because she does not want to leave her children "with anyone else and she doesn't have family here."

Throughout the interview, Bart's mother expressed grievances about separation from family. The translator told me, "She's sad because she had to leave her family." All of the mother's family is in Chile, including her mother and two sisters. She finds the separation difficult, especially since her culture is "family oriented." Also, she indicated a lack of support. When she gets sick and has to go to the hospital, she takes her children along. Bart's mother has not seen her family. She can afford to travel back only every 3 years and her family has been unable to visit; they have been denied visas twice.

Although Bart's mother is sad that her family is not with her, she is happy that her children were born in the United States and are being raised in this culture. Although she recognizes that her children enjoy Chile, particularly her older son, who appreciates the outdoors lifestyle there, she thinks that it is better for them to be here. She thinks that the United States is more equitable, especially when she takes into consideration that government-funded programs like Head Start are not readily available in her country. She



speaks of discrimination of the poor in Chile. Along similar lines, she appreciates the “material” aspects of life here. With the exception of rent, goods are cheaper here. In essence, “the economy over here is better than over there.”

Although Bart’s family’s support network is limited due to family separation, they have established somewhat of a connection with other Chileans. Her husband has reconnected with a friend from Chile who now lives in the United States. Their families have become friends. Also, through a fund-raising effort for victims of Chile’s earthquake, the family had expanded their network. They see friends only periodically because many of them are dispersed. Although some sense of community has been established, which is comforting, Bart’s mother also indicated limitations. Since she is surrounded by Spanish speakers, she is rarely exposed to English, which limits her English language development.

Regarding Bart’s school experience, his mother expressed ease, hope, and concern. First, she stated that the preschool had Spanish-speaking employees, facilitating conversation between home and school. In terms of commenting specifically about Bart’s experience, his mother often repeated, “He’s doing good.” She also expressed awareness of his tendency to speak in Spanish, even to English speakers. This comment reflects Katie’s concerns, which had been communicated to the mother. Bart’s mother said that Bart has told her that he does not like English. She tried to explain the importance of English. He reacted by asking her, “Why do you speak Spanish and not English, then?” His mother explained that it is important for him because he is in school. She reported that he has been using more English but still enjoys reading in Spanish and knows more in Spanish. For example, he knows colors in Spanish but not in English. Bart’s mother

predicted that “he will be good with time.” In the meantime, she has asked his older brother to “help out” by speaking to Bart in English.

Bart’s mother is clearly concerned about his schooling, as demonstrated by other facets of our conversation. She stressed that, even though she does not speak English, she tries to read to Bart in English to help. She also stressed that, at orientation, parents were told to limit television time for their children, and that she followed through on that advice. She indicated that Bart does not like television; he prefers to be active. She has activities for him at home for the two of them, such as drawing. She has also worked with her older son, helping him to learn how to read and write in Spanish.

Bart’s mother expressed an interest in and examples of catering to her children’s educational needs but Katie’s perception of Bart’s family differed. Katie described Bart’s family as “very sweet” but somewhat dismissive of her concerns. When Katie expressed concerns about Bart’s high level of activity and slow language development, the family reassured her that Bart “will be fine.” She felt dismissed, and she grew to believe that Bart’s family viewed preschool as day care more than as a school setting. Katie was also concerned about Bart’s absences, which she described as frequent and for long intervals of time. He missed at least a month of school due to family vacation in Chile.

Bart’s mother said that she feels limited as an immigrant because of family separation. Her family has tried to visit but they have been denied visas twice. Being separated from family has resulted in limited support. Bart’s mother indicated that it is difficult for her because she does not have help with her children. Although she is separated from family, she has Chilean friends here and is a part of a Spanish-speaking community. The school is part of that community. She expressed that she communicates

about her child in her native language in preschool. Although this is comforting, it is also limiting. She said that it was difficult to learn English without being exposed to it. Katie expressed concern about Bart's language acquisition. His mother stated that he had told her that he does not like English and does not understand its importance if she does not speak it. In order to assist Bart in learning English, she asked his older brother to speak to him in English. She also tried reading books in Spanish to help. Although Bart's mother expressed concern for his education, Katie's conceptions of Bart's family differed. Katie described the family as sweet but less willing to collaborate with the school than other families. Bart comes from a family that expresses optimism. His mother sees the United States as equitable and the American economy as strong. She is glad that her children are being raised in this culture.

### **Summary**

Table 25 shows how the above information addresses the research questions with regard to Bart.

## **Ricardo**

### **Background**

Ricardo lives in a two-parent household with two older siblings. His older sister is in elementary school and his older brother is in high school. Ricardo's family is originally from Lima, Peru; they arrived separately to the United States. First, the father immigrated, eventually petitioning for his wife and eldest child to join him. The two younger children, Ricardo and his sister, were born in the United States. Ricardo's mother has been in the country for 11 years. She does not speak English. Spanish is mostly spoken at home. At times the children speak in English with each other.

Table 25

*How Have Various Factors Shaped Bart's Preschool Experience?*

Factor	How it has shaped Bart's preschool experience
Teacher-student interactions	<p>Katie described Bart as "very active and impulsive," "pouty," and "mischievous," as well as "good at sports." She indicated that he had made the least progress in the classroom. Bart was one of the few students who was punished (by being put in time out) for his actions.</p> <p>Bart was sometimes discouraged from communicating. His comments were dismissed or he was told, "English please." At times he was encouraged via questioning (e.g., "Do you know who we read about yesterday?")</p> <p>Feedback to Bart's responses varied. Most often, the teacher elaborated on Bart's response. It is not clear whether the feedback helped Bart to understand new vocabulary and concepts.</p> <p>Bart attempted to verbalize with his teachers. He sometimes initiated interactions, especially when seeking direction. At the beginning of the year, he used Spanish in an attempt to communicate. He eventually incorporated more English, sometimes blending the two languages.</p>
Peer interactions	<p>Bart spoke to another Spanish speaker in his native language. The two often played together at the water table.</p> <p>Bart sometimes treated others with respect (e.g., helping Faria put on her apron) but at other times was physical (e.g., hit).</p> <p>Bart imitated others and others imitated him. This sometimes led to escalation of misbehavior, sometimes modeling of productive behavior. Bart repeated English phrases, modeling a peer in centers.</p>
Classroom culture	<p>Bart followed his own agenda at times. He was redirected at some times but not at others. He dismissed redirection without consequence.</p> <p>Bart sometimes acted out during long periods of waiting or when materials were not distributed or were distributed in a limited manner. In essence, the classroom productivity shaped Bart's behavior.</p> <p>Bart used picture cards to assist him in play planning.</p> <p>Bart's mother indicated that having Spanish staff at preschool facilitated communication.</p>
Immigration processes	<p>Bart's mother said that it was difficult to be separated from family. Her family tried to visit but wee denied visas. She expressed that family separation had limited her support network.</p>
Social and cultural capital	<p>Both of Bart's parents completed high school in Chile. His mother also attended vocational school, studying to become a secretary. She does not work now, while his father works at several jobs, the main one at a warehouse.</p> <p>Bart's family is friends with other Chileans. They see them periodically.</p>

Table 25 (Continued)

Factor	How it has shaped Bart's preschool experience
Culture	<p>Bart's mother does not speak English. She reported difficulty in learning English due to living in a Spanish-speaking community.</p> <p>Bart expressed skepticism about learning English, partially viewing it as unimportant because his mother does not speak it.</p> <p>Bart's mother asked her older son to speak to Bart in English to help him acquire the language.</p> <p>Bart's mother indicated that she is glad that her children are in the United States, which she sees as more equitable than Chile, with less discrimination against the poor. She also appreciates free schooling for the poor, as well as her economic situation here.</p> <p>Bart's mother expressed concern about and involvement in his education. This contrasted with the way she was viewed by Bart's teacher.</p>

### In the Classroom

When Ricardo started preschool in fall 2012, he did not speak English. At the end of the school year, Katie described him as “very verbal.” Katie noted that she “saw the most improvements” with Ricardo.

According to Katie, Ricardo improved in language and literacy. She noted that he learned English “step by step.” While some students seemed to start verbalizing “just as if a switch turned on,” Ricardo’s language developed in stages. “You saw it develop. You really did see it step by step.” She indicated that he learned partially by imitating his teachers and repeating their statements. My observations confirmed this. On May 13, for example, Ricardo was imitating his teacher during lunch. “Pass it to Michaela,” he said, while passing sandwiches and fruit to the student sitting next to him. In terms of literacy, Katie said that Ricardo was “one of first kids to start memorizing everyone’s name.” He associated each name tag with a classmate. He also developed the ability to produce print.

His pictures were especially detailed. “He would give himself glasses. He would draw a cat that’s basically like a person with whiskers,” Katie explained.

Ricardo struggled with self-regulation at the beginning of the school year but eventually developed into a “model student,” according to Katie. Ricardo’s parents were initially concerned with his aggression and shared this concern via the Age Stages Questionnaire, which every family is asked to complete at the beginning of the school year. Katie also expressed concern, as Ricardo was physical toward other students. At one point, he attempted to choke another student. Ultimately, a specialist devised an action plan for Ricardo, asking that his teachers model language, behavior, and how to handle situations appropriately. Katie rated the action plan as very constructive, assisting Ricardo in developing self-regulation. She eventually observed Ricardo modeling proper behaviors for his peers. When Ricardo and a peer were trying to put away a basket of books, Ricardo said to the peer, “No. Together,” proposing collaboration.

Katie indicated that development of language is related to self-regulation. Ricardo seemed to be more physical when his language was limited. “He didn’t know how to express himself, so he was very physical.” Once he learned self-regulation, he improved across several domains as a student. “Once the whole aggressiveness state ended he just . . . his progression kind of like skyrocketed.”

I observed Ricardo responding to teacher questions and sometimes even starting conversations with his teacher. On March 14, for example, when Katie asked which student’s name starts with the letter B, Ricardo was the first to respond: “Bart!” Similarly, on May 28, when the teacher asked Ricardo what he does on vacation, he said, “make a sand castle.” When she followed up, asking where he builds sandcastles, he

responded, “at the beach.” Ricardo started conversations with his teachers when asking for help and to communicate ideas. On March 11, he approached the teacher when a student did not want to share toys with him, and on May 15, he started a conversation with his teacher by saying, “I’m growing!” He seemed comfortable in the classroom with his teachers, engaging in conversation with them.

Katie expressed a favorable opinion of Ricardo. Throughout the interview, she frequently described him as “cute.” She also often spoke proudly of his progress. She praised his family, calling them “sweet” and “cute,” as well. Katie indicated that she appreciated the level of involvement in the classroom by Ricardo’s family. She emphasized that they were “so willing to work with us [the school]” and “really determined to push Ricardo forward.” She particularly appreciated the willingness of Ricardo’s mother to be included in classroom activities. “She doesn’t speak any English but she comes [into the classroom].” She followed up, “If I ask her to come to the classroom, she’ll just smile . . . and she’ll just sit there.” She thinks that such involvement helped Ricardo progress.

Ricardo exhibited both prosocial behaviors and instances of conflict. He verbalized his needs to his classmates. When he needed ketchup at lunch on March 13, he requested that a classmate pass it to him. Similarly, on May 15, when he wanted to play with the same toy as a classmate, he said, “Together, together.” I also observed Ricardo apologizing to classmates. On March 13, he pulled someone else’s bowl to himself at lunch. Once he realized that the bowl was not his, he said that he was sorry and gave it back. While he exhibited such prosocial behaviors, he also clashed with peers. He struggled particularly with sharing. On March 19, he raised his voice at a peer who

wanted to play with the toys that he was using, and on April 9, he pushed a student who tried to play with the toys that he was using. Similarly, on May 13, while playing a game with a partner, he did not want to share the materials. Ultimately, this led to his partner not being able to participate in the game.

The peer dynamic that is created in the classroom distracts Ricardo from following the teacher's directions at times. Sometimes he imitates peers and sometimes they imitate. On April 26, the group was instructed to sit on the carpet. The student next to Ricardo lay down instead, and Ricardo followed suit. In another instance, while on the carpet, two students played with shoelaces instead of engaging in the whole-group activity. When Ricardo noticed, he played with the shoelaces of the student next to him. While most of the time, Ricardo imitated others' actions, sometimes peers imitated Ricardo. On March 11, while the class was singing, Ricardo played with the weather chart. Another student noticed Ricardo's actions and did the same. In essence, peers are sometimes a distraction for Ricardo from following the teacher's directions.

Ricardo's experience in the classroom was shaped by the classroom culture. The classroom culture was characterized by inconsistencies and frequent long periods of waiting. Ricardo's misbehaviors were not addressed consistently. On March 14, for example, when Ricardo sat on a couch between two students, the teacher said to him, "You can't just squeeze your way in. That's not okay." Hearing this, Ricardo got up. However, moments later, when the teacher was not looking, he sat down again. His behavior was not corrected this time. Sometimes Ricardo was redirected to play in the center that aligned with his play plan but at other times he was allowed to pursue an activity that deviated from his play plan. In long periods of waiting, Ricardo deviated



from activities. While waiting for the teacher to work with him, he played with inchworms rather than using them to measure. He pretended to cut the inchworms with his ruler.

Teacher-student interactions, peer interactions, and the classroom culture shaped Ricardo's preschool experience. Katie had a very favorable opinion of Ricardo. She often expressed pleasure with his progress, particularly in terms of language acquisition and self-regulation. She indicated that the concern shared between home and school regarding his aggression facilitated an action plan that was ultimately helpful for Ricardo's self-regulation. Katie appreciated that Ricardo's family was involved in his schooling, attributing some of his progress to that concern. She noted that language acquisition assisted self-regulation as it provided Ricardo with another medium of communication. Ricardo seemed comfortable with his teachers, volunteering to respond to their questions and initiating conversations. He exhibited prosocial behaviors, such as willingness to collaborate, but he also struggled, particularly with sharing. The peer dynamic that developed in the classroom sometimes distracted Ricardo from following teachers' directions. Inconsistencies on the part of the teachers and long periods of waiting also shaped Ricardo's school experience. This led to occasional deviation from tasks at hand.

### **Student Performance**

The ELS scores presented in Table 26 reflect the above discussion. Katie indicated that Ricardo acquired the English language gradually, becoming "very vocal" by the end of the school year. My field notes highlighted his eagerness to speak the language. Improvement in language and literacy, including oral language, is reflected in

Table 26

*Ricardo's Growth on Early Learning Scale (ELS) from Fall 2012 to Spring 2013*

	<u>ELS math/science growth</u>				<u>ELS social/ emotional growth</u>		<u>Language/literacy</u>			
	Numerical Operations	Classification & Igebraic Thinking	Geometry & Measurement	Scientific Inquiry	Self regulation	Play	Oral Language	Phonological Awareness	Print Awareness	Writing
Final Score	N/A	N/A	3	2	5	4	3	1	3	4
Growth	N/A	N/A	+1	0	+3	+2	+2	0	N/A	3

Ricardo's ELS score. Katie also stressed Ricardo's progress in social and emotional skills, particularly self-regulation, which is reflected in he ELS scores.

Table 27 reflects Ricardo's positive performance, particularly regarding behavior and language. His social skill score was above the class average and his problem behavior score was below the class average, which indicates that his social skills were more developed and his problem behaviors were less pronounced than the class average. His PPVT (Vocabulary) score improved by 9 points and his WJ III (Math) score improved by 2 points during the course of the study. This aligns with my field notes, which indicated that Ricardo was eager to communicate and was developing a strong number sense. I observed him counting materials, such as inchworms, one at a time, displaying one-to-one correspondence, comparing various items, and exhibiting familiarity with colors.

Table 27

*Ricardo's Growth in Spring 2013*

Measure	PKBS-2 Social Skills Score	PKBS-2 Problem Behavior Score	PPVT	WJ III
Final score	109	93	55	13
Growth			+9	+2

**Outside of the Classroom**

Ricardo's parents were born in Lima, Peru, and came to the United States for economical and familial reasons. Ricardo's grandfather has been in the United States for more than 20 years. He petitioned for Ricardo's father to come to the United States. When Ricardo's father immigrated, he left his wife and son in Peru. After several years, he petitioned for them to join him. Ricardo's mother and older brother arrived in the United States 11 years ago. They first settled with extended family in New Jersey, where Ricardo's older sister was born. Five years later, they moved into their own home, where Ricardo was born. At the time of the study, they were living on the outskirts of town, near the industrial center in a small, quaint home.

Before arriving in the United States, Ricardo's parents attended public school in Peru. Ricardo's mother explained that private school is only for those who can afford it, and that her family could not afford it. She studied to be a teacher's assistant for Pre-Kindergarten and worked in the classroom before coming to the United States. Ricardo's father studied to be an electrician. Ricardo's parents do not work in their fields now. The mother does not work and the father builds swimming pools.

Because of immigration, the family experienced separation. Ricardo's father was away from his family, since he arrived in the United States first. When Ricardo's mother and older brother joined him, they did so at the expense of distancing themselves from extended family. Ricardo's mother expressed that she "doesn't have anyone here," with all of her family in Peru. She has seen them only a few times in the past few years; she has returned to Peru three or four times since moving to the United States.

In addition to not having family in the United States, Ricardo's mother spoke of not having friends. "She doesn't have that much friends either," the translator said. She elaborated that she does not have intricate relationships with her neighbors, church community, or preschool parents. Although she attends mass, she is not active in the church community. Although she is often at preschool with Ricardo, she talks only briefly to another Spanish-speaking parent.

Although their network is limited, Ricardo's parents have learned about services through various people. They learned about preschool a long time ago, when their daughter was of preschool age. Ricardo's mother does not remember who told them about the school. The family found out about food stamps while at the hospital giving birth to their daughter. The discussion with hospital staff motivated them to apply, and the family has been utilizing the services since then. Ricardo's mother expressed satisfaction with life in the United States, partially due to such services. When asked how her immigrant experience has been positive, she mentioned that "the country gives a lot of help." Services such as food stamps are not available in Peru and she is grateful to receive them here.

Although she is optimistic about her family's situation, Ricardo's mother expressed areas of concern. For example, she wishes that children were disciplined more in the United States. She wishes that they wore uniforms to school. She also recognizes that the economy was better in the United States in the past. Since her family likes to save, they have not been greatly affected by recent recessions.

Ricardo's mother was optimistic about his experience in school. Her concerns with Ricardo's rough play were alleviated during the school year. She also expressed that she learned from Katie that Ricardo pays attention and is a fast learner.

Katie noted that Ricardo's family was involved in his preschool career, despite their limited English. Ricardo's mother was often eager to assist in the classroom. Ricardo's father read *Five Little Monkeys* to the class in a thick accent, Katie described. Katie attributed involvement partially to translators. Each family at the preschool has a designated family advocate, and both family advocates in the building are fluent in English and Spanish. When the family met with school representatives regarding Ricardo's aggression, they conversed about the issue in Spanish, which facilitated the conversation.

At home, Ricardo plays with his older sister. When they play, they speak in both English and Spanish. Ricardo's mother sometimes encourages them to use more Spanish so they do not forget their native language. Ricardo paints, draws, plays with blocks and puzzles, and plays in the back yard. He enjoys playing with his dog. His mother indicated that, since he learned to write his name, he loves to practice writing it at home. The family also reads together, watches movies, and goes to the pool in the summertime.

Immigration processes, social and cultural capital, and culture have shaped Ricardo's experiences in preschool. Ricardo's mother has experienced family separation due to immigration. She was first separated from her husband and now she is separated from her side of the family. She "doesn't have anyone here." She has been back to Peru to see her family a few times. In addition to being separated from family, she has not developed relationships with others. She casually speaks to a Spanish-speaking parent at preschool, but that is the extent of that friendship. Despite their limited network, the family has learned of services, such as the preschool and food stamps, both of which they have benefited from. Before arriving in the United States, Ricardo's parents studied in the public school system in Lima, Peru. The mother studied to become a preschool assistant, while the father studied to be an electrician. In the United States, the mother has not worked, while the father does pool construction. Despite their concerns regarding lax discipline in child rearing and a declining economy, the family is satisfied with their life in the United States. They especially appreciate access to services such as food stamps. The family has been involved in Ricardo's education, supported by the school's Spanish-speaking family advocates, who have assisted them to speak about their son's schooling in their native language. While at home, Ricardo participates in various activities, ranging from reading to playing outdoors with their dog. He is exposed to both English and Spanish: to parents in Spanish and to siblings in both English and Spanish.

### **Summary**

Table 28 shows how the above information addresses the research questions with regard to Ricardo.

Table 28

*How Have Various Factors Shaped Ricardo's Preschool Experience?*

Factor	How it has shaped Ricardo's preschool experience
Teacher-student interactions	<p>Katie described Ricardo as "cute" several times. She also expressed that she was proud of his progress with language acquisition and self-regulation. Ricardo seemed comfortable with his teachers, volunteering to respond to their questions and initiating conversations.</p> <p>Katie indicated that parents and teachers shared the same concern regarding Ricardo's aggression at the beginning of the school year. Katie used an action plan to help Ricardo with self-regulation, which she described as effective partially due to parental involvement, which was facilitated by Spanish-speaking translators.</p> <p>Katie indicated a relationship between self-regulation and other areas of Ricardo's development. She said that it was difficult for him not to be physical because he did not have many other mediums of communication prior to learning English. When he learned English and self-regulation, other areas (such as literacy) also improved.</p>
Peer interactions	<p>Ricardo did not gravitate to a particular peer; he played with various classmates.</p> <p>Ricardo communicated in English with all peers.</p> <p>Ricardo sometimes exhibited prosocial behaviors, such as willingness to collaborate, but at other times struggled, particularly with sharing.</p> <p>Ricardo imitated others, and others imitated him. This usually led to distraction from following teacher directions.</p>
Classroom culture	<p>Ricardo's behavior was redirected at times but not at others.</p> <p>Ricardo deviated from the plan of activity during long periods of waiting. For example, he pretended to cut inchworms with a ruler rather than use them to measure.</p> <p>Parents conversed in their native language about Ricardo due to having a Spanish-speaking family advocate.</p>
Immigration processes	<p>Ricardo's family was separated due to immigration. The father arrived first in the United States. He eventually petitioned his wife and son.</p> <p>The mother often described herself as alone because her side of the family was in Peru.</p>
Social and cultural capital	<p>Ricardo's parents attended public school in Peru. His mother was a preschool assistant in Lima. His father studied to be an electrician. His mother does not work in the United States; the father works in construction, building pools.</p> <p>Ricardo's family has a limited social network.</p> <p>Despite the limited social network, the family has learned of various services, such as food stamps, through various individuals, such as staff at a hospital.</p>
Culture	<p>Ricardo's mother does not speak English.</p> <p>Ricardo speaks English and Spanish at home. He speaks Spanish to his parents and both languages to his siblings. His mother encourages them to speak more in Spanish so that they do not forget their native language.</p> <p>Despite her concerns regarding lax discipline in child rearing and a declining economy in the United States, Ricardo's mother indicated that she is satisfied with life in the United States. She is especially appreciative of services, such as food stamps.</p>

## **Faria**

### **Background**

Faria was born in New York City but currently lives in Karsley, New Jersey. She is part of a family of four, including her parents and a baby brother. Her aunt (father's sister) also lived with the family at the time of the study. Faria's family is originally from Gulbert, Pakistan. Her father has been in the United States for 16 years, while her mother has been here for more than 5 years. The parents speak limited English. At home, the mother speaks to Faria in Urdu and tries to speak to her in English.

### **In the Classroom**

When Faria started preschool in fall 2012, she did not speak any English. At the end of the school year, Katie was still concerned about Faria's English language acquisition, as well as following and understanding classroom procedures and activities.

During the course of the study, I observed Faria's language development and interviewed Katie about it. I observed Faria imitating her teacher's language. During lunch on March 13, for example, when a student passed ketchup to another student, Katie thanked him for being helpful: "Thank you very much." Faria repeated the last part of the phrase: "Very much." Katie indicated that she was concerned with Faria's language even though she produced phrases, often by imitating others. She was concerned because Faria did not seem to show language comprehension. "You would ask her something, maybe she would repeat it back to you . . . she really didn't show any comprehension of it."

Katie indicated that she had heard Faria speak to other students' parents in Urdu. One parent told Katie that they had elaborate conversations with Faria in Urdu. Thus, Faria's struggle seemed to pertain to English language acquisition, rather than language



acquisition in general. Katie said that her concerns first developed about 3 months into the school year, in November/December 2012, when she noticed that most of the ELL students in her class had made significant progress in acquiring the language, with the exception of Faria.

I observed Faria speaking in various ways: generating sounds that were not comprehensible, inserting English words between such sounds, generating words or short phrases in English that might or might not be relevant to the context of a given conversation. On March 19, for example, when presenters from Child Abuse Prevention visited the classroom, they asked questions at the end of their visit to assess learning. Faria was asked who she could talk to if something was bothering her. She responded, “No.” When she was asked again, she produced sounds that were not English words. Thus, she did not display understanding of the conversation. However, on May 28, when the teacher asked her where she goes on vacation, she responded, “Boat. Da. Cookies.” Although she did not form a phrase or sentence that clearly articulated comprehension of the question, she used words that could possibly relate to the question at hand. That same day, I heard Faria formulate a short, meaningful phrase: “I want vacation.” In essence, my observations aligned with Katie’s comments. Faria did not usually show comprehension of the English language. However, Katie’s commentary focused on Faria’s struggles; Faria sometimes used some English and showed limited understanding of classroom discussion.

In addition to being concerned with language development, Katie was concerned about Faria not following classroom procedures. She indicated that Faria often “wandered” in the classroom. “She was never focused, in one year and out the other.” On

April 2, 9, 11, 16, and 23, I observed Faria walking away from her designated center of play. Most times, the teacher walked Faria back to the center or asked her to return. Even after being walked back, several times, Faria left her designated center. Katie observed that Faria may not have acquired English as quickly as the other children partially due to not following classroom procedures. “All the other children picked up the language by applying it to what they were doing at the time but she was never focused.”

Katie’s last major concern was Faria’s limited understanding of classroom activities. She noted that the other ELL students, although they did not say much about their play plans, demonstrated understanding of play planning. Maneet, for example, drew a person playing in a center and then attempted to participate in an activity that matched his drawing. He also attempted to write symbols at the bottom of the page to describe his drawing. Faria, on the other hand, sometimes drew a person during play planning but her pictures lacked detail. Katie was unsure whether Faria was drawing herself in a particular center or whether Faria understood that the drawing was to represent her play. Along similar lines, other ELL students counted objects, sometimes in their native language. Faria rarely initiated counting, counting only when Katie modeled.

Katie and her assistant tried to cater to Faria’s needs in the classroom, but sometimes expressed frustration. Katie catered to Faria by participating in activities “hand over hand.” She physically guided Faria in the classroom by taking her hand and walking her to a proper center. She also encouraged use of visuals. During play planning, Faria pointed to pictures of activities that were available in centers.

However, Katie was generally frustrated with Faria’s progress in preschool. She called Faria an “ultimate frustration” and referred to her as “not functional” and confused,

“like a deer in headlights.” Her treatment reflected this perception. On May 22, the assistant told Faria curtly, “I don’t know what you’re saying.” She also spoke to her in a sarcastic manner: “You want to go outside? Well, I want you to listen.”

Regarding peer relationships, I observed Faria playing frequently with an Urdu-speaking student. Although the two did not speak much, they assisted each other in following classroom protocol. On April 11, the Urdu-speaking peer called Faria’s name as she was walking away from her designated center. Faria reacted by returning to the center. Similarly, on May 9, when she started to pick up toys during cleanup time, the Urdu-speaking peer imitated her actions. Responding to one another’s requests and modeling one another’s behavior led to constructively following classroom protocol.

Although interactions with the Urdu-speaking peer sometimes inspired constructive behaviors, interactions with peers in general sometimes contributed to distraction. For example, when Faria left her center on April 11, the Urdu-speaking peer did so as well. He began to wander around the room, deviating from his play plan. Similarly, on April 29, when the class was on the carpet listening to a story, a pair of students was not engaged. One had his hands and feet on the carpet, but his hips lifted toward the sky. Another student crawled under him. When Faria noticed this, she diverted her attention from the story and began to crawl, as well.

As with most students, Faria engaged in cooperative play with her peers and in doing so encountered moments of conflict. On April 11 she constructed a tunnel with a peer using wooden blocks, and on April 23 she played at the water table with another student. On May 9, she played with a student at the “recycling center” and complimented him a few times, saying “You funny.” She also encountered conflict with peers related to

sharing. She moved a cup of water to herself when water coloring in a small group. When asked to place it in the center, she pouted. Once, she snatched a toy from another student and chased a student to obtain a toy. She also encountered conflict when attempting to stop a student from breaking rules. When Katie told a student to stop erasing a message from the whiteboard and he continued, Faria pushed him. In short, Faria's interactions with her peers seemed to resemble those of her classmates. She played cooperatively but also experienced moments of conflict.

Faria's experience in the classroom was shaped by the classroom culture. As indicative in Class Level Analyses, Class 2 PM was characterized by inconsistencies in rules enforcement. In Faria's case, the teacher tended to limit her wandering around the classroom. I observed Katie walking Faria back to her center. On certain days, she walked her back more than once. Teacher intervention always occurred after Faria's wandering led to conflict between classmates. The teacher quickly told Faria to return to her designated center, for example, when Faria snatched a toy from another student. Although the teacher intervened more often than not, Faria often disregarded redirection and participated in classroom activities on her own terms. Along similar lines, teachers were not always persistent when teaching Faria academic concepts. On March 16, for example, when Faria was not particularly responsive to questions asked during play planning, the assistant went on to play planning with another student.

Teacher-student interactions, peer interactions, and the classroom culture shaped Faria's preschool experience. In terms of teacher-student interactions, Katie was very concerned with Faria's limited progress, her tendency to neglect classroom protocol, and her limited understanding of classroom activities. She was most concerned with Faria's

English language acquisition. Faria often repeated the end of a phrase but did not formulate comprehensible English phrases on her own. Katie indicated that not following classroom protocol may have slowed Faria's language development. According to Katie, the children learned English by applying it to activities. However, Faria had difficulty in focusing on designated activities. Katie tried to cater to Faria by guiding her "hand over hand," as well as by providing visuals. However, Katie's evaluation of Faria during the interview tended to focus more on struggles than on positive aspects of the student's development. The teachers frequently expressed frustration toward Faria through curt interactions and sarcasm. Faria tended to gravitate to an Urdu-speaking peer. Although they did not speak much to one another, they played together and sometimes help one another follow classroom protocol. Generally speaking, peer dynamic in the classroom sometimes aided Faria in following directions but sometimes distracted her from doing so. Along similar lines, Faria sometimes played cooperatively with peers but sometimes encountered conflict. Faria's experience in the classroom paralleled the greater classroom dynamic. Although the teachers were sometimes very persistent with Faria regarding classroom rules, Faria often pursued her own agenda. Although the teacher worked with Faria on developing various concepts, this effort was not persistent. The teacher-student interaction sometimes ended before it was clear that Faria had benefited.

### **Student Performance**

The ELS scores presented in Table 29 parallel my observations of Faria. I observed Faria playing with peers similarly to other classmates, sometimes cooperating and sometimes encountering conflict. I observed her struggle with language but also eventually speak in short phrases in English. This is reflected in the scores in the low to

Table 29

*Faria's Growth on Early Learning Scale (ELS) from Fall 2012 to Spring 2013*

	<u>ELS math/science growth</u>				<u>ELS social/ emotional growth</u>		<u>Language/literacy</u>			
	Numerical Operations	Classification & Algebraic Thinking	Geometry & Measurement	Scientific Inquiry	Self regulation	Play	Oral Language	Phonological Awareness	Print Awareness	Writing
Final Score	N/A	N/A	N/A	2	N/A	3	2	N/A	3	2
Growth	N/A	N/A	N/A	+1	N/A	+1	+1	N/A	N/A	+1

middle range that indicate slight improvement in social/emotional skills and language/literacy. Although the scores align with observations, they do not align with the interview with Katie, who expressed only concerns regarding Faria, focused on Faria's struggles with following direction and limited understanding of classroom activities, as well as slow language acquisition. These concerns arose only in the interview; Faria's ELS scores indicate progress.

Table 30 summarizes Faria's performance, particularly regarding behavior and language. Faria's teacher rated her social skills as second lowest in the class and her problem behavior score as highest in the class. This indicates that her social skills were less developed and her problem behaviors were more pronounced than most of her peers. Contradictions are evident, especially regarding the low social skills score, which contradicts the score that was assigned for Play in ELS, which was mid-range. It also contradicts my field observations, which indicated that Faria was capable of and often

played collaboratively with her peers. Faria’s problem behavior score parallels my observations and Katie’s interview, which indicate that Faria struggled in focusing on a given task, including staying in a designated center. Sometimes she lost focus due to the peer dynamic in the classroom. She imitated her peers, sometimes leading to positive behaviors and sometimes leading to negative behaviors. Faria’s PPVT (Vocabulary) score improved by 1 point and her WJ III (Math) score improved by 3 points during the course of the study. This aligns with my field notes, which indicate that Faria had limited vocabulary but at times used comprehensible phrases. The WJ III score is inconsistent with Katie’s interview, where she noted that Faria did not initiate counting. However, during my assessment, Faria initiated counting to 7 and displayed one-to-one correspondence while doing so.

Table 30

*Faria’s Growth in Spring 2013*

Measure	PKBS-2 Social Skills Score	PKBS-2 Problem Behavior Score	PPVT	WJ III
Final score	67	122	12	5
Growth			+1	+3

**Outside of the Classroom**

Faria’s parents are originally from Pakistan. Before coming to the United States, Faria’s mother lived with her grandmother in Gulbert, Pakistan. After attending college (which culminates in 12th grade in Pakistan), she worked part-time at a local

McDonald's. She spoke of traveling to nearby countries, indicating that due to her living arrangement, she did not have the same restrictions as women typically do in Pakistan. Although she knew her husband before marrying him, the marriage was arranged. Her husband resided in the United States, so she joined him here. He has been here for 16 years and she has been here for more than 5 years.

When Faria's mother first moved to the United States, she joined her husband and his family in Queens, New York, where Faria was born. After Faria's birth, her parents and aunt moved to New Jersey, where Faria's brother was born.

Faria's father works as a limousine driver in New York City and her mother and aunt stay at home and jointly care for the two children and the home. Faria's mother describes her sister-in law as helpful with activities, such as taking Faria to school, preparing food, and cleaning the house.

Although Faria's mother described the aunt as helpful, Katie pointed out difficulties that emerged because of the role that the aunt played in Faria's life. According to Katie, the aunt was looking for comfort (as a result of her divorce) and found it in Faria. The two shared the same bed and the same room. When the aunt awoke in the middle of the night to watch television, Faria followed. The mother's discipline was sometimes offset by the permissiveness of the aunt. Several meetings were held at the school, involving several parties, especially Faria's mother, the preschool's director, and a behavioral specialist. The team tried to establish a more constructive routine for Faria.

In addition to having her sister-in-law in her life, Faria's mother is connected to her neighbors and Pakistani community. She has a relationship with her neighbors, who



are diverse. The family across the street, for example, is Italian. The families cook for one another and exchange gifts during holidays. Although Faria's family does not live in a Pakistani neighborhood, they are connected to other Pakistani families in the town. Many of the connections emerged from religious activities. Faria's mother has held Islamic lectures within her home. Various family friends informed her about the preschool and encouraged her to enroll Faria.

Although Faria's mother is involved in and appreciative of the Pakistani community, she is sometimes frustrated with it. She indicated that some of its members are not very educated and others do not apply education to their lives. She was especially critical of the gossip in the community. She criticized the competitive nature and materialism of the community. "It's become such a competition of who has what and which cars and clothes they have." In essence, she appreciates that there is a community but contends that the community should do more. She indicated that she wishes for them to be more productive and cater to their children, rather than focus on eating and gossiping.

Faria's mother would like to reunify with her side of the family, which was in Pakistan at the time of the study. She has petitioned for her mother, three brothers, and two sisters to join her in the United States. She was hoping for them to be interviewed in 2013 and arrive shortly after.

Overall, Faria's parents are satisfied with their lives in the United States. When I asked Faria's mother what she liked most about being here, she replied, "All is good." She stressed the affordability of education, comfort, and safety, as well as the family dynamic. She compared these elements to Pakistan, indicating that low-income and

middle-class families there cannot easily afford education. Along similar lines, financial aid for higher education is nonexistent. In terms of comfort and safety, access to electricity is limited there and families that return to Pakistan often have their children kidnapped, taken for ransom. Faria's mother indicates that living with most extended family, as many do in Pakistan, leads to conflict. She likes being able to live rather independently with her husband, children, and sister-in-law.

Although Faria's mother expressed satisfaction with her life in the United States, she also expressed some grievances. She said that some people see her as a terrorist because of the way she dresses, particularly after September 11, 2001. People tend to be wary of her because of her religion and Pakistani descent. She also sees some people in the United States as selfish, not wanting to waste their time talking to her. "Selfish people, 99% selfish." Although she enjoys independence from extended family, she does not appreciate the American practice of placing parents in nursing homes. She thinks that the families ought to care more for their parents.

Faria's mother expressed frustration, hope, involvement, and gratitude to the preschool regarding Faria's education. She described Faria as "too much crazy." Faria is very active, which tests her mother's patience, but she is glad to have seen some improvement. Faria does not cry as much in school and has been a bit more focused, according to her mother, since February or March. Faria's mother attributes improvement to her own approach toward Faria, as well as the school. She described an effective teacher as animated to escalate student interest; therefore, she has attempted to be animated with Faria. She said that the school has helped her to make proper parenting choices. She spoke highly of Head Start's parent workshops, which provide ideas and

assist her in building a skill set for effective parenting. She did not understand why more parents do not attend and that some parents do not have time to attend an initiative that is designed to help their children. She stressed the importance of collaboration between home and school.

In agreement with Faria's mother, Katie praised collaboration between school and home in an effort to help Faria. Katie worked hard to teach Faria's mother certain potty training techniques. Collaboration was sometimes difficult due to priorities and the language barrier. At the beginning of the school year, while Katie was concerned about Faria's behavior and language, Faria's mother stressed the need to focus on reading and writing. She was a bit defensive about her daughter's language development. When Katie expressed concern, the mother reacted by asking Faria to repeat English words. She seemed to try to demonstrate that language development was not an issue. Eventually, the parent and teacher saw more in line with one another. Katie stated that this occurred because the mother became "desperate for help." Even when seeing eye to eye, the teacher and parent encountered difficulty due to their language barrier. "We had issues with Faria. Her mother speaks English but not completely fluent. So, trying to convey to her what was going on with her didn't always go over well." Katie mentioned that not having Urdu/Punjabi translators was limiting. When letters were sent home to families, the message was written on one side in English and the other side in Spanish. Katie thought that some parents would be more involved with access to a translator.

At home, Faria is exposed to various activities. Her mother likes to take her to a museum once or twice a month. She often also takes her to the park or allows her to play in the back yard, since Faria appreciates being active. They sometimes garden together.

At home, the family mostly speaks in Urdu but Faria's mother also tries to speak to her in English.

Immigration processes, social and cultural capital, and culture have shaped Faria's experiences in preschool. Faria's mother immigrated to the United States to join her husband, who had resided here for an extended period of time. As a citizen, she has begun the sponsorship process for her side of the family to join her in the United States. Even though she speaks in limited English, she tries to use both Urdu and English in her household. Regarding social and cultural capital, Faria's family is friendly with their neighbors and connected with the town's Pakistani community, mostly through religious activities. Although Faria's mother sometimes grows frustrated with the gossip and materialism that characterizes the community, she is grateful for the community. She learned about the school through such friendships. The father's sister lives with Faria and her immediate family. As Faria's mother indicated, the aunt has helped to take care of the children and the home. However, as Katie indicated, the mother's and aunt's different approaches to child rearing have led to conflict. Furthermore, when the aunt shared a room with Faria and watched television at night, Faria's schedule was upset. In terms of culture, the family has experienced prejudice due to their Muslim and Pakistani backgrounds. Faria's mother perceives people in the United States to be selfish and does not appreciate that children do not care for their parents in their old age. Despite this, the family remains optimistic about their lives in the United States. When I asked what Faria's mother liked most about her life in the United States, she responded, "all is good." She is extremely pleased with the comfort and safety, family dynamic (limited interference from extended family), and affordability of education. She has tried to

collaborate with faculty at the school and has attended and appreciated parent workshops. Katie indicates that she has helped the mother in various ways, including teaching her potty training techniques. Different viewpoints at first limited the potential for collaboration, as did the language barrier between teacher and parent.

### **Summary**

Table 31 shows how the above information addresses the research questions with regard to Faria.

### **Analysis**

This chapter features the stories of four immigrant students (Julieta, Bart, Ricardo, and Faria) who attended Class 2 PM. They are diverse: Julieta's parents are from El Salvador and Mexico, Bart's from Chile, Ricardo's from Peru, and Faria's from Pakistan. Their preschool experiences were shaped by a variety of within-school and outside-of-school factors, which are identified below, followed by a discussion of emergent themes.

### **In the Classroom**

These students' experiences reflected the greater classroom dynamic described in Chapter 4. Just as students from Class 2 AM received somewhat inconsistent, and at times limited, feedback from teachers, so did Julieta, Bart, Ricardo, and Faria. Some feedback regarding behavior or schoolwork was curt and directions were inconsistent, all of which was exacerbated by frequent staffing changes. The positive climate was lowest and the negative climate was highest in Class 2 PM. All of the students, with the exception of Ricardo, experienced a level of negativity. Faria experienced occasional sarcasm, as did Julieta (although it was rarer in Julieta's case). Julieta was exposed to sarcasm from a substitute teacher. Bart was punished several times and was discouraged

Table 31

*How Have Various Factors Shaped Faria's Preschool Experience?*

Factor	How it has shaped Faria's preschool experience
Teacher-student interactions	<p>Katie was concerned about Faria's English language acquisition, as well as following and understanding classroom procedures and activities. She attempted to help Faria by "hand over hand" instruction and the use of visuals.</p> <p>Katie said that Faria was her "ultimate frustration." Frustration was sometimes displayed toward Faria through sarcasm and curt comments.</p> <p>Faria often repeated the last part of a phrase after her teacher</p> <p>Katie collaborated with Faria's mother in an effort to assist Faria. Collaboration was hindered at the beginning of the school year by varying assessments of Faria's needs. Collaboration was hindered throughout due to the language barrier and lack of translators.</p> <p>Katie expressed a relationship between behavior and language development. She said that it was difficult for Faria to learn language because she struggled in focusing on an activity.</p> <p>The teacher's evaluation of Faria was inconsistent. In the interview, Katie indicated only concerns. Similarly, she rated Faria on the PKBS-2 as having very low social skills and very high problem behaviors. However, Faria's ELS scores indicated slight improvement in social/emotional and language/literacy domains. Similarly, the teacher said that Faria did not initiate counting but Faria initiated counting when I tested her.</p>
Peer interactions	<p>Faria gravitated to an Urdu-speaking peer. Although they did not speak much to one another, they sometimes helped each other follow classroom routines. At other times, they distracted each other from following classroom routines.</p> <p>Faria often played quietly with peers. When she spoke to peers (and teachers), she generated sounds that were not comprehensible, inserted English words between such sounds, generated words or short phrases in English that were irrelevant to the context of a given conversation, and generated words or short phrases in English that were relevant to the conversation.</p> <p>Faria sometimes exhibited pro-social behaviors, such as willingness to collaborate but she struggled, particularly with sharing, at other times.</p> <p>Faria imitated others and others imitated her. This led to manifestation of positive or negative behaviors.</p>
Classroom culture	<p>Faria's behavior was often redirected, especially if it led to conflict with other peers. Sometimes it was redirected several times. However, Faria often disregarded redirection and continued to pursue her own agenda.</p> <p>Persistence was sometimes limited during academic instruction. When Faria did not answer a question, the teacher went on to work with another student.</p> <p>Parents could not converse in their native language with the teacher, which, according to Katie, limited effective collaboration.</p> <p>Faria's mother attended parent workshops and said that they assisted her in learning valuable skills.</p>

Table 31 (Continued)

Factor	How it has shaped Faria's preschool experience
Immigration processes	Faria's mother arrived in the United States because of her husband. Her husband's father lives in Queens and her husband's sister lives with Faria's immediate family. Faria's mother is separated from her side of the family. As a citizen, she has petitioned for them to move to the United States, recently starting the process.
Social and cultural capital	<p>Faria's mother completed college (12th grade) in Pakistan, then worked at a local McDonald's. She does not work in the United States; the father works as a limousine driver in New York City.</p> <p>Faria's family has an intricate social network. The family is friendly with neighbors and involved in the Pakistani community (mostly due to religious reasons). Although Faria's mother is sometimes aggravated by the community's gossip and materialism, she is grateful for the community. She learned of the school through it.</p> <p>Faria's aunt lives with her immediate family. This is helpful because she assists Faria's mother in caring for the house and children. However, since Faria sleeps in the same bed as the aunt, she is affected by her aunt's inconsistent schedule. The aunt wakes up in the middle of the night to watch television and Faria joins her. Along similar lines, the aunt's permissive child rearing style clashes with the mother's style, which seeks to implement more discipline.</p>
Culture	<p>Faria's mother speaks limited English.</p> <p>Faria speaks Urdu and English at home. Although the mother's English is limited, she tries to speak to Faria partially in English.</p> <p>Despite facing prejudice, perceiving people in the United States as selfish, and disliking aspects of American culture (e.g., placing elderly in nursing homes), Faria's mother indicated that she is satisfied with life in the United States. She is especially appreciative of affordable education, family life (e.g., independence from extended family), safety, and comfort (e.g., electricity).</p>

from speaking. For example, when Bart was using broken English to communicate, the teacher's assistant said, "English please" in an aggravated manner. The classroom struggled with behavior management, which limited productivity. Long periods of waiting were followed by alterations in Julieta's work (e.g., scribbling on her lesson plan), Ricardo's distraction from activities at hand (e.g., pretending to cut inchworms instead of measuring them), and Bart's escalation of misbehaviors (e.g., drawing on furniture).

As in Class 2 AM, the teacher had a unique relationship with students in Class 2 PM. Relationships with Julieta and Ricardo were positive. Although Julieta experienced sarcasm on rare occasion, her needs were often respected. For example, she was allowed to re-do her play plans. Katie had a rather favorable opinion of Julieta. Her opinion of Ricardo was most favorable. He was often described as “cute.” She was very pleased with his progress, especially in language acquisition and self-regulation. In contrast, Bart and Faria were described in more negative terms. Faria was also described as “the ultimate frustration.”

Ricardo and Bart tended to be physical. However, in her interview Katie laughed at Ricardo’s behavioral mishaps, while calling Bart mischievous, active, impulsive, and pouty. Their active physical tendencies were handled differently, too. The behaviors specialist devised an action plan for Ricardo but not one for Bart. When I asked why Ricardo had the plan, Katie discussed variances in parental concern and differences in physicality of behavior. She described Ricardo as harmful and, therefore, more in need of intervention.

In addition to having unique interactions with teachers, the four students expressed themselves in unique ways. Julieta often vocalized, sometimes talking to herself during playtime. When she was upset she removed herself from situations. Faria also often vocalized, even though her speech tended to be incoherent. However, in addition to vocalizing, she acted physically. Physical responses were also common from Ricardo and Bart. Bart pounded on the water table when he needed the teacher to open it. Katie said that these physical responses occurred due to limited vocabulary. She attributed Ricardo’s physicality to limited communication in English.



All four students, with the exception of Julieta, imitated other students. Julieta took a leadership role, sometimes instructing her peers by modeling counting, for example.

Some of these students display peer preference. Faria and Bart gravitated to peers of a background similar to their own. Although Faria did not speak much to the Urdu-speaking peer, they often engaged in play. Bart not only engaged in play with a Spanish-speaking peer but also communicated in his native language. Julieta and Ricardo, both of whom had developed more extensive English speaking skills, did not tend to gravitate to peers of similar ethnicities. They also rarely spoke in their native language in the classroom.

In essence, all four students shared some but not all experiences. All were shaped, to some extent, by the greater classroom dynamic. Differences emerged with regard to teacher-student relations, ways of communicating, and peer relations. Two of the students (Julieta and Ricardo) established more positive relationships with their teachers, while two (Bart and Faria) seemed to be sources of frustration for the teacher. They communicated in unique ways; Julieta vocalized at times and, when emotional, withdrew from situations. Faria, Ricardo, and Bart used more physical means of communication. Ricardo and Bart were particularly physical. Ricardo had an action plan to assist him in developing self-regulation and curbing physicality but Bart did not. Bart and Faria gravitated to peers of backgrounds similar to their own. Bart used his native language in the classroom. Faria and Ricardo did not display peer preference. While Bart, Ricardo, and Faria imitated other students' behaviors, Julieta tended to assume a leadership role in the classroom.

## **Student Performance**

I asked Katie to share her ELS scores and to rate her students using the PKBS-2. The ELS scores indicate Julieta's mid-to-high range scores, Ricardo's mid-range scores, Faria's low-to-mid range scores, and Bart's low range scores across three areas of development: Math/Science, Social/Emotional, and Language/Literacy. In using the PKBS-2, Katie expressed satisfaction with Julieta's and Ricardo's developed social skills and minimal problem behaviors. She rated Bart's social skills and behaviors as "moderate risk," and Faria's as "high risk."

Katie reported that she had difficulty in evaluating immigrant students, particularly Miguel from Class 2 AM. This is reflected in her ratings of Class 2 PM, as well. There were differences among grades, teacher comments, and my observations. For example, Julieta's Social/Emotional ELS score was nearly perfect, even though the teacher indicated Julieta's need to work on self-regulation. Bart's ELS scores and Katie's commentary depicted no improvement. However, my observations showed otherwise. When I scored the PPVT and WJ III, Bart's scores increased: PPVT (Vocabulary) by 12 points and WJ III (Math) by 4 points. Katie expressed serious concerns about Faria's skill set but some of her scores were mid-range and indicated improvement. Although Katie reported that Faria did not initiate counting, during my assessment Faria initiated counting to 7 and she demonstrated one-to-one correspondence while doing so. Faria's social skills were rated as "high risk," but I observed her playing cooperatively with peers, even though she also encountered conflicts, much like her peers.

There were also differences in PKBS-2 scores. When Ricardo started preschool, he was considered “dangerous.” He once choked a peer. At the end of the school year, Ricardo’s score was much higher than either Bart’s or Faria’s score.

### **Outside of the Classroom**

Outside of the classroom, Julieta, Bart, Ricardo, and Faria were shaped by similar dynamics. First, all felt supported by the school. Faria’s mother stated that parent workshops had been useful, and Bart’s, Ricardo’s, and Julieta’s mothers used their native language at school. Ricardo’s mother had meetings in her native language about her concerns with his impulsiveness.

Another similarity that emerged indicated that students with older siblings spoke some English at home, allowing for practice in English. Julieta, Bart, and Ricardo spoke to their siblings in English at times. Bart’s mother requested that her older son speak to Bart in English to assist with his language development.

Similarities were expressed in views. Although views of the United States differed, all parents compared the country to their home country in a way that highlighted U.S. opportunities. Parents viewed equity and discrimination in the United States differently: Julieta’s mother spoke of inequity and discrimination toward Mexicans and Faria’s mother spoke of discrimination toward Muslims from Pakistan after September 11, 2001. On the other hand, Bart’s mother spoke of equity and less discrimination against the poor. Although opinions naturally differed due to unique experiences, all stated a preference of the United States over their own country. Julieta’s mother enjoyed independence from her uncle, Bart’s mother appreciated free schooling for the poor, Ricardo’s mother appreciated services such as foods stamps, and Faria’s mother

appreciated safety and comfort. All of the mothers were assisted by the preschool and, despite some grievances, preferred their lives in the United States to their home countries. All of the children with older siblings practiced English at home.

While these similarities existed, other factors, such as parental education and English language fluency, immigrant processes, home experiences, support networks, and Katie's conceptualizations of the families, differed. None of the mothers spoke English fluently. However, Faria's mother spoke enough English to gain insight at parent workshops. She also spoke to me in English a few times. Julieta's, Bart's, and Ricardo's parents' English was minimal. Parental education also differed slightly. Julieta's, Bart's, and Ricardo's mothers had completed high school in their countries of origin. Bart's and Ricardo's mothers went on to attend vocational school. Faria's mother finished Grade 12 (which is referred to as college in Pakistan).

In terms of immigrant processes, some families had extensive support networks that were unavailable to others. Faria's mother was planning to apply for her extended family to relocate to the United States, which she could do because of citizenship status. Ricardo's and Bart's families were separated from their extended families. When Bart's family attempted to visit, they were denied visas. These mothers described themselves as alone.

Home situations, often related to immigration processes and cultural practices, shaped preschool experiences in various ways. In Julieta's case, her father had been detained by Immigration and Naturalization Services for 12 days. During this time, Julieta had tantrums in school and isolated herself. Her mother attributed these tantrums to the home dynamic. At home, Julieta was usually allowed to have things her way.

When that did not occur in the classroom, she needed to learn how to respond. In Faria's case, her relationship with her aunt led to a lack of structure at home, possibly contributing to difficulty in following structure in school.

Outside of family, all were part of ethnic support networks, except for Ricardo's family. Faria's and Julieta's families' support networks stemmed from religious organizations. Bart's mother had bonded with other Chileans online after the earthquake in their home country. Being a part of a community was positive in terms of support but was also characterized by struggles. Bart's mother had difficulty in learning English because of lack of exposure in a Spanish-speaking community. Not speaking English has had an effect on Bart; he expressed skepticism about learning a language that his mother does not speak.

Katie conceptualized families differently. She stressed involvement by Ricardo's family and lack of involvement by Bart's family. It is noteworthy that Bart's mother, in her interview, indicated great concern for her child.

Certain themes emerged by comparing the realities that students face outside of school. Similarities included the following: (a) Mothers felt assisted by the preschool, (b) although some noted inequity and discrimination in the United States, all preferred it to their home countries, and (c) all of the students with older siblings spoke some English at home. Differences include the following: (a) differences in parental educational levels and parents' fluency in English, (b) immigration processes allowed some but not all students to have their extended families near, (c) the students had unique experiences at home, often related to immigration processes and culture, that shaped the child, including when in school, (d) all families except Ricardo's family had support networks of a

community, and (e) Katie's conceptualizations of families differed even though all of the mothers displayed concern for their children during interviews.

### **Discussion of Common Trends**

Comparing and contrasting the experiences of Julieta, Bart, Ricardo, and Faria resulted in emerging themes that have various implications, discussed below.

First, just as did Chapter 5, this chapter stresses the importance of classroom culture, which shaped all of the studied immigrant students. They all received curt and inconsistent feedback about their behavior and work at times. Such inconsistencies were magnified by staff changes. All four, with the exception of Ricardo, were also exposed to the negative affect that was part of the greater classroom culture.

Chapter 4 described Katie's frustration in evaluating immigrant students. This frustration about assessment was evident in this chapter. Discrepancies between ELS scores, teacher interviews, and my observations emerged. These included downplay of achievement by more active students. In my assessments, Bart showed progress on PPVT (Vocabulary) and WJ III (Math). However, Katie indicated that he did not make any improvement. Similarly, Faria counted to 7 when tested on the WJ III (Math) assessment. However, during the interview Katie said that Faria did not initiate counting at all. Such discrepancies raise questions about effective evaluation of ELL students.

While the discrepancies among ELS scores, teacher interviews, and my observations raise concerns about effective evaluation of ELL students, they also raise concern about the power of labeling. Bart was labeled negatively as "mischievous" and "pouty." Faria was labeled negatively as "the ultimate frustration." Scoring these students seemed more reflective of teacher's labels than of student performance data.

Teachers labeled not only students but also their parents. Parents of higher-performing students were assigned a positive label. For example, Ricardo's mother was described as very involved but Bart's mother was described as having an indifferent, laid-back attitude toward preschool.

Along similar lines, student experiences tended to be dualistic, related to these labels; students either excelled in most areas or struggled in most areas. Julieta and Ricardo, who were labeled mostly in positive light, were rated highly by the teacher on socioemotional and academic scales. Bart and Faria, in addition to having negative labels, were rated low on socioemotional, and academic scales.

This is related to the evident pattern in Class 2 AM, described in the Chapter 5. There were clear potential relationships among the following elements: emotional well-being, language, behavior, and learning. If students struggled with the preceding element, the next seemed more difficult to achieve. Since Bart and Faria had limited language, modes of communication were limited, so they resorted to physical means of communicating, some of which could be interpreted as misbehaviors. For example, Bart pounded on the water table but he did not seem to be doing so out of mischief. As soon as the teacher opened the table, he engaged in play. The banging seemed to be a way of communicating that he would like the table to be opened. However, because some of these communications can be perceived as misbehaviors, Bart was often punished for his actions. Focus on behavior management took time away from learning.

Thus, a critical element in catering to immigrant students is understanding. Katie seemed to understand that lack of English language proficiency limited students in communication. Being limited, the students resorted to communicating physically. She

described Ricardo's "misbehaviors" based on this reasoning, but the same reasoning was not applied to Bart.

Regarding the impact of peers, three of these students (not Julieta) were observed to imitate peers, which sometimes led to escalation of misbehavior but sometimes led to learning. Bart and Faria seemed to gravitate to students like themselves. Although Faria did not speak much to the Urdu-speaking peer, they often engaged in play. Bart not only engaged in play with a Spanish-speaking peer but also communicated in his native language. This implies that having immigrant students of similar backgrounds in a classroom may be beneficial.

In addition to addressing the role of within-school factors that shape immigrant student experience, the chapter also brought attention to outside-of-school factors. Language, a common vision between home and school, immigration processes, and family shaped student experience.

In terms of language, Bart's, Ricardo's, and Julieta's mothers used their native language in the preschool. Both family advocates were bilingual in English and Spanish, which parents appreciated. Ricardo's mother expressed her concern regarding his impulsiveness, leading to implementation of an action plan that, according to Katie, helped Ricardo to self-regulate.

Bart's mother indicated that her English proficiency was limited due to her social network. She did not need to learn English in a Spanish-speaking community and she rarely heard it. Her language shaped Bart's view toward learning English, in that he expressed skepticism about learning a language that his mother does not speak.



In terms of a common vision, Faria's mother and Katie originally did not see eye to eye regarding priorities for Faria. Katie stressed socioemotional skills and Faria's mother stressed academics. Katie indicated that collaboration was difficult at this stage. She was helpful when the mother grew eager to address disciplinary issues. Faria's mother was very grateful for the school's help. She found that parent workshops hosted by the preschool helped her to become a better parent.

Immigrant documentation played a critical role in shaping student experience. Faria's mother felt supported by her extended family as they assisted her in child rearing. She was preparing to sponsor more family members to join her in the United States, which she could do as a citizen. Ricardo's and Bart's families were separated from their extended families. When Bart's family attempted to visit, they were denied visas. These mothers described themselves as alone. Thus, documentation issues limited the familial support network for some students.

Family played a role in shaping preschool experience in various ways. First, composition contributed to whether or not the child had an opportunity to speak English outside of school. Julieta, Bart, and Ricardo spoke to older siblings in English at times. Bart's mother requested that her older son speak to Bart in English to assist with language development. Home situations, often related to immigration processes and cultural practices, also shaped preschool experiences. When Julieta's father was detained, she experienced tantrums in the classroom. Faria's relationship with her aunt led to a lack of structure at home, possibly contributing to difficulty in following structure in school.

### **Chapter Summary**

In summary, this chapter captures the complexity of immigrant student experience. Although each experience was unique, the emergent themes provide insightful information. Immigrant students were shaped by within-school factors and outside-of-school factors. Classroom culture, including labeling and teacher misunderstanding of physicality, as well as composition of and interaction with peers, played a role in shaping the preschool experience. Assessment options proved not only limiting but also inaccurate for some of the students. Just as in Class 2 AM, there seemed to be relationships among initial preschool experience, language, behavior, and performance. Outside-of-school factors were also critical in shaping experience, including language, a common vision between home and school, documentation, and family.

## **CHAPTER 7**

### **Child-Level Analyses of Immigrant Students in Class 3**

This chapter contains holistic, child-level accounts of four immigrant students in Class 3: Andres, Rita, Jatan, and Aadar. After their individual stories are featured, the chapter concludes with a analysis of similarities and differences in their experiences and identifies emergent themes.

#### **Andres**

##### **Background**

Andres was born in New Jersey to a mother from Mexico and a father from Puerto Rico. At the time of the study, Andres's father was minimally involved in his life. Andres and his younger brother, Brandon, were being raised by his mother. The family (Andres, Brandon, and mother) shared a home, living on the second floor in one room. Another room on the same floor was occupied by Andres's mother's ex-husband (her first husband) and yet another by his sister and her two children, who are 11 and 16 years old. The downstairs floor is also occupied by "former" family: the sister's aunt and uncle live there. Andres has come to view everyone in the house as family. When Andres draws his family, he draws his mother, brother, and older sister (who is now in Mexico) first, followed by the others who live in the house. He refers to his mother's ex-husband as "Pop" and calls the older man who lives downstairs his grandfather. The family speaks Spanish at home.

##### **In the Classroom**

Andres started preschool in fall 2010. At the time of the study he was enrolled in his third year of preschool. The assistant in Classroom 3 has worked with Andres for

about 2 years. She indicated that, although he still struggles, particularly with socioemotional skills, he has transformed during his time at school. He is more vocal and less shy.

Andres's vocabulary evolved during his time in preschool. According to the assistant, when he started, "He didn't really speak at all" but instead relied on "pointing and gesturing" to communicate. After about a year at school, he talked more, although his speech was unclear. At the time of the study, the assistant noted that he "still can't completely express himself." She attributed this to his home life. Since Andres's mother has limited time to work with him, his exposure to formal and structured vocabulary is limited. Even though Andres still cannot completely express himself, his teachers acknowledge progress. Although there is room for improvement, his vocabulary is much more developed than when he started. Through this development, Andres has become more outgoing, less shy, and more expressive.

Andres's teachers assessed his development in literacy and fine motor skills, math, and socioemotional skills and the relationships among the domains. In terms of literacy, Andres writes his name, and his fine motors skills are described as "very developed." Andres is often praised for his artwork and the level of creativity that he displays. He understands that each letter represents a sound but he does not always link letter sounds to letter names. When writing, he uses the "sound chart," which features all letters along with pictures of items that begin with the designated letter. When the teacher makes a letter sound, Andres names the picture that is featured on the chart, rather than the letter name. Andres's teachers indicate that he counts and identifies numerals. Sometimes, he is "hesitant" with mathematical activities and needs guidance. Once the

teachers models a mathematical activity, such as pattern building, he is quick to replicate. In terms of socioemotional skills, Andres's teachers described him as "emotional" several times during the interview. His emotions are described as vivid. The assistant stated, "I had him for 2 years already. . . . He's a very emotional child. . . . When he's happy, he's really happy. When he's sad, he's really sad. . . . He can't hide under the emotion." His teachers wants him to improve in verbally expressing his disappointments and regulating his emotions. His work in various subjects, including literacy and math, is somewhat governed by emotion. His teachers indicate that his counting and identification of numerals "depends on his moods," as does his attention span. "If he's in a good mood, he's going to listen to whatever you want to talk to him about. If not, he'll just lay on the floor and ignore you. He's very good; he can block you out."

My observations parallel the points reported by the teachers. I observed Andres's developed artistic skills. On April 5, for example, I noticed that he drew cookies in rows, as instructed. Several days later, on April 18, Andres constructed pizza out of play-dough, including detail. His classmates were impressed by his work. "Wow, Andres. That's beautiful. You did it!" a peer exclaimed. In terms of literacy, when asked to match sounds to letters, Andres pointed to a picture on the "sound chart" instead. On April 23 when the teacher made the "p" sound, Andres pointed to the picture of the pig. I also observed Andres describing the picture on the "sound chart" rather than matching sounds to letters. On April 18, Andres's teacher asked him which letter makes the "m" sound. Andres responded, "M m m monkey," as he pointed to a picture of a monkey. In terms of math, I observed Andres placing one napkin next to each plate while setting the table for lunch, displaying awareness of one-to-one correspondence. I also heard him correctly

identify numbers during a game while looking at a book. In terms of socioemotional skills, I observed Andres struggle with self-regulation, which has deterred him from academic work. On April 26, he did not complete an assignment that entailed illustrating buttons that were laid out on the table. He was upset that he was not able to draw a truck, as he wanted to, and, overcome by emotion, he scribbled on his paper instead. Similarly, on May 24, he did not complete his play plan. Instead, Jade helped Andres to regulate his anger, which emerged when he realized that he would not be able to play in the center that he wanted.

When observing teacher-student interactions, I observed positive affect and a level of comfort. Andres sought to be in close proximity to his teachers. He initiated sitting on his teacher's lap or holding her hand. He seemed comfortable, quick to engage in interaction. He sought help from his teachers, asking them to help him draw or to give him tape.

When Andres encountered difficulty in self-regulating emotion, he was allowed to take part in alternate activities. In other words, he was allowed to participate in activities on his own, while the rest of the class followed the classroom schedule. He was usually given space. On April 24, Andres read a book while the rest of the class participated in a whole-group activity on the rug. Similarly, on May 24, he read a book about solving problems and discussed his emotions with Jade while the rest of the class play planned.

Although Andres was given space in certain situation, especially when he was emotional, he was usually expected to follow classroom protocol. This was exemplified on March 18 when Andres was writing on the whiteboard while at centers. A timer went off, indicating that his turn had ended. He ignored the timer as soon as he realized that his

peer, who was waiting to use the whiteboard, had not heard it. Jade interceded, asking Andres to proceed accordingly, urging him to follow classroom protocol. Similarly, on April 26, although Andres resisted, Jade ensured that props for play were put away in the proper center, as opposed to the center where Andres wanted to leave them.

In essence, Jade often ensured that Andres follows directions. She did this by verbalizing expectations but also through other means. She used music, asked students to use their imaginations, and assembled specific activities to establish a certain dynamic in class. On March 13, for example, an upbeat song was playing as students were dancing. Andres, along with two other peers, pretended to fight during this song. Once Jade noticed this, she used the music to control the classroom mood by playing a more serene song. She also asked the students to use their imaginations. In an effort to calm them, she asked them to act like sleeping bunnies. Andres moved from play fighting to resting on the carpet. However, on April 2, Jade assembled materials for specific activities to be used after breakfast. Four bins were placed on the carpet. Children went to one of the four, independently engaging in reading or using fine motor skill toys (such as pattern blocks and beads). Each student went as he or she finished breakfast. Each student knew where to go and what to do, without asking questions, displaying familiarity with routine. When Andres finished breakfast, he proceeded to play with beads with another peer.

Although rarely, Andres's misbehavior was sometimes not addressed. On April 18, for example, the whole class was on the rug. Andres played with the supplies adjacent to his seat (the EMT supplies) instead of singing a song in Spanish with the rest of the group. He was not redirected. Similarly, he was not redirected on May 14 when he played with Velcro on a fire truck, which was adjacent to the rug, instead of focusing on the

whole-group activity of reviewing the mystery question of the day. In essence, placement on the rug, specifically proximity to materials, seemed to draw Andres's attention. On only rare occasions was he redirected.

In addition to taking notes on student-teacher relationships regarding affect and behavioral expectations, I observed how teachers communicated with Andres.

Communication occurred in English. Jade indicated that when she spoke to Andres in Spanish, it was clear that he understood but did not respond. He preferred to use English. I observed Andres disengage when songs were sung in Spanish. When Jade spoke to Andres, she often complimented his work. Jade sometimes complimented Andres but used grammatically incorrect English: "The firehouse is looking nicely" and "You can draw awesome." I also noticed the way Andres was taught literacy. Andres's teachers were concerned when he identified an item pictured in the sound chart instead of linking a letter sound to a letter name. However, in their communication with him, particularly during play planning, they allowed him to focus on pictures and did not stress letter names. On April 18, for example, the assistant asked Andres, "What makes mmm?" "I can't know," Andres replied. The assistant said that she would help him, as she pulled out the sound chart. Andres pointed to the picture of the monkey and said: "M m m monkey." He noticed the M next to the picture and wrote it on his paper. The teacher did not ask for the letter name. Ironically, although teachers were concerned about Andres linking pictures instead of letter names to sounds, they did not indicate that concern to him.

In terms of peer interactions, I observed Andres play both independently and with peers. When choosing a center, Andres gravitated to art. While at the center, he rarely and minimally interacted with others, staying focused on his work. Andres sought solace



and art, especially when he was emotional. His teachers defined drawing as Andres's coping mechanism. The way that he held the crayon and the picture that he created provided insight into his emotions. Although Andres enjoyed being on his own, especially while drawing, he also worked in groups. While in a group, he sometimes interacted with others. On March 13, Andres asked a peer to speak in his native language: "Talk in Polish." Most of the time, when Andres worked in a group, he was rather quiet. On April 2, for example, he shared beads with a peer but did not speak about to child. Similarly, on May 2 he colored a big cardboard box with a group of students, with minimal interaction. Jade elicited interaction from Andres. On April 1, for example, children worked in pairs as they practiced placing a designated number of counting bears above a numeral. When Andres seemed to stop interacting with his partner, Jade asked him, "What number are you checking?" When he was quiet, she pointed to 7. Andres began to count and corrected his partner, who had placed 8 bears above the number 7. Similarly, while Andres was playing at the water table with a peer on May 23, Jade came over and began to ask them questions, such as, "How did you fill up the gallon? What did you use? Is the turtle safe from the shark?" The boys responded briefly, with "everything" and "yes."

I noticed a level of positive affect between Andres and his peers. For example, a student noticed Andres's artwork and complimented him: "Wow Andres. That's beautiful. You did it!" Similarly, Andres expressed positive affect toward peers. During play planning, one of his peers experienced difficulty in expressing himself. "I am going to be the the the the," the boy said while pointing across the room. Andres completed the sentence for him: "Cashier."

Andres imitated his peers and they imitated him, which at times led to learning and constructive behaviors in the classroom and at other times contributed to an unconstructive classroom dynamic. I observed Andres repeat vocabulary, such as “fire hydrant” after his peers, and his peers repeat vocabulary after him, such as “break.” When playing at the post office with another student, Andres noticed that a peer took off his coat and hat and hung it on a hook. Andres asked, “We’re taking a break?” His peer asked, “A break? What’s a break?” Andres responded, “A break is when uh, when you break.” Although Andres did not provide a thorough and clear definition, the interaction exposed his peer to a new vocabulary word. In addition to learning from one another, peers shaped one another’s behaviors by imitation. On May 14, a student played with magnets instead of joining the class on the rug. Andres walked toward the student. When the assistant asked them to join the group, Andres listened. The other student observed Andres and followed him. It seems that the student followed directions at least partially because Andres did. At other times, imitation led to unconstructive behaviors. On April 12, for example, Andres lay on the rug, although students were directed to sit. He did this right after another student lay down.

Before concluding this discussion of Andres’s experiences in the classroom, I draw connections between his experiences and the broader culture of Class 3. As mentioned in Class Level Analyses, Class 3 was generally characterized by dynamics that included the following: elaborate but sometimes grammatically incorrect teacher responses, positive affect, encouragement of students to use their imaginations, and a classroom setup that included a cozy area. Andres was affected by all of these dynamics. His teacher provided feedback during play planning and asked him questions that

provoked analysis and conversation during playtime. Positive affect was displayed between Andres and his teachers, as well as between Andres and his peers. Andres often sought proximity to his teachers, such as sitting on their laps or holding their hands. His artwork was complimented by his teachers and peers. When Andres's teacher complimented him, she sometimes used incorrect grammar, which relates to the broader classroom dynamic of periodically using improper English. In terms of encouraging students to use imagination, the class was asked to act like sleeping bunnies after Andres and a few peers were rowdy during a dance session. Andres often utilized the cozy area, especially when he was upset. He drew and communicated his emotion in that area of the classroom. It seemed very helpful for coping with anger and sadness.

Teacher-student interactions, peer interactions, and the classroom culture shaped Andres's preschool experience. Andres's teachers acknowledge that he has improved since starting school. He is more vocal and less shy. However, his teachers maintained that he still needs to expand his vocabulary. His teachers recognized that his mother's work schedule limits practice at home. His teachers also expressed concern about his ability to link letter sounds to letter names. (Although they expressed this concern to me, they did not do so with Andres.) They also noted that Andres's literacy, math, and socioemotional skills were related. When he struggles in regulating emotion, he does not engage in literacy and math activities. They hoped that he would learn to self-regulate emotions before starting Kindergarten. In terms of teacher-student interactions, positive affect was displayed in the classroom. Andres seemed comfortable with his teachers, often responding or initiating conversations with them. His teachers displayed understanding of his socioemotional struggles. When he was emotional, he was allowed

and encouraged to seek solace to cope with emotion. He often did so in the cozy area via drawing. When Andres regulated his emotions, he was expected to follow classroom protocol. He was encouraged to follow directions in various ways. Jade used music, asked students to use their imaginations, and assembled specific activities to establish a controlled class dynamic. Although it was rare, Andres's misbehaviors sometimes went unnoticed and were not addressed. Communication between teacher and student took place in English. Andres showed comprehension but was not especially responsive to Spanish. In terms of peer interactions, Andres played both independently and with peers. At times, Jade elicited interaction from Andres, encouraging him to communicate with her and his peers. I noticed a level of positive affect between Andres and his peers. Just as in the other classes, peers imitated one another. Andres imitated his peers and they imitated him, which at times led to learning, specifically of vocabulary, and constructive behaviors in the classroom, and at other times contributed to an unconstructive classroom dynamic. Andres's experiences in the classroom paralleled the classroom culture in general.

### **Student Performance**

The ELS scores presented in Table 32 display that Andres was in the mid-high range in all three areas of development: Math/Science, Social/Emotional, and Language/Literacy. Some aspects of the ELS paralleled the teachers' comments and my observations. Andres's math scores were mostly in the mid-range and demonstrated the greatest improvement. Andres's teachers indicated that, although he was sometimes hesitant in Math, he counted and identified numerals. I observed him placing one napkin next to each plate when setting the table for lunch, displaying awareness of one-to-one

Table 32

*Andres's Growth on Early Learning Scale (ELS) from Fall 2012 to Spring 2013*

	<u>ELS math/science growth</u>				<u>ELS social/emotional growth</u>		<u>Language/literacy</u>			
	Numerical Operations	Classification & Algebraic Thinking	Geometry & Measurement	Scientific Inquiry	Self regulation	Play	Oral Language	Phonological Awareness	Print Awareness	Writing
Final Score	4	3	3	3	4	5	3	3	3	3
Growth	+2	0	0	+2	0	1		0		0

correspondence. I also heard him correctly identify numbers during a game and while looking at a book. Andres's language/literacy scores were also in the mid-range but demonstrated no improvement during the school year. The mid-range scores seemed to align with teacher comments during the interview, some of which praised Andres' work, particularly his fine motor skills, and others that expressed concern about linking letter sounds to letter names. Andres's Social/Emotional ELS scores did not align with the interview and my observations. His self-regulation was rated 4, which is the second-highest possible score. However, Andres's teachers expressed concern regarding his control of emotions.

Table 33 summarizes Andres's performance, particularly his social/emotional skills, as well as his vocabulary and math skills. Andres's social skills score was slightly below the class average of 115 and his problem behavior score was slightly above the class average of 81. This indicates that his social skills were not as developed as the class

Table 33

*Andres's Growth in Spring 2013*

Measure	PKBS-2 Social Skills Score	PKBS-2 Problem Behavior Score	PPVT	WJ III
Final score	113	85	60	15
Growth			-2	+3

average and his problem behaviors were more pronounced than the class average. His scores did not reflect an at-risk student. These PKBS-2 scores paralleled the teacher interview and my observations, more so than the ELS scores above. The PPVT and WJ III scores paralleled the ELS scores, indicating that Andres improved in math but his vocabulary had not progressed.

**Outside of the Classroom**

Andres's mother has been back and forth between Puebla Puebla, Mexico, and New Jersey. She first emigrated about 10 years ago with her then-husband. She lived in the United States for 3 years, returned to Puebla Puebla for a year, and has been back ever since.

Andres's mother came to the United States in search of a better life. She arrived with her then-husband and their daughter. They acquired paperwork due to her father, who had initially entered the United States without documentation "through the frontier." He eventually obtained paperwork and petitioned for them to come. Although he was in Seattle, Washington, at the time of their initial arrival to the United States, the newly

petitioned family settled on the East Coast. They joined Andres's mother's then-husband's family in New Jersey.

After arriving in the United States, Andres's mother grew apart from her husband. While she dedicated herself to the family, her husband focused on exploring his new country of residence. He devoted much of his time to going out. Ultimately, the two "went their separate ways." They divorced when their daughter was 14 years old.

Shortly after the divorce, Andres's mother met his father, who is from Puerto Rico. They had Andres and his younger brother, Brandon. They eventually also separated. Andres's father has been a minimal part of his life since Andres was 2 years old.

At the time of the study, the family (Andres's mother, brother, and himself) shared a room and a house with her first husband's family in New Jersey. The house was quite full, with Andres's immediate family sharing the first floor with Andres's mother's ex-husband, his sister, and her two children. The second floor was occupied by the sister's aunt and uncle.

Andres's mother indicated that the family dynamic and living situation had shaped Andres. She described Andres as "up and down" and "sad," and reported that he had tantrums. She indicated that Andres had difficulty with life without a father. He spend much time with his father until his parents were divorced. The teaching assistant in Class 3, who has worked with Andres for 2 years, made a similar point. She explained that Andres confided in his teachers when he was upset, sometimes stating, "I haven't seen my daddy" or "My daddy doesn't come." His teachers believed that this was a source of anger that contributed to limited self-regulation (described above). A pattern

emerged, according to Andres' teachers. When he did not see his father, Andres was irritable; when he saw his father, he was happy and excited. He shared the experiences with his teachers, describing what it was like to see his father. In addition to a severed relationship with his father, Andres was separated from his older half-sister, to whom he was very close. His teachers described them as "buddies" and "inseparable." Jocelyn, the teacher assistant, indicated that, when she sister left to study in Mexico, Andres was "a little heartbroken" and clung to her. Andres's mother similarly described the sister's move as "a second loss" for Andres. She reported that Andres became attached to Jocelyn, who was very aware and understanding of his situation. In addition to finding comfort in one of his teachers, Andres "created his own family," as his mother put it. He sees the two men in the household as father or grandfather figures. He even asked his mother's first husband if it was okay to refer to him as "Pop."

Andres's mother reported that her family situation is limiting for her and her children. She indicated that, as a single parent, she has limited time to be involved in Andres's and Brandon's schooling. Working to support her children is extremely time consuming, taking away from spending time with children. "It's not only the immigration part. . . . What ruins the studying of the kids and how they learn sometimes is when they only have one parent living with them." She also said that she believes that her children learn more slowly than others because "they don't have another parent with them . . . to help out."

Andres's teachers indicated that his mother's work schedule seemed to shape him in the classroom. He often got upset because he did not see his mother as much as he would have liked. Andres's teacher and mother have discussed this matter. His mother



told the teacher that Andres goes into a corner and does not want to listen to his babysitter. As soon as she leaves, he goes “into negative behavior.”

Along with work taking time away from her children, Andres’s mother is limited in how much time she can be in the community. She does recognize the Spanish community as helpful. However, she is not one to become too involved, mostly due to her busy schedule. Her responsibilities—work, child rearing, and taking care of her home—take up most of her time, leaving little to no time for socializing.

In addition to describing some of the limitations that she faces as a single parent, Andres’s mother described limitations that she faces as an immigrant. One of the obstacles that she mentioned is not speaking English. Without English, she was not aware of various services. She eventually found out about available psychological services for her children. However, by the time she had learned this, Andres was already too old to qualify for a particular program that assisted her younger son, Brandon, in coping with emotional struggles. In essence, without speaking English, she is not aware of various services and, when she does learn of them, it is sometimes too late. Language is a barrier in assisting the children with schoolwork. During the interview she said, “The only kids that would learn a lot are the ones that . . . their parents know English and they were here . . . before the kids being born.” Since she does not speak English, she feels that her sons do not have a mother to teach them certain things. Limited English has also developed a sense of insecurity in Andres’ mother. She believes that immigrants who do not speak English are insecure and “transfer that to their kids.”

Andres’s mother said that not speaking the language is also limiting in job prospects. “They won’t get the best jobs because they don’t know the language.” Since

her arrival in the United States, she has worked in various places, often more than one job. She started at a factory, and then worked in newspaper distribution, administrative assistance, and housekeeping. At the time of the study, she worked in food preparation in the restaurant business, assembling food on plates in specific ways.

In addition to describing limited English as a barrier, Andres' mother touched on issues of computer illiteracy and separation from extended family. Andres's mother indicated that, before her daughter went back to Mexico, she would do "everything" for her family. She said that her daughter was able to find information online that was helpful to family. Now that the daughter is in Mexico, Andres's mother is limited because she does not know how to use the computer. This computer illiteracy is limiting. She discussed family separation a bit more extensively. "They don't have all their family . . . that makes it even harder for the kids to learn . . . because they're not with their family. The family circle is so small." She commented that children within unified families are able to broaden their skill sets, such as counting.

Andres's mother touched on issues regarding insurance and the American dream. She stated that it is difficult to obtain adequate health insurance. Although her children qualify for insurance from the state, she does not. She has to wait a year until she can be insured at her new job. Through such experiences, she has come to see the American dream as an exaggeration. She has heard that "the American dream is to live a better life and an easier life" but she has learned that "everyone has to work to get what they want." She has considered going back to Mexico but she needs her two younger children's father's signature to leave the country and she has not been able to obtain that signature.

Although Andres's mother mostly described hardships, she also spoke of advantages. She said that her former sister-in-law was helpful upon her initial arrival in the United States and continues to be helpful. The sister-in-law sometimes assists with the children. Andres's mother also appreciates the help that she receives from the American government. She is able to enroll her children in preschool, including extended day care, without paying for it, which would not happen in Mexico. "You don't have the money to pay, you're out of luck . . . your kids are out," she said in describing educational services in Mexico.

Andres's mother described Andres's home life and school experience. Although she and her children live in a bigger home, they usually keep to themselves. They sometimes go to the park and usually go to church together on Sunday. She teaches Andres self-care techniques, such as showering. At home, Andres loves to paint and often plays with blocks and puzzles. When I asked Andres's mother how she thinks Andres is doing in school, she said that she was unsure and suggested that I ask the teacher about it. Although she seemed unclear about his progress, the teachers indicated that she is "very concerned about the kids." They described her as "supportive," noting that she comes into the classroom when she can. When I asked how closely they had worked with Andres's mom, Jocelyn said, "I've been to home visits to her for like 2 years . . . so I've seen her house numerous times and I always talk to her when she comes into the classroom. So, I've had a decent amount of conversation with her." The teachers communicate with Andres's mother when they can, and they are aware of and understand her situation. They perceive her in a positive light.

Immigration processes, social and cultural capital, and culture have shaped Andres's experiences in preschool. Andres's family has been separated on numerous accounts due to immigration, which seems to have shaped Andres' socioemotional development. Family separation has also limited social and cultural capital. Andres's mother works long hours to support her two sons, limiting the time that she has to expose herself and her family to social and cultural capital. Access to social and cultural capital is also limited due to the language barrier and computer illiteracy. Since Andres's mother does not speak English or know how to use the computer to access information, she often feels unable to help her sons. She feels insecure and thinks that she passes on these insecurities to her children. In terms of culture, although Andres's mother recognizes some advantages to being in the United States, such as free preschool with extended care, she describes the American dream as exaggerated. She would be content to return to Mexico but she is unable to leave until she obtains Andres's and Brandon's father's signature.

### **Summary**

Table 34 shows how the above information addresses the research questions with regard to Andres.

## **Rita**

### **Background**

Rita was born in New Jersey. Her parents are originally from Peru. She lives with her mother, her mother's husband, and her grandfather. Although she does not live with her father, he is a part of her life. She sees him periodically. Rita's mother has been in the United States for the past 10 years. She came to the United States as a 15-year-old. She

Table 34

*How Have Various Factors Shaped Andres's Preschool Experience?*

Factor	How it has shaped Andres's preschool experience
Teacher-student interactions	<p>Andres's teachers acknowledged that he has improved since starting preschool. He is more vocal and less shy. They indicate that, although he is sometimes hesitant during Math, he can engage with mathematical concepts.</p> <p>Andres's teachers believe that he still needs to expand his vocabulary. They said that it is difficult with his mother's work schedule, as it limits practice at home. In addition to remarking about his vocabulary, his teachers expressed concern about his ability to link letter sounds to letter names. They were concerned that Andres, upon hearing a letter sound, names pictures on the sound chart rather than letter names. However, ironically, they teach him to use the sound chart and model focusing on the pictures.</p> <p>Andres's teachers noted that his academic gain is related to socioemotional skills. When he is emotional, he does not participate in academic activities.</p> <p>Andres's emotions were respected. When he was upset, he was allowed to seek solace. He often coped with emotion by drawing in the cozy center.</p> <p>Andres acted comfortable in the classroom, demonstrating positive affect toward the teachers. He also asked teachers questions and initiated conversations at times.</p> <p>Jade used music, asked Andres to use his imagination, and assembled specific activities to help Andres (and others) to behave in a particular manner.</p> <p>Although it was rare, Andres's misbehaviors were sometimes not corrected.</p> <p>Communication with the teacher took place in English. Andres did not respond to Jade when she spoke to him in Spanish.</p> <p>A phrase that Jade directed at Andres was grammatically incorrect.</p>
Peer interactions	<p>Andres did not gravitate to a certain peer. Instead, he gravitated to the art supplies.</p> <p>Andres sometimes played independently and sometimes with other students. When with others students, he collaborated but usually worked quietly.</p> <p>Jade tried to elicit conversation between the students. While in centers, she asked students questions about play.</p> <p>Andres and his peers sometimes helped each other follow classroom routines. At other times, they distracted each other from following classroom routines.</p> <p>Imitation of peers led to introduction to vocabulary.</p> <p>Positive affect was evident between peers.</p>
Classroom culture	<p>When not emotional, Andres was usually expected to follow classroom protocol.</p> <p>Andres often utilized the cozy area, especially when upset. He drew and communicated his emotions in this area. It seemed very helpful in coping with anger and sadness.</p> <p>Andres's teachers asked him questions during play planning and play, encouraging reflection upon his work.</p> <p>Andres's mother conversed with his teachers in Spanish. The teachers seemed very aware and understanding of Andres's situation.</p>

Table 34 (Continued)

Factor	How it has shaped Andres's preschool experience
Immigration processes	<p>Andres's mother arrived after being petitioned by her father. She moved to the United States with her then-husband and their daughter, after which they separated. She connected with Andres's father and eventually parted ways with him. The daughter eventually returned to Mexico. In addition to being separated from the daughter, the family is separated from extended family, most of which is in Mexico. This seems to have shaped Andres's socioemotional development. It was especially difficult for him to continue without his father and sister.</p> <p>Andres's mother has considered returning to Mexico but she cannot do so until she acquires her children's father's signature.</p>
Social and cultural capital	<p>Andres's mother moved to the United States in search of a better life. She has worked numerous jobs, ranging from work in a factory to newspaper distribution, administrative assistance, housekeeping, and food preparation in a restaurant. She indicated that her job prospects are limited due to her language barrier.</p> <p>Since she does not know how to speak English or use the computer, Andres's mother feels uninformed of services/ways to assist her children.</p> <p>Andres's mother recognizes that the Spanish community is helpful. However, she does not have time to integrate into the community, partly because she is the sole provider for her two children and must work to provide for them.</p> <p>Andres's family (Andres, Brandon, and his mother) share a room. They share a home with her ex-husband, ex-sister in law, and her children, as well as an aunt and uncle. The sister-in-law was described as helpful. Andres has adapted and viewed the men in the house as fathers and grandfathers. However, typically Andres's immediate family of three spends time on its own.</p> <p>Because the family is cut off from extended family (in Mexico), Andres's mother believes that her children are cut off from additional help.</p>
Culture	<p>Andres's mother does not speak English.</p> <p>Andres's mother speaks Spanish at home. She feels limited and unable to help her children in school due to the language barrier. She also feels limited in acquiring services for her children.</p> <p>Andres's mother expressed many difficulties in the United States (ranging from limited job prospects to limited time spent with children due to work obligations and lack of health insurance). She described the American dream as exaggerated. However, she is grateful for a few services, such as free preschool, that do not exist in Mexico.</p> <p>Andres's mother and his teachers communicate in Spanish. His teachers view the mother as "supportive." They recognize that she does the best that she can in terms of educational involvement.</p>

speaks limited English but understands the language. Her husband, who is also from Peru, speaks English and Spanish. They speak mostly in Spanish at home but English is also integrated.

### **In the Classroom**

When Rita started preschool in fall 2012, she did not speak English but her teachers reported that her language skills have improved, as well as other skill sets. In terms of fine motor skills, for example, Rita went from “scribbling” to having more control. At the time of the study, she could write her name. She can count from 1 to 5. In terms of further improvement, Rita’s teachers noted math as a target. They reported that she “jumps too much” when counting beyond 5. In other words, she says numbers randomly rather than sequentially. She also struggles in recognizing written numerals.

Although Rita’s English developed during the school year, she had the option to speak in Spanish. Jade recalled Rita displaying frustration and fear when she could not communicate. When doing a story extension, for example, “she could not express herself in English. She wanted to say so much. You could see the desperation in her eyes,” recalled Jade. To eliminate frustration and fear, Jade reassured Rita that she could use Spanish. “If she is stuck in something, I tell her that she can say it in Spanish if she wants.” Through my observations, it was clear that Rita was comfortable in the classroom. At one point, when playing a game the objective of which was to identify colors, Rita showed a card to Jade. She was comfortable with the teacher to seek help. She also answered the teacher’s questions.

When observing teacher-student interactions, I noticed that Jade redirected Rita, assisting her in following the classroom schedule. On April 3, for example, as soon as

Rita walked away from her designated center, Jade said, “This is your key” as she pointed to the paper clip on Rita’s shirt that represented a center. “Go back to your center,” she then said. Thus, Rita was redirected before misbehavior occurred. She was asked to sit on a specific letter on the carpet as soon as the class approached the carpet. Similarly, as soon as Rita stepped in front of Andres on line, she was asked to move behind him before he reacted.

Rita was encouraged to communicate throughout the day. She was asked questions in whole group, play planning, and centers. She was often asked to elaborate when speaking or to use proper words. On April 15, for example, Rita said that she had drawn a wolf. Jocelyn asked for more information. “What color is the wolf?” The following day, Rita chose to play at the EMT center. When asked what she would do there, Rita responded, “Doctor.” Jade asked, “Does the doctor work there or the paramedic?” Rita responded, “Paramedic.” On April 29, when Rita tried to select a center by pointing, Jade said, “I don’t know. Your finger doesn’t tell me. Use your words. Science?” Rita repeated, “Science.” Rita usually responded positively to requests to speak or to change words, often repeating correct answers or phrases after her teacher.

In terms of interactions with peers, Rita usually played cooperatively. She often chose to play in the pretend play center and role played with other peers. During role playing, Rita was exposed to vocabulary. When pretending to have tea time with three other girls, Rita was asked, “Juice?” She nodded in response. She sometimes repeated her peers’ phrases. On March 20, for example, when Rita and a peer were pretending to drive, the teacher asked them, “Where is the show?” The student responded, “Far from Chuck E. Cheese.” Rita imitated, “Far from Chuck E. Cheese.” Cooperative play led to



exposure to and practice of vocabulary. Interactions with peers were helpful not only in terms of language, but also in terms of learning concepts. Rita sought help from a peer when she struggled to recognize the number 3.

Although Rita often imitated the peers who took leadership roles, she stood her ground when necessary. When a student tried to take her headband, she spoke up, “That’s mine.” On April 3, although she followed most of her peers’ directions during play, she did not follow all directions. When her peer asked her to clean up a mess that she had created, Rita ignored the request. At times she served as the role model. On May 13, for example, she told a peer to “clean up!” when it was time to change activities. Although she usually played cooperatively, she encountered a few conflicts. She chased a student who did not asked to be chased. She cut in line. In both instances, Jade intervened, asking Rita to adjust her behavior, and Rita obeyed.

As mentioned in Class Level Analyses, Class 3 was generally characterized by clear dynamics: elaborate teacher responses that challenged students to think further about various concepts, general acknowledgement of misbehaviors, periodic use of Spanish in the classroom, and learning among peers. Rita was encouraged by her teachers to use and expand her vocabulary. In terms of misbehaviors, when she chased a student who preferred to be left alone and cut in line, the teacher redirected her. Spanish was welcomed in the classroom; Rita was free to communicate in Spanish if the need arose. Also, Spanish was incorporated into the curriculum; for example, the class counted and sang in Spanish. The teacher said that Rita appreciated this. Rita played cooperatively with others, gravitating tow the pretend-play center. She heard various vocabulary used in the center and she imitated her peers, repeating certain words.

Teacher-student interactions, peer interactions, and the classroom culture shaped Rita's preschool experience. Rita's teachers wanted her to feel comfortable in the classroom, so they encouraged her to use either English or Spanish to communicate. Her teachers guided her in following the classroom routine, redirecting her when she was off task. They encouraged her to communicate throughout the day, asking her questions in whole group, play planning, and centers. She was often asked to elaborate when speaking or to use proper words. She usually played cooperatively. She often chose to play in the pretend play center. In role play she was exposed to vocabulary and sometimes repeated words or phrases after her peers. She sought help and helped her peers. She asked a peer to read numerals and instructed another classmate to clean up when it was time to do so. Although she often imitated the peers who took leadership roles, she stood her ground when necessary. Although she usually played cooperatively with peers, she had encounter conflicts a few times, but Jade interjected, asking Rita to adjust her behavior. All of these dynamics parallel, to some extent, the greater classroom dynamic and culture. They especially parallel elaborate teacher responses that challenged students to think further about various concepts, general acknowledgement of misbehaviors, periodic use of Spanish in the classroom, and learning among peers.

### **Student Performance**

The ELS scores presented in Table 35 indicate that Rita's teachers rated her development as low-mid range in Math/Science, mid range in the Social/Emotional domain, and low-mid range in Language/Literacy. Although they stressed her need to improve in Math, her scores in Math/Science were higher than in Language/Literacy.

Table 35

*Rita's Growth on Early Learning Scale (ELS) from Fall 2012 to Spring 2013*

	<u>ELS math/science growth</u>				<u>ELS social/ emotional growth</u>		<u>Language/literacy</u>		
	Numerical Operations	Classification & Igebraic Thinking	Geometry & Measurement	Scientific Inquiry	Self regulation	Play	Oral Language	Phonological Awareness	Print Awareness Writing
Final Score	2	3	3	2	3	3	2	1	3
Growth	N/A	N/A	+2	+1	N/A	0	N/A	0	N/A

According to the ELS scores, Rita improved more in Math/Science than in Language/Literacy during the course of the study.

Table 36 displays Rita's PSKB-2, PPVT, and WJ III scores. Rita's social skills score was above the class average and her problem behavior score was below the class average, indicating that Rita displayed more social skills than the class on average and fewer problem behaviors than the class on average. Rita's final PPVT scores in vocabulary and math were the second-lowest in the class and her final WJ III score was the lowest in the class. Despite this, Rita improved during the 3-month span of the study. PKBS-2 and WJ III scores improved by 6 points. At the beginning of the study, when I assessed Rita and asked her to count, she pointed to objects randomly and said random numbers. At the end of the study, Rita consistently started with 1 and counted to 3 without difficulty. This improvement aligns with the increase in ELS scores in the Math/Science domain.

Table 36

*Rita's Growth in Spring 2013*

Measure	PKBS-2 Social Skills Score	PKBS-2 Problem Behavior Score	PPVT	WJ III
Final score	117	76	29	7
Growth			+6	+6

**Outside of the Classroom**

Rita's parents are originally from Peru. Her mother arrived from Lima when she was 15 years old. At the time of the study, she had lived in the country for 10 years. She came to the United States in search of a better life and due to family. Her father, who owned a bakery in Lima, came in search of economic opportunity. He was sponsored by his son, who had been sponsored by an uncle. She came a year after her father. Basically, a series of sponsorships allowed family members to come to the United States

Some family members entered the United States, while others are still in Peru. Rita lives with her mother, her mother's husband, and her grandfather in New Jersey. The uncle (who sponsored the grandfather) lives nearby in the same town. These family members help and support one another. Rita's mother indicated that her father especially helps to take care of Rita. Rita's mother has learned about services, including the preschool itself, from family members. Although they support one another, they remain separated from many family members. Rita's mother has not seen her mother and the five siblings who have remained in Peru for 10 years. She has not been back to Peru and has talked only minimally with family members there.

In addition to being separated from family, Rita's mother encountered difficulties as an immigrant. She has struggled with English. When she attended high school, she understood many of the concepts. She indicated that she had a thorough understanding of math and history, thanks to her education in Peru. However, it was difficult for her to communicate this knowledge without speaking English. She was embarrassed and afraid to attempt to speak in English. She feared that others would laugh and tease her. Language ability to express knowledge was a source of insecurity.

Another difficulty entailed arriving on a tourist visa, which expired shortly after arrival. She dropped out of high school in 11th grade, partially because she knew that as an undocumented immigrant her options after high school were limited. She knew that she would not be able to go to college without proper documentation. That led to her decision to step away from education and pursue work to help support family. Her father was working three jobs, one full time and two part time. The grandfather started by washing dishes upon his arrival in the United States. At the time of the study, he worked as a plumber in the mornings and at a warehouse in the afternoons. Rita's mother and father both worked at a warehouse, as well.

Rita's mother expressed grievances about life in the United States but ultimately concluded that this country provides opportunities. She stated that people without documentation "suffer" in the United States. She noted that, although she has no car and has to depend on others for transportation, "it's different than a person that's not legal here." Those with documentation cannot have a license and are at constant risk of "going to court and everything else." She also indicated that having a car is a necessity due to limited public transportation options. She also spoke about relationships in the United

States. She said that the United States changes people and causes them to grow “cold.” She used to speak often to her brother in Peru. In the United States, their conversations do not go beyond a greeting. She also commented on the education system, indicating that the system is more demanding in Peru. When she arrived in the United States, she understood many of the concepts taught in school due to having already studied them in Peru. She stated that the education system in Peru encourages students to be more analytical. She commented that Rita would learn more in Peru but, since she will be living in the United States, it is better for her to study here so “she’ll be adapted to the situations here. Ultimately, she maintained that there are more opportunities in the United States and noted that, in Peru, only the educated and wealthy can live well.

My conversation with Rita’s mother ended shortly after she described Rita’s life at home. She indicated that Rita loves watching television, but she tries to distract Rita by proposing other activities, such as drawing, writing, or organizing her room. She likes to take Rita out, although Rita is usually content to be home. They visit places like Chuck E. Cheese and Kid’s Village. Rita’s mother wishes that she could take Rita out to do more educational activities but she is limited because she relies on others for transportation.

When describing Rita’s life at home, her mother identified issues that the family has faced regarding language. When Rita started school, she was very timid. She did not talk and often pointed in an effort to communicate. Rita’s mother indicated that her daughter has advanced and now spoke both English and Spanish. As Rita learned more English, an issue emerged. Rita’s father speaks only Spanish, and Rita is sometimes stubborn and persistent about using English, which makes it difficult for them to communicate. Rita’s father has called Rita’s mother to seek help with translation.

According to Jade, Rita's mother is involved in her education. "When she does have the opportunities to see me, she tries to ask me as much as she can," Jade explained. She specifically seeks advice from Jade. For example, she inquired about how to conceptualize Rita's elevated level of activity and opinion at home. Jade indicated that she spoke to Rita's mom in Spanish so she is comfortable in communicating.

Immigration processes, social and cultural capital, and culture have shaped Rita's experiences in preschool. Rita's family is separated from family members who stayed in Peru. Some family members in the United States, such as Rita's grandfather, developed a close relationship with Rita and her mother; other relationships have been lost. Rita's mother has grown apart from her brother, even though they live in New Jersey. She believes that the United States makes people "cold." Rita is supported by extended family but relationships and support have altered over time. Immigration processes, specifically documentation, shaped the education of Rita's mother. She dropped out of high school because she knew that she did not have the opportunity to attend college due to lack of documentation and out of necessity to support family. Language was and continues to be a barrier for Rita's family. Language limited Rita's mother from expressing knowledge while in high school and was a source of insecurity. She was afraid to speak in English because she did not want others to make fun of her. Rita was at first timid about expressing herself in English but with time, she has grown more confident. However, as Rita uses more English, she has trouble communicating with her father, who does not speak and understands minimal English. Rita's mother communicates with Rita's teacher in Spanish. Jade views Rita's mother as "very involved." When at home with Rita, her mother tries to distract Rita from watching television by asking her to draw, write her

name, or clean. She also likes to take Rita to places like Chuck E. Cheese. She wishes that she could take Rita out to participate in educational activities but is limited without a car. While Rita's mother indicated grievances about life in the United States, she also indicated that the country offers opportunities.

### **Summary**

Table 37 shows how the above information addresses the research questions with regard to Rita.

## **Jatan**

### **Background**

Jatan was born in the United States but his parents are from India. His mother is from Jalandahr, Punjab. She has been in the United States for almost 10 years. Jatan's father has been in the United States for almost 15 years. Jatan comes from a two-parent household; he has a sister that is 11 months older. Jatan's grandmother also lives with the family. English and Punjabi are spoken in the home. The mother prefers to speak Punjabi so her children can learn the language.

### **In the Classroom**

When Jatan started preschool in fall 2012, he did not speak English. However, Jade referred to Aadar as her "most progressed" student, particularly in terms of language development.

When Jatan started, his teachers interacted with him via visual cues and adjusted speech. His teacher spoke of employing "total physical response" (TPR) when teaching Jatan. TPR is a language teaching method that emphasizes listening to the target language. Students initially respond to the target language with physical actions,



Table 37

*How Have Various Factors Shaped Rita's Preschool Experience?*

Factor	How it has shaped Rita's preschool experience
Teacher-student interactions	<p>Rita's teachers acknowledged that she has improved since starting preschool. She is more vocal and less shy. Her teachers indicated that they want her to improve in Math.</p> <p>In order to help Rita feel comfortable, her teachers encourage her to speak in Spanish. Rita seemed comfortable. She asked the teacher for help as she needed it.</p> <p>Rita was encouraged to communicate throughout the day. The teacher asked her questions that encouraged her to elaborate responses.</p> <p>Rita repeated phrases or answers after her teacher.</p> <p>Rita usually followed directions; in the rare instances that she did not, she was always redirected by the teacher.</p>
Peer interactions	<p>Rita did not gravitate to a certain peer, but rather to the pretend play center.</p> <p>Rita most often played cooperatively with others. She rarely faced conflict with peers. When she did, Jade interceded and redirected her.</p> <p>Jade tried to elicit conversation between students. While in centers, she asked students questions about play.</p> <p>Rita helped a peer follow classroom routines by asking her to clean up.</p> <p>Imitation of peers led to introduction to vocabulary.</p> <p>Although Rita imitated peers who took leadership roles, she stood up for herself when necessary.</p>
Classroom culture	<p>Rita was redirected to follow classroom protocol.</p> <p>Elaborate teacher responses pushed Rita to make detailed statements.</p> <p>Spanish was incorporated in the classroom through songs and counting. Jade said that Rita enjoyed this.</p> <p>Rita communicated with Jade in Spanish and English.</p> <p>Rita's mother conversed in her native language with the teacher.</p>
Immigration processes	<p>Rita's family was separated through the immigration process. Some family members who immigrated to the United States grew distant. Rita's grandfather is supportive of Rita and her mother.</p> <p>Lack of documentation (which limited post-high school educational opportunities), coupled with the need to work, contributed to Rita's mother dropping out of high school.</p>
Social and cultural capital	<p>Rita's mother moved to the United States in search of a better life. She works at a warehouse, as does her husband (he is also a plumber).</p> <p>Rita's mother does not have a car. She often goes out with family members. She is limited in exposing Rita to educational activities.</p> <p>Rita's mother is supported by some family members, especially her father. She learned about the preschool through family.</p>

Table 34 (Continued)

Factor	How it has shaped Rita's preschool experience
Culture	<p>Rita's mother does not speak in English but she understands it. The language was a barrier for Rita's mother and Rita. Rita's mother could not express what she knew while in school and was afraid to speak. She feared that others would make fun of her. Rita was similarly timid when she started school. As Rita's English grew, she had difficulty in communicating with her father, who does not understand English.</p> <p>Rita's mother speaks mostly in Spanish at home but integrates some English.</p> <p>Rita's mother expressed difficulties in the United States (e.g., lack of documentation shortly after arrival, distant relationships with some family members, a less efficient school system). However, she contends that the United States offers more opportunities for all, whereas in Peru opportunities seem to exist only for the wealthy and educated.</p> <p>Rita's mother and her teachers are able to communicate in Spanish. Her teachers view the mother as "very involved."</p>

sometimes coupled with their native language. After giving Jatan directions, the teacher modeled responses by, for example, pointing to milk and then drinking it. Jatan went from simply imitating his teacher to independently reacting to her speech to verbalizing. The teacher slowed her speech throughout this language learning process. She was extremely grateful for a substitute teacher in the classroom who spoke Hindi. Jatan's teachers noticed that, when he could express himself in his native language, he felt more comfortable. His crying often stopped in the substitute teacher's presence. "That's why I thank God that I had that sub," stated Jocelyn.

Jatan's vocabulary expanded throughout the school year. In the springtime I observed Jatan verbalizing with his teachers. On April 2, for example, when asked why one goes to visit a hospital, Jatan responded, "Visit doctor," demonstrating comprehension of the unit and proficiency in English. At times, he initiated conversation.

After putting away designated materials, Jatan said to his teacher, “I cleaned it all up!” This displayed English proficiency and understanding of classroom expectations.

Jade posited that Jatan developed his language partially because of his peers and mother. His peers “set examples in front of him.” Jatan’s mother reinforces concepts at home. She asked about Jatan’s experiences and progress in school and sought advice as to how to assist her child. For example, she asked Jade how to help Jatan with fine motor skills. As suggested, she played with Play-Dough with Jatan, sometimes for 2 hours. She tried to bridge the activities at school with activities at home. She asked Jade for the music that is played in the classroom so it could be played at home, as well.

Even though Jatan acquired the language quickly, his teachers indicated that he should improve in all domains. They noted that he needs to learn self-regulation. Along those lines, I observed Jatan touching many materials and peers. For example, when playing at centers, he touched many toys within a short amount of time. He has dug in Jade’s pockets and placed his hands on a peer’s face. Jatan’s teachers elaborated on his math and fine motor skills. “He hasn’t reached to 10 because he skips sometimes.” Commenting on his fine motor skills, Jade said that he had difficulty in writing and coloring in a controlled manner. His fine motor skills have developed with time and practice at home. Jatan’s teachers were not concerned with his overall development, commenting, “with a lot of repetition, he’ll get it.”

In observing the relationship that Jatan had with his teachers, I noticed that they provided him guidance and direction. When Jatan did not follow classroom protocol, he was redirected. On May 14, for example, as soon as Jatan walked out of his center, Jocelyn said to him, “Why are you out of your center? Go to your center.” Jatan followed

the redirection, walking back and staying in the center. Similarly, that same day when Jatan grabbed his friend's face, Jade said to him, "No, do not do that." He let go, while Jade explained that students should respect one another. At times, Jatan was redirected as soon as he began to engage in misbehavior; at other times, he was given supplemental directions even before misbehaviors emerged. When Jatan and another student reached for the same blocks, Jade said, "Jatan is in charge of the blue blocks. Caleb is in charge of the yellow." She assigned each student a specific job to clean up cooperatively.

In addition to studying directions that guided Jatan's behavior, I studied directions that Jatan's teachers provided when teaching him academic concepts. Usually, the teachers were persistent in eliciting a response from Jatan that demonstrated learning. On April 15, for example, when Jatan said to Jade, "I have a button," she responded, "What shape is your button?" When he did not respond, she began to scaffold. She put her finger in the air and began to draw a circle. As she did this, she said, "It is round and . . ." Jatan finished her sentence: "Close," he said. She proceeded, "Like a . . ." Jatan once again completed her sentence: "Circle." They exchanged high fives. Jatan was sometimes scaffolded by being provided options for answers. When he was quiet about the role that he would like to take on at a center, the teacher asked him, "Will you be the customer or the cashier?" He answered, "Cashier."

Regarding interactions with peers, Jatan was extremely attached to Aadar, another immigrant student who also speaks Punjabi. Jatan's mother said that their friendship had developed because they share a native language. The two often conversed in their native language during whole-group activities, classroom transitions (e.g., waiting on line to brush teeth) and play time. Jatan rarely played without Aadar. For the most part, Jatan

followed Aadar and chose to sit next to him. Jatan's teacher indicated that the friendship assisted Jatan. I observed Aadar not reacting to Jatan's misbehaviors, leading Jatan to curb his actions. On March 19, for example, when Jatan tried to place his head on Aadar's back, Aadar simply walked away. Jatan stopped engaged in such physical play that day.

When playing in a group, Jatan was cooperative. On April 2, for example, he used blocks to build a city with three other students. Also, Jatan sometimes played quietly and independently, remaining in the group but focused on his own tasks. On April 1, for example, he was at the pretend play center with two other students. He shared the space but participated in various activities independently: organizing plates under the sink, tilting the computer screen, and cutting pieces of paper. He did not interact with classmates while doing so.

Although it was rare, Jatan's misbehaviors in a group sometimes persisted or even escalated. On April 18, for example, Jatan and a few other students twirled in circles on the carpet as Jocelyn asked the class questions about a recently read story. They imitated one another's twirling until Jocelyn drew their attention back by asking, "Are you ready?" The group sat down. Similarly, on May 5, a group of boys, including Jatan, sat at a table. They imitated one another's actions, such as rocking in their seats, waving their hands in one another's faces, and climbing on furniture. The boys missed some outside play time as the teacher discussed their actions with them. Jatan sometimes created and participated in a group dynamic that fueled unconstructive behaviors in the classroom.

Jatan's preschool experience was shaped by teacher-student and peer interactions. Both provide insight into classroom culture, which further shapes student experience. As

indicated above, teacher-student interactions, characterized by thorough teacher directions and questioning, affected learning. Such persistence encouraged Jatan to follow classroom protocol and verbalize. The peer culture led to a variety of experiences: conversations in English and Punjabi, group play, and independent play. Although rarely, the peer culture propelled misbehaviors. In addition, affect in the classroom and transitions shaped Jatan. Jatan was a part of a classroom characterized by positive affect. I observed Jatan approach his teachers to initiate conversations or seek advice. For example, he approached Jade to tell her of his accomplishments (e.g., cleaning up properly) and to seek advice (e.g., when Aadar hit him). Along similar lines, I observed Jade compliment Jatan and laugh with him. Although it was rare, I observed Jatan grow distracted due to elongated time in transition. While waiting for the teacher to check his work in play planning, for example, he flipped off his shoe and chewed his finger. Thus, various features of classroom culture shaped Jatan, including teacher-student and peer interactions, positive classroom affect, and transitions between activities. All shaped him by encouraging specific responses, ranging from verbalizing in detail and speaking in English and Punjabi to initiating less-constructive activities, such as playing with his shoes and chewing his finger to stay occupied.

Teacher-student interactions, peer interactions, and classroom culture shaped Jatan's preschool experience. When Jatan began in school in fall 2010, he did not speak English. His teachers used TPR to help him to acquire the language. A substitute teacher who spoke in Hindi was helpful, as Jatan felt comfortable communicating with her. As his language developed, his teachers often asked him to elaborate on his responses to provide more detail. Jade said that Jatan developed language very quickly thanks to

involvement by his mother and his peers. He learned by imitating peers. Being friends with Aadar seemed to assist him in following classroom protocol. Although it was rare, he sometimes imitated his peers' unconstructive behaviors. All in all, Jatan cooperatively played in a group setting. Sometimes he sought independence, remaining in the group but pursuing an independent activity. Jatan was most attached to Aadar, a student whose native language was also Punjabi. The two often communicated in Punjabi. The classroom was characterized by positive affect and rare elongated transitions. Positive affect allowed Jatan to initiate interaction with his teachers and seek advice or help. Although it was rare, in an elongated transition, Jatan engaged in behaviors that were not constructive, such as playing with his shoes and sucking his fingers.

### **Student Performance**

Jatan's ELS scores are shown in Table 38. Because he was not scored in the fall, the table demonstrates growth from the winter to spring term. All of Jatan's scores are in the low-mid range. His language/literacy scores are lowest; they fail to reflect growth, as Jatan's language skills were described by the the teachers as "most progressed."

Table 39 summarizes Jatan's performance and growth during the duration of the study. Jatan's PKBS-2 scores indicated that his social skills were less slightly developed than the class average and his problem behaviors were less pronounced than the class average. Jatan's PPVT (Vocabulary) score changed little from the beginning to the end of the study, diminishing by 2 points. Jatan's WJ III (Math ) score increased significantly, by 8 points. At the beginning of the study, Jatan pointed to objects randomly while saying numbers nonsequentially. At the end of the study, he started at 1 and consistently counted three objects.

Table 38

*Jatan's Growth on Early Learning Scale (ELS) from Fall 2012 to Spring 2013*

	<u>ELS math/science growth</u>				<u>ELS social/ emotional growth</u>		<u>Language/literacy</u>			
	Numerical Operations	Classification & Algebraic Thinking	Geometry & Measurement	Scientific Inquiry	Self regulation	Play	Oral Language	Phonological Awareness	Print Awareness	Writing
Final Score	N/A	3	2	1	3	3	2	1	1	1
Growth	N/A	N/A	N/A	0	N/A	+1	+1	0	N/A	+1

Table 39

*Jatan's Growth in Spring 2013*

Measure	PKBS-2 Social Skills Score	PKBS-2 Problem Behavior Score	PPVT	WJ III
Final score	112	79	28	9
Growth			-2	+8

**Outside of the Classroom**

Jatan's parents are from Punjab, India. His mother is from Jalandahr. Both of his parents immigrated to the United States due to familial connections. Jatan's mother was sponsored by her father, who had been living in the United States for 5 years at the time



of her arrival. Similarly, Jatan's father was sponsored by his father. At the time of the study, Jatan's mother has been in the United States for 10 years and father for 15.

Jatan's mother started life in the United States in New York City. Before marrying, Jatan's parents lived in NYC. They relocated to Edison, New Jersey, 5 years after their wedding. At the time of the study, the family—mother, father, children, and mother-in-law—lived together. The two children are 11 months apart in age; both attend the preschool (in different classrooms due to space availability).

Before arriving in the United States, Jatan's mother had attended public school in India. Once she settled in the United States, she did not attend high school. Instead, she has been enrolled in a certificate program to become a medical assistant. At the time of the study, she had completed most requirements for the program except the externship. Jatan's father worked full-time as a truck driver at the time of the study. He changed from driving a cab to truck driving when they moved from New York City to New Jersey.

Throughout her immigrant experience in the United States, Jatan's mother experienced a few issues with documentation. Although she did not feel comfortable going into the situation in depth, she shared that her permanent residence status had been revoked. Her husband had to apply for her to reclaim residency status. The procedure was very slow and abundant in paperwork, requiring 4.5 years, even though she had been married to an American citizen for 8 years. Because of the complications and long processing times, she commented, "I don't like the immigration thing over here."

In addition to experiencing problems with documentation, she was separated from loved ones due to the process of immigration. Although her father and siblings (brother and sister) are in the United States, her mother is in India. Even though she has family in

India, she has not returned since her initial move due to expense for airfare and presents for family (approximately \$15,000).

Despite such challenges and although she expressed that she misses her country, she indicated that her experience in the United States became easier with time. When she arrived, she spoke limited English, which limited her “freedom.” As she acquired the language and made friends, she grew more comfortable. She considers the United States to be more “her country” with time.

Jatan’s family has a network of support in their new country. Jatan’s immediate family lives with his grandmother (father’s mother). Also, some members of Jatan’s mother’s family do not live far away. Jatan’s grandfather and aunt, for example, live in Jamaica, Queens, in New York City. Jatan’s mother used to visit her father every weekend. However, since the road toll has increased by nearly 50%, she has gone there less frequently.

In addition to some family in the area, Jatan’s family has relationships with the religious community. Jatan’s family is Sikh and involved in their temple. They have developed relationships with people from the temple and sometimes see them outside of the temple. They learned of various resources, including preschool, through friends.

Although Jatan’s mother does not appreciate and disagrees with certain educational practices in the United States, she is hopeful for her children’s future. She does not appreciate discrimination in America’s schools. Although she did not feel comfortable going into detail, she mentioned that she knows that some teachers discriminate against students. In addition to grievances about discrimination, she does not agree with naptime in preschool, which she contended does not properly prepare children

for Kindergarten. Despite this, she was hopeful for her children. She hopes that they learn and do not encounter trouble. She particularly stressed language, especially acquisition of a particular accent. “I want them like famous American kids. They speak English at home and their accent is really good. I’m proud.”

Jade described Jatan’s mother as “very involved” in his education. She said that the two have conversations about how to serve Jatan. When informed of Jatan’s need to practice fine motor skills, Jatan’s mother bought Play-Dough and exposed him to it often. Just as she asks teachers for feedback, she also talks to her children about their day. She asks them every day to share what they learned.

At home, the children do not have a schedule. They partake in various activities, including watching cartoons, eating, drawing and coloring, and reading. Jatan’s mother told me that she reads with her children “sometimes, not all the time.” She does not read when they are more interested in making up their own stories instead of listening to her read. “So, that’s why I was like, ‘Okay, if you don’t want to listen, then I won’t read anymore to you,’” she shared. In addition to such activities in the home, Jatan’s mother takes her children to the store and to visit her father in New York City.

Immigration processes, social and cultural capital, and culture have shaped Jatan. Jatan’s mother is separated from family members who are still in India. She has not seen her mother in 10 years, but she sees her father, who lives in Queens. Cost of travel (airfare to India and road tolls to Queens) has deterred Jatan’s family from seeing extended family more frequently. Despite this separation, Jatan’s family has a support network. Jatan’s immediate family lives with his grandmother and is involved in their temple. Through the community, they have learned of various services, including the

preschool. Jatan's mother experienced issues with immigration. Her permanent residence was revoked and reclaiming residency status was complicated. She does not have a favorable opinion of the immigration process. In addition to this dissatisfaction, she commented that some teachers discriminate in American schools. She also is skeptical of certain practices in the classroom, such as nap time. Although she has reservations about processes, views, and practices to which she and her children are exposed, she is hopeful about her life in the United States. She wants her children to know their culture, including their native language, but also wants them to have American accents when speaking English. With time, she has come to adopt the United States as her country, commenting that she feels more "free," especially because she speaks English than she did upon arrival. She frequently talks to his teacher, inquiring about assisting him. While at home, the children are exposed to education activities, such as drawing and reading. However, reading continues only when her children want to listen, rather than create their own stories based on illustrations.

### **Summary**

Table 40 shows how the above information addresses the research questions with regard to Jatan.

## **Aadar**

### **Background**

Aadar and his siblings were born in the United States. His family is originally from a rural area in Punjab, India. His father has been in the United States for about 20 years and his mother for 7 years. Both parents arrived in the United States due to familial connections. Aadar's father was sponsored by his family. Aadar's mother was sponsored

by her husband (Aadar's father) after they were married. Aadar's immediate family is composed of five members: mother, father, Aadar, and two younger siblings (a brother 2.5 years old and a sister 6 months old). Aadar's grandparents (from his father's side) also live with the family.

### **In the Classroom**

Aadar's teachers described him as "very intelligent," and "quiet and shy." The two adjectives were juxtaposed: "Even though he's quiet, he's very intelligent," Jade said. She described his English language skills as "very good," pointing out that he knows letters and can write initial sounds of words, and he engages in creative play.

My field observations of Aadar paralleled Jade's comments on several accounts. I observed his developed literacy skills. When play planning on May 14, Aadar drew a picture and wrote a corresponding message: "I M G T B T M M." He wrote initial letters for each word. He stated that his message was, "I am going to be the mailman." This was typical of Aadar's play planning. He recognized various written numbers. Also, he was very engaged in story time when books such as *Grouchy Ladybug* were read to the class.

The only area of development that Jade thinks needs improvement is prosocial skills. "He's just closed in his own world," she indicated. She noted that he was "starting to come a little bit out of his shell." Although I observed him playing quietly at times, I also saw him interact with classmates. On March 19, for example, when a student asked Aadar if he could play with him, Aadar allowed him to join. He also debriefed the student about the group's activity: "We're building a city."

Jade noted that, through meeting Jatan, Aadar became more social. "He was shy, more shy to himself, but once he found Jatan, they became best buddies." I observed

Table 40

*How Have Various Factors Shaped Jatan's Preschool Experience?*

Factor	How it has shaped Jatan's preschool experience
Teacher-student interactions	<p>Jatan's teachers acknowledge that he had improved since starting preschool. They especially praised development of language, which they attributed to assistance by peers and involvement by his mother.</p> <p>Jatan's teachers employed TPR to assist with English language development. They used many visual cues and slowed their speech to facilitate his understanding.</p> <p>A substitute teacher who spoke Hindi was described as very helpful. Jatan was calm and relieved when he could communicate in his native language.</p> <p>As Jatan's language developed, he was asked to expand on his responses to teachers. His teachers asked him to add detail to his statements.</p> <p>Jatan was provided guidance or was redirected by his teachers at times that were likely to lead to misbehavior, as well as soon as he began to misbehave.</p> <p>Jatan's teachers said that Jatan needs to improve in all areas, particularly self-regulation and math. Based on my assessments, Jatan significantly improved in Math from March to June.</p> <p>Jatan acted comfortable in the classroom, demonstrating positive affect toward the teachers. He also asked teachers questions and initiated conversations at times.</p>
Peer interactions	<p>Jatan developed a close relationship with Aadar. His mother said that this occurred because they share a native language. The two often conversed in Punjabi.</p> <p>Jatan often played in groups, independently and quietly within the group.</p> <p>Jatan's teachers said that his relationship with Aadar helped him. I noticed Jatan curbing misbehaviors based on Aadar's reaction.</p> <p>Jatan imitated peers and they imitated him. This sometimes led to an escalation of misbehavior but not to the point of interfering with activities.</p>
Classroom culture	<p>Jatan's behavior was redirected, assisting him to follow classroom protocol.</p> <p>Academic instruction was characterized by persistence. Jatan was usually scaffolded when struggling to answer a question.</p> <p>Jatan experienced positive affect in the classroom. He laughed with teachers and approached them for advice and help.</p> <p>Although it was rare, transitions were sometimes extended. At one point, when waiting to have his play plan checked, Jatan engaged in unconstructive behaviors (e.g., flipping off his shoes and sucking his fingers).</p> <p>Parents could not converse in their native language with the teacher. However, Jatan's mother communicated with Jade in English. Jatan's mother often asked Jade for advice.</p>
Immigration processes	<p>Jatan is separated from some extended family members. One of his grandmother's is in India. Cost of travel limits Jatan's mother's ability to visit family in India and New York.</p> <p>When Jatan's mother arrived in the United States, she felt that her freedom had been stripped away and limited by the language barrier. As she spends more time in the United States, she feels more comfortable.</p> <p>Jatan's mother had her permanent residency status revoked. The process to reclaim her "green card" has been complicated.</p>

Table 40 (Continued)

Factor	How it has shaped Jatan's preschool experience
Social and cultural capital	<p>Jatan's mother did not attend high school on arrival in the United States. She is fulfilling requirements for being a medical assistant; his father is a truck driver.</p> <p>Jatan's family has a support network. Jatan lives with one of his grandmothers. The family is also involved in temple and has developed relationships with members of their religious community. They learned of various services, including preschool, from family friends.</p>
Culture	<p>Jatan's mother speaks English. The family speaks Punjabi and English at home.</p> <p>Jatan's mother reported some difficulties (e.g., documentation issues). Also, she also does not appreciate discrimination in American schools. She does not see the necessity of nap time in school. Although she had some grievances, she called the United States her home. She is hopeful for her children to do well in school and looking forward to their English language development. She stressed a desire for them to speak with an American accent.</p> <p>Jatan's teachers viewed the mother as "very involved." Jatan's mother incorporates music and activities from school into home. Her children do not have a specific schedule and participate in a variety of experiences, ranging from watching cartoons to drawing. Jatan's mother sometimes reads to her children. She stops reading when they create their own stories instead of listening to her.</p>

the boys play together frequently. Usually, when given the option, they chose to sit next to one another. They often spoke in Punjabi. On May 23, for example, they set up road signs in rows while playing at the block center and conversed in their native language. While Jatan helped Aadar to become more social, Aadar helped Jatan to follow directions. When Jatan was misbehaving, Aadar often ignored the misbehaviors, which motivated Jatan to alter his actions.

The interactions that I observed between Aadar and his peers and teachers were encouraging and educational. When playing with his peers, Aadar was exposed and practiced vocabulary words. On May 2, for example, when a student asked, "Is the fire hydrant okay?" Aadar repeated, "Fire hydrant." On May 14, when Aadar put aside his mailman while playing in centers, Andres asked him, "We're taking a break?" Aadar

asked, “Break? What’s a break?” During play, Jade sometimes elicited interaction from Aadar by providing ideas for play. While playing in the hairdresser center, Jade said to him, “Aadar, come on. Can you have her be our customer?” as she pointed to a doll. After Aadar sat the doll in a chair, Jade advised him, “Ask the customer, ‘How would you like your hair done?’” Aadar was also scaffolded when writing. While writing a message on his play plan, the teacher assisted him. She encouraged him to use the sound chart (featuring the alphabet and pictures of items that start with corresponding letters). While he tried to figure out how to write the letter that makes the “m” sound, Jocelyn pointed to the letters “m” and “b” on the chart. She narrowed the choice for him. “Is it [she made the “m” sound] man or [she made the “b” sound] baby?” Aadar wrote the letter “m” on his paper. Aadar was also encouraged to provide more detail. “Where is your hose? Where is the fire that you’re putting out?” the teacher asked him as Aadar was drawing. She asked questions that encouraged him to expand on the picture that he drew. Aadar was also encouraged when participating in a group activity. While the class was dancing, for example, Jade commented throughout the song, at times elaborating on the dance moves. Jade said, “Shake it! Go Aadar! How about if you kick and jump, kick and jump?”

Aadar excelled in the classroom. His teachers regarded him as “very intelligent.” They noted his abilities in language, including writing, as well as numeracy and creative play skills. Pinpointing an area of potential improvement, Aadar’s teachers mentioned social skills; they wanted him to interact with peers more. The classroom culture allowed Aadar to practice various skills, including social skills. I observed Aadar’s teachers scaffolding him during drawing, writing, and play. His teacher provided ideas for play.



While playing with peers, Aadar sometimes kept to himself and sometimes talked to others. When playing with others, he was exposed to vocabulary and repeated words after his peers. Aadar developed a close friendship with Jatan. The boys spoke together in Punjabi. Jade noted that the friendship had assisted Aadar in “coming out of his shell.”

### **Student Performance**

Table 41 presents Aadar’s scores on the ELS, reflecting teachers’ ratings of his Math/Science, Social/Emotional, and Language/Literacy skills. The table shows that Aadar’s scores were in the mid-high range in all domains. His print awareness, self-regulation, and numerical operations scores were highest. My observations paralleled these scores, as Aadar excelled in writing messages in his play plans, inspired Aadar to follow rules, and identified numerals. However, while most of the scores paralleled my observations and the interviews with Aadar’s teachers, some did not. Aadar’s score in phonological awareness was 1, which is the lowest, even though he was one of the most advanced in the class, writing the first letter of most words.

Table 42 displays Aadar’s PKBS-2 scores assigned by teacher, as well as PPVT and WJ III scores assigned in my assessments. Aadar’s social skills score was 1 point above the classroom average, indicating that his social skills were on par. His problem behavior score was the lowest in the class, indicating that he demonstrated the least problematic behavior in the class. The PPVT (Vocabulary ) and WJ III (Math) scores indicate that Aadar improved during in these designated areas during the course of the study. His PPVT (Vocabulary) score increased by 5 points and his WJ III (Math) score increased by 1 point. In Math, he displayed awareness of addition and subtraction.

Table 41

*Aadar's Growth on Early Learning Scale (ELS) from Fall 2012 to Spring 2013*

	<u>ELS math/science growth</u>				<u>ELS social/emotional growth</u>		<u>Language/literacy</u>			
	Numerical Operations	Classification & Igebraic Thinking	Geometry & Measurement	Scientific Inquiry	Self regulation	Play	Oral Language	Phonological Awareness	Print Awareness	Writing
Final Score	4	3	4	3	4	3	3	1	4	3
Growth	+1	0	+1	+1	N/A	0	N/A	-2	N/A	0

Table 42

*Aadar's Growth in Spring 2013*

Measure	PKBS-2 Social Skills Score	PKBS-2 Problem Behavior Score	PPVT	WJ III
Final score	116	75	40	16
Growth			+5	+1

### Outside of the Classroom

Aadar's parents are originally from India. His mother noted that her parents were poor in India. She comes from rural Punjab and had to travel to the city to study. Despite this, she earned a bachelor's degree. She immigrated to the United States 7 years ago due to her marriage in India. After the marriage, Aadar's father returned to the United States,

where he had been living since he was 10 years old. He visited his wife once or twice a year as they waited for him to be able to sponsor her. After 5 years, she joined him in the United States as a resident.

Although Aadar's mother was separated from her husband as a newlywed, she said, "I didn't have any problems," when asked for a reaction to the immigration system. "I waited and then it was time." After arriving in the United States, she has worked at Target and at Dunkin Donuts. Although her salary was higher at Target, she left the job to spend more time with her three children. Her current schedule at Dunkin Donuts is more conducive to family life. Working 6 hours in the very early morning 6 days a week allows her to work 36 hours per week and still have time for her children.

Aadar's father works full time as a tanker driver, delivering petrol to gas stations. He works in a family business that he manages, along with his brother.

Aadar's mother indicated that, even though her life is very full, with three children and a full-time job, she feels supported by others. She feels especially supported by family members, who live nearby. Aadar's grandparents (from the father's side) live with the family, and his other grandparents live nearby. Aadar's mother's family has immigrated to the United States. Her mother, father, and brother live close by. She sees them about twice a week. She describes her family as very helpful. "Families help a lot. It's part of the culture."

Although Aadar's mother enjoys being near people who share a background similar to hers, she indicated that being immersed in an Indian community can also be limiting in terms of English language acquisition. She practiced English when she

worked with a more diverse group at Target. Currently, she works with people who speak Punjabi, limiting her practice of English.

When reflecting on her immigrant experience, Aadar's mother had positive memories of India and simultaneously expressed gratitude for living in the United States. She misses communal village life, which offered no distractions—no television and no games. Instead, people are very close and perform day-to-day tasks, such as farming, together. She also misses fresh food from her farm. At the same time, she is proud to be an American. She is satisfied with services here, especially comparing them to those in India. When she called 911 when Aadar was choking, medical assistance arrived immediately. Roads leading to her hometown in India do not allow for easy access to medical services. Also, in India, she would have had to pay before receiving any sort of help. At that moment, she felt “proud” to be in America, and thanked God for being here. She is also satisfied with other opportunities that the United States offers, such as to drive and to earn money.

Aadar's mother expressed satisfaction about his experience in school. She mentioned that he often shocks her with how much he has learned. She noted that he has developed independence and often serves himself food. He has learned letters. Although she notices his academic growth, she stresses the importance of Aadar developing morally. She indicated that her top priority for her children, before studying, is becoming “good humans.”

Aadar's mother described the activities that Aadar does at home: He watches television, plays outside in the sand, and bikes. His mother takes him to the store when she shops and often brings him to relatives' homes when she visits them. In terms of

educational activities, Aadar's mother goes to the library with the children and colors with them.

Aadar's mother comes from rural India. She indicated that her parents were poor. Despite living in a remote area, she commuted to school and earned a bachelor's degree. Since she arrived in the United States, she left a higher-paying job at Target to work at Dunkin Donuts on a schedule that allows more time with Aadar and his siblings. She exposes her children to coloring and reading, television, and outside play, and ensures that they spend time with extended family. Aadar spends a significant amount of time with extended family. Many members from the father's and mother's sides of the family are currently in the United States, and they help in rearing Aadar and his siblings. His mother said that such dynamics are a part of their culture. Although immigration policies forced Aadar's mother and father to be apart for the first few years of their marriage, at the time of the study the family was united, along with extended family. Aadar's mother is satisfied with her life in the United States and is proud to live here. She hopes to learn more English, which has been difficult due to immersion in a Punjabi community.

### **Summary**

Table 43 shows how the above information addresses the research questions with regard to Aadar.

### **Analysis**

This chapter features the stories of four immigrant students (Andres, Rita, Jatan, and Aadar) who attended Class 3. They are diverse: Andres's parents are from Mexico and Puerto Rico, Rita's from Peru, and Jatan's and Aadar's from India. Their preschool

Table 43

*How Have Various Factors Shaped Aadar's Preschool Experience?*

Factor	How it has shaped Aadar's preschool experience
Teacher-student interactions	<p>Aadar's teachers described him as "extremely intelligent," as well as "quiet and shy."</p> <p>Aadar's teachers provided supplemental ideas during various activities. He was asked questions that motivated him to add detail to his drawings. He was also given advice for role playing within the center.</p> <p>Aadar's teachers scaffolded Aadar during writing, encouraging him to use the sound chart.</p> <p>Aadar's teachers stated that he needed to improve his social skills.</p> <p>Aadar's teachers stated that he excelled in literacy and math. His Literacy ELS score contradicted this description.</p>
Peer interactions	<p>Aadar developed a very close relationship with Jatan. They often spoke in Punjabi together.</p> <p>The relationship that Aadar and Jatan developed seemed to assist both students. Jatan's teachers said that this relationship helped Jatan to curb misbehaviors based on Aadar's reactions and helped Aadar to "come out of his shell" and socialize more.</p> <p>Aadar often played in groups. At times, he played independently and quietly in the group.</p> <p>Aadar imitated his peers' speech.</p>
Classroom culture	<p>Academic instruction was characterized by persistence. Aadar was scaffolded during various activities.</p> <p>Aadar experienced positive affect in the classroom. His teachers encouraged him during various activities (e.g., dance).</p> <p>His parents could not converse in their native language with the teacher. However, Aadar's father spoke to the teacher in English.</p>
Immigration processes	<p>Although Aadar's parents were initially separated due to immigration, the family is now united. Extended family also lives close.</p> <p>Aadar's mother feels limited in learning English because she works with others who speak only Punjabi.</p>
Social and cultural capital	<p>Aadar's mother comes from rural Punjab and noted that her parents were poor. Despite the fact that she lived in a remote area, she commuted to school, acquiring a bachelor's degree.</p> <p>Aadar's mother works at Dunkin Donuts; his father is a tanker driver. Both work full time. However, his mother has adjusted her hours to have more time with the children.</p> <p>Aadar's family has a support network. Aadar's mother indicated that extended family helps with child rearing, as it is a part of their culture.</p>
Culture	<p>Aadar's father speaks English, his mother speaks some English, and is still learning.</p> <p>Aadar's mother misses and admires aspects of India (e.g., community life and fresh food) while simultaneously being proud of living in America. She is satisfied with services and opportunities here (e.g., medical care, driving, working).</p> <p>Aadar's mother hopes that her children (first and foremost) develop morally.</p> <p>Aadar's mother exposes her children to a variety of activities: television, outside play, time with extended family, library time, and coloring.</p>

experiences were shaped by a variety of within-school and outside-of-school factors, presented below. This is followed by a discussion of emerging trends.

### **In the Classroom**

Just as in Class 2 AM and Class 2 PM (Katie's classes), each of these students' experiences paralleled the greater classroom dynamic on several accounts. As Chapter 4 indicates, Class 3 was consistent and persistent with behavior management and instructional routines. In other words, it was rare for misbehaviors not to be redirected, and teachers often provided detailed feedback to students. Andres, Rita, Jatan, and Aadar all experienced this. For example, they were asked questions during play planning that encouraged them to elaborate on their play plans. Greater classroom dynamic was also characterized by positive affect, which these four immigrant students experienced: Andres often sought proximity to teachers, Rita was encouraged to speak Spanish if she felt the need to do so, Jatan laughed at the teachers' jokes, and Aadar was encouraged by his teachers (e.g., during a dance activity).

In addition to observing the classroom dynamic shape Andres, Rita, Jatan, and Aadar similarly in terms of consistency, teacher feedback, and positive affect, I observed some class culture elements that affected some students but not others. When literacy was being taught, students with a developing sense of phonetic awareness were encouraged to use a sound chart featuring the alphabet to write initial sounds. Next to each letter was a picture of an item that started with that letter. The teachers modeled use of the sound chart by focusing on pictures. Even though Andres's use of the sound chart paralleled teacher modeling, they were concerned about his tendency to link initial sounds to

pictures rather than letter names. Because of Andres's phase in his development, he was exposed to a certain tool that shaped his development.

Next, Jatan was learning self-regulation. When he had to wait for his play plan to be checked, he engaged in behaviors that were not particularly constructive: flipping off his shoes and sucking his fingers. Andres, Rita, and Aadar displayed a bit more patience. Although all of these children were exposed to a similar classroom dynamic, facets of it influence them differently, based on their individual differences or stage of development.

In Class 3 (Jade's class), as in Class 2 AM and Class 2 PM (Katie's classes), students were provided unique types of attention. However, in Class 2 AM and Class 2 PM (Katie's classes), this attention seemed related to a label and varied in terms of the level of focus on academics, praise, and positive versus negative affect in general. In Class 3, although some labeling occurred (e.g., Aadar was described as "intelligent" and "shy"), all students were treated similarly in terms of instructional protocol and emotional support. They were not treated differently based on labels; instead, they were treated differently in unique cases. In other words, the students received similar attention most of the time but expectations were refined at times, based on student need at a given moment. Thus, Andres was expected to follow the classroom routine but, when he displayed anger, he was encouraged to find solace in the cozy corner to calm his emotions. When Rita was at a loss for English words, Jade reassured her that she was free to communicate in Spanish.

Regarding peer interactions, all of the students imitated others, which sometimes led to learning and sometimes led to distraction. In terms of friendships, Andres and Rita did not seem to gravitate to certain peers but to certain activities in the classroom: Andres



to the art center and Rita to the pretend play center. However, Aadar and Jatan gravitated to each other, speaking in Punjabi. The relationship helped both students. It helped Aadar, who tended to keep to himself, in socializing, and it helped Jatan to follow directions, as he reacted to Aadar's behaviors.

In summary, as with Class 2 AM and Class 2 PM (Katie's classes), the classroom dynamic shaped these immigrant students. Two students (Aadar and Jatan) tended to gravitate to others of a similar background, speaking their common language.

### **Student Performance**

Jade shared her ELS scores and rated her students using the PKBS-2. The ELS scores placed Andres and Aadar in the mid-high range and Rita and Jatan in the low-mid range across three areas of development: Math/Science, Social/Emotional, and Language/Literacy. Using the PKBS-2, Jade expressed satisfaction with Andres's, Jatan's, and Aadar's developed social skills and minimal problem behaviors. She did not rate any of them as being "at risk." Andres's and Jatan's social skills scores were slightly below average and Andres's problem behavior score was below average and the lowest in the class.

Just as in Class 2 AM and Class 2 PM (Katie's classes), ELS scores for the four students in Class 3 were not always reflective of teacher comments and my observations. Some scores seem inflated. Andres' self-regulation, for example, was 4, the second-highest possible score. However, Andres's teachers expressed concern about his control of emotions. Also, the teachers stressed that Rita needed to improve in Math, but her scores in Math/Science were higher than those in Language/Literacy. Along similar lines, according to the ELS, Rita had improved more in Math/Science than in Language/

Literacy since the beginning of the school year. Other scores seemed too low. For example, Jatan was described by the teacher as “most progressed” in language but his Language/Literacy scores did not indicate growth. Aadar’s score in phonological awareness was 1, the lowest score possible, but he was one of the most advanced in the class, writing the first letter of most words.

### **Outside of the Classroom**

Andres, Rita, Jatan, and Aadar were shaped by some similar dynamics. Most of the parents of these four students expressed a sense of skepticism or grievances about living in the United States. However, they also stressed certain aspects of their lives in a positive light, recognizing that these aspects would not actualize in their home countries. Andres’s mother expressed the belief that the American dream is exaggerated, Rita’s mother viewed America’s schools to be less advanced than Peru’s, and Jatan’s mother said that some teachers discriminated against students. On the other hand, Andres’s mother was grateful for services, such as free preschool, which do not exist in Mexico; Rita’s mother stated that the United States offers more opportunities than Peru; and Aadar’s mother was proud to be American because of access to efficient services, such as emergency medical care.

All of the parents communicated with the teachers. Andres’s and Rita’s mothers did not speak English but communicated in Spanish with Jade. Jatan’s mother spoke English and Aadar’s mother spoke basic English. (Aadar’s mother attributed her limited English to her workplace; she works with other Punjabi speakers, so she does not practice English.) Aadar’s father spoke to the teacher in more advanced English. All of the parents had similar experiences in that communication was not a serious barrier. Jade viewed all

of the mothers as involved and concerned about their children. She understood that time was a restriction for many of them and concluded that they all did well in catering to their children with the available time.

The language spoken at home was important in shaping these students' school experience. Andres and Aadar were exposed only to their native languages and Jatan and Rita were exposed to their native languages and English. Jatan's mother spoke to him in English, partially based on values. His mother felt strongly about him speaking in English without an accent. Jatan had a sister close in age. Rita was exposed to English in the household partially by to her mother's husband, who is bilingual.

While some dynamics were similar, differences also emerged. Parent educational levels varied. Rita's and Jatan's mothers did not complete high school, and Aadar's mother completed her Bachelor's degree.

These students experienced various levels of separation from extended family. Andres's entire extended family was in Mexico, which limited his social support. Andres was especially affected by separation from his older sister, who had recently left the United States to study in Mexico. Due to separation, he was emotional in the classroom. Jade indicated that his emotional and academic development were linked; when emotional, he was less likely to engage in learning activities. Rita and Jatan were separated from some family. Jatan lives with one of his grandmothers and Rita lives with one of her grandfathers, both of whom are helpful in child rearing. Rita's mother indicated that immigration has separated her from her mother and altered relationships, distancing some family members. Aadar was lucky to have the majority of his extended

family in the United States. His mother shared that support from extended family has been invaluable and is a part of her culture.

Other immigration processes, such as documentation and language, have also shaped these students. Lack of documentation discouraged Rita's mother from finishing high school, as she knew that college was not an option for her. In terms of language, Andres's mother felt limited in assisting Andres with schoolwork because she could not able explain concepts in English. This contrasted with Jatan's mother, who spoke English and worked to synchronize home and school activities. In Rita's case, as she learned more English, she was eager to use it. When spending time at her father's house, misunderstandings sometimes emerged as he spoke only Spanish.

Andres, Rita, Jatan, and Aadar all shared an immigrant background but were also exposed to unique familial circumstances that shaped them as students. Andres's father was not a part of his life. Andres communicated sadness about this in the classroom. When he was upset, his coping with emotion distracted attention from schoolwork. Andres's mother was the sole provider for the family, so much of her time was spent working and she did not have time to engage in the Spanish-speaking community, which limited social and cultural capital. Social and cultural capital were further diminished by computer illiteracy. She did not have the time to help Andres with schoolwork. Another issue that she encountered, due to separation from her husband, was having to remain in the United States. She considering moving back to Mexico but cannot leave until her ex-husband permits his children to leave.

Certain themes emerged in comparing the realities that these students faced outside of school. First, although most of the mothers noted skepticism and grievances

about life in the United States, most were also glad or proud to reside in the United States. Second, all of the mothers communicated with the teacher, including Spanish speakers in their native language. Third, Jade viewed all of the mothers as involved. Differences also emerged. First, some spoke only in their native language and others coupled their native language with English at home, enabled by family composition and values. Second, parental education varied; some mothers (Jatan's and Aadar's) had not completed high school, while Aadar's mother had earned a bachelor's degree. Third, some of the students were supported by extended family but others were separated from extended family. Fourth, documentation and language shaped students in various ways, including parental education, parental confidence and ability to assist the students with schoolwork, and miscommunication within the family. Fifth, Andres came from a single-parent family, which was limiting on several accounts.

### **Discussion of Common Trends**

Comparison and contrast of the experiences of Andres, Rita, Jatan, and Aadar identified emerging themes. These themes have various implications, discussed below.

This chapter highlighted themes that resemble those of previous chapters: the role of classroom culture; limits in immigrant student evaluation; the relationships among the elements of emotional well-being, language, behavior, and learning; the role of class composition and peer influence; and the role of outside-of-school factors.

Classroom culture shaped all of these immigrant students. Andres, Rita, Jatan, and Aadar experienced consistency and persistence in instruction and behavioral management, as well as positive affect. Sometimes they were shaped in unique ways by facets of classroom culture. Andres, due to his level of phonetic awareness, was

encouraged to use the sound chart, which encouraged him to identify letters using a specific protocol. Such findings indicate that some aspects of classroom culture shape students in similar ways, while other aspects interact with individual student characteristics, leading to unique manifestation. Regardless, the findings imply that classroom culture should be considered when designing an effective education model for immigrant students and students in general.

Issues in evaluating immigrant students emerged, just as described in Chapters 4 and 5. Discrepancies in ELS scores, teacher interviews, and observations were pronounced. Some ELS scores seemed inflated and others were downplayed. This condition raises questions about effective evaluation of ELL students.

The relationships among emotional well-being, language, behavior, and learning were discussed. These relationships were especially captured in Andres's experience. Separated from his father and sister took a toll on his emotions. When he was emotional, Andres had difficulty in self-regulation that elicited certain behaviors, such as walking away from play planning or scribbling instead of drawing, all of which diminished learning potential.

All of these immigrant students were observed to imitate their peers. At times, this led to escalation of misbehavior; at times, it led to learning. Aadar and Jatan seemed to gravitate to other students like them and to one another, often communicating in Punjabi. This relationship was helpful to both students, encouraging Aadar to socialize and Jatan to curb misbehaviors. This implies that having immigrant students of similar backgrounds in a classroom may be beneficial.

Outside-of-school factors of language, documentation, and family interacted to shape student experience. First, language shaped the dynamic at school and collaboration between home and school. Rita's and Andres's mothers used their native language in dealing with the preschool, which facilitated communication. However, even though Andres's mother communicate with her son's teacher, she still felt limited in catering to Andres's needs. Since she did not speak English and Andres was taught in English, it was difficult for her to reinforce concepts learned in school. Second, immigrant documentation played a critical role, particularly in Rita's case. As an undocumented immigrant, Rita's mother had left high school, chiefly because college was not an option for her as an undocumented immigrant. This was significant for Rita because, as was evident in Chapter 2, there is a relationship between parental education and the child's experience in school. Third, family played a role in shaping preschool experience in various ways. Family composition contributed to opportunity to practice English outside of school; separation limited the amount of support that a student received from extended family; and unique home situations, such as single parenthood, limited time for social and cultural capital and time for educational activities in the home.

Findings reported in this chapter also identified other themes. Most prominently, the chapter identified advantages of exposure of students to bilingual educators. Jade communicated with Spanish-speaking students, adding to their comfort in the classroom, Jade also communicated with parents who did not speak English and thus came to understand their home lives. She did not label any parent as "uninvolved," although some parents interacted with her rarely; instead, she reported that all did their best with the resources that were available to them. In communicating with parents, the bilingual

educator provided advice to parents but also developed understanding of her students' lives.

### **Chapter Summary**

This chapter captures the complexity of immigrant student experience. Although each experience was unique, the emergent themes provide insightful information. These immigrant students were shaped by within-school factors and outside-of-school factors. Some factors were relevant to the immigrant student experience in all three classes: classroom culture; assessment; the relationships among emotional well-being, language, behavior, and learning; class composition and peer influence; and the interaction of outside-of-school factors, such as language, documentation, and. However, specifics of each element varied across classes. Class 3 was unique, mostly due to its classroom culture and the teacher's bilingualism. Chapter 8 pinpoints advantages to bilingual educators.



## **CHAPTER 8**

### **Discussion and Conclusions**

This dissertation analyzes factors that may shape experiences of low-income immigrant students in preschool. Twelve students from various parts of Central and South America, as well as India and Pakistan, were studied in detail. This chapter has three objectives: (a) summarize the main findings and demonstrate how the findings contribute to current literature, (b) acknowledge the limitations of the study, and (c) present recommendations for future research.

The findings indicate that several within-school and outside-of-school factors interact to shape immigrant student experience in preschool. Within-school factors include teacher-student interactions, peers, and other aspects of classroom culture. Major findings regarding each factor are reviewed below.

### **Within-School Factors**

#### **Teacher-Student Interactions**

1. Immigrant students in Class 2 AM and Class 2PM (Katie's classes) were more likely to be labeled as "at risk" for behavioral issues than were their nonimmigrant counterparts. Immigrants students in Class 3 were rated as average students. This contradicts findings reported by De Feyte and Winsler (2009), where preschool-age immigrants excelled in socioemotional and behavioral skills. In this case, the immigrant teacher (Jade) had more understanding of immigrant experiences and was less likely to label diverse students negatively.

2. Labels were particularly powerful in Class 2 AM and Class 2 PM (Katie's classes). The teachers displayed positive affect toward some immigrant students and

negative affect toward others. The students who were treated positively were encouraged to take on leadership activities and excelled academically. Negative affect was displayed toward students who were labeled troublemakers. Those students were sometimes discouraged from communicating by the teacher. Their English language skills developed more slowly than did those of the peers. One student even displayed disinterest in the English language. This supports research by B. Brown (1968), Payne (2008), and Rist (2011), all of whom stressed the power of labeling.

3. Since the ELL students were limited in communicating their needs verbally to an English-only teacher in Class 2 AM and Class 2 PM, they tended to withdraw from social situations or communicate physically (pointing, gesturing, or even pushing and pulling peers or materials). In those classes, the students withdrew from social situations and wandered around the room solitarily more than did other students. Those who communicated physically were treated as if they were misbehaving. Physical communication attempts prompted the teachers to focus on correcting misbehaviors. Investing energy in correcting misbehaviors took focus away from teaching academic concepts, such as language, ultimately creating a cycle. Hareem, Bart, and Faria especially seemed “stuck” in this cycle. They were not learning language because of their “behavior” and they were not “behaving” because they did not develop language.

4. Students’ emotional well-being, behavior, and learning were related. If students struggled with a preceding element, the next element seemed more difficult to achieve. When students expressed emotional struggles through “misbehaviors,” time was taken away from learning in all classrooms.

## **Peers**

5. Friendships in the classroom shaped behaviors and learning experiences as students often imitated one another, including peers' misbehaviors. Some friendships contributed to positive student experience. As Sadeep assisted Hareem in Class 2 AM, for example, Hareem grew comfortable in the classroom. In Class 3, Aadar encouraged Jatan to follow directions and Jatan encouraged Aadar to socialize. The latter finding supports work by Rubin et al. (1998), Ladd et al. (1999), Ladd (1990), and Wentzel and Caldwell (1997), who reported a positive relationship between friendship in the classroom and student experience.

6. Classroom composition was central in shaping immigrant student experience. Vigdor (2011), Lazear (2001), Carrell and Hoekstra (2010), and Coleman et al. (1966) suggested that classroom composition in terms of size, gender, socioeconomic status, and race shapes student experience. The current study confirms and extends those findings. Most immigrant students, particularly English language learners, gravitated to children of an ethnicity that resembled their own and to those who spoke their native language.

7. Students were introduced to and motivated to use the English language by their peers. Such observations align with research by Wildavsky (2000) and Rothstein (1998), who stressed the importance of ELL students being exposed to the regular school population in order to learn language.

## **Other Aspects of Classroom Culture**

8. In Class 2 AM and Class 2 PM (Katie's classes), inconsistent expectations led to misbehaviors, and misbehaviors, coupled with extended transitions, took time away from instruction. The culture of Class 3 (Jade's class) was more orderly and disciplined

than that of Katie's classes. The immigrant students in Class 3 expressed more self-control and positive affect. Their PKBS-2 scores were significantly higher than those for students in Class 2 AM and Class 2PM. This finding supports work by Coleman and Hoffer (1987) and Van Der Westhuizen et al. (2005), who concluded that students attending orderly, disciplined, and safe classrooms are more likely to perform and less likely to engage in destructive behaviors

9. The limitations of the assessments were clear. Katie stated that she struggled in evaluating students who had knowledge but did not express it in English. Student performance ratings on the ELS were often inconsistent with observation notes and teacher commentaries during interviews across all three classrooms.

10. Brillar's focus on serving children by focusing on outside-of-school factors was appreciated by many of the immigrant parents. One parent mentioned that parent workshops were helpful in helping her to develop effective parenting skills. The Spanish-speaking parents who worked closely with family advocates were grateful that the advocates spoke their language. Katie observed that this dynamic helped to build trust between school and home.

### **Outside-of-School Factors**

Having outlined major findings regarding within-school factors, the discussion extends to outside-of-school factors of immigration processes, social and cultural capital, and culture. Major findings regarding these factors' role in shaping student experience are reviewed below.

## **Immigration Processes**

11. Immigration policies, protocols, and processes trickle down to affect preschool children. Miguel's mother was afraid to drive without documentation, leading to him being absent from school. When Julieta's father was detained for 12 days due to documentation issues, she displayed frustration by throwing tantrums, isolating herself from the class, and showing disinterest in learning. Parental lack of documentation contributed to negative student experience.

12. Family separation limited support networks and socioemotional well-being, which at times affected learning. Andres was affected by his sister's return to Mexico; separated from his sister, he struggled socioemotionally, which contributed to disengagement from learning. Accounts of such socioemotional struggles support research by Suarez-Orozco and Suarez-Orozco (2001) and Nazario (2006).

## **Social and Cultural Capital**

13. Immigrant families faced unique obstacles to capital, including lack of documentation, separation from extended family, lack of English language proficiency, and educational background. These factors had profound effects on child development because they were stressful and limited employment opportunity, driving parents to take low-paying jobs to provide financially for family and ultimately limiting parental involvement in the children's lives, including schoolwork.

14. Parental education shaped immigrant student experience in preschool. Having earned her Master's degree, Miguel's mother was the most educated parent within the study, and most involved in her child's schoolwork. She was the only parent to re-teach the curriculum in her native language. Having attended university in the United States,

her English was fluent. As such, she was able communicate and collaborate with Miguel's teacher (Katie).

15. Spanish-speaking parents communicated with Spanish-speaking family advocates, facilitating collaboration between school and home. However, this limited their need to learn English. On the other hand, Urdu and Punjabi parents used broken English to communicate with Brillar staff or designated an English-proficient family member to serve as the link between home and school. This sometimes led to miscommunication between home and school but also encouraged parents to learn English. These findings support dualistic literature about social networks in immigrant communities that have been described as "social prisons" and as mediums of support (Massey, 1999; Patel & Vella, 2007; Reynoso, 2003; Stanton-Salazar, 2001).

16. Children with older siblings and cousins tended to speak the native language at home, coupled with English. Children who did not have older siblings tended to speak in their native language at home. Thus older siblings and cousins reinforced vocabulary that had been learned in school.

17. The families from Pakistan and India had extended family in the United States. Most lived with them, creating a support network for children. The immigrants from Central and South America tended to be separated from extended family, resulting in a limited social network.

## **Culture**

18. A cultural clash between home and school led to contradictory instruction of students. Hareem was taught in school to urinate while standing, but his mother stressed that such use of the toilet was immoral. Such events indicate the importance of

communication between home and school, as well as teacher insight into diverse cultural practices.

19. As some of the children learned English and implemented the language, episodes of miscommunication occurred between non-English-speaking parents and their children.

20. All of the parents expressed the value of education, although not all were equally involved in their children's education. Andres's mother valued education but was limited in assisting her son due to circumstances. She did not speak English, and was a single-parent working multiple jobs to support her children financially, limiting the amount of time available to support them academically.

21. Katie expected parents to be involved in the classroom. When they were not, she made questionable assumptions about immigrant students and their families. Such findings parallel research by Lareau and Salazar. Lareau (1989) indicated that perceptions of education held by White middle- and upper-class parents are often validated, while those of working-class parents are misunderstood, as teachers tend to equate a lack of parental involvement to a lack of parental value for education. Stanton-Salazar (2001) described common misunderstandings that emerge between school and immigrant homes. Jade, who is bilingual and of immigrant background, was more successful in communicating with immigrant families and less likely to generalize and make assumptions about and label immigrant students and their families.

22. Most of the parents displayed a certain level of immigrant optimism, especially when comparing their lives in the United States to lives in home countries, which supports Ogbu's (1991) theories. However, it is important to note that, in addition

to being somewhat optimistic, most also missed aspects of their home country, feared facets of the American culture, and were aware of injustices in the United States.

## **Conclusion**

### **Summary**

Immigrant student experience is a product of a complex set of interacting factors both from inside and outside of school that shape student perceptions, behavior, and student performance. Although non-immigrant student experiences are shaped by similar factors, my research demonstrates that there are particular processes that affect immigrants. Language and documentation were particularly significant as they shaped student experience in various ways, as well as produced complex processes when interacting with other factors.

Language shaped peer interactions in school, while limited language proficiency minimized communication and understanding, affecting labeling in school, as well as cultural clashes between school and home. Language shaped interaction with peers since students gravitated towards peers that spoke their native language. Students that spoke the same language often assisted one another in growing comfortable in school, while more advanced language speakers assisted in development by modeling language. Limited language proficiency minimized understanding between teachers and students, as well as school and home. Teachers at times misunderstood ELL students' physical attempts to communicate as misbehavior, and focused on correcting behavior, as opposed to language instruction. A cycle was created where students were not learning language because of their "behavior" and they were not "behaving" because they did not develop language. Limited language proficiency served as a barrier to student assessment,



perpetuating further misunderstanding. Misunderstandings were also likely to emerge between school and home when limited language proficiency restricted communication. As discussed in Chapter 5, Hareem was taught contradictory practices when utilizing the bathroom. The contradiction was mediated with the availability of translation. Ultimately, students and families that were able to communicate with teachers were less likely to be negatively labeled by teachers. Students that were negatively labeled developed English language skills more slowly than other peers.

Limited language proficiency and lack of documentation limited access to various forms of capital. Limited language proficiency and lack of documentation limited access to economic capital, which in turn limited access to social and cultural capital, including familial ability to focus on schoolwork at home. Lack of documentation prevented immigrant reunification with extended family, limiting familial support networks.

Limited language proficiency and lack of documentation were also sources of stress, affecting students' emotional development, which shaped learning. Limited language proficiency sometimes minimized student understanding of classroom activity, and comfort in school. This was particularly significant at the beginning of the year, when students tended to experience separation anxiety from caretakers. "I can't communicate with them that it's going to be okay," explained Katie, as she recalled her experiences from the beginning of the school year. Similarly, lack of documentation was stressful for children. As described in Chapter 6, when Julieta's father was detained, she displayed frustration by throwing tantrums and isolating herself from the class. Such struggles often hindered emotional well-being, which in turn hindered learning.

It is critical reiterate that all students and families studied within this dissertation were low-income. As such, family members worked long hours in order to provide for their families, ultimately reducing the amount of time spent with children. This dynamic did not affect children that lived with or near extended families as considerably as those from nuclear or single-parent families. Within extended families, several adults pooled various resources together, including time and finances, to offer more extensive support to children. Although most families belonged to social networks outside of family, particularly via religious institutions, these networks did not provide support comparable to that of extended family. This may have occurred because connection with non-familial social networks occurred periodically, as work schedules allowed. Also, some churches and temples were located outside of Krasley. They, thus, were not easily and routinely accessible.

This dissertation somewhat distills the common stereotypes of Asian and Hispanic students. Chapters 5, 6, and 7 in particular demonstrate that each student's situation was not dependent on region of origin but rather on a set of complex factors that interact to shape student realities. Parental value of education, for example, was not dependent on region of origin as all of these parents valued education, and most had similar approaches to educating their children. While there were no differences in value, differences in involvement emerged due to the complex factors that were studied. The most "involved" parent, for example, was educated in the United States and fluent in English, which allowed for communication with the teacher. The only concrete differences that emerged between Hispanic and Asian students related to the level of support from extended families (with children from Asia usually receiving more support from extended

families), as well as the dominant language used for home-school interaction (with Asian families using English and Hispanic families using Spanish.) Again, this occurred partially due to complex factors, including documentation and community. Asian families had the support of extended family because they were usually in the position to sponsor them, while many Hispanic families were undocumented and separated from extended families. In addition, some documented Hispanic extended families were denied visas during the application process. Asian families used English and Hispanic families used Spanish to communicate with Brillar Preschool based on staffing in the school. Spanish-speaking family advocates communicated with some families in their native language but not with others.

### **Limitations of the Study**

In seeking to understand the complexity of immigrant preschool student experience, it is important to be aware of the limitations of the current study. Limitations pertaining to sample size, sampling method, and data collection are described below.

The sample size was small, as only two classrooms were studied to capture the detail and complexity of the case, limiting generalization of findings. Along similar lines, Brillar Preschool adheres to progressive pedagogy and, as Smith (2011) indicated, Head Start schools follow various pedagogies, with each affecting students uniquely. Thus, this study is not reflective of all Head Start programs.

Sampling may have affected findings. The teacher of Class 3 (Jade) volunteered to participate in the study, while the teacher of Class 2 AM and 2 PM (Katie) was selected. If volunteering to participate is reflective of confidence in teaching, sampling likely affected the somewhat dichotomous descriptions of Brillar Preschool's classrooms.

Katie also left Brillar Preschool near the end of the study, which altered the dynamic in the classroom. She left after sequester cuts that eliminated Head Start funding and threatened to close the center, so her departure gives insight into the effects of federal policy in the classroom. However, the teacher-student interactions and culture in Class 2 AM and Class 2 PM were not solely reflective of Katie's teaching.

I spent 3 months in Brillar Preschool to understand the factors that shape immigrant preschool student experience. More time in the field would have allowed for a more in-depth understanding of the preschool and the topic of study. Along similar lines, interviews with caretakers were instrumental in understanding outside-of-school factors that affect immigrant student experience. Most caretakers' busy schedules did not allow for follow-up interviews, further limiting the depth of understanding.

### **Recommendations for Future Research**

Taking the shortcomings of the study into consideration, I recommend that future research focus on analyzing immigrant student experience in other preschools, especially those with more traditional pedagogies. The studies should span an extended time period, as well as constitute of more in-depth interviews with caretakers, allowing for insight into intricate details of the preschool, its students, and the lives of immigrant families. Future research could investigate a theme that emerged in this study that has not yet been explored in literature focusing on immigrant students. As noted above, communication attempts by ELL students were sometimes misinterpreted and treated as misbehaviors, which minimized instructional time and limited the learning of language.

Taking the small sample size of the study into consideration, findings need to be examined more fully in subsequent case studies. Some of the questions that should be examined include:

1. How do immigrant teachers affect immigrant students?
2. How does classroom composition shape immigrant student experience?
3. How do school philosophy, curriculum, and pedagogy shape immigrant student experience?
4. How does parental education shape immigrant student experience?
5. How do various institutions, such as religious organizations, affect immigrant social and cultural capital?
6. How do immigrant parents influence their children's education and their children's schools?
7. What are immigrant parents' perceptions of their children's schools?

In seeking to answer such questions, I urge researchers and educators to stay mindful of the fact that immigrant students are shaped by many complex factors. I also urge researches to study differences between Asian and Hispanic students and families in the context of each group's history. Staying mindful of complexity and context will assist in minimizing stereotyping, which has too often characterized research pertaining to diverse student groups.

Despite its limitations, this study has provided a thick description of the complex and interacting factors that shape immigrant student experiences and has provided an important case study, largely absent in the literature, of the experiences of immigrant preschool students. It has documented the central importance of language acquisition and

has practical implications for preschools and their teachers to address better the challenges these students face.

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## Appendix A

### Consent Form for Parent/Guardian (in English)

February 28, 2013

Dear Parent or Guardian:

I am a doctoral candidate in the Global Affairs/Urban Systems program at Rutgers University, Newark. I am conducting research on dynamics that shape immigrant student performance. I request permission for your child to participate in this study. I am asking for immigrant and non-immigrant students to participate. This will allow me to understand how immigrant students perform when compared to non-immigrant peers. The study will also assist me in understanding how immigrant children are performing in school, and why this is the case. I am an immigrant myself, which is why I am extremely interested in this topic.

What will your child be exposed to during the study? The study will consist of classroom observations, student assessments, and interviews.

When it comes to classroom observations, I will be in your child's classroom from Monday through Friday. I will visit the classroom for about two weeks each month for up to 5 months. I will start on March 4<sup>th</sup>, 2013. I will be observing the classroom, and taking notes about student performance, and dynamics that shape performance. This will be done using formal observation tools, such as the Early Childhood Environment Rating Scale (ECERS), and the Classroom Scoring Assessment System (CLASS). These two instruments are often used to evaluate preschool classrooms and teachers. I will also be journaling about your child's acquisition of New Jersey's Pre-Kindergarten Standards. More specifically, I will be noting how teacher-student and peer interactions facilitate standard acquisition. In order to understand your child's standard acquisition, I will be collecting his/her work samples to see how he/she is performing.

In addition to observing, I will be screening all children at the beginning and at the end of the study. Within the first two weeks (March 4<sup>th</sup> – March 18<sup>th</sup>) of the study, I will use Woodcock Johnson III (WJ III) Test 10 Applied Problems, and Peabody Language Inventory (PPVT) to see how your child is doing in acquiring math and vocabulary skills. Your child will be pulled out of class for about 20 minutes for this assessment. Assessment will occur during the school day within the school's Conference Room. Your child will be pulled out of class at a time that is deemed appropriate by your child's teacher. The Preschool and Kindergarten Behavior Scale 2<sup>nd</sup> Edition (PKBS-2) test will be used to assess your child's socio-emotional and behavioral development. This will occur within the sixth week of the study. Your child will be observed in his/her classroom as part of this assessment. All assessments (the Woodcock Johnson III Test 10, PPVT, and PKBS-2) will be consecutively performed within the last two weeks of the study. All assessments are very low-stress tests designed for young children. Tests are risk-free to your child.

As part of this study, the school director, teachers, and parents that are willing to take part in interviews will do so. This is to learn more about immigrant student performance and its shaping dynamics. Interviews will be conducted either: before, during, or after school. Interviews will take place in the school's Conference Room. They will be scheduled accordingly so that they do not interfere with the school's educational activities, and cater to the schedule of interviewees. PARENT'S DECISION OF WHETHER OR NOT TO PARTICIPATE IN RESEARCH DOES



NOT AFFECT THE STUDENT'S PARTICIPATION AND WILL IN NO WAY IMPACT THE CHILD'S STATUS IN THE PRESCHOOL PROGRAM OR IN HIS/HER EDUCATION.

In essence, I will be observing your child's classroom, screening your child, and interviewing the director, teachers, and parents that agree to be interviewed. Within the first two and last two weeks of the study, screening will be of utmost priority. When I am not screening during these two-week periods, I will be observing your child's classroom. Observations and interviews will be the focus of the study in between the screening periods. For observations, CLASS will be used once per week, and ECERS will be used once per month. I will spend all other time journaling about your child's acquisition of New Jersey's Pre-Kindergarten Standards, and interviewing the director, teachers, and parents.

All information from the observations, student assessments, and interviews is confidential. The only people that will view the information, other than myself, include: my dissertation committee (four professors that will assist with the study), and Rutgers University's Institutional Review Board (which will make sure that my study is ethical). If a report of this study is published, or the results are presented at a professional conference, only group results will be stated. All study data will be kept for one year.

All of the children in your child's class have been invited to participate. Another classroom is also a part of the study. However, participation in this study is voluntary. YOUR DECISION WHETHER OR NOT TO ALLOW YOUR CHILD TO PARTICIPATE WILL NOT AFFECT THE SERVICES NORMALLY PROVIDED TO YOUR CHILD BY (insert school name). YOUR CHILD'S LACK OF PARTICIPATION IN THIS STUDY WILL NOT LEAD TO THE LOSS OF ANY BENEFITS TO WHICH HE OR SHE IS OTHERWISE ENTITLED TO. If you give permission for your child to participate in the study, please note that YOU ARE FREE TO WITHDRAW YOUR CHILD FROM THE STUDY AT ANY TIME.

Should you have any questions or desire further information, please call me at 646-825-0759 or email me at [jcichon@pegasus.rutgers.edu](mailto:jcichon@pegasus.rutgers.edu). You may also contact my dissertation advisor, Alan Sadovnik at [sadovnik@andromoda.rutgers.edu](mailto:sadovnik@andromoda.rutgers.edu). If you have any questions about your child's rights as a research subject, you may contact the IRB Administrator at Rutgers University. Their phone number is 848-932-4058. Their email is: [humansubjects@orsp.rutgers.edu](mailto:humansubjects@orsp.rutgers.edu). Their address is: Institutional Review Board for the Protection of Human Subjects, 3 Rutgers Plaza, New Brunswick, NJ 08901-8559.

Feel free to keep this letter. Please return the bottom portion of the page to your child's classroom teacher.

I thank you in advance for your support.

Sincerely,

Joanna Cichon

Ph.D. Candidate

Division of Global Affairs/Urban Systems, Rutgers University, Newark

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Please indicate whether or not you wish to allow your child to participate in this project by checking one of the statements below, signing your name and returning this portion to your child's teacher. Sign both copies and keep one for your records.

\_\_\_\_\_ **I grant** permission for my child to participate in Joanna Cichon's study on dynamics that shape immigrant student performance.

\_\_\_\_\_ **I do not grant** permission for my child to participate in Joanna Cichon's study on dynamics that shape immigrant student performance.

---

Signature of Parent/Guardian

Printed Parent/Guardian Name

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Child's Name

Date

This informed consent form was approved by the Rutgers University Institutional Review Board for the Protection of Human Subjects on 2/22/13; approval of this form expires on 2/21/14.

## APPENDIX B

**Consent Form for Parent/Guardian (in Spanish)**

12 de Febrero 2013

Estimado Padre o Tutor:

Soy una estudiante del programa doctorado del Consejo de Asuntos Globales / Programa de Sistemas Urbanos de la Universidad Rutgers, Newark. Estoy haciendo una investigación sobre las dinámicas que dan forma al rendimiento escolar de los alumnos inmigrantes. Solicito permiso para que su hijo participe en este estudio. Estoy pidiendo a los estudiantes inmigrantes y no inmigrantes que participen. Esto me permitirá entender cómo los estudiantes inmigrantes realizan en la escuela en comparación con sus pares no-inmigrantes. El estudio también me ayudará a entender cómo los niños inmigrantes están haciendo en la escuela, y por qué este es la razón. Yo mismo soy inmigrante, por eso es que estoy muy interesada en este tema.

¿A que será expuesto su hijo/hijo durante el estudio? El estudio constará de observaciones en el aula, evaluaciones de los estudiantes, y entrevistas.

Cuando se trata de observaciones en el aula, voy a estar en el salón de su hijo, de lunes a viernes. Voy a visitar el salón de clases durante dos semanas cada mes durante un máximo de 5 meses. Voy a empezar el 3/4/2013. Voy a estar observando el aula, y tomando notas sobre el desempeño de los estudiantes y dinámicas que determinan el desempeño. Esto se hará por medio de unas herramientas formales de observación, como el Early Childhood Environment Rating Scale (ECERS), y el Classroom Scoring Assessment System (CLASS). Estos dos instrumentos se utilizan a menudo para evaluar las aulas preescolares y a los maestros. También voy a tener un diario acerca el nivel de su hijo con las normas del Pre-Kindergarten de New Jersey. Más concretamente, estaré observando cómo es la interacción de profesor-alumno y si obtienen el nivel estándar. Con el fin de comprender el nivel estándar de su hijo, voy a estar recogiendo sus muestras de trabajo para ver cómo él / ella están haciendo.

Además de las observaciones, yo voy a hacerles unas preguntas a todos los niños al principio y al final del estudio. En las primeras dos semanas, 3/4/2013-3/18/2013, del estudio voy a utilizar a Woodcock Johnson III (WJ III) Test 10 Applied Problems, y el Peabody Language Inventory (TVIP) para ver cómo va su hijo en el nivel de habilidades en matemáticas y vocabulario. Su hijo será retirado de la clase durante unos 20 minutos para esta evaluación. La evaluación tendrá lugar durante el día escolar dentro de la sala de escuela. Su hijo será retirado de clase a la vez que se considere apropiado por el maestro de su hijo. Las pruebas de Preschool y Kindergarten Behavior Scale 2<sup>nd</sup> Edition (PKBS-2) serán utilizadas para evaluar el desarrollo socio-emocional y la conducta de su hijo. Esto ocurrirá dentro de la sexta semana del estudio. Su hijo será observado en su aula como parte de esta evaluación. Todas las evaluaciones (la prueba Woodcock Johnson III 10, PPVT y PKBS 2) serán realizadas en forma consecutiva en las últimas dos semanas del estudio. Todas las evaluaciones son pruebas de muy baja tensión diseñados para niños pequeños. Las pruebas son de ningún riesgo para su hijo.

Como parte de este estudio, el director de la escuela, los maestros y los padres que esten dispuestos a ser entrevistados, podran hacerlo. Los voluntarios serán entrevistados con el fin de aprender más sobre el desempeño del estudiante inmigrante y su dinámica de conformación. Las entrevistas se llevarán a cabo cualquiera de estos tiempos: antes, durante o después de la escuela.

Las entrevistas tendrán lugar en la sala de escuela. Las entrevistas serán programadas de acuerdo a fin de que no interfieran con las actividades educativas de escuela, y serán flexibles al tiempo de los entrevistados. LA DECISIÓN DE LOS PADRES DE SI O NO PARTICIPAR EN LA INVESTIGACIÓN NO AFECTA A LA PARTICIPACIÓN DEL ESTUDIANTE, NI TAMPOCO IMPACTA EL ESTATUS DEL ESTUDIANTE EN EL PROGRAMA ESCUELA, NI EN SU EDUCACIÓN.

En esencia, voy a estar observando el aula de su hijo, el examen de su hijo, y entrevistar al director, los maestros, y los padres que se ofrecen voluntariamente para ser entrevistados. Dentro de los primeros dos y las dos últimas semanas del estudio, las preguntas serán de prioridad más alta. Cuando no este haciendo preguntas durante esos períodos de dos semanas, voy a estar observando el salón de su hijo. Las observaciones y entrevistas serán el tema central del estudio entre los períodos de evaluación. Para las observaciones, CLASS se puede utilizar una vez por semana, y ECERS se puede utilizar una vez por mes. Voy a pasar el resto del tiempo tomando notas acerca del nivel de su hijo comparado a las normas de Pre-Kindergarten en Nueva Jersey, y entrevistar al director, los maestros y los padres.

Toda la información de las observaciones, las evaluaciones de los estudiantes, y las entrevistas son confidenciales. Las únicas personas que verán la información, que no sea yo, son: mi comité de tesis (cuatro profesores que ayuden con el estudio), y la Junta de Revisión Institucional de la Universidad de Rutgers (que se asegurará de que mi estudio es ético). Si un informe de este estudio se publica, o los resultados se presentan en una conferencia profesional, sólo los resultados del grupo se harán ver. Todos los datos del estudio se mantendrán por un año.

Todos los niños en la clase de su hijo han sido invitados a participar. Hay una segunda clase que también será parte del estudio. Sin embargo, la participación en este estudio es voluntaria. SU DECISIÓN DE SI O NO PERMITIR QUE SU HIJO PARTICIPE NO afectará los servicios que se prestan normalmente a su hijo por escuela. FALTA DE SU HIJO DE LA PARTICIPACIÓN EN ESTE STUDIO no dará lugar a la pérdida de los beneficios a que él o ella reciben por otras razones. Si usted le da permiso para que su hijo participe en el estudio, por favor tenga en cuenta que es libre de retirar a su hijo del estudio en cualquier momento.

Si tiene alguna pregunta o desea información adicional, por favor llámeme al 646-825-0759 o por correo electrónico [jcichon@pegasus.rutgers.edu](mailto:jcichon@pegasus.rutgers.edu). También puede contactar a mi director de tesis, Alan Sadovnik en [sadovnik@andromeda.rutgers.edu](mailto:sadovnik@andromeda.rutgers.edu). Si usted tiene alguna pregunta acerca de los derechos del niño como sujeto de investigación, puede comunicarse con el administrador de IRB de la Universidad Rutgers. Su número de teléfono es 848-932-4058. Su correo electrónico es: [humansubjects@orsp.rutgers.edu](mailto:humansubjects@orsp.rutgers.edu). Su dirección es: Junta de Revisión Institucional para la Protección de Sujetos Humanos, 3 Rutgers Plaza, New Brunswick, NJ 08901-8559.

Siéntase libre para mantener esta carta. Por favor, devuelva la parte al fin de la página al maestro de su hijo. Le doy las gracias de antemano por su apoyo.

Atentamente,

Joanna Cichon

Ph.D. Candidato

División de Asuntos Globales / Sistemas Urbanos, Universidad de Rutgers, Newark

Por favor, indique si desea o no permitir que su hijo participe en este proyecto, marcando una de las afirmaciones siguientes, firmar su nombre y regresar esta parte a la maestra de su hijo. Firme ambas copias y guarde uno para su archivo.

\_\_\_\_\_ Doy permiso para que mi hijo participe en el estudio de Joanna Cichon en dinámicas que dan forma a rendimiento de los alumnos inmigrantes.

\_\_\_\_\_ Yo no doy permiso para que mi hijo participe en el estudio de Joanna Cichon en dinámicas que dan forma a rendimiento de los alumnos inmigrantes.

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Firma del Padre / Tutor

Nombre Imprimido del Padre/Tutor

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Nombre Imprimido del Niño

Fecha

This informed consent form was approved by the Rutgers University Institutional Review Board for the Protection of Human Subjects on 2/22/13; approval of this form expires on 2/21/14.

## APPENDIX C

**Staff Interview Consent Form**

This is a study of Pre-K immigrant students in the Preschool. It investigates dynamics that shape Pre-K immigrant student performance. You are being asked to participate in this study because you work with Pre-K immigrant students and families. Your participation in this study will aid in understanding how immigrant children perform in school and why this is the case.

As a participant, you will be formally interviewed once. The interview will be recorded (so that I may reference it). The interview will last about an hour. Interviews will be conducted either: before, during, or after school. Interviews will take place in the school's Conference Room. They will be scheduled accordingly so that they do not interfere with the school's educational activities, and cater to your schedule.

Your name, as well as all answers and opinions recorded during the interview will be **confidential**. The only people that will view the information, other than myself, include: my dissertation committee (four professors that will assist with the study), and Rutgers University's Institutional Review Board (which will make sure that my study is ethical). If a report of this study is published, or the results are presented at a professional conference, only group results will be stated. All study data will be kept for one year.

**Participation in this study is voluntary and will have no bearing on your employment status or performance review. You may choose not to participate at any time, including after the interview has begun.**

If you have any questions you may contact me, Joanna Cichon, by phone at 646-825-0759 or email at [jcichon@pegasus.rutgers.edu](mailto:jcichon@pegasus.rutgers.edu). You may also contact my dissertation advisor, Alan Sadovnik at [sadovnik@andromedia.edu](mailto:sadovnik@andromedia.edu).

If you have any questions about your rights as a research subject, you may contact the IRB Administrator at Rutgers University. Their phone number is 848-932-4058. Their email is: [humansubjects@orsp.rutgers.edu](mailto:humansubjects@orsp.rutgers.edu). Their address is: Institutional Review Board for the Protection of Human Subjects, 3 Rutgers Plaza, New Brunswick, NJ 08901-8559.

Please sign the form below once you have read this document carefully and asked any questions that you may have regarding the study.

-----

I have read this form and the research study has been explained to me. I have been given the opportunity to ask questions and my questions have been answered. If I have additional questions, I have been told whom to contact. I agree to participate in the research study described above and will receive a copy of this consent form. I will receive a copy of this consent form after I sign it.

\_\_\_\_\_  
Printed Name

\_\_\_\_\_  
Date

\_\_\_\_\_  
Signature

This informed consent form was approved by the Rutgers University Institutional Review Board for the Protection of Human Subjects on 2/22/13; approval of this form expires on 2/21/14.

## APPENDIX D

### Teacher Interview Protocol

#### Warm Up/Background Information

1. How long have you been a teacher?
2. How long have you been at this school?
3. How long have you taught Pre-K?
4. Have you taught anywhere else? If so, where and which grade level?
5. Why did you become a teacher?
6. Where are you from?
7. How do you identify yourself in terms of ethnicity? Why?
8. How do you identify yourself in terms of immigrant status? Why?

#### Understanding “Immigrants”/Understanding Teacher Attitudes Towards Immigrants

9. How do you define “immigrant students?”
10. How do you define “non-immigrant students?”
11. Based on these definitions, how would you describe your classroom in terms of student population?
12. Which countries do your immigrant students come from?
13. Are immigrant students similar to one another? How?
14. Are immigrant students from different countries different from one another? How?
15. How do you define “Hispanic?”
16. Are “Hispanic” students similar to one another? How? Are “Hispanic” students from different countries different from one another? How?
17. Are “Hispanic” families similar to one another? How? Are “Hispanic” families from different countries different from one another? How?
18. How do you define “Asian?”
19. Are “Asian” students similar to one another? How? Are “Asian” students from different countries different from one another? How?
20. Are “Asian” families similar to one another? How? Are “Asian” families from different countries different from one another? How?
21. Please compare and contrast Indian students from different parts of India.
22. How has the immigrant population within your school changed over time? How have its needs changed?
23. Is it beneficial to have immigrant students within the classroom? Why?
24. It is difficult to have immigrant students within the classroom? Why?
25. How does your school cater to immigrant students and families? What can your school improve upon to cater even more so?
26. How do you cater to immigrant students and families? What can you improve upon to cater even more so?

### **Understanding Student Performance**

27. How do you define student performance?
28. How do you measure student performance of students in general? How do you measure student performance of immigrant students?
29. What are the strengths of such measurements? What are the limitations?
30. How does performance of immigrant students compare to performance of non-immigrant students? Why is this the case?
31. How does performance of different immigrant groups compare?

### **Understanding Factors that Shape Student Performance**

32. Why do some of your students perform but not others? Why do some of your immigrant students perform but not others?
33. What do you do to help your students perform in general? What do you do to help your immigrant students perform?
34. Does family life shape student performance (in general)? How? Does family life shape immigrant student performance? How?
35. Does family access to social networks shape student performance? How? Does family access to social networks shape immigrant student performance? How?
36. Does family access to certain supplies or events shape student performance? How? Does family access to certain supplies or events shape immigrant student performance? How?
37. Do immigrant experiences shape student performance? How?
38. Does culture shape student performance? How? Does culture shape immigrant student performance? How?
39. What does a child need to perform in school? What does an immigrant child need to perform in school?



## APPENDIX E

### Child-Specific Teacher Interview

(Performed Regarding Each Immigrant Student)

**Student Background:**

1. Please tell me about this student's background (Information may include details about the student's family life, home life, language spoken at home, place of birth, place of residence, siblings, parents, home culture).
2. What is your relationship with this student's parents/guardians?
3. How would you describe this student's performance in terms of:
  - Emotional skills?
  - Social skills?
  - Vocabulary?
  - Fine Motor Skills?
  - Gross Motor Skills?
  - Number sense?
  - Math skills?
  - Attention span?
4. What are you basing your assessment of performance on?
5. Has performance evolved since this child started in your class? If so, how and why?
  - (Have within-school factors helped this child perform? If so, which ones? Have within-school factors deterred from this child's performance? If so, which ones?)
  - (Have outside-of-school factors helped this child perform? If so, which ones? Have outside-of-school factors deterred from this child's performance? If so, which ones?)
6. Which subject area or skill set do you think the student excels in? Why?
7. Which subject area of skill set do you think the student needs to improve in? Why?
8. How does this student compare this his or her classmates in terms of his/her home life?
9. How does this student compare to his or her classmates in terms of his/her performance in school?
10. How do you think this child will perform in school next year? Why? What may help him/her perform? What may deter from his/her performance?
11. What do you enjoy the most about having this student in your class?
12. What do you find most challenging about having this student in your class?
13. How has the school supported this student? Could the student have been supported even more so? If so, how?
14. Do you think the PPVT and WJ results are representative of the student's performance? Are they representative of the student's potential?

## APPENDIX F

**Parent Interview Consent Form (in English)**

This is a study of Pre-K immigrant students in Preschool. It investigates dynamics that shape Pre-K immigrant student performance. You are being asked to participate in this study because your child is in Pre-K and of immigrant background. Your participation in this study will aid in understanding how immigrant children are performing in school and why this is the case.

As a participant, you will be interviewed once. The interview will be recorded (so that I may reference it). The interview will last about an hour. Interviews will be conducted either: before, during, or after school. Interviews will take place in the preschool's Conference Room. They will be scheduled accordingly so that they do not interfere with preschool's educational activities, and cater to your schedule. A PARENT'S DECISION OF WHETHER OR NOT TO PARTICIPATE IN RESEARCH DOES NOT AFFECT THE STUDENT'S PARTICIPATION AND WILL IN NO WAY IMPACT THE CHILD'S STATUS IN THE PROGRAM OR IN HIS/HER EDUCATION.

Your name, as well as all answers and opinions recorded during the interview will be **confidential**. The only people that will view the information, other than myself, include: my dissertation committee (four professors that will assist with the study), and Rutgers University's Institutional Review Board (which will make sure that my study is ethical). All study data will be kept for one year.

Participation in this study is voluntary. **You may choose not to participate at any time, including after the interview has begun.**

If you have any questions you may contact me, Joanna Cichon, by phone at 646-825-0759 or email at jcichon@pegasus.rutgers.edu. You may also contact my dissertation advisor, Alan Sadovnik at sadovnik@andromedia.edu.

If you have any questions about your rights as a research subject, you may contact the IRB Administrator at Rutgers University. Their phone number is 848-932-4058. Their email is: humansubjects@orsp.rutgers.edu. Their address is: Institutional Review Board for the Protection of Human Subjects, 3 Rutgers Plaza, New Brunswick, NJ 08901-8559.

Please sign the form below once you have read this document carefully and asked any questions that you may have regarding the study.

-----  
I have read this form and the research study has been explained to me. I have been given the opportunity to ask questions and my questions have been answered. If I have additional questions, I have been told whom to contact. I agree to participate in the research study described above and will receive a copy of this consent form. I will receive a copy of this consent form after I sign it.

\_\_\_\_\_  
Printed Name

\_\_\_\_\_  
Date

\_\_\_\_\_  
Signature

This informed consent form was approved by the Rutgers University Institutional Review Board for the Protection of Human Subjects on 2/22/13; approval of this form expires on 2/21/14.

## APPENDIX G

### Parent Interview Consent Form (in Spanish)

Este es un estudio de los estudiantes inmigrantes de Pre-K en Preschool. Investiga dinámicas que dan forma al rendimiento de los alumnos inmigrantes de Pre-K. Se le esta pidiendo que participe en este estudio porque su hijo está en Pre-K y es de origen inmigrante. Su participación en este estudio ayudará a comprender cómo los niños inmigrantes están realizando en la escuela y cual es la razón.

Como participante, usted será entrevistado una vez. La entrevista será grabada (para yo poder tenerlo como referencia). La entrevista tendrá una duración de aproximadamente una hora. Las entrevistas serán en unos de estos tiempos: antes, durante o después de la escuela. Las entrevistas tendrán lugar en la Sala de escuela. Ellos serán programadas de acuerdo a fin de que no interfieran con las actividades educativas de escuela, y también su horario. **DECISIÓN DE LOS PADRES DE SI O NO PARTICIPAR EN LA INVESTIGACIÓN NO AFECTA A LA PARTICIPACIÓN DEL ESTUDIANTE Y TAMPOCO IMPACTA EL ESTADO DEL NIÑO EN EL PROGRAMA de ESCUELA NI TAMPOCO EN SU EDUCACIÓN.**

Su nombre, así como todas las respuestas y opiniones formuladas durante la entrevista serán confidenciales. Las únicas personas que verán la información, que no sea yo, son: mi comité de tesis (cuatro profesores que ayudaran con el estudio), y la Junta de Revisión Institucional de la Universidad de Rutgers (que se asegurará de que mi estudio sea ético). Si un informe de este estudio se publica, o los resultados se presentan en una conferencia profesional, sólo los resultados del grupo serán demostrados. Todos los datos del estudio se mantendrán por un año.

La participación en este estudio será voluntaria. Usted tiene la opción de no participar en cualquier momento, incluso después de que la entrevista haya comenzado.

Si tiene cualquier pregunta usted pueda ponerse en contacto conmigo, Joanna Cichon, por teléfono al 646-825-0759 o por correo electrónico a [jcichon@pegasus.rutgers.edu](mailto:jcichon@pegasus.rutgers.edu). También puede contactar a mi director de tesis, Alan Sadovnik a [sadovnik@andromedia.edu](mailto:sadovnik@andromedia.edu).

Si usted tiene alguna pregunta sobre sus derechos como sujeto de investigación, puede comunicarse con el administrador del IRB de la Universidad Rutgers. Su número de teléfono es 848-932-4058. Su correo electrónico es: [humansubjects@orsp.rutgers.edu](mailto:humansubjects@orsp.rutgers.edu). Su dirección es: Junta de Revisión Institucional para la Protección de Sujetos Humanos, 3 Rutgers Plaza, New Brunswick, NJ 08901-8559.

Por favor firme el formulario una vez que haya leído este documento cuidadosamente y haya preguntado cualquier pregunta que usted pueda tener con respecto al estudio.

He leído este formulario y el estudio de investigación ha sido explicada o explicado a mí. Se me ha dado la oportunidad de hacer preguntas y mis preguntas han sido contestadas. Si tengo más preguntas, me han dicho a quién puedo contactar. Estoy de acuerdo en participar en el estudio de investigación escrito en la carta y recibiré una copia de este formulario de consentimiento. Voy a recibir una copia de este formulario de consentimiento después de firmarlo.

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Nombre

---

Fecha

---

Firma

This informed consent form was approved by the Rutgers University Institutional Review Board for the Protection of Human Subjects on 2/22/13; approval of this form expires on 2/21/14.

## APPENDIX H

## Parent Interview Consent Form (in Urdu)

والدین کی طرف سے اجازت نامہ

یہ Accelero سکول کے ان طالب علم کی ریسرچ سٹڈی ہے جو Pre-K میں پڑھتے ہیں اور انٹرمیگرٹ بھی ہیں۔ آپ والدین اس میں بیماری مردہ کر سکتے ہیں۔ کیونکہ آپ کا بچہ بھی Pre-K میں اور انٹرمیگرٹ بھی ہے۔ آپ کی شرکت ایک انٹرویو کی صورت میں ہوگی۔ جو ریکارڈ بھی لیا جاسکتا ہے۔ یہ انٹرویو سکول کے کافیس میں دوپہر میں ایک گھنٹہ کا ہوگا۔ یہ انٹرویو ملازمین کے شریعت سے پہلے یا بعد میں ہوگا۔ جس سے آپ بچے کا تعلیم کا کوئی حرج نہیں ہوگا۔ آپ کا نام اور آپ کے دیئے گئے جوابات کسی بھی صورت میں کسی کو بھی نہیں دکھائے جائیں۔ اس انٹرویو اور اس کے جوابات صرف میں اور میرے ہیرڈنسرز دیکھ سکیں گے۔ یہ انٹرویو آپ کی طرف سے لیا جائے گا۔ آپ کسی بھی وقت اس انٹرویو کو چھوڑ سکتے ہیں اگر آپ کو کسی بھی وقت کوئی سوال ہو۔ تو آپ مجھ سے یا میرے ساتھی سے رابطہ کر سکتے ہیں۔

میرا فون نمبر اور ای میل یہ ہیں: Joann Ciechan - 646-825-0759 or jciechan@Pegasus.rutgers.edu

اگر آپ کو اس موضوع پر کوئی بھی سوال ہو۔ تو آپ IRB Administrator Rutgers-Uni. فون نمبر: 848-932-4088 یا Humansubjects@ovsp.rutgers.edu پر ای میل کر سکتے ہیں۔

IRB 3 Rutgers Plaza, New Brunswick, NJ 08901-8559

جب آپ اس فارم کو پُر کریں اور سمجھ لیں تو اس فارم پر دستخط کریں۔ میں نے اس ریسرچ سٹڈی فارم کو پُر کر لیا ہے۔ اور مجھے سمجھا دیا گیا ہے کہ یہ ریسرچ سٹڈی کیا ہے۔ مجھ سے کچھ سوال کئے جائیں۔ جس کے جوابات میں میں نے دیا گا/گی۔ کسی بھی سوال کی صورت میں مجھ سے کس سے رابطہ کرنا ہے۔ میں اس ریسرچ سٹڈی میں حصہ لینا چاہتا/چاہتی ہوں۔ مجھے اس فارم پر دستخط کرنے کے بعد ایک کاپی مجھے بھی ملے گی۔

Name:-

Date:-

## APPENDIX I

### Initial Parent Interview Protocol

#### Warm-Up/Background/Self-Perception Questions

1. Which country are you from?
2. What town are you from? Is it rural/urban? Please describe it.
3. How long have you lived in the United States?
4. Where do you currently live?
5. Who do you currently live with?
6. How do you identify yourself in terms of ethnicity? Why?
7. How do you identify your child in terms of ethnicity? Why?
8. How do you identify yourself in terms of immigrant status? Why?
9. How do you identify your child in terms of immigrant status? Why?
10. Which language is spoken in your home? Why?
11. Describe your life before arriving in the United States.
12. What was your occupation before arriving in the United States?
13. Describe your educational experience.
14. What is your occupation? What is the occupation of those that currently live with you?

#### Understanding Student Performance

15. How do you define student performance?
16. What does a child need to perform in school?
17. What should the school's role be in educating your child?
18. What is the school's role in educating your child?
19. What should your role be in educating your child?
20. What is your role in educating your child?
21. How does schooling in the United States compare to schooling in your native country?  
How does that make you feel?
22. How does your child perform in school? What does he/she excel in? What does he/she struggle with? Why? What can be done to help?

#### Understanding Cultural/Social Capital

23. Describe your child's typical day on a weekday (after school).
24. Describe your child's typical weekend.
25. What type of educational resources does your child have at home?
26. Do take part in educational activities with your child? What type of activities? About how much time each week do you spend on such activities?
27. Do you speak to your child's teacher about your child's experience in school? Why/why not? How often?
28. What type of events does your family take part in together?
29. Describe your neighborhood and the relations that neighbors have with one another.
30. What type of group gatherings/activities do you attend with your family (ex. religious gatherings)? How often?
31. How did you find out about this school?
32. How is your relationship with other parents?
33. Is there someone in your community that you especially trust? Who? Why do you trust them?
34. What are some challenges that you experience as a parent?

### **Understanding Immigrant Experience**

35. Why did your family immigrate to the United States?
36. Why did you immigrate to this specific part of the United States?
37. How is your life in the United States compared to life in your home country?
38. How has your immigrant experience been positive?
39. How has your immigrant experience been negative?
40. How has your immigrant experience changed with time?
41. Have immigration policies impacted you? How?
42. Has your immigrant experience shaped your child's student performance? How?

### **Conceptualizing Different Immigrant Groups**

43. Are immigrant groups similar to one another? How/why?
44. Are immigrant students from different countries different from one another? How/why?
45. How do you define "Hispanic?"
46. Are "Hispanic" students similar to one another? How/why?
47. Are "Hispanic" students from different countries different from one another? How/why?
48. How do you define "Asian?"
49. Are "Asian" students similar to one another? How/why?
50. Are "Asian" students from different countries different from one another? How/why?
51. Please compare and contrast Indian students from different parts of India.

### **Understanding Culture**

52. How would you describe your culture?
53. What is the relationship between culture and student performance?
54. Does your culture in any way help your child succeed in school? How?
55. Does your culture in any way make it difficult for your child to succeed in school? How?

## APPENDIX J

### Follow-Up Parent Interview

This is a follow-up interview. It is semistructured. Questions resembling those listed below will be asked. Parents will be interviewed for a second time in order to add detail to their responses from the first interview.

It is important to note that not all of these questions apply to all parents. Each parent will be asked some of these questions but not others. The questions that the parent will be asked depend on responses within the first interview. If a parent did not share relevant information in the first interview, the follow-up question will not be asked. In essence, as stated above, this interview builds on the responses from the first interview in order to acquire more detail.

I plan on having the parents sign a copy of the consent form before the interview. The same consent form will be given to the parents as last time (since it describes the study and has all the relevant information). Therefore, in the end, for each parent that is interviewed twice, I will have two consent forms (that are matching but dated differently, with each date corresponding to the date of each interview).

#### **Background/Immigration:**

You shared \_\_\_\_\_ about your life in your native country. Can you tell me more about that?

You shared \_\_\_\_\_ about life in the United States when you first arrived. Can you tell me more about that?

You shared \_\_\_\_\_ about your education. Can you tell me more about that? Why has this been your experience?

You shared \_\_\_\_\_ about your family's background. Can you tell me more about that? (Do you have siblings? Has their experience been similar to yours?)

You shared \_\_\_\_\_ about your husband's family background. Can you tell me more about that? (Does he have siblings? Has their experience been similar to his?)

You mentioned \_\_\_\_\_ about your job/your husband's job. How would your life be different professionally in your home country?

How would your child's life be different in your native country?

You shared \_\_\_\_\_ about your life as an immigrant. Can you tell me more about that? Why do you think you had this experience?

What is your understanding of contemporary immigration policies in the United States?

How do you learn of immigration policies?

What are some changes that you hope for?

You mentioned the following about your immigrant status: \_\_\_\_\_. How has this changed since your arrival? How do you feel about your immigrant status? How does it advantageous? How is it limiting?

### **Student Performance:**

This is how you defined student performance: \_\_\_\_\_. Can you elaborate on that definition? Why do you think you define student performance in such a way?

You mentioned \_\_\_\_\_ about your child's school performance. Can you tell me more about that? Why do you think your child performs the way he/she does?

You mentioned that the difference between school in the United States and in your native country is \_\_\_\_\_. Can you think of other differences? Are there similarities? Why do these similarities/differences exist?

### **Social/Cultural Capital:**

You mentioned that on a typical weekday your child's schedule is \_\_\_\_\_. Can you tell me about that in a bit more detail? Why is this his/her schedule?

You mentioned that on a typical weekend your child's schedule is \_\_\_\_\_. Can you tell me about that in a bit more detail? Why is it like that?

You mentioned that you do the following activities with your child \_\_\_\_\_. Is there anything else that you would like to add to that list? Is there anything that you do not have a chance to do with your child that you would like to?

You shared the following about your neighborhood \_\_\_\_\_. Why do you think this is the case?

### **Understanding Culture:**

You mentioned \_\_\_\_\_ about your culture. Can you elaborate on that?

You mentioned \_\_\_\_\_ about the relationship between culture and student performance. How do you define culture and student performance when answering this question?

You mentioned the following similarities between different immigrant groups: \_\_\_\_\_. Why do you think these similarities exist?

You mentioned the following differences between different immigrant groups: \_\_\_\_\_. Why do you think these differences exist?



## Curriculum Vitae: Joanna Maulbeck

Email: joanna.maulbeck@gmail.com

Phone: 646-825-0759

### Education:

Ph.D., Global Affairs/Urban Education, Rutgers University (May 2014)

Concentration(s): Early Childhood Education, Children's Rights, Global Education

Dissertation Title: *Understanding the Factors that Shape Low-Income Immigrant Student*

*Experience: A Case Study of an Urban Preschool*

GPA: 3.97

M.S., Global Affairs, Rutgers University (December 2011)

GPA: 3.96

B.S., Elementary Education/Psychology, The College of New Jersey (December 2006)

Honors: Cum Laude

### Fellowships and Assistantships:

Ethics Fellows for the Future, Carnegie Council for Ethics in International Affairs (Present)

-Attended workshops that focused on analyzing ethics in international affairs.

-Authored articles focusing on ethics in international education; Presented work in-person at the Annual Fellows Conference, as well as virtually within the Global Ethics Network.

Education Pioneers Fellow (Summer 2012)

-Attended workshops that focused on effective educational practices.

-Designed the Pre-K Curriculum for DREAM Charter School in New York, NY.

Graduate Assistantship (Summer 2013-Spring 2014)

Dean's Office, Graduate School-Newark, Rutgers University

-Assisted with research, with a focus on education and poverty.

-Assisted with the development of international opportunities for graduate students.

-Assisted with funding proposal development.

-Supervised graduate students, assisting and supporting them in fulfilling our research agenda.

Teaching Assistantship (Fall 2012-Spring 2013)

Urban Systems Program and Division of Global Affairs, Rutgers University

-Designed and taught *Sociology of Globalization* to undergraduate students.

**Scholarships:** (Spring 2013)

Virginia M. Walsh Memorial Scholarship

-Received funding towards conducting dissertation research.

### Tertiary Teaching Experience:

Instructor of Education (Summer 2013-Present)

School of Education, The College of New Jersey, NJ

-Co-designed and taught *Child and Adolescent Development* to graduate students in Bangkok, Thailand, as well as undergraduate students at TCNJ's main campus.

Instructor of Sociology (Fall 2012-Spring 2013)

Sociology Department, Rutgers University, NJ

-Designed and taught *Sociology of Globalization* to undergraduate students.

**Early Education Teaching Experience:**

Second Grade Teacher

(Fall 2009 - Summer 2010)

Harlem Success Academy Charter School, New York, NY

- Instructed core curriculum to the Second Grade class.
- Organized a school-wide Family Publishing Night (to share student writing with the community), Family Math Night (to enrich parent understanding of the Math curriculum), and Family Reading Night (to promote family literacy).

First Grade Teacher

(Fall 2008 – Summer 2009)

American International School of Cape Town, South Africa

- Instructed core curriculum to the First Grade class.
- Organized a school-wide Literacy Month, in order to encourage student reading and writing.
- Taught supplemental after-school lessons to students with special needs.

Kindergarten Teacher

(Fall 2007 - Summer 2008)

American International School of Bamako, Mali

- Instructed core curriculum to the Kindergarten class.
- Served as Lead Teacher on the Early Learning Center (ELC) Campus.
- Represented school at the Association of Schools in Africa in Ghana.
- Developed, and instilled the Kindergarten curriculum, as well as the Pre-School and Kindergarten Report Cards.
- Took a Teaching Leadership Graduate Course through Buffalo State College.

Kindergarten Teacher

(Fall 2006 - Summer 2007)

Scotch Plains Christian Day School, Scotch Plains, NJ

- Instructed core curriculum to the Kindergarten class.
- Developed English, Math, Science, Social Studies, and Art units.

Senior Student Teacher

(January 2006 - March 2006)

American International School, Johannesburg, South Africa

- Instructed core curriculum to the Fifth Grade class.
- Designed and taught an Accelerated Program for those who surpassed the Fifth Grade Math Curriculum.

Senior Student Teacher

(March 2006 - May 2006)

Greenwood Elementary School, Hamilton, NJ

- Instructed core curriculum to the Developmental First Grade class.
- Provided aid to an English as a Second Language (ESL) After-School Program.
- Collaborated in the evaluation of IEP Reports.

Preschool Summer School Teacher

(Summer 2003 - Summer 2007)

Scotch Plains Christian Day School, Scotch Plains, NJ

- Instructed an eight-week long summer session to the Four-Year-Old class.

Literacy Teacher

(Summer 2004 - Winter 2005)

Lutheran Social Ministries of New Jersey, Trenton, NJ

- Taught literacy.
- Supported refugee children as they adapted to schooling in the United States.

**Program Evaluation Experience:**

Early Education Specialist (Spring 2012)

Joseph C. Cornwall Center for Metropolitan Studies, Rutgers University, NJ

-Evaluated the Liberty Science Center Young Scientist Laboratory Workshop: Designed evaluation procedures, conducted on-site observations, analyzed data, and co-authored the evaluation report.

External Consultant (Spring 2012)

Acelero Learning Company, NJ

-Evaluated Acelero Pre-K teachers and classrooms throughout the state of New Jersey.

-Conducted on-site observations, utilizing instruments such as Teachstone's CLASS and Early Childhood Environment Rating Scale.

Program Evaluator (Fall 2010 – Winter 2011)

National Institute for Early Education Research, Rutgers University, NJ

-Evaluated preschool teachers and classrooms throughout the state of New Jersey.

**Curriculum Development Experience:**

Chair of Curriculum Development (Summer 2012)

DREAM Charter School, New York, NY

-Led a research initiative that culminated in the development of an effective Pre-K curriculum.

Author of Curriculum (Fall 2011-Spring 2012)

Sleuk Rith Institute, Cambodia

-Designed the curriculum for the M.A. Program in Genocide, Conflict and Human Rights Studies at the Sleuk Rith Institute in Cambodia.

Author of Curriculum (Fall 2007-Summer 2008)

American International School of Bamako, Mali

-Developed the Pre-Kindergarten and Kindergarten Report Card.

-Co-developed the Kindergarten Curriculum.

**Program Development Experience:**

Co-Founder and Site Coordinator (Spring 2014 – Present)

Newark Freedom School, Children's Defense Fund

-Collaborated with Rutgers University, Newark Public Schools, and Children's Defense Fund to develop a literacy and youth empowerment summer school program for elementary school students in Newark, NJ.

**Academic Presentations:**

*An Analysis of Technology Use in Early Education Classrooms: Does Development of Technology Subdue the Development of our Children?* (November 2013)

Carnegie Council for Ethics in International Affairs Annual Fellows Conference

*Education For All: Challenges on a Local and Global Level* (July 2011)

Conference on Impacting Change in America and Abroad, Washington, D.C.

**Publications:**

Cichon, J. (2012). Are Schools Failing or Are they Being Failed? *Rutgers Humanist*, 3, 8-11.

Maulbeck, J. (Forthcoming). Poverty in Appalachia. In K. Farmbry (Ed.), *The War on Poverty, A Retrospective*. Lexington Books.

**Language Proficiency:**

Fluent in English and Polish; Proficient in French; Basic knowledge of Bambara and Xhosa.

**Certifications:**

Yoga Alliance Teacher Certification	(August 2011)
CEAS in Elementary Education/Psychology, State of NJ	(December 2006)

**Extra Curricular/Volunteer Positions:**

Center for the Study of Genocide, Conflict Resolution and Human Rights Rutgers University, NJ	(2011 – Present)
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-Collaborated on research projects and assisted in organizing conferences focusing on global education and human rights.

Yoga Teacher Rutgers University, Kean University & Bhakti Barn Studio, NJ	(Fall 2007 – Present)
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Nonceba Family Counseling Center Khayeltisha, South Africa	(Fall 2008 - Fall 2009)
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-Taught reading, writing, sports, and art to women and children residing at the center.

Preschool Swimming Coach Cape Town, South Africa	(Fall 2008 - Fall 2009)
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Preschool Soccer Coach Cape Town, South Africa	(Fall 2008 - Fall 2009)
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Kindergarten Ballet Teacher Bamako, Mali	(Fall 2007 - Summer 2008)
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High School Track Coach Bamako, Mali	(Fall 2007 - Summer 2008)
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-Coached high school students; Traveled with students to an International Meet in Burkina Faso.

High School Community Service Committee Coordinator Bamako, Mali	(Fall 2007 - Summer 2008)
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-Planned community service projects.  
-Visited a local orphanage on a weekly basis with middle school and high school students.

Middle School Math Mania Supervisor Bamako, Mali	(Fall 2007 - Summer 2008)
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-Met with students weekly to play games that reinforce Math skills.

Glass Painting Instructor Bamako, Mali	(Fall 2007 - Summer 2008)
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