# To Culture or Not to Culture: Practices Implemented by Language Immersion Teachers to Teach Culture in Language Immersion Classrooms 

Benterah Charles Morton<br>Louisiana State University and Agricultural and Mechanical College

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# TO CULTURE OR NOT TO CULTURE: <br> PRACTICES IMPLEMENTED BY LANGUAGE IMMERSION TEACHERS TO TEACH CULTURE IN LANGUAGE IMMERSION CLASSROOMS 

A Dissertation<br>Submitted to the Graduate Faculty of the<br>Louisiana State University and Agricultural and Mechanical College in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

in

The School of Education

by<br>Benterah Charles Morton<br>A.A., Georgia Perimeter College, 1998<br>B.A., University of West Georgia, 2001<br>M.Ed., University of West Georgia, 2003<br>Ed.S., Louisiana State University, 2015

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To the Morton and Robinson lineage that came before and will come after, may this first open the floodgates that remained blocked for so many generations.

To all of those in my family who have ever wished to go to school, but could not. Those who once started, and because of life were not able to finish. Those, who have given up hope on themselves and encouraged me to keep going. Those who poured into my life with donations of time, energy, hard love, patience, encouraging words, places to sleep, cars to drive, places to lay my head and cry (like I am right now). I dedicate this degree to uncle Grover and uncle Aaron, and aunt Mott; to uncle Bill and aunt Mary; to Eddie James, Theresa, Ella Mae, and Charlie, my grandparents; to Bennie and Philomena, my parents who I believe have been in my corner since the day I was born. I dedicate this degree to my eldest sister, whom I never met Bennilyn who I believe without her death, my life would never have been. To my favorite sister Bethany, Bevetta, Bennithea, Baziel, and Benzamar and my most encouraging brother Bennie, Dexter, Bencent, Benathan, and Benjoel.

To Melissa, Zamorah, Amyrah, Kendrah, \& Yaya

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#### Abstract

Bilingual education has had a resurgence in the United States since the Bilingual Education Act of 1968. Since that time the number of language immersion programs across the country has increased exponentially. Although language immersion programs are a type of bilingual education there are considerable differences in the implementation and intended outcomes. Language immersion programs ascribe to three basic goals: for students to become bilingual, bi-literate, and develop a degree of multicultural awareness. This study seeks to begin to explore the methods teachers use to carry out the task of developing a degree of multicultural awareness. To answer this question, video recordings of classroom observations were made and viewed with the participant during an interview. The participant was asked to talk about clips of video from the classroom observation and the responses were recorded. The recorded responses were then transcribed and analyzed through multiple layers of open coding.


Findings revealed that the participant chose five plus one methods of teaching culture in her language immersion classroom: through the L2, through standalone culture lessons, through processes, through juxtaposition, through real life application, and through repetition. Additionally, the findings suggests that the participant chose the five plus one methods to teacher culture in her classroom because she teaches toward a culturally relevant pedagogy.

## Chapter 1: Introduction and Purpose of the Study

We listen to the way people talk, not to judge them, but to tell what part of the river they come from. These other people are not like that. They think everybody needs to talk like them. Unlike us, they have a hard time hearing what people say if they don't talk exactly like them. Their way of talking and writing is called "Formal English." We have to feel a little sorry for them because they have only one way to talk. We're going to learn two ways to say things. Isn't that better? One way will be our Heritage way. The other will be Formal English. Then, when we go to get jobs, we'll be able to talk like those people who only know and can only really listen to one way. Maybe after we get the jobs we can help them to learn how it feels to have another language, like ours, that feels so good. We'll talk like them when we have to, but we'll always know our way is best. (Delpit, 2006, p. 105)

## Introduction

As a child my parents impressed upon me learning the English language and practicing the language correctly at every opportunity. I found that I was able to communicate effectively with my peers and teachers at school, yet communication with extended family and the neighborhood children was strained. I could understand them, but they had difficulty understanding me. How could it be that I could communicate better with those who lived outside my community than those who lived closest to me? Why did this communication challenge make me to feel like an outcast from both cultures? What could I do to be better understood both at home and at school? Learning about bidialectalism, "the teaching of Standard English to pupils who normally use a nonstandard dialect" (Bidialectalism, n.d.), helped me to understand why I had difficulty communicating; my peers and I shared a language different from the members of my community.

Years later on a train ride from France to Germany, I sat beside a gentleman who challenged my intellect and changed my perspective of language and bilingualism more than I ever imagined. We began a conversation in English and when he learned that I was in Europe to
study French and French culture, he immediately stopped speaking in English and began speaking in French. Reflecting on that interaction I realized that the Frenchman spoke seven languages and understood much of the cultures of to those languages. Why was I not fluent in multiple languages? What benefits are there to being multilingual? Today I see multiple benefits of being multilingual; I see the benefit of the transference of culture through language and that the difficulties of fitting in as a child were partly the result of not understanding the varied cultures of the two linguistically different communities.

## Problem Statement

The United States of America has been called the land of the free and the home of the brave. Since its inception, it has been a 'melting pot', open to immigrants from across the globe, many of whom searched for freedom, opportunity, and a better way of life. A melting pot uses intense heat to combine all of its ingredients into one singular substance, ultimately leaving no traces of the individual additives. So, too, has the United States privileged whiteness (Mills, 1997) to such an extent that immigrants to the U.S. are expected to assimilate to the ideals and cultures of the land and reject their own ideals and cultures as they embark upon the sojourn to privilege and acceptance and the American Dream. The journey requires immigrants, and indigenous people, to give up their language and learn American (the form of English spoken in the U.S. that engenders supremacy, segregation, and exclusion) and their culture and become American. According to Millet (2004), recent culture trends away from the assumptions of the melting pot and toward the assumptions of the 'salad bowl', which are couched in acceptance, emphasize keeping one's culture, and creating the coexistence of society of multiple cultures, or, in other words, a society that willingly appreciates and shares its languages and cultures.

Which comes first, language or culture? Language is closely tied to culture, and learning other languages is a profitable way of learning about other cultures (Herron, Dubreil, Cole, \& Corrie, 2000; Kjolseth, 1972; Kramsch, 1993; McCollum, 1999; Moran \& Lu, 2001; Valdes, 1986). Lessow-Hurley (1990) remarked, "There is little question... that language and culture are inseparable, and learning a new language invariably entails learning a new culture" (p. 86). Additionally, recent research has shown positive correlations in the relationships between culture teaching and actual language learning (Martinsen \& Alvord, 2012). Culture teaching, however, is not widely promoted in public schools as a singular subject. With the resurgence of language immersion programs in the last three decades (Lindholm, 1987; Lindholm-Leary, 2005), culture is again being taught in public schools. Now culture is being taught through the language from which it is created and in a language immersion setting. Language immersion, one of the many forms of bilingual education (Valdes, 1986), is characterized by three main goals: for the students to become bi-lingual; for the students to become bi-literate; and for the students to develop a multicultural competence (Cloud, Genesee, \& Hamayan, 2000; Lindholm, 1987; Lindholm-Leary, 2005; Soltero, 2004). (Multicultural competence in this context does not contain qualities that can be measured quantitatively.) In fact, the idea of multicultural competence is akin to culture itself in that it is ever changing, a process of becoming. As an ongoing process multicultural competence is indicated by ones' "ability to interact effectively on its terms with others who are acknowledged as already competent" (Goodenough, 1976, p. 5). Because the phrase 'developing a multicultural competence' is inherently a quantitative way of looking at culture and refers to a process of learning that is not designed to be completed, I will use the terms biculturalism (Cloud et al., 2000) and bicultural awareness to minimize confusion.

Language teachers spend much time planning toward meeting the bilingual and bi-literate goals. However, attention should also be paid to the goal of the students developing a bicultural awareness. Unfortunately, language teachers are often without real tools for 'teaching' culture (Carr, 1999). There is no shortage of recommended techniques for teaching culture, but very little is known about the actual practice of teaching culture through language (Moore, 1996). Crozet and Liddicoat (1999) suggested that as language teachers reflect on the far-reaching goals of culture teaching they are forced to create their own guidelines for practice because the support that is usually found in teaching materials to transform new rhetoric into successful practice is not available. The literature agreed that finding the appropriate materials and methodology for teaching culture through language is a challenge (Crozet \& Liddicoat, 1999; Moore, 1996). Language teachers are left on their own to answer the question, "What do we know about the practice of teaching culture?" (Moore, 1996, p. 270).

## Purpose of Study

Are teachers intentional about teaching culture? Yes, to the best of their ability. As I observed reading classes over the past several years, I concluded that teachers are intentional about the culture being taught. Their intentionality charges them to teach and practice reading by engaging children's literature that is traditional to the second language (L2) instead of mainstream American authored children's literature texts that have been translated into the L2. Traditional L2 reading texts provide insights into the history and culture in a manner that is often different from the experience received from a text that is simply translated into a different language. In Playing in the Dark: Whiteness and the Literary Imagination, Morrison (1992) acknowledged the connection between language and culture. She remarked, "Knowledge, however mundane and utilitarian, plays about in linguistic images and forms cultural practice"
(p. 49, emphasis added). The connection between language and culture is practical, functional, and sensible all at the same time (Kramsch, 1993; Lang, 1999; Lantolf, Thorne, \& Poehner, 2015; Lessow-Hurley, 1990; Moran \& Lu, 2001; Valdes, 1986), thus solidifying the intentionality of teachers to incorporate culture in reading lessons because the language used in the literature is the same language used to describe and define the culture.

This study sought to understand which methods teachers used to teach culture in language immersion classes and why the teachers chose to use these methods instead of others. Subsequently, the study identified whether teachers were intentional about teaching culture and thus standalone 'culture lessons', or if culture was intentionally taught through the language without the use of standalone 'culture lessons'. Literature about this specific topic is limited, however there is a wealth of researchers who have found direct connections between learning language and learning culture (Kramsch, 1993; Lang, 1999; Lantolf et al., 2015; Lessow-Hurley, 1990; Moran \& Lu, 2001; Valdes, 1986).

## Research Question

$>$ What methods of teaching culture do language immersion teachers choose to use in their classrooms and why do they choose these methods?

## Theoretical Frameworks

## Vygotsky's Sociocultural Theory

Vygotsky's sociocultural theory implies that learners acquire new concepts through the regulating effects of experience (Kozulin, 2003; Pavlenko \& Lantolf, 2000; Swain, 2000). This theory reconceptualized cognition as fundamentally social (Ortega, 2009; Pavlenko \& Lantolf, 2000). The metaphysical world is the socially constructed foundation of Vygotsky's research because of its connections to lived experiences (Davis, 2009). Researchers who support this
theory see learning a second language as a process of gradually taking possession of the L2 and making it a tool of self-regulation and thinking (Ortega, 2009). For language teachers to apply this in their classrooms they "need to provide ample tasks in the classroom where learners can be exposed to the target language and be allowed to use it in creative ways" (Crozet \& Liddicoat, 1999, p. 121). "Given the deep connection between cultural interaction and language that has been noted by language philosophers such as Vygotsky" (Martinsen \& Alvrord, 2012, p. 444), it is reasonable to ask, are language immersion teachers providing tasks in the classroom that allow L2 learners exposure to the target language and interaction with it in creative ways?

## Culturally Relevant Pedagogy

Ladson-Billings’ (1992, 1995a, 1995b, 2009) Culturally Relevant Pedagogy (CRP) theoretical framework centers on three basic proposition: "(a) Students must experience academic success; (b) students must develop and/or maintain cultural competence; and (c) students must develop a critical consciousness through which they challenge the status quo of the current social order" (1995a, p. 160). In language immersion classrooms students must be competent and confident in their own culture as well as develop a competence in the culture of the language they are learning. They must be afforded the right and provided the opportunity "to grapple with learning challenges from the point of strength and relevance found in their own cultural frames of reference" (Gay, 2002, p. 114). Further, CPR can be applied in understanding why language immersion teachers choose the tools that they use to teach culture. CPR can also be used as a way of evaluating the influences of attitudes, values, and behaviors that teachers bring to the instructional process (Gay, 2002). The simple act of teaching in a language immersion program is a form of socio-political activism. Providing young children with
languages other than English in the U.S. goes against the current hegemonic structures that privilege anything that is Anglo, male, heterosexual, and Protestant.

## Context of the Study

What do teachers believe they are doing to teach culture? As the principal of an elementary school that contained Vietnamese and Mandarin Chinese language immersion programs, I identified several ways teachers planned and taught culture through the partner language (L2). All of these avenues were consistent in that instruction was carried out primarily in the second language (Cloud et al., 2000; Lindholm, 1987; Lindholm, 1990; Lindholm-Leary, 2005). Language immersion programs teach under two primary models; 90/10 or 50/50 means that the L2 is used for $90 \%$ of the instructional day and English is used only $10 \%$ of the instructional day in the first model, and both languages are used $50 \%$ of the time in the second model (Cloud et al., 2000; Lindholm, 1987; Lindholm-Leary, 2005). Furthermore McCollum (1999) outlined the difference between language immersion classrooms taught in the L2 versus the native language (L1) as a key to determining if the program is pluralistic or assimilative. McCollum (1999) noted that pluralistic programs:

Include minority and majority group students, promote bilingualism for both groups, and reflect an egalitarian distribution of power among community interests.... arises from the wishes of the community and is staffed by members of the ethnic community who speak the local ethnic language variety (p. 115).

By contrast assimilative programs are characterized by their origination:

From powerful non-ethnic or supra-ethnic sources ... not include[ing] community organization as a component in its planning or implementation, and organiz[ing] knowledge vertically in the curriculum. Teachers are not members of the ethnic community and advocate the superiority of 'high' forms of linguistic and cultural knowledge. (McCollum, 1999, p. 115).

Focusing on the pluralistic language immersion classrooms, culture is taught through the target language in science, social studies, second language reading, and mathematics. In social
studies, for example, the curriculum requires that communities be explored and the communities are often discussed in the context of the L2 culture.

Boyer (2000) believed that learning about culture through language was important and wrote, "I cannot teach you culture. Culture is something you have to live" (p. 14). It is through language that we navigate our understanding of culture and how it impacts our lives. For this transfer of culture through language to occur in a classroom, Boyer (2000) believed the living culture experience must be recreated. Razi's (2012) research on this topic "indicate that teaching English by taking socio-cultural qualifications of native speakers results in bilingual and bicultural learners; however, teaching English without taking cultural context into consideration results in only bilingual learners" (p. 170). In other words, language teachers who attempt to teach the second language separate from the culture will not attain the goal of language immersion education for the students to become bi-lingual, bi-literate, and multicultural. Traditionally, culture has been taught at home or in a setting specifically set aside for culture learning. With the multiple connections listed in the literature between language and culture it would seem improper to teach the two in isolation (Boyer, 2000; Heron et al., 2000; Kjolseth, 1972; Kramsch, 1993; Lang, 1999; Lantolf et al., 2015; McCollum, 1999; Moran \& Lu, 200; Valdes, 1986).

Biesta (2005) believed "we should think of education as the situation or process which provides opportunity for individuals to come into presence, that is, to show who they are and where they stand" (p.61). This view allows students to express their culture and learn about other cultures to show whom they are and where they stand. This effort to come to a presence of self is best understood where "coming into presence is about being challenged by otherness and difference" (p. 62), not by avoiding or simply tolerating otherness and difference. Teaching
culture through language lauds the benefit of providing avenues for students to become more complex versions of themselves, versions that are bi-lingual, bi-literate, and multicultural.

## Overview of Methods

Baton Rouge Foreign Language Academic Immersion Magnet (FLAIM) is a public school in the East Baton Rouge Parish School System (EBR). EBR's website describes the program:

Foreign Language Immersion is a method by which students learn academic subject material using the second language as the means of instruction. Baton Rouge FLAIM students study the academic subjects of math, science and social studies using French or Spanish. This promotes learning a language in the most natural way, in context.

When students enter school at the kindergarten or first grade level, parents choose a language track of French or Spanish. The student will receive instruction in that chosen language through 5th grade in the subjects of math, science and social studies.

English is used only during the English language arts period, taught by native English speakers. Students who complete the program through 5th grade are bilingual, that is speaking, reading, and writing in the second language. Through their immersion experience, students also develop a deep appreciation for the language and culture of other countries. (EBR Schools, n.d.)

As a language immersion school the students are taught more than $50 \%$ of the school day in French or Spanish. There are 256 students Kindergarten $-5^{\text {th }}$ grade. On the average there are 42 students in each grade level. These 40 students per grade level are divided into classes of 20 students by French and Spanish language instruction. There are 12 language teachers, six French teachers and six Spanish. Each grade level has one reading teacher who spends a portion of the day with students learning French and another portion of the day with students learning Spanish.

This study focused on Spanish language immersion teachers and began with a two-part survey obtaining demographic information and background information about teaching expectations. From the surveys one teacher was purposively selected (Mack, Woodsong, MacQueen, Guest, \& Namey, 2005; Marshall \& Rossman, 1999) to participate in planning
observations. Planning observations provided information that identified the methods used to teach culture. After the planning observations, I observed lessons used to teach culture. Those observations provided guidance for the questions asked in the interview phase. Then, I conducted semistructured interviews (Bernard, 2002; Daly, 2008; Marshall \& Rossman, 1999; Orcher, 2005) with the selected teacher. Through narrative inquiry, the interview was used to identify 'why' the teacher chose one method of teaching culture over another.

## Significance of the Study

Bilingual Education in the form of language immersion programs is growing in popularity and has been since the early 1970s (Lessow-Hurley, 1990; Lindholm, 1987, Lindholm-Leary, 2005). In recent decades researchers have seen a shift from assimilative language programs to pluralistic programs (McCollum, 1999). Amid the volumes of research about language immersion programs, there is little documented work on how to teach culture through language in foreign language classes and language immersion classes. This gap in the literature provides room for research that explores how language immersion teachers teach culture, "how frequently they teach culture, which teaching techniques they judge to be more appropriate for achieving the cultural goals stated" (Moore, 1996, p. 270) in their lesson plans, and a wealth of other questions pertaining to teaching culture through language.

Opponents to bilingualism and language immersion programs believe that the United States is spending too much on non-English speakers and could better spend the money elsewhere in the national budget (Feliciano, 2001; Kjolseth, 1983; Kramsch, Cain, \& MurphyLejeune, 1996; Saiz \& Zoido, 2005). Other opponents believe that "any relativisation of language and culture by foreign language educators would be seen as a threat to American education" (Kramsch et al., 1996, p. 101). These arguments and others appear quite shallow at
first glance. However, they are very deeply rooted in the racial contract described by Mills (1997) in The Racial Contract. Mills detailed the political, moral, epistemological, and historical actuality of race and racism and the cultural norms that have been derived from these ways of knowing. Using the racial contract and Critical Race Theory (CRT) to inform my review of critiques of language immersion programs, I have come to believe that the majority of the arguments lodged to condemn these programs are efforts to defend the hegemonic structures that have classified whiteness as a property (Delgado \& Stefancic, 2001; Donnor, 2013; Harris, 1995; Ladson-Billings, 2013). That is to say that "Standard English" is the language that is associated with the hegemonic structures in the U.S. (Delpit, 2006) and teaching, learning, and privileging other languages is seen as a direct attack on those structures.

Countering the voice of critics of the work of language educators, recent research suggests that the benefits of being multilingual are not only cultural but are also academic and financial. Multilingual individuals perform better in schools and in the labor market than monolingual individuals (Feliciano, 2001; Lindholm-Leary, 2005; Saiz \& Zoido, 2005).

Multilingualism has also been associated with better memory, visual-spatial skills, creativity, and the promotion of cognitive reserve in elderly people (Diaz \& Klingler, 1991; Munoz, 2014). Aside from the academic and financial benefits the changing demographic landscape of the United States is an additional reason students should become multilingual (Feliciano, 2001; Lindholm-Leary, 2005; Saiz \& Zoido, 2005). Subsequently, multilingualism and merely being exposed to multiple languages and cultures, often fosters greater tolerance for other cultural groups. ("Is Bilingualism," n.d.)

## Background and Role of the Researcher

I was first introduced language immersion programs as an elementary school principal when our school district developed, designed, and implemented two-way immersion Vietnamese and Mandarin Chinese language programs. To be better informed, I did research to identify the difference between language immersion programs and the traditional bilingual programs currently utilized for the Spanish speakers in the district. As the program was developed I realized that there was a wealth of benefits for children being immersed in and learning a second or third language. My research informed me of the three basic goals of language immersion programs: for the students to become bi-lingual, for the students to become bi-literate, and for the students to develop a bicultural awareness (Cloud et al., 2000; Lindholm, 1987; LindholmLeary, 2005; Soltero, 2004). In preparation for the implementation of the program I learned all that I could about the different types of language immersion programs and the different models of implementation. I also identified and hired qualified language immersion teachers. As the instructional leader of the campus, I needed to know the ins and outs of the program if we were to have a quality program. As a firm supporter of, and believer in, the language immersion program on our campus I placed my children into the program. Currently, my children are in the kindergarten, first, and second grades and participating in the Spanish language immersion program outlined in this study.

As a researcher I acknowledge that I am biased toward the success of language immersion programs. I enter into this research with the assumption that culture is being taught in the program, however, I question how it is being taught- as a standalone 'culture lesson' or integrated into daily lessons.

## Definition of Terms

## Culture

History, social interactions, works of art, architecture, music, and literature, as well as customs, traditions, or practices that people carry out as part of their everyday lives (Moran \& Lu, 2001) and "the understandings about things and the expectations of one another that the members of a society seem to share"
(Goodenough, 1976, p. 4, emphasis added).

## Bilingual Education

Education in which those not fluent in the standard or national language are taught in their own language (bilingual education, n.d.).

## Dual Language

A program that serves both language minority and the language majority students in the same classrooms. These programs use each group of students' first language for academic instruction at certain points during the program. They aim for bilingualism and biculturalism for both groups of students (Cloud et al., 2000).

## Language Immersion

Programs which serve language majority students (native English-speaking students in the United States of America), and which use a second or foreign language to teach at least $50 \%$ of the students' program of study during the elementary or secondary grades. Immersion programs vary with respect to the amount of the second language that is used for instruction and the grade levels during which immersion in the second language is offered (Cloud et al., 2000).

## L1/L2

L1 and L2 are abbreviations used in the field of Second Language Acquisition to signify the order in which languages are acquired. L1 represents a learner's mother tongue, first, or native language. L2 is used to represent a partner, second, or second language. In SLA, L2 also represents additional languages the third, the fourth, and so on (Ortega, 2009).

## Summary

This study sought to understand which methods teachers use to teach culture in language immersion classes and why the teachers choose to use these methods instead of others. Literature about this specific topic is limited, however there are a wealth of researchers who find direct connections between learning language and learning culture (Kramsch, 1993; Lang, 1999; Lantolf et al., 2015; Lessow-Hurley, 1990; Moran \& Lu, 2001; Valdes, 1986). As a former elementary school principal supervising language immersion programs, I have some bias for the success of such programs, however, there is room for identifying how language immersion programs teach culture through language. Using two simple theoretical frameworks, Vygotsky's sociocultural theory and Ladson-Billings' Culturally Relevant Pedagogy, to view the interactions between teachers and their lessons provided a wealth of information that can be used to identify why teachers make specific pedagogical choices. Although there are many unknowns as described through the Johari Window process, this research uncovered some of those unknowns.

## Chapter 2: Review of Literature

Learning foreign languages and the exotic cultures of those who speak them....can only enhance the quality of American life as well as US competitiveness on the international market... (Kramsch et al. 1996 p. 101)

## Introduction

The following review of literature explores extant literature discussing culture as it is taught through language immersion programs. The review begins by developing a working definition of culture specifically for this study and progress from there to introduce literature related to second language acquisition. Application of second language acquisition literature provides context to the study as a base line for how languages are learned. Building on to the working definition of culture and groundwork for language learning processes a brief history of bilingual education in the United States of America is presented. This brief history is then treated through the lens of Critical Race Theory's racial realism and interest convergence. Continuing on, this chapter situates language immersion programs as an extension of bilingual education and identifies the specific type of language immersion program explored in this study. Next, literature is presented that discusses the complex connections between languages and cultures. Finally, the theoretical frameworks through which this research was conducted are made known.

## What is Culture?

From a theoretical viewpoint, the process of learning a society's culture, or macro-culture as I would rather call it, is one of learning a number of different or partially different micro-cultures and their sub-cultural variants, and how to discern the situations in which they are appropriate and the kinds of others to whom to attribute them. (Goodenough, 1976, p. 5)

Culture is a complex term that must described in multiple and different ways. Valdes (1986) compiled a volume of chapters detailing characteristics used to identify culture. She discussed cultural conflicts between current cultures and interactions with new cultures. Valdez
(1986) also acknowledged some of the phenomena associated with culture including classroom behavior, etiquette, facial expressions, gestures, greetings, holidays, and taboos. Each of these items can be seen in a classroom interaction, however, because of their culture-laden meanings, they are only characteristics of culture and not used as definitions of culture.

Moran and Lu (2001) described multiple views of culture including but not limited to the views of culture as civilization, as communication, and as a general concept. From the view of culture as civilization they situated culture as "history, social interactions, works of art, architecture, music, and literature" (p. 6), as well as "customs, traditions, or practices that people carry out as part of their everyday lives" (p. 6). Understanding that culture is ever changing poses a concern for nailing down a concise definition when, depending on the perspective of the viewer, it can be defined as a conglomeration of all of these things. For that reason, this study defines culture as just that, a combination of all of these "things". More specifically, the references to culture pertain to "the understandings about things and the expectations of one another that the members of a society seem to share" (Goodenough, 1976, p. 4). That is to say that culture is learned as a way of identifying the expectations of interactions with others at the same time it is the expectation of interaction. Goodenough (1976) craftily noted in his definition that the understandings and expectations only seem to be shared by the members of the society. In the same article he explained that culture is not shared by whole societies, yet there are some similarities that can be identified within its members. In other words, there is diversity within groups in a society and between groups in that same society, or propriospect (Goodenough, 1971, 1974; Wolcott, 1991).

## Language Acquisition

Second language acquisition (SLA) "is the scholarly field of inquiry that investigates the human capacity to learn languages other than the first, during late childhood, adolescence, or adulthood, and once the first language or languages have been acquired" (Ortega, 2009, p. 2). Second language acquisition (SLA) research begins around age five where child language acquisition, or first language acquisition, leaves off. Primarily, SLA addresses the language learner after a primary or native language(s) has been acquired. Theoretically, bilingual education programs and foreign language programs are researched under the SLA umbrella because these programs involve learning "languages once the first language...or first languages...have been learned and are established" (Ortega, 2009, p. 4). In its short existence, the field of SLA has broached a variety of questions aimed at identifying how humans learn additional languages: what role does age play in SLA?; what role do cross-linguistic influences have on SLA?; does cognition play a role in SLA?; is there a such thing as foreign language aptitude?; what are the social dimensions of SLA? (Ortega, 2009).

Asking what role age played in SLA resulted in the formulation of the Critical Period Hypothesis (CPH), which pulled from the research of Penfield and Roberts (1959) and Lenneberg, Chomsky, and Marx (1967). Penfield and Roberts explored loss of mental plasticity as age increases while Lenneberg examined processes of lateralization of the brain at puberty. CHP states "that there is a specific period of time early in life when the brain exhibits a special propensity to attend to certain experiences in the environment and learn from them" (Ortega, 2009, p. 13). SLA translated this hypothesis to language acquisition resulting in the belief that children were better equipped for learning additional languages than adults. Although this hypothesis is still plausible today it has been the cause of great debate and scrutiny (Birdsong \&

Molis, 2001; Johnson \& Newport, 1989; Scovel, 2000; Singleton, 2001). Instances of outliers cited in the literature (Ioup, Boustagui, El Tigi, \& Moselle, 1994) learned an additional language after the proposed critical period. Although the debate has continued in the literature I believe that the CPH has been disproved. There is strong evidence that children learn languages better than adults do; adults are not cognitively incapable of acquiring additional languages, however the adults' process simply occurs differently than it does with children. Nevertheless, the debate over the CPH continues to play a role in bilingual education by supporting the introduction of languages in earlier grades rather than in later grades.

Cross-linguistic influences in SLA look to answer the question, "If knowledge and capabilities for competent language use are already available to L2 [second language] learners through the mother tongue and other languages they may know, how do they affect the development of the new language?" (Ortega, 2009, p. 30). In simpler vernacular, the question becomes that of what affect the native language has on the acquisition of additional languages. Research in this area provided a contrastive analysis for language learners that compared first language (L1) learners and second language (L2) learners, and looked for similarities and differences with the hopes of making predictions about negative transfer and additional errors specific to particular L1 backgrounds paired with specific L2 learners (Ortega, 2009; LarsenFreeman, Long, \& Jiang, 1991; Stockwell, Bowen, \& Martin, 1965). With the advent of new methodologies, error analysis, and performance analysis, it became evident that neither linguistic knowledge nor behavior could be categorically determined by L1-L2 differences (Long \& Sato, 1984; Ortega, 2009; Penfield \& Roberts, 1959). Although substantial predictions could not be made through this research the SLA field still benefited. Recent research suggests that knowledge of two or more languages may provide benefits for learning additional languages
(Cenoz \& Jessner, 2001; Jarvis \& Pavlenko, 2007; Larsen-Freeman et al., 1991; Ortega, 2009). The question of whether knowledge of two or more cultures provides benefits for learning additional cultures evolved from the research. Bilingualism (n.d.) suggests that indeed it does and concludes that multilingualism and merely being exposed to multiple languages and cultures often fosters greater tolerance for other cultural groups.

The connection between second language acquisition and bilingual education is undeniable. The findings of SLA researchers have provided solutions and remedies for language teachers and students across the globe (Ortega, 2009). Using SLA to support bilingual education may provide the necessary backing needed to encourage the acceptance of children learning multiple languages instead of settling for being language impaired (L. Hidalgo, personal communication, November 4, 2014), or monolingual.

## Language Immersion Programs

Language immersion programs by definition are designed in a way that is conducive to teaching culture through language simply because they use "the non-English language as the medium of instruction for subject matter classes" (Lindholm, 1987, p. 14-15). The non-English language becomes the medium of the subject matter and the culture of that specific language. Cloud, Genesee, and Hamayan (2000) provided an encompassing definition of immersion programs:

Programs which serve language majority students (native English-speaking students in North America), and which use a second or foreign language to teach at least $50 \%$ of the students' program of study during the elementary or secondary grades. Immersion programs vary with respect to the amount of the second language that is used for instruction and the grade levels during which immersion in the second language is offered. (p. 205)

There are two main types of language immersion programs in the United States of America: oneway immersion and two-way immersion. Classified as dual language programs, Cloud, Genesee, and Hamayan (2000) described these two programs as:

A program which serves both language minority and the language majority students in the same classrooms. These programs use each group of students' first language for academic instruction at certain points during the program. They aim for bilingualism and biculturalism for both groups of students. A combination of the Developmental Bilingual and Immersion program models. (p. 208)

The primary distinguishing characteristic between one-way immersion and two-way immersion is the composition of the students in the classroom. Where a two-way immersion classroom serves both language minority and the language majority students in the same classrooms, oneway immersion classrooms serve either language minority or the language majority students in the same classrooms. Lindholm (1987) defined two-way immersion using four specific criterial features:
(1) The program essentially involves some form of dual language immersion, where the non-English language is used for at least $50 \%$ of the students' instructional day; (2) the program involves periods of instruction during which only one language is used; (3) both English speakers and non- English speakers (preferably in balanced numbers) are participants; and (4) the students are integrated for all content instruction. (p. 5)

In one-way immersion programs serving only language minority students, students who are "proficient in languages other than English and have no or limited proficiency in English. The program is designed to develop and maintain full proficiency in the students' home language while promoting full proficiency in all aspects of English" (Cloud et al., 2000, p. 204). There are a countless variations of bilingual programs utilized across the United States. This study focused on language immersion programs because of their goal of students being bi-lingual, bi-literate, and developing a bicultural awareness (Cloud et al., 2000; Lindholm-Leary, 2005; Lindholm, 1987). I use the term language immersion to describe both one-way immersion and two-way
immersion programs. The specific research site used a slightly modified two-way immersion program model. The site's following all of the components of a two-way immersion program except the 50/50 distribution of English language learners and native English speakers is discussed in the methodology chapter.

## A Brief History

## Language Immersion in the United States

Language immersion programs are not new to the United States, however the federal government has not always sanctioned them. Several states had large Native American populations and were already bilingual or had bilingual sects when they became a part of the Union (Castellanos \& Leggio, 1983). Louisiana was known for its French-speaking majority and as a "binational" state conducted business, wrote legislation, and ran schools in both French and English. Castellanos and Leggio (1983) recalled a school district established by the Cherokees with $90 \%$ literacy in their native language and that, by 1852, had "a higher English literacy level than the White populations of either Texas or Arkansas" (p. 17). All of these bilingual, biliterate, and bicultural people were educated through some form of language immersion: programs that use "the non-English language as the medium of instruction for subject matter classes" (Lindholm, 1987, p. 23). These types of programs flourished across the country until after World War I (WWI) when the nations' views of "isolationism and nationalism, took their toll on dual language as well as foreign language instruction" (Lessow-Hurley, 1990, p. 10). As a result "instruction in foreign languages was virtually eliminated" (Lessow-Hurley, 1990, p. 11). Some of the American people were concerned that continuing to teach children languages and thereby cultures other than American would be an affront to American education (Kramsch et al., 1996).

However, after the Soviet Union launched Sputnik I in 1957, the education world quickly changed. There was a shift in America's focus on education from teaching Reading - wRiting aRithmetic (the 3 R's) to focusing on math, science, and foreign language instruction. The federal government believed that knowledge of foreign languages was important and should be perceived as essential to its national defense (Lessow-Hurley, 1990). The essentiality was linked to the understanding that many of the most prominent scientists spoke foreign languages and national spies needed to speak foreign languages. In consideration of the need for a bi-lingual and bi-literate workforce the National Defense Education Act (1958) was enacted.

Combining the momentum of the national push for civil rights sparked by the Supreme Court decision on the Brown v. Board of Education case in 1954, and the national security need of knowledge of foreign languages, the 1960s became a springboard for legislation that promoted bilingual education (Lindholm, 1987). Bilingual education, the term used to classify types of education in which those not fluent in the standard or national language are taught in their own language, was proposed to provide a situation in which the student's native language and culture would be valued (Lindholm, 1987). In 1963, with an influx of Cuban refugees, Cora Way Elementary, a language immersion school in Dade County, Florida, opened and began serving Cuban and non-Hispanic children. Noting the success of Cora Way Elementary, language immersion schools began to pop up shortly thereafter in other states: Texas, California, and New Jersey among others (Lessow-Hurley, 1990). In 1965, the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA) was passed as a part of Lyndon B. Johnson's War on Poverty. The ESEA's "broad purpose was to equalize educational opportunities" (Lessow-Hurley, 1990, p. 11) for children living in the United States of America. By the beginning of 1968, the federal government was prepared to provide "funds for districts to establish programs that used primary language
instruction to assist limited English proficient children" (Lessow-Hurley, 1990, p. 11) and used The Bilingual Education Act (BEA), also known as Title VI of ESEA, to do so. This legislation "marked the first acknowledgment of federal responsibility for the educational well-being of linguistic minorities" (Petrzela, 2010, p. 408), and authorized $\$ 85$ million in the first three years. Within a few years the Supreme Court decided in the 1974 case of Lau v. Nichols that children must receive equal access to education regardless of their inability to speak English (Lau v. Nichols, 1974) and bilingual education was on its way to returning to the United States. By 1983, bilingual education was permitted in all 50 states; nine states went further and passed laws requiring at least one of the various forms of language immersion programs be used to service students in their states (Ovando, Collier, \& Combs, 1985). Over the past 30 years bilingual education has become more popular and the number of language immersion programs has grown (Lindholm, 1987; Lindholm-Leary, 2005).

## Language Immersion and CRT

Critical Race Theory (CRT) originated in the 1970s as a response to Critical Legal Studies and through the works of legal scholars such as Derrick Bell, Richard Delgado, Kimberlé Crenshaw, Neil Gotanda, and Angela Harris. It was later introduced to education through the scholarship of Ladson-Billings and Tate IV (Dixon, 2007). CRT scholars adhere to several basic hallmarks (Delgado \& Stefancic, 2001). Ladson-Billings (2013) illustrated these hallmarks through the following list:

- belief that racism is normal or ordinary, not aberrant, in US society;
- interest convergence or material determinism;
- race as a social construction;
- intersectionality and anti-essentialism;
- voice or counter-narrative (p. 37).

This section recapitulates nearly verbatim the previous section's presentation of the history of language immersion in the United States. However, in this iteration I include emphasis and explanations where I see exemplars or implications of the hallmarks (Delgado \& Stefancic, 2001, Ladson-Billings, 2013) of Critical Race Theory. More specifically, I focus on interest convergence (Bell, 1980, 1992, 2004; Ladson-Billings, 2013; Lucas \& Paret, 2005; Milner, Pearman, \& McGee, 2013) and racial realism (Bell, 1992; Fasching-Varner, Mitchell, Martin, Bennett-Haron, 2014; Powell, 1991). For clarity, the block quotes below cited with "see above" are excerpts from the previous section.

Before thinking through this section with Critical Race Theory, I must acknowledge the technicality addressed by Lucas and Paret (2005):

Technically, bilingual education - the use of non-English languages in classroom instruction - is not a racial issue. Whites speak a plethora of languages, and many minorities speak English. Yet, bilingual education is a racialized arena of education and the law because of the combination of immigration patterns, legal requirements of schools, and racial residential segregation. (p. 222)

Additionally, I situate my thought process about language in the United States. I believe strongly, like Delpit (2006), "... that each cultural group should have the right to maintain its own language style" (p. 102). At the same time I acknowledge that "no language variety is intrinsically 'better' than another" however I do understand that, "in a stratified society such as ours, language choices are not neutral" (p. 155). In fact, language choices are "always already entangled" (Youngblood-Jackson, personal communication, February 20, 2015) with hegemonic power structures. In this country "Standard English" or American is the language of power - it is the "language of economic success" (Delpit, 2006, 155) - the language of privilege - the language that has been socially constructed and culturally adopted as the national language. American is the language used by and protected by whiteness. Therefore, any attempts to teach
languages other than American are seen as assaults on the power and prolonged existence of whiteness. It is with this understanding that I assert that privileging the English language over other languages "is the usual way society does business" (Delgado \& Stefancic, 2001, p. 7); experiencing the converse would be anomalous (Delpit, 2006; Hochschild, 1984; LadsonBillings, 2013).

Language immersion programs are not new to the United States, however the federal government has not always sanctioned them. Several states had large Native American populations and were already bilingual or had bilingual sects when they became a part of the Union (Castellanos \& Leggio, 1983). Louisiana was known for its French-speaking majority and as a "binational" state conducted business, wrote legislation, and ran schools in both French and English. Castellanos and Leggio (1983) recalled a school district established by the Cherokees with $90 \%$ literacy in their native language and that by 1852 had "a higher English literacy level than the White populations of either Texas or Arkansas" (p. 17). All of these bilingual, bi-literate, and bicultural people were educated through some form of language immersion, through programs that used "the non-English language as the medium of instruction for subject matter classes" (Lindholm, 1987, p. 23). These types of programs flourished across the country until after World War I (WWI) when the nation's views of "isolationism and nationalism, took their toll on dual language as well as foreign language instruction" (Lessow-Hurley, 1990, p. 10). As a result "instruction in foreign languages was virtually eliminated" (p. 11). Some of the American people were concerned that continuing to teach children languages and thereby cultures other than American would be an affront to American education (Kramsch et al., 1996). (See above)

How is it that a country of indigenous peoples and immigrants, all of whom have different national heritages, languages, religions, and ways of life, come to believe that being multilingual would be an affront to American education? It appears that after WWI the United States launched an all-out attack on languages other than English through the neoliberalist crisis creation tactic (Harvey, 2005). The collective message championed isolationism and nationalism centered on the hegemonic norm: white male protestant heterosexual English speaking persons and their ideals. The message, heard across the nation, resulted in the near eradication of language learning (Lessow-Hurley, 1990). Although there was not a legal designation to signify English as a national language, BEA legislation emphasized English language skills over
developing bilingualism and biculturalism among students (Lyons, 1990; Lucas \& Paret, 2005).
Furthermore, even with the absence of legislation the culture of the country implied its
dominance as seen in Louisiana, previously a binational French and English state, where students
were corporally punished for speaking French in the classroom. To this day many of the
bilingual and ESL programs across the nation privilege the English language and work through
the assimilative model (Kjolseth, 1983) to acquaint students with the dominate language instead of allowing them to keep their own and develop both languages.

However, after the Soviet Union launched Sputnik I in 1957, things in the education world quickly changed. America's focus on education shifted from teaching Reading wRiting - arithmetic (the 3 R 's) to focusing on math, science, and foreign language instruction. The federal government believed that knowledge of foreign languages was important and should be perceived as essential to our national defense (Lessow-Hurley, 1990). The essentiality was linked to the understanding that many of the most prominent scientists spoke foreign languages and national spies needed to speak foreign languages. In consideration of the need for a bi-lingual and bi-literate workforce the National Defense Education Act (1958) was enacted. Combining the momentum of the national push for civil rights sparked by the Supreme Court decision on the Brown v. Board of Education case in 1954, and the national security need of knowledge of foreign languages, the 1960s became a springboard for legislation that promoted bilingual education (Lindholm, 1987).... In 1965, the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA) was passed as a part of Lyndon B. Johnson's War on Poverty. The ESEA's "broad purpose was to equalize educational opportunities" (Lessow-Hurley, 1990, p. 11) for children living in the United States of America. By the beginning of 1968, the federal government was prepared to provide "funds for districts to establish programs that used primary language instruction to assist limited English proficient children" (LessowHurley, 1990, p. 11) and used The Bilingual Education Act (BEA), also known as Title VI of ESEA, to do so. This legislation "marked the first acknowledgment of federal responsibility for the educational well-being of linguistic minorities" (Petrzela, 2010, p. 408), and authorized $\$ 85$ million in the first three years. (See above)

The momentum of the modern civil rights movement along with the Brown v. Board of
Education decision are said to have served as a springboard to bilingual education legislation.
This legislation, however, was not enacted out of the kindness of the hearts of law makers, but primarily as an aid to national security (Lessow-Hurley, 1990) at the necessity of those in power.

In other words the benefits afforded to English language learners (ELL) through BEA were
provided only as a concession and secondary to the meeting the competing needs of those in power. CRT scholars described this type of interaction as interest convergence, where laws are ultimately designed to protect the interests of dominate groups and in doing so provided some advancement to people of color (Bell, 1980, 1992, 2004; Ladson-Billings, 2013; Lucas \& Paret, 2005; Milner et al., 2013). Looking further into the passage of BEA and interest convergence, Lucas and Paret (2005) suggested that the lax funding priorities of bilingual education further exacerbated the complexity of the already dynamic racial inequities across the country. Further, the lack of legal direction in equitable funding for all schools coupled with the mandates of BEA to meet the needs of ELL students concentrated the costs of implementing these policies on already marginalized groups (Betts, 1998; Lucas \& Paret, 2005; Van Hook, 2002). I speculate that the country would be in a different place in bilingual education had the original legislation been driven by equity instead of equality and ultimately interest convergence.

## Types of Bilingual Programs

Bilingual education has progressed since its federally sanctioned re-beginning in 1968. Its broad definition, "education in which those not fluent in the standard or national language are taught in their own language" (bilingual education, n.d.), has been interpreted in many different ways over the years and has resulted in the development of a variety of program models. Still, bilingual education can be broken down by philosophy into two basic camps: assimilation and pluralistic. McCollum (1999) believed the assimilation model of bilingual education

Originates from powerful non-ethnic or supra-ethnic sources, does not include community organization as a component in its planning or implementation, and organizes knowledge vertically in the curriculum. Teachers are not members of the ethnic community and advocate the superiority of 'high' forms of linguistic and cultural knowledge (p. 115).

McCollum added that this model "uses a 'transfer' approach moving students from their native language to English as quickly as possible" (p. 15). This approach to bilingual education follows the same assumptions as the melting pot idea discussed in a previous chapter. It assumes that immigrants must give up their language to learn American, and give up their culture to become American. Kjolseth (1983) believed the assimilation methodology exploits the ethnic language by "weaning the pupil away from his mother tongue through the transitional use of a variety of his mother tongue in what amounts to a kind of cultural and linguistic 'counterinsurgency' policy on the part of the schools" (p. 16). August and Hakuta (1997) reported that these types of transitional bilingual education programs are specifically designed to provide initial instruction in the students' native language and quickly transition them to instruction in English.

The pluralistic model of bilingual education follows the assumptions of the salad bowl metaphor. It assumes the willing appreciation and sharing of languages and the cultures those languages create. Pluralistic programs include:

Minority and majority group students, promote bilingualism for both groups, and reflect an egalitarian distribution of power among community interests....the curriculum is organized horizontally allowing for equal representation of different language varieties and cultural knowledge.... [and] the program arises from the wishes of the community and is staffed by members of the ethnic community who speak the local ethnic language variety. (McCollum, 1999, p. 115)

Truly pluralistic programs, those designed to maintain an ELL's native language and share language development with the ELL and the native English speaker, are rare (Lucas \& Paret, 2005). Sadly, many of the programs sanctioned by the federal government are pluralistic in name and intention yet yield assimilative fruit (Kjolseth, 1983). Two-way language immersion, a pluralistic program model, can fall into this unfortunate category if it is not carried out with fidelity. McCollum's (1989) research demonstrated how "two-way bilingual program[s] unwittingly devalue the linguistic cultural capital of language minority students.... and devalue
non-mainstream students' cultural and linguistic capital" (p. 116). Cultural capital, he explained, "allows cultural elements to mediate among...schooling, and the lives of the students in schools" (p. 114). In this case the students possess "class-based knowledge that does not have equal value within the school" (p. 114). His finding, that the high school students in the study had negative attitudes about school because their language and cultural capital were devalued by their teachers, was alarming (McCollum, 1999). Language immersion programs were not designed to devalue the linguistic or cultural capital of the students.

Delpit (2006) and Goodenough (1976) discussed the importance of understanding the power-laden complexity of culture in societies and schools. Like McCollum (1999), Delpit (2006) identified that teachers devalue the cultural capital of students. She identified "Standard English" and the language of power in the United States and remarked that, "all students have the right to schooling that gives them access to that language" (p.155) and ultimately that culture. Goodenough (1976) noted the same necessity to "access to situations in which there is opportunity to rehearse the skills and work at getting the knowledge" (p. 6) needed to acquire social and cultural power.

## Language and Culture

Ortega (2009) listed a wealth of reasons we seek to learn new languages including but not limited to biculturalism. Kramsch's (1993) descriptions of "third places" lead one to believe that biculturalism is found at the intersections of one's own culture and a new culture, thereby creating a third culture that helps the learner to navigate through the differences in his/her own culture and the new culture. Kramsch (1993) formulated the understanding that teaching culture through language has a variety of benefits centered on the context in which the new language and culture are both taught and received. Although Kramsch discussed culture through language
learning in a foreign language classroom setting she found that, "culture is created and enacted through the dialogue between students and between teacher and students" (p. 47, authors emphasis). This creation and enacting of culture can transfer similarly into language immersion classrooms, because of its root in dialogue between students and between teachers and students.

The primary aims of language immersion programs are bilingualism and biculturalism for all of their participants (Cloud et al., 2000; Lindhlm-Leary, 2005; Lindholm, 1987).

Unfortunately, there appears to be an absence of significant literature centered on discussing how culture is taught through language in language immersion classes, leaving one to wonder how language immersion programs develop bicultural students. However, there is a wealth of literature describing the connections between language and culture in foreign language classes (Herron et al., 2000; Kjolseth, 1972, 1983; Kramsch, 1993; McCollum, 1999; Moran \& Lu, 2001; Valdes, 1986). I believe that the direct connection between language and culture found in foreign language literature (Herron et al., 2000; Kjolseth, 1972, 1983; Kramsch, 1993; McCollum, 1999; Moran \& Lu, 2001; Valdes, 1986) is directly transferable, and thus the methods of teaching culture through language, applied in foreign language, can also be applied to language immersion instruction. For this reason foreign language based culture instruction through language literature has been included in this study.

Valdes (1986) situated the experience of culture in the language classroom, and poignantly pointed out that language teachers have the responsibility "to recognize the trauma their students experience and to assist in bringing them through it to the point that culture becomes an aid to language learning rather than a hindrance" ( p . vii). One might ask how culture can become a hindrance to language learning. Learning a new language or culture requires the learner to interact with the new language and culture from the context of his or her own language
and culture. These interactions cross intersections of knowing that may not have been addressed previously (Kramsch, 1993; Moran \& Lu, 2001) causing a degree of trauma or culture shock. The teachers' responsibility becomes addressing or lessening the culture shock by navigating the context through which the language and culture are being learned (Kramsch, 1993). According to Valdes (1986), second language learners must be aware of the interdependence between language, thought, and culture, and must be taught their collective nature for them to ascertain the magnitude of embodying the culture of the language they are studying. Furthermore, there is a clear understanding that the "relationship between culture and language is well established" (Kaplan, 1986, p. 8) and that "language and culture interact" (p. 46) in ways that are not easily catalogued. Moran and Lu (2001) illustrated the interaction between language and culture through the teaching of culture, from the context of histories as culture, where "bringing our own stories to light can help us to see how to foster culture in the students" (p.3) in language classrooms. The interactions or border experiences described by Kramsch (1993) very closely resembled interactions between different entities, in this case language and culture, which have varying differences and similarities. These "boundary experiences" she remarked, are of "paramount importance" to understanding the "power and control" we are given through language to situate ourselves in another culture (p. 235). Goodenough (1976) also described culture and cultural knowledge as a source of power. He wrote, "Access to the cultures and subcultures in which competence must be demonstrated to establish eligibility for positions of privilege becomes a major matter to which social organization is geared" (p. 6). Access to competence (Goodenough, 1976) in multiple cultures is a way of gaining capital that can be utilized to maneuver politically. Without this understanding of power and control it would be challenging to actualize the goals of language immersion programs.

Numerous researchers have explored the connections between language and culture over an extended period of time (Herron et al., 2000; Kjolseth, 1972, 1983; Kramsch, 1993; McCollum, 1999; Moran \& Lu, 2001; Valdes, 1986). Numerous recommendations exist that focus on techniques for teaching culture in foreign language classes. What information do we have about the actual practices of teaching culture in language immersion classes? There is little documented work on how to teach culture through language in foreign language classes and language immersion classes. This gap in the literature provides room for research that explores how language immersion teachers teach culture, "how frequently they teach culture, which teaching techniques they judge to be more appropriate for achieving the cultural goals stated" (Moore, 1996, p. 270) in their lesson plans, and a wealth of other questions pertaining to teaching culture through language.

## Theoretical frameworks

## Sociocultural Theory

Culture, like language, changes with time, geography, and societal influence. Vygotsky's iteration of the sociocultural theory supports the idea that language and culture change and implies that learners acquire new concepts through the regulating effects of experience (Kozulin, 2003; Pavlenko \& Lantolf, 2000). To this understanding, language learners in the United States of America in 1914 may have had a different cultural and language experience than language learners in the same geographical location 100 years later. Sociocultural theory's assumption that language and culture are socially constructed situates it in the metaphysical bifurcation of worldviews (Davis, 2009). Researchers in support of Vygotsky's sociocultural theory see learning a second language as a process of gradually taking possession of the second language (L2) and making it a tool of self-regulation and thinking (Ortega, 2009). Language teachers with
these assumptions "need to provide ample tasks in the classroom where learners can be exposed to the target language and be allowed to use it in creative ways" (Crozet \& Liddicoat, 1999, p. 121). "Given the deep connection between cultural interaction and language that has been noted by language philosophers such as Vygotsky" (Martinsen \& Alvrord, 2012, p. 444), I believe it is reasonable to ask, "Are language immersion teachers providing tasks in the classroom that allow L2 learners to be exposed to the target language's culture and to interact with it in creative ways and, if so, why do they select the specific activities used?"

## Culturally Relevant Pedagogy

Culturally Relevant Pedagogy (CRP) (Esposito \& Swain, 2009; Ladson-Billings, 1992, 1995a, 1995b, 2009; Helmer, 2010; Scherff \& Spector, 2010) can be applied as best practice when seeking to meet the educational needs of culturally diverse student populations. LadsonBillings (1995) described (CRP) as a guide to the collective empowerment, not the individual empowerment, of students (1995, 1992). She asserted that CRP centers on three basic propositions: "(a) Students must experience academic success; (b) students must develop and/or maintain cultural competence; and (c) students must develop a critical consciousness through which they challenge the status quo of the current social order" (Ladson-Billings, 1995a, p. 160). Working within these propositions, language immersion teachers must be able to encourage students to interact with their surrounding culture in a meaningful and lasting way. I believe Helmer (2010) and Scherff and Spector (2010) would agree that linguistically empowered students, acting with competence in more than one culture, might be afforded a more rounded critical view of the current social order. The possibilities are boundless for CRP utilization to encourage culturally diverse populations of students to develop critical stances that interrogate and antagonize social inequities (Esposito \& Swain, 2009; Ladson-Billings, 1995a, 1992;

Helmer, 2010; Scherff \& Spector, 2010). However, these possibilities are contingent upon the choices the language immersion teacher makes about teaching culture. Combining the frameworks of sociocultural theory and culturally relevant pedagogy (CRP) provided this study with two views of the interactions between language and culture that can be applied in understanding why language immersion teachers choose to use the tools they use to teach culture.

## Summary

Scholarship discussing the links between language and culture is plenteous, however, literature detailing how culture is taught through language in language immersion classes is limited. Literature from foreign language settings was evaluated to identify methods used to teach culture through language, and there appears to be connections between the methods used to teach culture in the foreign language setting and language immersion classes. Considering the connections between language programs bilingual and foreign language, SLA is discussed as it relates to learning additional languages after a primary language has been learned. All of these evaluations point to further research in identifying how culture is taught and which methods teachers choose to teach culture in their classrooms.

## Chapter 3: Methodology and Data Collection

In doing research of any kind, there is an implicit assumption that we are investigating something 'outside' ourselves, that the knowledge we seek cannot be gained solely or simply through introspection. - Charlotte A. Davies

## Introduction

Researchers (Kramsch, 1993; Lang, 1999; Lantolf et al., 2015; Lessow-Hurley, 1990;
Moran \& Lu, 2001; Valdes, 1986) have studied and identified direct connections between language learning and culture learning. However, the complexity of the cause and effect relationships between the two remains unknown. Yet, language immersion teachers attempt to teach both language and culture daily, with little insight into how to best teach culture through language. Many of these teachers ask the question posed by Moore (1996), "What do we [really] know about the practice of teaching culture?" (p. 270). The answer, unfortunately, is relatively little (Crozet \& Liddicoat, 1999; Moore, 1996). This study adds to the relatively shallow body of literature informing the practice of teaching culture in language immersion environments. The primary question asked in this study is twofold: what methods of teaching culture do language immersion teachers choose to use in their classrooms and why do they choose these methods? I believe that working with language immersion teachers to identify the methods they use to teach language has provided a guide to cultural teaching methodologies that should hared with other such teachers across the country. Furthermore, delving into why these methods were chosen provided insight into additional cultural attitudes and revelations in education. Questioning what methods were chosen and why prompted additional questions that needed to be answered: are the teachers intentional about teaching culture characterized by standalone 'culture lessons' designed primarily for the purpose of teaching culture, or is culture imbedded into the language and taught implicitly? Once these questions were answered I responded to the subsequent question whether
language immersion teachers were teaching what they planned to teach. As a clarification, this study focused solely on teacher practices and did not delve into student perceptions of said processes. I believe this study provides useful information to teachers and policy makers about the intricacies of teaching culture through language in the language immersion setting.

## Research Question

## Research Purpose

This study set out to understand which methods teachers chose to teach culture in language immersion classes and why the teachers selected to use those methods instead of others. Subsequently, the study sought to identify if teachers were intentional about teaching culture and thus standalone 'culture lessons,' or if culture was intentionally taught through the language without the use of standalone 'culture lessons'. The purpose was to identify methods implemented by language immersion teachers to teach culture in language immersion classrooms.

## Research Question

$>$ What methods of teaching culture do language immersion teachers choose to use in their classrooms and why do they choose these methods?

## Method

Evaluating why teachers choose one practice of teaching culture over another is quite challenging. Considering the concept of the Johari Window some of the responses fall into each of the four quadrants: the arena, the blind spot, the façade, and the unknown (Hoffman-Miller, 2013). The challenge is not in identifying responses in the first three quadrants but in the last quadrant, the unknown. In this quadrant the information is unknown both to the teacher and to the researcher. In delving into the unknown I examined interactions and responses using
narrative inquiry and looking through the lenses of sociocultural theory and Culturally Relevant Pedagogy. Combining this design and these frameworks allowed me to examine the interactions between the teachers and the culture they taught, the relevance of the pedagogy utilized, and the stories they told to explain their rationales, thereby providing a set of views with which to examine the responses of the informing participants.

## Narrative Inquiry

Because of its interest in storytelling Narrative inquiry allows the researcher to have a more rounded understanding of people's lives (Connelly \& Clandinin, 1990). Daly (2008) compiled a set of five characteristics of narrative inquiry. First, he acknowledged that narratives are temporary creations that represent the reality of the storyteller. With this in mind the research evaluated the story being told with attention to the way the story was being told, the items included in the story, and the substance excluded from the story. The second characteristic discussed by Daly (2008) and supported by Bruner (1990) and Stake (2003) was the essential sequentiality of the story. The sequence of events being told is intentional to the storyteller and has meaning. Introducing characters, plot twists, or setting changes in a specific order provides a view into the depths of the understanding and realities of the story teller. After discussing the sequentiality of the narrative, Daly (2008) asserted that narratives are a way of making meaning of past events by calling it specifically a reconstructive process. Understanding the cast of characters is the fourth characteristic of narrative inquiry. Evaluating when the hero or villain is introduced and the dynamics between the two tells a great deal about the storyteller and his/her interactions with others. The fifth characteristic is that stories have actual functions in social life (Daly, 2008). In the Biblical parable of the Good Samaritan, a man is beaten and robbed and left for dead. On two separate occasions pious countrymen walk by the beaten man and offer no
relief to his situation. Finally, a total stranger man notices the condition of the beaten man and rescues him from his condition, then pays for his hospital expenses and lodging until he has recovered. This story has a specific function in social life. Its message to society is simple; help those in need.

Narrative inquiry in its simplest form can be characterized by a group of people listening to a speaker tell a story or a parable to illustrate a central theme. It works under the assumption that the realities of the participant are "constructed through narrating" (Marshall \& Rossman, 1999, p. 122) stories. Simply asking language immersion teachers why they chose one strategy of teaching culture over another might not get to the most authentic root cause of their choices, however, an understanding of their cultural, linguistic, educational, and family histories informed the types of questions asked during interviews. The questions in turn can be crafted in such a way as to elicit stories through which meaning can be interpreted (Daly, 2008; Marks, Hopkins, Chaney, Monroe, Nesteruk, \& Sasser, 2008; Marshall \& Rossman, 1999; McAdams, 2004). Narrative inquiry provides its challenges to the researcher in regards to asking questions that elicit stories that are telling and extrapolating meaning from the stories that is commensurate with what the participant wants to say.

## Research Informants

Rojas-Rimachi's (2011) dissertation research proposed two main goals: "to examine the dynamics of the teaching of a foreign language and literature as a way to expose students to the more complex portrayal of the Spanish culture(s)" and to illustrate how teaching in this manner requires a "particular language ideology designed to raise cultural awareness involving different communities of speech and their aesthetic and cultural agencies" (p. 3). Answering these questions provides insight into the development of the identified relationship between language
and culture (Kramsch, 1993; Lang, 1999; Lantolf et al., 2015; Lessow-Hurley, 1990; Moran \& Lu, 2001; Valdes, 1986). Rojas-Rimachi's initial questioning revealed the relevance of the connection between the classroom learning/teaching processes and the real communities representing diversity in the United States in linguistic, cultural, racial, and social terms. The connections between classroom interactions (Kozulin, 2003; Pavlenko \& Lantolf, 2000) combined with racial and social structures (Mills, 1997) provided a wealth of avenues and intersections that could be utilized to study language and culture. However, Rojas-Rimachi (2011) focused primarily on classroom work and acknowledged that it is simply "one of the stages in which a student of Spanish as a foreign language and literature must get involved to start rethinking an initial knowledge of the culture" (p.43). The process of rethinking one's culture in relation to another serves as an avenue to enter into or develop a third culture (Kramsch, 1993) that combines portions of the interactions between both cultures.

Rojas-Rimachi's (2011) study's participants were "students of Spanish as a foreign language and literature with a certain level of fluency and cultural exposure" (p. 53). The level of fluency or cultural exposure remained undefined. The college students were enrolled in an oral and written Spanish course and were "mostly" native English speakers. Initially, it was unclear if the anonymous questionnaires were distributed to the students in more than one of these courses. Instead the information provided detailed only that the population of "each section" varied "from twenty to twenty-three students" (p. 53). The uncertainty about the distribution of the questionnaires was later clarified when the author remarked the "observation includes different sections of the advanced course in language" (p. 56). The researcher evaluated the questionnaires so that the data analysis engaged key concepts from "the ethnography of speaking" (p. 54). As described by St. Pierre and Pillow (2000), ethnography is a tool used to
explore cultural phenomena. Utilizing key concepts from the ethnography of speaking implies that there are connections between speaking a language and interacting with the culture of the specific language. In addition the "rich descriptions of the social world of the participants" (Rojas-Rimachi, 2011, p. 55) appeared to have been recorded as a way of reflexively analyzing the discourse of the participants and co-constructing research, a process frequently utilized in qualitative research (Daly, 2008; Steier, 1991).

Rojas-Rimachi (2011) spent three academic semesters collecting data to answer her research question: How does the teaching of foreign languages and literatures accomplish the task for promoting cultural understanding? She reported using the following methods: questionnaire, written feedback by the students, discourse analysis, tests, field notes, discussions, post-individual presentations, story-writing project, cultural discourse analysis and summaries of the novel read for the class, class notes, and teaching field notes. Finally, she noted being limited by the "possibility of representing a varied agency with different incarnations of class, gender, culture, and race" (Rojas-Rimachi, 2011, p. 59). It was my intent to better understand the intersections (Crenshaw, Gotanda, Peller, \& Thomas, 1995; Lynn \& Dixson, 2013) that impact the diversity of the similarities of the participants in my study.

Reviewing Rojas-Rimachi's (2011) research provided insight into some of the mundane obstacles that can get in the way of the researcher. Identifying the levels of fluency for each of the participants could have provided more clarity to the results of the study for the author. Understanding the research design removed obstacles of uncertainty about how to navigate through the questionnaires, field notes, observations, and other data sources. Additionally, the theoretical framework was congruent with and shed light on questions that were posed to derive the answers sought.

## Poststructural theory.

Poststructural theory, as signified by its prefix 'post', is a change of thought from structuralism (Buckie, 2011; Descombes, 1980; Peters, 1996; Pinar, Reynolds, Slattery, \& Taubman, 2008). Structuralism situated in the metaphysical worldview was fixed in the pursuit of truth (Davis, 2009). The Enlightenment of the 1600s fueled the quest for truth through science and reason. Structuralists believed that knowledge was truth and as a part of knowledge, language had a true meaning (Buckie, 2011). Poststructuralists, however, threw out the idea of a set truth, turned away from structuralist language (Davis, 2009; Derrida, 1972; Pinar et al., 2008; Sarup, 1993), and focused on language as a way of describing realities. They believed that, "the structures of human meaning and social activity that were proposed by structuralist thinkers are insufficient to explain the human condition" (Ortega, 2009, p. 217). Further, poststructuralist aims to "challenge and subvert... those perspectives and cultural structures associated with modernism" (Pinar et al., 2008, p. 450). Knowledge, for the poststructuralist, is known by the language society chooses to define it (Peters, 1996). In other words, "there is nothing that can be known or understood independently from the discourse that names and creates knowledge. Furthermore, power is enmeshed in knowledges and discourses" (Ortega, 2009, p. 217). We can see this malleability of language and the wielding of power in the process of textbook selection: "if a group of highly-educated, powerful individuals say that a certain textbook should be taught in schools, we $\ldots$ believe the information contained in the textbook to be true" (Buckie, 2011, "Post-structuralism and Knowledge," para. 1). I believe poststructuralists would agree with Dewey's (1990) statement, "what the best and wisest parent wants for his own child, that must the community want for all of its children" (p.5). They would see the 'best and wisest parents' as the 'group of highly-educated, powerful individuals' and thus what they say is important. Language to the poststructuralist is full of power (Davis, 2009; Pinar et al., 2008; Sarup, 1993)
and deconstructing language (Derrida, 1972; Biesta \& Egea-Kuehne, 2001) is the way they come to know. The power differentials developed by language are pilfered throughout our society. In education teachers have a power over students, yet the campus administrator has a power over the teacher (Lagemann, 2000). At the same time the superintendent has a power over the campus administrator and the school board over the superintendent. The cycle of power is unending. Discourse in this theory is malleable as it is both socially constructed and contextual (Davies, 1999; Davis, 2009; Peters, 1996).

## Methodologies of feminist poststructural theory.

Although I did not use a feminist poststructural theoretical framework, I believe some aspects of this approach are important for identifying the cultural teaching processes of language immersion teachers. My primary goal was sifting through what is taught to identify which practices are teaching culture through the language. Noting what was not said was a part of the process through which I devised the answers to the research questions.

In research and life we are attached to certain places, places are special to us because of the history of which they remind us and which informs our identities. In other words our histories are a way of remembering for ourselves and of being remembered by others. St. Pierre and Pillow (2000) claimed, "home is not a haven; identity can never be a refuge" (p. 260). This statement leads to the question, "Can questions of identity be answered through geography?" I do not believe so. Identity is socially constructed and informed by geography but not defined by geography. Therefore, using geography as a lens through which to tell the story of a research subject rides the fence between ethical and unethical. How can researchers separate themselves from their own ideas and bias about the geography?

St. Pierre and Pillow (2000) suggested the "problem many feminist ethnographers confront has to do with the 'burden of authorship' that becomes heavier once we admit that we are not only inventing but then 'speaking for others' in our descriptions" (p. 262). In short researchers cannot separate themselves from their own identity and geography thus, a dilemma and burden is carried to find "somewhere to stand in the text that is supposed to be at one and the same time an intimate view and a cool assessment" (Geertz, 1988, p. 10). To find this place to stand we must identify two distinctly different spaces, striated space and smooth space (Deleuze \& Guattari, 1988; St. Pierre \& Pillow, 2000).

## Striated space v. smooth space.

To play chess successfully you must first understand the set names and moves of all of the pieces. The king and queen on a chessboard have the most 'power' of all of the pieces in the game and thus are allowed to move in any direction. The pawn has the least power and is restricted to only forward movements, except under well-defined instances. The spaces on a chessboard are filled with intrinsic properties, the chess pieces are confined to these spaces and only able to move to a predetermined space based on the trajectory of their identity. Striated space (Deleuze \& Guattari, 1988; St. Pierre \& Pillow, 2000) is much like the space on a chessboard in that it "is sedentary space, space that is coded, defined, bounded, and limited" (St. Pierre \& Pillow, 2000, p. 263). To successfully conduct research in feminist poststructural theory it is necessary, as in chess, to understand power structures and language. Understanding that striated spaces are far from neutral provided the researcher with information needed to perform research amid a mind field of coded language.

In contrast to striated spaces, smooth spaces:

Are anonymous, collective, and nonsubjective with no inherent agency. They have no coded interiority, only a milieu of exteriority, and rather than moving from one closed space to another, they [smooth spaces] array themselves in an open space and may spring up anywhere ... at any time. (St. Pierre \& Pillow, 2000, p. 263)

These spaces lack intrinsic properties, rules, expectations, and social hangups; they are free of the confines of the dominant structures or dynamics (Deleuze \& Guattari, 1988). St. Pierre and Pillow (2000) likened smooth spaces to the ancient game GO. Unlike chess this game has three basic rules of play. None of the three rules limit the location the GO pieces can take on the board. Smooth mental spaces are tantamount to what athletes call 'being in the zone', a place of comfort, automaticity, exponential productivity. Because these uncoded, limitless spaces are "hard to find" (St. Pierre \& Pillow, 2000, p. 267), researching them is a challenge of feminist poststructural research. Successfully researching from a smooth space allows researchers to limit the inclusion of their own geography in the telling of others geography. These spaces potentially separate researchers from the subject in a way that allows the subject's story to be told without prejudice.

Comparing the smooth spaces described by St. Pierre \& Pillow (2000) and to the smooth spaces described by Deleuze \& Guattari (1988), I understood language as a larger discussion of freedom in learning language. As a parent of children attending a language immersion school I have been questioned on numerous occasions about my motives for placing my children into a school that teaches them in Spanish. Criticism usually begins with the assumption that we are teaching our children Spanish so that Spanish-speaking immigrants do not have to learn English. I see these oppositions coming from confined striated spaces (Deleuze \& Guattari, 1988; St. Pierre \& Pillow, 2000). However, I see learning languages from a smooth space that privileges knowledge and acceptance. I see learning language as a way of habiting a nomadic space (Deleuze \& Guattari, 1988) and finding clarity and solidarity in the smoothness of the space
regardless of the confines others may impose on the same space. There is a liberation in language that may appear restricting when viewed from the outside, a liberation found in privileging growth in biculturalism and linguistic development and acknowledging the vulnerability required to do so.

Learning foreign languages and the exotic cultures of those who speak them....can only enhance the quality of American life as well as US competitiveness on the international market... (Kramsch et al., 1996, 101)

## Data analysis.

Data analysis is one of the methodologies used in feminist poststructural research although it is not exclusive to research in this theory. Feminist poststructural researchers primarily use rhizoanalysis, "a method of examining texts that allows us to see things in the middle" (St. Pierre \& Pillow, 2000, p. 118). This form of data analysis relates back to the methods used by Wells (1991) in that it reexamines data that is already there. The reexamination looks for the middle instead of looking for beginnings and endings. By looking away from the traditional edges toward the center, the researcher is able to identify key links that had not been visible before (St. Pierre \& Pillow, 2000). Rhizoanalysis allows the researcher and reader to view the text from a space that is not striated, but smooth. The texts are not seen in a linear view, but in a web or collage with multiple, unending possibilities. Each viewer of the text is apt to have a different connection.

## Self-reflexivity.

Feminist poststructuralist researchers continuously focus their research on women and other marginalized groups. As a result they use a method that allows them to extrapolate their own interpretations from the multiple interpretations of the data they have gathered (Anderson \& Damarin, 2001). According to Anderson and Damarin (2001) self-reflexivity encompasses
specialized self-critiques, in which researchers acknowledge their values and their presence in their work as interested people. The benefits and necessity of this type of self-critique have been well documented in the literature by qualitative researchers (Daly, 2008; Davies, 1999; Slife \& Williams, 1995, Steier, 1991). Daly (2008) and Steier (1991) agreed that reflexivity is valuable in informing the development of methodology and practice. Slife and Williams (1995) described how a reflexive statement in a published work could assist in transferability of the work. It serves as a way for the reader to connect with the author. Applying this method in concert with data analysis is a way for the researcher to share his or her own experience alongside that of the participant (Daly, 2008; Steier, 1991).

Davies' (1999) writings on reflexivity led me to believe that research is not solely seeking what is outside the self, but how what is outside the self is connected to the self. What connection do I have with language immersion programs? Why am I passionate about this topic and want to dedicate time, energy, and effort to examining its different aspects? Answering these questions required me to use myself as a reference (Davies, 1999) as I explored language and culture in language immersion programs. I remembered that I did not participate in a traditional language immersion program; however, I was immersed in the English language as a child and learned to code-switch (Delpit, 2006; Ladson-Billings, 1995a) between my home language and the language I was expected to use at school, and I learned more French during three months of study abroad in Metz, France, than I did in two years of French foreign language in high school. To me language immersion is the best way to learn a new language and culture. As described in second language acquisition, we all learned our first language through immersion (Ortega, 2009). All of these musings, this self-reflexivity, greatly informed my research.

## Ethnography.

Ethnography with strong roots in anthropology is used to explore cultural phenomena, especially if a researcher is seeking to explore a culture or the phenomena of that culture. St. Pierre and Pillow (2000) explained smooth spaces and striated spaces through ethnography. In Working the Ruins, St. Pierre (2000) explained her attachment to her Georgia hometown and why her research to that point centered on the women in that town. Her ethnographic experience in Essex County took her through a nomadic journey, as she attempted to share the experience of the women there without lacing her own journey through text of their stories (St. Pierre \& Pillow, 2000).

## Gossip.

Gossip? Yes, gossip, according to St. Pierre \& Pillow (2000), is considered a form of methodology for feminist poststructural research. Men might not see gossip as a means of research; in fact, gossip is perceived as a bad thing, a form of slander, or a sin, to many males and not something that could be used in a positive light. Leach (2000) asserted in Working the Ruins that "all gossip, is not injurious or otherwise to be avoided" (p.232), and she continued by acknowledging that some gossip can be beneficial. "Consider the talk about who is getting married, having a baby, moving to another town or job, needing work or help" she concluded, that "gossip... deals with what matters in human affairs" (p.232). Gossip has a connection with human affairs and the culture and also flows more freely when the gossiper is in a smooth space. For these reasons I have included gossip as a sub category of ethnography.

## Informing the Study

One of the challenges to research in poststructural theory arises because researchers have to use the gendered, power-laden language lauded as truth by structuralists. Researchers have to
be very crafty to use the language of their oppressors to overcome oppression (Freire, 2000). Reinharz and Davidman (1992) described Wells, a nineteenth-century woman who analyzed lynchings and fought against them, by publishing her analysis. Their description pointed out that Wells "believed that the most 'reputable' sources must be used so that the conclusions could not be contested by those in power" (p.12). Wells used data vetted by those in power to highlight the number of people killed by lynching, and she was undisputed. She knew that there were countless other lynchings but was willing to exclude them to provide data that had already been accepted by those in power. Had Wells included other stories, those not previously published and accepted, her argument likely would have undergone additional scrutiny and been discredited. The extensive knowledge of power structures and the use of language to usurp these structures, even if for just a short time, is only one method employed (Weedon, 1996).

Conducting a study into the practices of language immersion teachers provided challenges. The largest concern I had was eliciting responses that could be plotted in the four quadrants of the Johari Window (Hoffman-Miller, 2013). Spradley and McCurdy (1972) posed the question, "What do these people see themselves doing?" (p. 9). Through narratives colored by this question, I planned to overcome this concern and question why language immersion teachers choose particular methods to teach culture in their classrooms. To answer this question I assumed that each classroom that I entered was a micro-culture of its own (Lessow-Hurley, 1990) and my purpose was to analyze the patterns of interaction between the teachers and their lessons on culture.

## The Site

Baton Rouge Foreign Language Academic Immersion Magnet (FLAIM) is a public magnet school in East Baton Rouge Parrish, in Baton Rouge, Louisiana. The school received the
distinction of Louisiana State Department of Education Certified World Language Immersion School for its French and Spanish Immersion programs in 2014. Receiving this distinction set the school apart from other language schools in the region as a world-class language immersion school. FLAIM has adopted a modified two-way immersion model that teaches math, science, social studies, and Language Arts/Literacy completely in the Immersion Language (ie. French, Spanish, or Mandarin Chinese), depending on the language track chosen upon entry. As stated earlier, this study, focused on teachers of the Spanish track. In traditional two-way immersion programs $50 \%$ of the students in the classroom are native speakers of Spanish and $50 \%$ are native English speakers. By contrast FLAIM's two-way immersion model allows for a vast majority of the students in the classrooms to be native English speakers. The other components of the program are consistent with what Lindholm (1990) identified as "critical features of successful language educations programs" (p. 96). Carrigo (2000) compiled a list of Lindholm's critical features that I believe describes the optimal two-way immersion model:

1. Covers at least four to six years of each student's education. This time requirement is the same amount recommended by the Nation at Risk report as the minimal length for a successful foreign language program.
2. Using the language as a medium to focus on academic content, and not as the focus of instruction. The superiority of using language as the medium for academic content instruction and not as the focus of instruction is supported by research in both foreign language education and bilingual education for ELL's (Chrisitian \& Spanos, 1990).
3. Optimal language input and output. Input is the language introduced to the students by their instructor and output refers to responses by the students themselves. By optimal, Lindholm stresses that both input and output need to occur often, in natural phrases, and at a level which is accessible to the students' level of comprehension.
4. Separation of the languages for purposes of instruction. Many two-way bilingual programs were founded on the use of one teacher for English learning and one for target language learning - and, at least in class, the teachers never use the other language. Often there is a team of two teachers, one of which is fluent in the target language, that "trade" classes on each day or week, thus reducing the use of concurrent translation (Christian \& Mahrer, 1991).
5. No more than $50 \%$ English in total instruction time, stressing the need to immerse students to the target language. Multiple research studies attest to the successful use of immersion for teaching second languages to majority language speakers - in this
case, monolingual English students (Lampert \& Tucker, 1972; Snow, 1990; Swain \& Lapkin, 1982).
6. Additive bilingual program. A program which values both the home language and English equally, as opposed to subtractive bilingual programs which value English over the home language and often contribute to the loss of the home language altogether (Cummins \& Swain, 1986).
7. The nurturing of a receptive school. As all two-way bilingual immersion programs are choice programs, at least for the English monolingual students, it is logical that they will be more respected and admired in their school environment than traditional bilingual programs that are often seen as compensatory education programs. Also, two-way bilingual immersion programs are designed to serve both English Language Learners and English monolinguals and thus integrate students within classes, instead of segregating ELLs in a separate program.
8. A student balance of $50 \%$ English native speakers and $50 \%$ native speakers of a target language "to maintain an environment of educational and linguistic equity in the classroom." Lindholm admits, however, that, "Little research has been conducted to determine the best classroom composition for bilingual education programs" (Lindholm, 1990, p. 100).
9. Promotion of interdependent interactions between teachers and students and between students and their peers. Peer interactions have been shown to be an effective learning tool for language acquisition (Cummins, 1990; Lindholm, 1987). A positive externality of two-way bilingual education programs is the easy access of students to the language they are learning through either peers or their teacher.
10. High-quality instruction personnel. While immersion programs require a teacher with native-like fluency, programs and studies cite the shortage of properly trained bilingual education teachers as a problem (August \& Hakuta, 1997).
11. Strong home-school relationships. Home-school relations are necessary components of most current reform or innovation efforts, but especially so in two-way bilingual education programs. Parents of TWI [two-way immersion] students need to support the non-English language learning environment and cultural celebration at home especially for monolingual English students who otherwise are often exposed to only English and mainstream US culture outside of school. (Lindholm, 1990)(p. 9 - 11)

This exhaustive list of characteristics is included to provide context in understanding the basic expectations of language immersion program. It is also interesting to note the level of commitment required by parents and the community in supporting language immersion programs.

As of fall 2014, FLAIM expanded to two locations, the original location serving students in French and Spanish and the second location serving students in Mandarin and Spanish. This study targeted teachers from the original location.

## Participants

The original location of FLAIM has three primary types of teachers- French teachers, Spanish teachers, and reading teachers. Through purposive sampling I selected to engage more readily with the Spanish immersion teachers (Mack et al., 2005; Marshall \& Rossman, 1999). Currently there are six Spanish teachers, one per grade level in kindergarten through $5^{\text {th }}$ grade. The teachers have varying levels of education from bachelor degrees to master degrees and in varying fields. At first glance the diversity of the teachers appears minimal, yet, aside from all of them being female, each teacher has a different country of origin, family dynamic, educational experience, and so on, that sets her apart. Although surveys were offered to all six Spanish teachers, I observed and interviewed only one of the teachers.

## Phase 1 participants.

The initial survey (see Appendix A) was distributed to all six of the Spanish teachers at BR FLAIM. The teachers were given a week to complete and return the survey. Only three of the six distributed surveys were returned. To protect the anonymity of these three participants only limited demographic information is presented. All three participants are native Spanish speakers yet, each is from a different Spanish speaking country. All but one first began learning English in elementary school, the other began learning at home in conjunction with Spanish. Each participant obtained their bachelor degree in their home country and then moved to the U.S. Two of the three attend private universities, the other attended a public university. All three of the phase one participants were born prior to 1970.

## Phase 2 and 3 participant.

One participant was selected, volunteered, to participate in phase two and phase three of this study. As she was notified of the study after her colleagues she was not required to complete
the initial survey. Demographic and instructional information was ascertained through formal and informal conversations and observations. Sra. Osana, (names of participants are pseudonyms) as she shall be referred to in this study, is a native Spanish speaker originating from Latin America. She first learned Spanish at home from her parents who were university professors. She began learning English as a child in a private catholic school and continued in private school through college. At the university Sra. Osana studied medicine and education. She decided to act on her degree in education and has been teaching for 22 years. Nine of those years have been at BR FLAIM.

## Protocols and Procedures

This study was designed to use four main points of measure: a survey, planning observations, teaching observations, and interviews. Each of these points of measure was to be used to answer specific portions of the research question. I intended to follow the linearity of this proposal when administering each measure beginning with the two-pronged survey and ending with interviews.

## Phase 1: Survey.

The survey design for this study consisted of two parts. The first part gathered demographic information and the second gathered instructional information. The design of the questions in part two of the survey elicited responses that answered what methods of teaching culture teachers used. A copy of the survey can be found in Appendix A.

Part 1: Demographics. Part 1 of the survey requested information about the following: Year of Birth; First Language; Second Language; and Education. Open ended questions elicited responses about schooling type for K-12 and postsecondary schooling. Because of the link
between language and culture additional information about education was requested regarding the location of education and type of certification.

Part 2: Instruction. Part 2 of the survey focused on the strategies the teachers used to teach culture through language in the L2 during class. The four questions asked through this survey were:

1. What are the student learning objectives for the lesson?
2. Is this objective a part of the state/district/school expectation?
3. What strategies will you use to teach this objective?
4. How will you know that the student has learned what you have taught?

These questions aligned with K-12 teaching pedagogy and lesson cycles (The 5 E Model, The Madeline Hunter Lesson Model) and resonated with the current practice of the teachers.

## Phase 2: Observations.

Planning observations. As a former principal I was trained in teacher observation both for evaluative and non-evaluative purposes. Recalling such, the original plan was to observe the participants during lesson planning and during lesson delivery. The lesson planning observations were to provide necessary reference points of what was to be taught. Any preliminary questions regarding teacher methodology, acronyms, expectations, intended outcomes, etc. were addressed during this time. These observations and the responses from the survey were designed to provide insight into what methods teachers chose to teach culture.

In the field the planning observations did not occur. Multiple scheduling conflicts with the participant having parent meetings and additional duties prevented the availability for
observing lesson planning sessions. Lesson planning was addressed at length during the interview. In addition written lesson plans were utilized to provide guidance into what was planned and what was actually taught.

Lesson observations. The actual classroom observations occurred during Mathematics, Science, and Social Studies lessons. The observations limited interaction with the teacher and students. They were video recorded and field notes were taken. In an effort to limit subjectivity regarding what was viewed during the observations and to improve dependability (Orcher, 2005), trustworthiness (Marshall \& Rossman, 1999), and reliability (Daly, 2008), parts of the video recordings were reviewed with the teacher to clarify and identify methods of instruction.

Video recorded lessons provided additional challenges that may not be present with simply audiotaping or taking field notes. In this context an additional challenge arose. In accordance with leading scholars in language immersion, the instruction was carried out in the L2 (Cloud et al., 2000; Lindholm, 1987; Lindholm, 1990; Lindholm-Leary, 2005, Soltero, 2004). This obstacle was overcome through language translation and questioning of the teacher. Concerns about using video recording in public classrooms were addressed through informed consent forms for the teachers and approved by the school district.

## Phase 3: Interview.

The interview was audio taped and transcribed. Many of the primary interview questions were borrowed from Carrigo (2000), and are listed in Appendix B along with additional questions, in accordance with semistructured interview strategies, that were developed as needed and guided by reviewing the lesson plans and classroom observations (Bernard, 2002; Daly, 2008; Marshall \& Rossman, 1999; Orcher, 2005). According to Bernard (2002), semistructured interviews are open ended yet follow a set plan and cover a predetermined list of topics.

## Analysis Procedures

Analysis, at all stages of the project, involves being self-conscious and explicit about the way that we make decisions and give directions to the research process (Daly, 2008, p. 210).

Analysis in a qualitative process is ongoing. The formal analysis process began at phase one and continued until after the final interview responses were transcribed and examined. I looked for congruence among lesson plans, lesson observations, and interviews. Counting how my times an important construct or idea was mentioned provided valuable information to be analyzed and recorded (Orcher, 2005). Additionally, I applied rhizoanalysis, "a method of examining texts that allows us to see things in the middle" (St. Pierre \& Pillow, 2000, p. 118), to allow collected information to be seen for what it was in the classroom. The process of rhizoanalysis looks for the middle instead of looking for beginnings and endings. By looking away from the traditional edges toward the center, the researcher is able to identify key links that had not been visible before (St. Pierre \& Pillow, 2000). Using rhizoanalysis forced me to step back from the narrative inquiry and look for themes that traditionally may not have been noticed.

## Research Summary

This qualitative study was designed to provide insight into which methods of teaching culture Spanish language immersion teachers choose and why they choose those methods. The first step in the information seeking process was a two-part survey that collected demographic data and preplanning data. This survey was offered to all six of the Spanish immersion teachers at Baton Rouge FLAIM. From the surveys I began the analysis process; determining which teachers would participate in the observations and interviews was pivotal in receiving meaningful feedback. I continuously evaluated the feedback and looked for common themes and meaningful realizations made by the participants. Finally, I met with the teacher to conduct
member checks when the analysis was complete (Orcher, 2005), whereby she responded to the degree that the results reflected her reality.

## Arrangement of Findings

The next two chapters detail the findings uncovered through research in this dissertation. Chapter four opens delves into the complex definition of culture. The working definition is expanded through analysis of Sra. Osana's interview and characterized in two ways: as a noun and as a verb. Using the dual view of culture the analysis identifies five plus one methods of teaching culture in language immersion classes. The plus one method, repetition, is not addressed in a standalone section but interwoven into the text of the other five methods.

Chapter five applies the culturally relevant pedagogy theoretical framework and explores the teaching methods of the participant to determine a motive for teaching through the five plus one methods. The findings reveal that the participant uses a variety of interactive methods to teach culture in her classroom because she teaches toward a culturally relevant pedagogy.

## Chapter 4: They're Learning Spanish but Let's Say Like In Different Dialects

Whatever it is one has to know or believe in order to operate in a manner acceptable to its members, and do so in any role that they accept for any one of themselves. Culture, being what people have to learn as distinct from their biological heritage, must consist of the end product of learning: knowledge, in a most general, if relative, sense of the term. (Goodenough, 1964, p. 36)

## Introduction

Throughout this dissertation process I grappled with identifying a concise definition of culture. I decided that I would use phase one, the survey, to ask all of the BR FLAIM Spanish language immersion teachers their definition of culture with the intent compiling one concise definition. I asked, "What is culture?" They replied:

Participant \#1: Culture is what people do, what people know, and things that people make and use.

Participant \#2: The way people live your life according with the values and beliefs of your country.

Participant \#3: Culture is the different ways people do things, classify, and represent them.

As I sat through the first observation of Sra. Osana's first grade Spanish language immersion class in phase two, I accepted that my quest for a singular definition was futile. I realized that I would need Sra. Osana's definition of culture for this study as it was the foundation for answering the stated research questions. Without her input there would be no context with which to identify the specific methods of teaching, the rationale for choosing those methods, or the intentionality of the whole process.

Through the observations the evidence suggests that culture is not shared (Goodenough, 1974, 1976, 2003; Gutiérrez \& Rogoff, 2003), it is not static (Anzaldúa \& Keating, 2002;

Goodenough, 1974, 1976, 2003; Pacheco, 2014), it is not a transferable commodity (Anxaldúa, 2002; Goodenough, 1976; Kramsch, 1993; Valdes, 1986). I found that in the confines of this
language immersion classroom, culture has a variety of definitions, each used in assisting the students in developing the knowledge and practices needed to navigate through society. Review of the coded interview divided the variations of culture into two primary categories: culture as a noun and culture as a verb.

## Culture Is a Noun

noun: a term referring to persons, places, things, states, or qualities

In the last few minutes of the interview Sra. Osana listed the countries represented by the teachers of BR FLAIM. When she came to the end of the list of both Spanish and French speaking countries she said, "But all of them bring with them what? Their identity." This statement broadened for me the idea that culture and identity were linked. She said, "We share that [our identity] with our kids, we share that with our students, and that's what they take home." Her statement made me reflect to that train ride in France nearly twenty years ago where a European passenger challenged me to communicate in French. That interaction was a cultural exchange that broadened my borders and ultimately altered the essence of who I was and am. Now I realize the exchange of culture, and thereby identity, that challenged the interactions I had with my neighborhood peers as a child. This aspect of culture represents a portion of what Goodenough (1976) described as micro-cultures and what Anzaldúa (2002) and Pacheco (2014) described as cultural identities.

Evaluating Sra. Osana's interview transcripts revealed that her practices aligned with Pacheco (2014)'s understanding of language and bi/multilingual practices as a process of coconstruction. Pacheco posited that "this process is fundamentally affected by the intersectionality of cultural linguistic difference and their intersections with race/ethnicity, class, gender, legal status across contexts and settings" (p. 99). Sra. Osana's demographic narrative revealed that her
parents initially influenced her cultural identity. She recalled first learning Spanish "at home with mom and dad....talking the language." She added, "Every time that I say something they try, of course, to correct me." Her linguistic identity was first influenced by her parents and then by her private Catholic school where she began learning English in an immersion type program. Analysis of the data revealed that Sra. Osana's cultural identity was a large part of why she chose to teach at BR FLAIM. As a willing participant in co-producing the cultural identity of her students, Sra. Osana reminded them that they were a reflection of their homes; she tells them, "You have your own ways," and she continued, "You[r] parents they raised you a certain way...and that's part of your culture."

I believe Anzaldúa (2002) would see Sra. Osana as a nepantleras, one who facilitates passage between worlds. Of the 22 students in Sra. Osana's class, none of them are native Spanish speakers, thus all of them are in the process of crossing the linguistic and cultural boarders between Spanish and English. In essence, because they are being taught their academic subjects math, science, and social studies in Spanish and being introduced to various aspects of multiple Spanish speaking countries both inside and outside the classroom, the students are living "betwixt and between languages and cultures" (Pacheco, 2014, p. 97). Having lived through, and currently "living in nepantla, the overlapping space between different perceptions and belief systems" (Anzaldúa, 2002, p. 541), Sra. Osana is well aware of her own cultural identity and does whatever she can to assist her students in developing theirs.

## Culture Is a Verb

verb: the class of words used to express action

Goodenough and other anthropologist in the 1950s set out to redefine the notion of culture and developed cognitive anthropology. They proposed to "move away from 'culture'
conceived in terms of behavior or artifacts to 'culture' as systems of knowledge, or mental dispositions" (Jourdan \& Tuite, 2006, p. 98). Although cognitive anthropology did not persist with this singular purpose, it did metamorphose to again include practice as an important part of culture (Jourdan \& Tuite, 2006). Quinn (1991) identified culture as a process of meaning making. This process contains both mental and physical actions that help members of the society to interact within the society in acceptable ways. Lado (1986) remarked that culture, "is synonymous with the 'ways of a people"' (p. 52, emphasis added). He added that it is important for teachers in classrooms to be able to not only demonstrate culture, but also, "describe the things we do without being conscious of doing them" (p. 53). This idea of explicitly explaining cultural expectations and faux pas was echoed by Delpit (2006) who noted that this process assists in gaining cultural capital.

## Culture as the Way: Behavior

This study revealed that in her classroom, Sra. Osana, the primary participant, readily applied the ideas discussed by Lado (1986) and Delpit (2006). More specifically in her interview, she referred continuously to the culture as "the way." Sra. Osana first described the importance of accurately gendering terms in Spanish. She says, "It's very rare of instances that we don't use that [gender] for everything. That's part of the way that you speak." As the interview progressed she pointed out that the way things were said was important and that students needed to be intentional about sentence structure and pronunciation. "In Guatemala," she said, "we say words a certain way. If they go to the second grade, which is Ms. Goddard, she's from Venezuela, she will call maybe a fruit a different way." Later Sra. Osana returned to the importance placed on the way things are said, as she stirred in her seat and she exclaimed, "That's what it is you know! That is why it's part of the culture! They're learning Spanish but let's say like in different
dialects!" This assertion clarified the understanding of the importance of following the way of speaking. Failure to identify and adhere to the expectations, the way, of speaking prevents language learners from being seen as a part of the linguistic community associated with the language they are learning. Because the way language is heard is associated with cultural capital (Delpit, 2006; Goodenough, 1976), failure to meet the expectations is a marker of being an outsider. Through this interaction Sra. Osana affirmed that culture as the way is an extension of culture as identity.
"Learning how to behave," asserted Goodenough (2003), "must be much like learning how to speak. For culturally appropriate behavior to be readily learnable, its content has to be reducible to organizational principles..." (p. 3). Apparent in classroom observations and interviews, Sra. Osana actively and explicitly showed and told her students how to behave. During the interview I showed her a video of the classroom observation. The video exhibited what I called a brain break where the students were seated for an extended period of time, over 10 minutes, working on a lesson. Noticing their need for movement the teacher had all the children stand and they began to sing a song. As she sang the students joined in and mimicked her moves in unison and at the appropriate time as identified by the song. When I asked Sra. Osana to describe what she saw she immediately began describing the students' behaviors during the song. Then I asked, "Do you see this exercise as an experience with culture in your classroom?" She paused briefly, then hesitantly said, "Well, yeah." She continued with what I perceived as an insubstantial attempt to connect the activity to culture and suddenly the conversation changed, and she narrated a comparison of kids from South America and the United States. At first it appeared that her narration had nothing to do with culture or the activity but further analysis revealed culture as behavior.

Culture as behavior is seen most clearly in the scholarship of Goodenough (2003) as he described a cultural "grammar" of social behavior that assists members of the society in identifying and teaching the do's and don'ts of their society. Sra. Osana's narratives revealed stark differences in the behaviors of school children in South America and the United States and she attributed these differences to culture. She explained that, "In the United States you give more importance to the young people and over there in Latin America you give more importance to the elder people." As a macro-culture she asserted that the ways Latin American students "relate to an adult is very respectful." By contrast, she described the children in the United States as "all over the place and going here and there." The level of respect given to adults was revealed as one of the ways of knowing that should be taught explicitly. As such, Sra. Osana's story about her experience as a student at a Catholic private school in Guatemala revealed some of the specific expectations she shares with her students. She built on the previous narrative's understanding that adults are to be treated with respect. She said, "If you misbehave in class" it was not the teachers "who took care of, who fixed discipline...it was your parents." By contrast, I observed that one of the parents expected Sra. Osana to discipline his/her child in his/her absence. In another instance I observed a different student model, one of the explicitly taught cultural behaviors. When given a direction that appeared completely off the wall and aloof the students did as they were told. This type of behavior ascribed to the belief that "You respect the teacher... because the teacher is the authority."

Finally, while reflecting on her experience in early education, Sra. Osana ascribed to the types of cultural behaviors described by Valdes (1986) and Moran and Lu (2001). "Culturally... that's how it was in my school," she pointed out as she described the behaviors of the students in the hallways and in classrooms as well as how the school was configured and the gender of the
students in attendance. Boys in her school were not allowed after kindergarten. Through Sra. Osana's narratives I saw other cultural behaviors that were carried out at BR FLAIM. Her definition of culture, classified by Goodenough (1976) as macro-culture, included the following ways and behaviors: "the way you speak", "the way you celebrate certain holidays", "the way you eat certain things", and "the way you interact with other people". Culture as the way: behaviors are representative of macro-culture and are informed directly by culture as identity.

## Rhymes, Rhythms, and Repetition: Methods of Choice in Language Immersion Classrooms

The second finding of this dissertation study answered the first part of the primary research question posed: what methods of teaching culture do language immersion teachers choose to use in their classrooms? A variation of this question was asked of all of the Spanish language immersion teachers at BR FLAIM during phase one, the survey portion of this study (see Appendix A). The question and the three returned responses are listed below:

What strategies do you use to teach culture in your classes?

Participant \#1: Watch and discuss videos, reading books, research projects, class discussions, learning songs and dances.

Participant \#2: I try to relate and combine some lessons with my culture.

Participant \#3: I tried to compare two things: differences and similarities.

These responses were helpful in providing insight into what I would look for when I began phase two- the observations. The video recordings of Sra. Osana's teaching observations proved useful in identifying what I observed to be culture woven into her math, science, and social studies lessons. However, the interview included co-viewing specific clips from the observations and laid the foundation for identifying which methods she chose. The first level of open coding revealed fourteen distinct methods applied to teach culture. By the third round of coding I was
able to compile and combine the fourteen methods under five plus one headings: through the target language (L2), through standalone culture lessons, through processes, through juxtaposition, and through real life application. Five plus one equals six methods using conventional mathematics. I used this phrase to accent the importance of repetition and its consistent use in conjunction with the other five. The review of the interview transcripts showed that repetition was identified eight times as a method of teaching. Additionally, the videos showed Sra. Osana utilizing repetition countless times daily in each subject. Following her example repetition will not be addressed as a standalone method but as one woven into the other five.

## Through the L2

Language immersion scholars prescribe that language be used as a medium to focus on academic content (Cloud et al, 2000; Lindholm, 1987; Lindholm, 1990; Lindholm-Leary, 2005; Soltero, 2004) and further specify that language is not the focus of instruction (Carrigo, 2000; Lindholm, 1990). Subsequently, depending upon the adopted model, they insist that 50\%-90\% of instruction be in the L2 and they reiterate that no more than $50 \%$ of total instructional time be delivered in English. To assure this linguistic blend and the optimal language input, Lindholm (1990) recommended that languages be separated for the purposes of instruction. In many cases this calls for a L2 speaking immersion teacher and an L1 speaking partner teacher.

BR FLAIM students have two primary teachers: a language immersion teacher and an English teacher. During instruction, the language immersion teacher only speaks the partner language. As I informally observed student-teacher interactions before school and during afternoon dismissal, I noted that nearly all interactions from language immersion teachers to students was in the L2 either French or Spanish. Sra. Osana intentionally spoke only Spanish to
her classroom students. In fact, during the six days of classroom observations I only heard her speaking in Spanish to the students during instruction. Only once during my interaction with Sra. Osana and her students did I observe her communicating in English and in that instance, she spoke to one student, in stern yet hushed tones during recess.

I observed the instance after completing the observation phase of the study and after being away from the site for a couple of days to analyze the video data. I returned to the classroom to meet with Sra. Osana to conduct an interview. To assure that I did not miss the appointment I arrived to the classroom more than 30 minutes early. I saw the students in several groups around the classroom, some sitting playing games on the computers, some at their desks drawing and coloring, and others at their desks playing board games. Still others were seated on the floor playing with hundreds of small pieces of colored wooden blocks. I confirmed with a student that they were having recess inside. I visually recognized Sra. Osana with a group of students, and with her acknowledgement that we would begin later, placed my bags and video equipment to the side. I could not resist joining in and playing alongside the students. As we played I noticed that many of the student conversations were intermingled with Spanish and English in what Sra. Osana called "Spanglish." Suddenly I heard Sra. Osana's voice, speaking English! I leaned in her direction and listened as she reprimanded a student. Later, during the interview, I brought up my observation. Below is an excerpt from the interview ( $\mathrm{O}=$ Sra. Osana, M = Morton).

O: ... I remember talking to my teachers, you had to look at them, you know. It wasn't like you put your head down. You look at them, you know.
M: I heard that conversation today with you and one of the students in the classroom at recess time, the expectation of I'm not talking to your back, I'm talking to you.
O: Exactly.

M: And I think that was the only time I've heard you speak in English to the students.

O: Yeah, that was the only time because I, she was not listening to me at all. I tried in Spanish, I continued pressing and pressing and pressing. I know Ms. Miller says you have to do it all in the target language, but when you see a kid really not responding, then I switch.

Sra. Osana explained that she only switched to English with the students in extreme circumstances, "When I press and press and I see that she would not do what I was expecting from her," after I switched, "She turn[d] around and I talk[ed] to her." Again, this was the only time I observed Sra. Osana speaking to students in English. All previously observed and subsequent redirections and behavior corrections were carried out in Spanish. Sra. Osana, like Participant \#3, was purposeful about which language she used "to relate and combine...lessons," and activities. The language she chose and to which she adhered was Spanish.

## Through Standalone Culture Lessons

Standalone culture lessons are any number of activities designed primarily to teach about a specific cultural phenomenon, and are most often characterized by their tenuous connections to academic standards. As a student, my schools celebrated Black History Month every year. We had plays, recited speeches, and researched prominent figures in Black history, and even watched documentaries about slavery and the civil rights movement. Although we spent a month doing stuff that provided us with information about Black Americans, there was very little connection to any of the academic standards taught at any other time of the school year. In my student experience, Black History Month was a standalone culture lesson. In most settings and because of their vague associations with academic standards, lessons about Christmas, Hanukkah, and Kwanzaa are considered standalone culture lessons.

As an elementary school principal, our campus housed a two-way language immersion program in Vietnamese and Mandarin Chinese. Each year these classes celebrated the Lunar New Year and the students learned songs and dances, watched and participated with dragon dancers, and put on parades for the other students. All of these activities were designed primarily to teach the students in the program and the other students on the campus about Southeast Asian culture, yet because of their inexplicit relation to academic standards, they were standalone culture lessons.

The key difference between standalone culture lessons and integrated culture lessons is their link to academic standards. Standalone culture lessons should not be viewed as an opposing binary to academics, but as a needed support. In language immersion settings their primary use is meeting the goal of developing bicultural awareness. They also provide a level of novelty that can serve as a motivator, especially during the initial interactions with a new culture (Brown, 1980), to increase student participation both in the culture lesson and in academic lessons. Aligning with Vygotsky's sociocultural theory that postulates that learners acquire new concepts through the regulating effects of experience (Kozulin, 2003; Pavlenko \& Lantolf, 2000), they offer opportunities for students to have those experiences. Additionally, when planned with specific goals in mind, standalone culture lessons can engage students in tasks and activities that allow them exposure to the target language and culture and to interact with it in creative ways.

## Paraguay brain break.

Review of the classroom observations exposed two activities that I initially thought were standalone culture lessons. To identify the purpose of these activities and their connection to the academic standards I examined the lesson plans (see Appendix F) that I was provided. Finding the lesson plans void of these activities, I knew I needed to prepare to discuss them during the
interview. After I showed the first video, labeled Brain Break, I asked Sra. Osana to, "Talk to me about what you see here." Her response was primarily about the students being, "really in[to] the brain break," and one of the students being "more interested in what the others were doing." After she responded I provided a clarification request (McDonough, 2005; Ortega, 2009) and asked if she saw the "exercise as an experience with culture". She paused briefly, then hesitantly replied, "Well, yeah." She worked to find ways to think of the activity as a cultural activity. Finally, she acquiesced and said, "Culture there is a minimal thing, but a break is a good thing." I interpreted her response to mean that the activity was a brain break and nothing more and moved on to the next question.

As I searched the transcripts for themes I paused on the brain break. Unclear of what I was reading, I cued up the video and listened as I read the words. The latter part of the transcripts read:

O: If you notice I have some of them that are not in their place and I have to tell them to go back. But it's something that I, I can tell you they like the song, they ask me where, what the means the song. Its just more, more like a phonetic sound exercise for them. Also of course physical. And it's repetitive, it's a way for them for follow directions and they enjoy it. They do. Culture, the deep, deep, deep, culture maybe, not too much. But it's something for them to learn that chuchu wa, chuchu wa is a word that the ch sound, I don't think that it's used to much in English you know. We have a lot of chico, chacó, chapeta, all those with ch, ch, ch, ch, and also the words combined with the tr the trrr, trrr, trrr...

M : The trill?

O: Yes, the trill. Culture there is a minimal thing, but a break is a good thing.

The analysis exposed the lack of planning applied to assure culture was a part of the brain break. Yet, regardless of intentionality, it should be classified as a standalone culture lesson because it provided repetitive practice opportunities for students to work on developing their skills saying
words in Spanish. Concurrently, the activity motivated the students and provided optimal language input (Lindholm 1990).

The second standalone culture lesson observed was labeled Paraguay Dance. This lesson appeared to have been deliberately planned to teach about Paraguayan cultural music and dance moves. Again there was no reference to the activity in the weekly lesson plans (see Appendix F), so I shared a video clip of the lesson with Sra. Osana during the interview. Within the first 15 seconds of the video and before I had time to ask any questions, Sra. Osana exclaimed, "Yes!,... for the international week,... we have to rehearse for the folk dance from Paraguay." As the music from the video played, she continued explaining how the activity in the video was an experience with culture. She continued:

O: The kids they enjoy that music. I have a several kids that say, "Oh, when are you going to put on the music from Paraguay? I want to dance from Paraguay." So that's a way for them to start you know, introducing more about you know what the music, the movements how people dance in Paraguay and that's just like a little break for them. Not like the other one you know, where we were singing. But this one is more like, okay we are going to start dancing. And some of that they enjoy it. Once they have all the steps together and they learn, the steps 'cause it has to be you know like, almost daily because we getting close to that date. Ah, Then you know, by the time I put everything together, they know it. But they love it. They like it. But culturally, they learn the music, they enjoy the music, plus the steps that they need to learn about the dancing, and we have the song. Our third thing is ah, activity. It would be the... see, look at them.

I could see the whole class participating in the activity, actively doing the jumps, and gestures, and dancing from foot to foot.

As I analyzed this segment of the interview I confirmed that the Paraguay Dance lesson was an intentional lesson about culture. I also confirmed Sra. Osana's lack of intentionality in the brain break linking to culture: "...that's just like a little break for them. Not like the other one you know, where we were singing." I saw first-hand that standalone culture lessons set
expectations and desire for students to anticipate learning more about culture as discussed in Brown (1980). I saw through the students' question and comment, "Oh, when are you going to put on the music from Paraguay? I want to dance from Paraguay", that this type of lesson had occurred before and that the dance moves were taught through repetition. Additionally, I found evidence that the standalone culture lesson supported the school's common curricular theme (Olson-Beal, 2008) of immersion education. This lesson supported that theme by teaching about Paraguay, the assigned Spanish speaking country of the year. Finally, there were examples of the novelty of this type of lesson, as in Sra. Osana's comment, "It's something they don't see every day." This is different from "GoNoodle", an online brain break website that plays hip-hop music; she says, "This one is different," and "They like it." The novelty of standalone culture lessons keeps students engaged in the lesson and can be an anticipatory tool when students know that a less structured segment of the lesson is a possibility.

## Through Processes

Language is a process of free creation; its laws and principles are fixed, but the manner in which the principles of generation are used is free and infinitely varied. Even the interpretation and use of words involves a process of free creation. (Chomsky, n.d.)

Analysis of several points of the data revealed that Sra. Osana applied a process approach to teaching cultural aspects of the Spanish language. While viewing a math lesson on weighing objects, Sra. Osana emphasized a word by repeating it several times in what I believed to be its plural form. I asked if the ' $S$ ' being at the end of the word was an important part of the conversation. She quickly replied, "Yes, yes." From there she continued, "Whenever you teaching more [of] what is in the lower level it's fluency of communication. So, they have to make the difference about plural and singular." She continued:

O: That's something that you start teaching in the lower levels, because by the time they go to fifth grade they should ... be able to distinguish between plural, singular, and also the gender....That's something that later on...I can start introducing to them, but at this time if I start doing that it['s] going to confuse them.... In second grade they [will] start learning a bit more. So, it's a process in kindergarten they learn their vocabulary, but when they come to first grade you start teaching a little bit more of.... How they should speak, and also write. We start introducing a bit of writing... and also grammatically.

In this example Sra. Osana illustrated the logically organized sequence that she and her colleagues developed to introduce and to teach different parts of the language at different stages across multiple grade levels. Further analysis identified that the process applied a combination of behaviorist (Skinner, 1957) and cognitivist (Chomsky, 1959) theories, using classic conditioning through repetition from the behaviorists and allowing the students to make sense of what they are learning over time from the cognitivist. The step-by-step, grade-by-grade process set the students up for success in the long run.

## Through Juxtaposition

In How Language Seems to Shape One's View of the World, Yu (2014), interviewed researcher Aneta Pavlenko. During the interview, Pavlenko contrasted the words 'cup' and 'glass' in the English language and the same words, chashka and stakan, in the Russian language. In English the cup and glass are distinguished by the types of materials from which they are made, however in Russian chashka and stakan are distinguished by their shapes. As a result of these culturally based linguistic differences, Yu (2014) reported Pavlenko began "teaching future language teachers how to help their English-speaking students group things in Russian" (paragraph 7). Pavlenko proposed that asking native English speakers acquiring an L2 in Russian "to sort cups and glasses into different piles, then re-sort into chashka and stakan" (Yu, 2014, paragraph 7) would lead to piles of different items. Using this type of contrasting in language immersion classes is something teachers could do instead of simply having their
students memorize differences (Pavlenko, 2014; Yu, 2014). Although this example was not derived from teachers in traditional language immersion programs it provides insight into how language can be used to teach culture through interactions.

## Similarities and differences.

When asked their method of teaching culture, participant \#3 reported, "I tried to compare two things: differences and similarities." With the ideas of Pavlenko (2014), Yu, (2014) and participant \#3 in mind, I focused and deliberated as I looked for examples of juxtaposition in Sra. Osana's teaching of culture. The data revealed numerous examples of juxtaposition, many of which were integrated into the lessons and could have been overlooked easily. The examples are presented in categories by the subject in which they were found, followed by a brief comment or analysis.

## Math.

$>$ How many ways can you write the number 7
O: The numbers are a cultural thing, the number seven...in Latin America people have the tendency to write the seven with a flag.

The students were told two different ways to write the number seven. This example focused on aspects of macro-culture.

## Social studies.

> The continents
O: The continents...we [in the United States] have North America, South America.... We [in Latin America] say we have North America, Central America, and South America.

The students were made aware of how cultural perceptions affect representations of landmasses. In this example the U.S. does not consider Latin America a separate continent but an extension of North America.
> Comparando las banderas de Estados Unidos y Paraguay (see Appendix D)
O: What's the difference between the flag of the United States and the flag of the Paraguay?
$>$ Geography
O: What is the capital of Paraguay?....Where is the capital [of] Louisiana?....What [are] the similarities or differences between the two countries?

The students were asked to locate the locations on a map and to identify the capitals of each of the locations. Students were then asked to contrast the two countries; Sra. Osana assessed to see if the students, "know that Louisiana is a state...that it is in the Unites States....Paraguay is the whole country."

## Science.

> Identify the animals
O: Now, let's talk about animals....in Paraguay...
The students were shown images of animals and asked to discriminate which ones typically live in Paraguay and which ones typically live in Louisiana.

## Grammar.

Punctuation

O: The Punctuation, like the exclamation and admiration, we have two. One is upside down, the other one...the normal one...That we put the two question marks or we put the two exclamation marks.

Students are taught how to write and use ¡exclamación!, ¡admiracións!, and ¿interrogación? in their writing.

## > Capitalization

O: The days of the week are lower case unless you start...the sentence with the name...The name of the months, the same thing.

Students were made aware of the differences in writing the names of the days of the week and the names of the months of the year in Spanish versus in English.

Although Pavlenko's examples of teaching culture through juxtaposition could be taught in a standalone culture lesson, Sra. Osana's examples would be presented just as they were, as an integrated lesson, because of their robust connection to the academic standards.

## Through Real Life Application

Although the available research detailing how culture can be taught through language in language immersion settings is limited, there are examples in other language settings. These examples were used as a framework for guiding the analysis process. Each example showcased language and culture being taught through social interactions (Kozulin, 2003; Pavlenko \& Lantolf, 2000).

The first example was at the Ishpaming School in Minnesota, where a group of community elders proposed that teaching culture through their native Ojibwe language would be more effective than teaching culture in an isolated manner (Hermes, 2005). In this example Hermes (2005) described the observation of:

An integrated lesson in which plants were identified from two perspectives: traditional Ojibwe and mainstream scientific. The teacher taught both the Ojibwe and the Latin plant names, the traditional Ojibwe medicinal use and the scientific identification through specific, named parts. (p. 48)

In this example the students were taught about their culture as they learned the traditional medicinal uses of plants applied by members of their tribe. The cultural components were taught intentionally through science instruction and not as a standalone culture lesson. The elders noted the lessons were designed to assure that Ojibwe traditions and language were not lost.

Another example of teaching language through culture was illustrated by Peck (1998) who provided a compilation of hands-on-activities for foreign language teachers to use in their classrooms to assist in providing geographical and historical perspectives of the culture of the language being learned. Peck (1998) outlined several specific ways to engage students and teach about the culture. First, she recommended creating a Cultural Island using "posters, pictures, maps, signs, and realia" (p.4) to help students develop a mental picture of the culture being taught. Then, she suggested "cultural scavenger hunts to supermarkets and department stores" (p. 3) where the students looked for items native to the country being studied. From there Peck (1998) discussed celebrating festivals and providing opportunities for students to "prepare for the festival by drawing posters, decorating the room, and preparing some of the foods" (p. 3). Unlike Peck (1998), Moran and Lu (2001) focused on teaching culture through "critical incidents, cultural assimilators, culturgrams, role-plays, cultural simulations, field experiences, ethnography, experiential activities, crosscultural training techniques, values clarification, film, video, literature, realia, authentic materials, and many more" (p. 6), but did not situate these methods in language. However, Moran and Lu (2001) did "emphasize that culture learning, whether it occurs in a foreign language or a second language context, inside or outside the classroom....is best seen as lived experience, as a personal encounter with another way of life" (p. 3). Other researchers echoed this idea of lived experiences (Biesta, 2005; Pavlenko, 2005, 2014; Yu, 2014). Lived experiences, real life application, and other hands-on-activities can be applied in language immersion programs and carried out through the immersed language to deepen the understanding of the culture being taught. Although encounters between learners and another way of life are indirectly carried out through materials, in a language classroom the learner is still able to experience culture (Moran \& Lu, 2001).

## Calendar lesson.

During observations of Sra. Osana's mathematics lessons students actively engaged with calendars, the teacher, and each other as they contrasted the differences between calendars in the United States and those in Spanish speaking countries. As class began one student was invited to the calendar, provided a pointer, and asked to lead the class in the morning calendar routine. The student asked a standard set of questions of the rest of the class in the Spanish language and each time they provided a choral response in the Spanish language. She asked questions like, what is today's date?, to which the class responded, "Hoy es jueves, 19 de febrero de 2015"; is it hot outside?, "No no es caliente" was the reply; is it cold outside?, to which they replied, "Si es frío", until the morning routine was completed. After the student was seated, Sra. Osana projected the image of a calendar (see Figure 4.1) onto the active board in the front of the class. She asked students to again tell her what day today was, and she pointed to the calendar as the students answered. She then said to the class, "In the United States the calendar begins with (pause for the students to respond)". As she asked the question she walked from the projected calendar to a second calendar affixed to the wall. With a little prompting from the teacher, i.e. pointing at the first day of the week, the students replied in unison, "Domingo." From there Sra. Osana listed Spanish speaking countries and had the students identify them on the large wall map as she explained that calendars in Spanish speaking countries begin on Monday while those in the United States begin on Sunday. For the next few minutes she engaged the students with repeated and varied questions about the differences. This portion of the mathematics-calendar lesson was exactly 8 minutes from the time the calendar was projected on the active board until the lesson refocused on learning to read and interpreting a calendar.


Figure 4.1 - Projected Calendar
Sra. Osana and I examined a segment of the Calendar Lesson video during the interview.
Here is an excerpt of what she said:

O: Right there. When I asked them questions I want to make sure they know...when...the week started. And you can hear some say lunes and others say domingo, so I have to emphasize that again.... The truth is that this calendar that we have here (she points to the video screen, at the large yellow calendar to the right side of the active board), of course this is the English calendar, but as a teacher you know we have calendars over there (she points to the calendar projected onto the active board).... that's one of the things that um we try to emphasize...that whenever we have a calendar this this is something that it came to us but if we try to put it... like how we use it in the Latin American countries in Spanish... (sneeze) and it will be a better thing.

The cross analysis of these data points revealed that Sra. Osana embedded culture through real life application in her mathematics-calendar lesson. As suggested by Lindholm (1990), she used the language as a medium to focus on academic content while at the same time introducing the adjacent culture.

## Summary of Rhymes, Rhythms, and Repetition Findings

Findings in Rhymes, Rhythms, and Repetition were directly related to the first part of the primary research question: what methods of teaching culture do language immersion teachers choose to use in their classrooms? The findings revealed five plus one methods applied in Sra. Osana's classroom. Although the findings were presented in distinct categories, they were not observed in such an organized manner but, rather, were taught in conjunction with each other. During the standalone culture lesson, for example, culture was taught through the L2, through repetition, through processes, and through direct relation to real life. Culture was taught through a variety of methods that involved students negotiating their understandings through social interaction.

## Chapter 5: When I Came Here I Was Told I Was Being an Ambassador for My Country

## Introduction

Culturally relevant pedagogy (CRP) (Esposito \& Swain, 2009; Ladson-Billings, 1992, 1995a, 1995b, 2009; Helmer, 2010; Scherff \& Spector, 2010) was conceived as a theoretical model that "addresses student achievement but also helps students to accept and affirm their cultural identity while developing critical perspectives that challenge inequities that schools (and other institutions) perpetuate" (Ladson-Billings, 1995b, p. 469). As a theoretical framework, its three broad propositions about the actions of culturally relevant teachers occur concurrently in practice: the conceptions of self and others, the manner in which social relations are structured, and their conceptions of knowledge (Ladson-Billings, 1992, 1995a, 1995b, 2009). Criticism that CRP is a pedagogical tool that can be applied methodologically to produce excellent teachers is unfounded. Instead, it "represents a range or continuum of teaching behaviors" (Ladson-Billings, 1995b, p. 478) that teachers can work toward as they seek to become more effective with their students. It is "designed to problematize teaching and encourage teachers to ask about the nature of the student- teacher relationship, the curriculum schooling, and society" (Ladson-Billings, 1995b, p. 483). This study's findings suggest that Sra. Osana intentionally selected and utilized the variety of methods discussed in the previous chapter because she taught toward a culturally relevant pedagogy. The next three sections apply the three basic propositions of CRP, that "(a) Students must experience academic success; (b) students must develop and/or maintain cultural competence; and (c) students must develop a critical consciousness through which they challenge the status quo of the current social order" (Ladson-Billings, 1995a, p. 160), to Sra. Osana's teaching practices and rationales as seen through the classroom observations and interview.

## Ambassador for My Country: Academic Success

Developing high expectations for students goes farther than simply looking at test scores and grades and delves more deeply into the development of students as critical participants in the greater society. Before developing high expectations for their students, teachers must first believe that the students are capable of meeting these expectations. Teachers' conceptions of themselves and others are an integral part of setting challenging yet attainable educational goals. An depth analysis of the narratives presented in Sra. Osana's interview revealed some of the rationales or beliefs that guide the belief systems and the frames in which she sees herself as a nepantleras (Anzaldúa, 2002; Pacheco, 2014), doing all that she can to guide students through the expectations of Common Core while at the same time acquiring a new language. Throughout Sra. Osana's lessons and during the interview, she consistently demonstrated that she not only held high expectations for the students, but that they were able meet her expectations.

Sra. Osana's expectations for her students are a direct result of the expectations she has for herself. As a teacher in training she discussed her student teaching experience. "I was sent to a small village" she began, then clarified, "I chose that...They gave us the option to choose whatever [sic] we want to go to teach." From the beginning of her career Sra. Osana chose to work in places that "needed teachers." She reported that her experience in the "very poor" school "was the best thing that could happen to me because you really have to teach with whatever you have." This was interpreted to imply that teaching with whatever you have requires perseverance and a self-confidence. It appears that Sra. Osana ascribes to a self-confidence that allows her to make decisions because they are the best thing for her. Sra. Osana's belief that the students in the small village could attain high expectations was seen in her efforts to assure that they received the best that she had offer in the classroom which included raising funds to purchase
supplies and making her own chalk boards to use to teach. Raising funds to purchase supplies and making or building supplies alone are not signifiers of a teacher's high expectations. When these actions outside the classroom are translated inside the classroom the students are shown that they are of value and that leads to enhanced performance.

Sra. Osana described her experience later in her career when she worked "at the projects" where the students' families were classified by others as "low income." "But it's not their faults, you know, it's because their situation." This statement implied that she did not see their housing or socio-economic situations as obstacles. Instead she ascribed to the belief that all students were capable of academic success. "I remember those kids; they were fourth and fifth grade. I used to teach them." The reflective thought of remembering her former students included recalling their lack of exposure to things outside of their community. This lack of exposure was illustrated numerous times during the interview as Sra. Osana reported, "They didn't know where my country was located. They used to laugh a little bit about my accent when I used to talk to them in English, because they never have been exposed." One of the instructional goals in the classroom became providing opportunities for exposure. The students needed to know geography and Sra. Osana accepted the challenge to show them the way.

Sra. Osana's conceptions of herself and others were seen in her previous teaching experiences and also in her interactions with students at BR FLAIM. As noted all of the observed interactions between Sra. Osana and students were in Spanish except one. Revisiting that singular experience provided insight into the belief system in the classroom as it pertained to language and culture learning.

M: I heard that conversation today with you and one of the students in the classroom at recess time, the expectation of I'm not talking to your back, I'm talking to you.

O: Exactly.

M: And I think that was the only time I've heard you speak in English to the students.

O: Yeah, that was the only time because I, she was not listening to me at all. I tried in Spanish, I continued pressing and pressing and pressing. I know Ms. Miller says you have to do it all in the target language, but when you see a kid really not responding, then I switch.

Acknowledging that all of the lessons were taught in Spanish and all of the interactions were spoken in Spanish spoke volumes to the level of expectation placed on both students' and teachers' ability to communicate. At first it may appear that Sra. Osana switched from Spanish to English in the above situation because of lowered linguistic expectations for the student. Further analysis revealed that assumption to be untrue. The interaction was an example of scaffolding, spontaneity, and risk taking. The risk taken was breaking character and switching languages contrary to language immersion theory and administrative directive. However, the necessity of communicating the specific behavioral expectation in a manner that was meaningful to the student in an expedient manner superseded the risk taken in continuing in the target language. Had the experience been one of lowered expectations, the teacher would have redirected in English assuming that the student was not capable of understanding what was being said in Spanish. Instead of beginning the redirection in English she reported, "I tried in Spanish, I continued pressing and pressing and pressing"; the language switch only occurred after she saw, "the kid really not responding." She continued, "Then is when we realize, you know, that maybe he's not understanding what I'm saying and once you tell them in the target language they look at you and it's like, I got you." The initial redirection in Spanish was the expectation. When the student did not respond to the expectation, switching to English became a strategy used to build a scaffold for the student between the two languages. The student turned, faced the teacher who was speaking in English, then, shortly thereafter, the redirection was repeated in Spanish as
indicated in the quote "in the target language." Finally, the student "looks at you and it's like, I got you": the expectation for the student to comprehend and comply to the redirection in Spanish was met.

Sra. Osana's beliefs about language acquisition were an important part of understanding how she perceived the students in her class. Three layers of analysis were applied to the narratives to go beyond the façade to the unknown quadrant of the Johari Window (HoffmanMiller, 2013). When asked, "Is this program of dual language for everybody?", she replied:

O: I would say yes. I would say yes, but remember all of us we're... we all have skills in different areas. Some may be very skillful in math, others in you know English language arts, others maybe could be very artistic. But when it comes to the language, I think that's a skill too. Some, they get it faster than others, some. And those who have difficulty those are probably the ones that maybe because they have difficulty to read, eh difficulty to some kind of speech problem. Ah, but ah other than that I think, most people are able to learn. Kids, when they are little, they capture that (snaps fingers) but just I say, unless it's something that triggers them or, or they encounter for them not to be able to capture to, to, learn the language. Cause we're seeing a few for instances we're seeing a few kids. Not all of them, very minimum like 10 , maybe one. It's the one that struggles, the rest are doing fine. But like I say, something else.

The first review of this response produced findings that suggested that Sra. Osana did not believe that all students were capable of linguistic success, but that only "most people are able to learn." Looking more deeply into the passage revealed contradictions to the initial finding.

The first contradiction related to the conception that learning is a skill. "We all have skills in different areas. Some may be very skillful in math, others in you know English language arts, others could be very artistic. But when it comes to language, I think that's a skill too." Webster's New World Dictionary defines skill as "great ability or proficiency: expertness that comes from training, practice, etc." (Guralnik, 1986, p. 1334). Seeing language and academic subjects as skills ascribes to the assumption that the students are able to get better at them through training
and practice. Similar to the students from the projects described in the first example, their exposure to academic content proved additive to their academic success; it was not that they could not learn, but they needed to be taught and allowed to practice their skills. Sra. Osana's next comment, "Some, they get it faster than others," confirmed that seeing language as a skill did not imply that the students could not learn, but that they learned at different paces. Earlier in the interview Sra. Osana alluded to her beliefs about pacing. She said, "Here it's just like voom [sic] they just zoom it at you but that's just how they have to learn it. But for us it's like, no, you have to break it down." The philosophy that children will learn at their own pace and that teacher should "break it down" to assist them more closely aligns with Sra. Osana's conceptions of herself and the students.

Another contradiction to the initial finding that Sra. Osana believed that only "most people are able to learn" were the conditions provided for not reaching linguistic goals. As she described, "Those who have difficulty, those are probably the ones that maybe because they have difficulty to read, eh, difficulty to some kind of speech problem," she implied that there is "something else" going on. In her statements she alluded to two separate conditions that would prevented a student from learning. The first, she identified as "difficulty to read" and the second "some kind of speech problem." Considering the previous finding that Sra. Osana identified learning languages and other academic disciplines as a skill, she viewed reading as a skill as well. If reading is a skill, then difficult reading was addressed through additional training and practice, things that she already did in the classroom. Therefore, I concluded that the "difficulty to read" to which she alluded was not skills based but ability based in the form of a cognitive disability. This was substantiated by the later sentence, "Kids, when they are little, they capture that (snaps fingers) but just I say, unless it's something that triggers them or, or they encounter
for them not to be able to capture to, to learn the language," that described learning as easy for kids unless they encountered a trigger that prevented their ability. Additionally, the preceding thought, "but, ah, other than that I think, most people are able to learn", showed that there was a connection between people's ability to learn and not having a disability. Therefore, I found the thought implied that most people do not have cognitive or speech disabilities and are able to learn.

The final analysis looked past the initial assumption of Sra. Osana hiding behind a façade of belief that all students are able to learn. The resulting finding showed that Sra. Osana believed that all students are able to learn and that there are times when cognitive or speech disabilities prevent them from learning at a pace consistent with their peers.

## Get Together and Plan: Cultural Competence

As a nepantleras (Anzaldúa, 2002; Pacheco, 2014), Sra. Osana assisted her students in developing their linguistic and cultural identities. Working toward a culturally relevant pedagogy she intentionally created social interactions that fostered the students' academic success, reaffirmed and valued the students' cultural identity, and assisted the students in developing a critical consciousness. This section discusses and analyzes some of the instances where these social interactions were developed and nurtured by Sra. Osana.

Sra. Osana began planning social interactions for her students well before the beginning of the school year. As an interdisciplinary team, the Spanish immersion teachers begin "at the end of the school year" planning activities and interactions for the upcoming year. Sra. Osana reported, "We choose the country that we gonna be studying the next year. And then, ah, when we come back, ah, we need to, um, get together and plan how is it that we gonna do it." The planning is directed to a combined international week where the students interact with each other
across grade levels and learn about the specific Spanish speaking countries that are selected for study. Sra. Osana then designs integrated and standalone culture lessons that she uses as tools to teach her first grade students to work collaboratively and to openly share and value each other's ideas.

The Paraguay Dance lesson discussed in the Standalone Culture Lesson section was the first example for analysis. Referring to the lesson may appear redundant, yet, consistent with CRP, the proponents are continuously overlapping and intersecting (Ladson-Billings, 1992, 1995a, 1995b, 2009). The Paraguay Dance lesson was an intentionally planned lesson designed to provide opportunities for the students to interact with Paraguayan music, gestures, and dance.

Comments about the lesson included:

O: The kids they enjoy that music. I have a several kids that say, "Oh, when are you going to put on the music from Paraguay? I want to dance from Paraguay." So that's a way for them to start you know, introducing more about you know what the music, the movements how people dance in Paraguay and that's just like a little break for them. Not like the other one you know, where we were singing. But this one is more like, okay we are going to start dancing. And some of that they enjoy it. Once they have all the steps together and they learn, the steps 'cause it has to be you know like, almost daily because we getting close to that date. Ah, Then you know, by the time I put everything together, they know it. But they love it. They like it. But culturally, they learn the music, they enjoy the music, plus the steps that they need to learn about the dancing, and we have the song. Our third thing is ah activity. It would be the... see, look at them.

Part of the lesson's plan was to assist the students in acquiring experiences with other cultures. This was demonstrated through the words of the teacher: "So that's a way for them to start you know, introducing more about you know what the music." Although introduction was used as a way to describe the activity two data points confirmed that this or a very similar activity had been conducted previously. The first indication of the repetitiveness of this lesson is found in Sra. Osana's comment when she said, "I have a several kids that say, 'Oh, when are you going to put on the music from Paraguay? I want to dance from Paraguay." Coupled with the students'
proficiency in executing the dance moves, as observed in the video, the activity or something similar had occurred previously. The repetitiveness of the activity was an indication of Sra. Osana's purposeful actions to provide multiple opportunities for the students to engage her and each other.

The second half of this analysis involved the interactions of the students during the lesson. All but one of the students were actively engaged in the activity and doing the dance moves as expected. As the moves differentiated by gender the boys and the girls carried out their gender specific roles without hesitation. One of the boys followed the dance moves previously identified as the girls' moves, to which Sra. Osana did not object. The lack of objection was interpreted as acceptance of the students' exploring either of the dance moves. The students shared space and performed their dance moves in a caring and respectful way. When students accidently bumped into one another, their negotiations of apology appeared to be mutually accepted and the dancing continued. Students appeared to genuinely enjoy the opportunity to practice their Paraguayan dance moves to Paraguayan music. The one student noted as not being actively engaged was encouraged by a peer to join in with the class. The student complied with the request and participated as the music was turned off, which occurred just before the music ended.

Classroom observations revealed another example of Sra. Osana providing opportunities for the students to develop their own identities and academic success concurrently. In a mathematics lesson the students were arranged into groups of three and four. In groups they were given a balance to use in comparing the weights of nine objects and were they were given a handout (see Appendix C) to record their observations. The significance of the lesson was not in the students being grouped, but in the things the students and teacher did while in the groups. In
one instance one of the students attempted to take additional consecutive turns measuring objects. Another student in the group noticed the attempt and brought it to the attention of the rest of the students. They had a few words among the three of them and then the student who attempted to take the additional turns gave up his turn, to the pleasure of the other two and did not make additional attempts to skip the others. Analysis of this brief student -student interaction showed that at this juncture in the year, the students self-regulated their disagreements. The manner in which the students' addressed the situation also reflected their confidence in calling out what they perceived as injustice among their peers.

Another instance involved a student blurting out in English, "They're being the boss of me!" From the other side of the room, Sra. Osana immediately made eye contact with the student and walked silently toward the group. When she was closer to the group she replied in Spanish, "I do not understand." Arriving at the group's table she waited patiently as the student recomposed her complaint in Spanish. As the student finished sharing her concern the teacher simply made eye contact with the other members of the group and then walked away as calmly as she had come. The students appeared satisfied with the interaction and continued with the activity with no further incidents. The students' body language as the teacher approached was interpreted as pensive and it appeared as if the students accused of being the boss knew that they had offended their peer. The students' response to Sra. Osana's minimal interaction in remedying the conflict was telling, as Sra. Osana craftily diffused the situation by remaining calm and focusing her comments on correction on the student's use of English instead of Spanish. In another educational setting, having the teacher address the use of language instead of the concern might have been problematic. However, in the language immersion setting, the Spanish language is not privileged over the language spoken by the students; instead Spanish is the language of
instruction, and thus students are expected to communicate with the teachers in the language of instruction. Confirmation that the students' language is valued was seen in the teacher's lack of objection when the students used English to communicate during group work. The teacher appeared to respect that the students were in the process of obtaining enough competence and confidence to use Spanish in their conversations with each other.

Findings suggested that Sra. Osana frequently designed opportunities in the classroom to actively engage students in the lesson and retain their personalities and self-confidence. Additionally, with her direction, students were placed in social situations that allowed them to practice negotiating their needs with peers in a safe environment. Ultimately, the classroom setting and interactions were designed in a way that promoted academic success and allowed students to maintain their cultural integrity (Ladson-Billings, 1992, 1995a, 1995b, 2009).

## To Be More Accepting of Other People: Critical Consciousness

Teaching toward a culturally relevant pedagogy requires moving beyond high academic standards and cultural competence. Stopping there supports the proliferation of the educational industrial complex (Fasching-Varner et al., 2014; Fasching-Varner \& Mitchell, 2013). The third proposition introduces a component to teaching that problematizes the status quo of society (Ladson-Billings, 1995b). For teachers to provide guidance to their students in developing a socio-political consciousness they must first be attuned socio-politically themselves (Esposito \& Swain, 2009; Ladson-Billings, 1992, 1995a, 1995b, 2009; Helmer, 2010; Scherff \& Spector, 2010). Findings represented here suggest that Sra. Osana sees knowledge as she sees culture, as constructed and not static (Anzaldúa \& Keating, 2002; Goodenough, 1974, 1976; Pacheco, 2014) and as such to be viewed critically (Ladson-Billings, 1995a, 1995b).

Ladson-Billings (1995b) asserted that teachers must make a conscious decision to be a part of the community from which their students come. From her first teaching assignment as a student teacher Sra. Osana consistently chose where she wanted to work. Of her student teaching experience she reported, "They gave us the option to choose whatever [sic] we wanted to go to teach." This assertion implied that there were other places to begin teaching, yet Sra. Osana chose to go to the "small village," "where the population was very poor and they needed teachers." Once there she noticed there were no supplies for the students and began the sociopolitical act of making ways for supplies to be obtained. She recalled, "It was mainly we have to raise funds among all of us, you know, like selling some kind of food at the university or doing a raffle or something to be able to get materials for those kids." According to the data provided moving to the "small village" and raising funds to "get materials for those kids" were Sra. Osana's first experiences with acting on her thoughts and addressing injustice.

As a language immersion teacher, simply going to work each day can be seen as a form of activism. Teaching children languages other than English in the United States is at odds with the hegemonic structures that unofficially identify English as the national language, and the language of privilege and economic success (Delgado \& Stefancic, 2001; Delpit, 2006). Further, teaching elementary age children Spanish in a pluralistic (McCollum, 1999) public school program is far from the norm of educational models in the U.S. (Delpit, 2006; Hochschild, 1984; Ladson-Billings, 2013). When asked about what brought her to BR FLAIM Sra. Osana reported, "I want to move back here [Baton Rouge] because my family was here." She previously worked in a neighboring state. She continued, "When they told me immersion I started looking into the Internet. I say, okay, let me see what is the whole thing about it and I just found that it was something interesting because back in my country that['s] how I was taught, English, you know,
in immersion." Sra. Osana, initially chose BR FLAIM because she wanted a job that was close to her family. When she realized that the job for which she applied resembled the setting in which she was taught as a child she jumped at the opportunity. Subsequently, I asked which program she would choose if given a choice between a monolingual program and a dual language program. She replied, "Another dual language program, yeah, no, not the monolingual. I would like to stay here." This response reflected her happiness with language immersion programs and that she would not like to return to monolingual program; her preference would be to remain right where she is currently. As a teacher she seeks to direct her activism toward her students, and "trying to expose them to another culture." At BR FLAIM she goes above and beyond what is required in lesson planning to include cultural aspects of her native country and the country that she selected to highlight for international week. Evidence of her thoughts and actions appear in her interactions with lesson plans, particularly lesson plans and teaching culture as illustrated below:

O: In our lesson plans you know um, if it has to do with, like I said, with math, social studies, or even science it's part of it. It's just we write a lesson plan based on what we have to teach. Now if I, you know, if you want to be more specific because is so many stuff that you want to put in a lesson plan you know. Now these days, they want us just to title, okay objectives, activities, and dates. Don't get too much description about it. But yes, you just put a note or put it on the side, that that's how you're gonna be teaching your culture. It has to be about grammar, ah literature, ah numeration, the way you calling the numbers, ah also you can talk a little bit about your country or the country even for instance in this school we choose a country every year we have to put it in, we have to enter it into our teaching lessons. So let's, I will say it this way, Our lesson plans are very generalized, but us as a teacher we make our notes that this is what I want to do with my kids, because it's part of it. Of, of, of, our teaching lessons trying to let them know, trying to expose them to another culture.

In general, teachers are required to submit lesson plans weekly. At BR FLAIM the language
French and Spanish immersion teachers plan together the weekly mathematics, science, and social studies lessons for the grade level and include input from the English/reading teacher for
alignment purposes. As Sra. Osana explained, "In our lesson plans you know, um, if it has to do with, like I said, with math, social studies, or even science it's part of it", indicating that culture is integrated into math, social studies, and science. Just before this segment she discussed six basic cultural differences that were woven into the subject areas: place value, the continents, the number seven, the calendar, punctuation, and capitalization of days of the week and months of the year. She continued, "It's just we write a lesson plan based on what we have to teach...they want us just to title...objectives, activities, and dates. Don't get too much description about it" (emphasis added). Here the teacher specified that lesson plans (see Appendix F) were strictly for the objectives that "have to" be taught, those tied to Common Core standards with little room for details. Subverting the expectation to list only objectives, activities, and dates, Sra. Osana described having to "put a note or put it on the side, that that's how you're gonna be teaching your culture." She later reiterated that, "Our lesson plans are very generalized, but us as a teacher we make our notes that this is what I want to do with my kids", implied a level of frustration with the expectation stopping at Common Core assessed standards at the expense of the cultural aspects of the lesson. However, additional efforts were used to get the desired information to the students in the form of extra planning and notes to self.

In conjunction with practicing creative insubordination (Ficklen, 1982; Keedy, 1992) with lesson planning, Sra. Osana also utilized a variety of informal assessment strategies that allowed her to continuously evaluate the students' understanding of the content. Through constant data collection and re-teaching she assured that students were successful on standardized and district level assessments. "Well," she says, "whenever I ask them a question, it's like always an oral question. It's a small quiz." Observation of these oral questions revealed that student assessment was purposeful. Students called upon were often students who had not
performed well on the assessment the previous day. Using the "active board and the slides" she asked questions like, "What's the difference between the flag of the United States and the flag of the Paraguay?" Additionally, she used the same technology and allowed students to come to the board and arrange animals into groups by their habitat or by the country where their habitat is located. When assessing in social studies she said, "I will be asking more about geography, where it's located." In observation, students were asked questions about the locations of Spanish speaking countries, Paraguay in particular, and to locate their home country, state, and city. If a student experienced difficulty locating a specific country their peers often provided assistance. "Most of the time," Sra. Osana remarked about assessments, "it's like informal and may be...like in social studies I will do something formal assessment just about geography, or science." Her primary mode of evaluation was informal assessment and, as necessary, she assessed formally. The informal assessments allowed the students to display their content knowledge in a manner that was consistent with their learning styles and strengths.

The most telling indication of Sra. Osana's beliefs was found in the seemingly spontaneous narrative about culture that concluded the interview. The initial review of this segment was rich with evidence that pointed to why she taught culture the way she did. She began, "Mainly when you talking about culture. Like I was telling you, when I came here, I was told that I was being the ambassador of my country." Sra. Osana was initially brought to the United States through the Carter Health Foundation, "an institution that brings teachers all over the world", to teach language through an exchange program. At the request of her first U.S. principal she was provided the opportunity to stay in the country after the conclusion of the exchange program. The Carter Health Foundation often told their recruits that they "were
ambassadors" for their countries. The data suggested that Sra. Osana internalized the mission of being an ambassador and has carried out that mission in each of her teaching assignments.

The next segment of the narrative gave attention to the impact her initial U.S. teaching assignment had on her cultural identity and mission. As she recalled, "They were fourth and fifth grade...They didn't know where my country was located, they used to laugh a little bit about my accent when I used to talk to them in English, because they never have been exposed. But it's not their faults you know, it's because [of] their situation." Analysis of the text suggested that Sra. Osana was emotionally hurt by the ridicule she experienced at the hands of her students. In an effort to overcome the pain and continue with her job, she rationalized that the students' behavior was a lack of exposure. She further rationalized that it was not the students that ridiculed her accent, but their situation. The data suggested that it was this teaching experience that solidified Sra. Osana's desire to expose her students to other cultures.

Immediately following the previous segment she explained, "So, when you talking about culture, the more that you learn about other people and other countries, the more...you are exposed...to that, the more...opportunities you see for your future, and the more...acceptable you are to diversity." This explanation suggested that Sra. Osana's desire to expose her students to other cultures was connected to the belief that exposure to and learning about other cultures makes one more acceptable to diversity. Further analysis of the remainder of the narrative provided additional evidence to substantiate the claim that Sra. Osana's belief system identified bilingualism and biculturalism as ways to overcome intolerance. "All of us here," she said speaking of her language immersion colleagues, "are from "Spain, ah, South America, me, Central America ...Venezuela, Columbia, um, Guatemala, and, ah, we have Mexico here before, and, um, you know from Belgium, Morocco, or the Martiniques. But all of them," she continued,
"they bring with them what?" She briefly paused, while passionately clutching her chest, she answered, "Their identity!" Continuing, she articulated, "And we share that with our kids. We share that with our students, and, and that's what they take home. They say, ah, my teacher used to say this or she did this or he say that. But that's exactly what it is." Furthering the point she illustrated, "So when they meet other people, they're not like UGH, cause sometimes like really...don't blame to be ignorance just because they haven't been exposed. So, they will be more...they will accept more, ah, people from other places: let's say religion, race, language, they will be more exposed, so we are becoming more globalized." In this exchange cultural identity was obvious as a key component of Sra. Osana's belief system. Moreover, it suggested that the underlying motive of being a language immersion teacher was to expose students to additional cultures in an effort to inform their identities. This appeared to be carried out by the students' observing their teacher's confidence in her own cultural identity and using the her model to inform the construction of their own identities. The intended result of this subversive activism was biculturalism which in turn fostered attitudes that were more accepting to people from other places, religions, races, languages, etc. ("Is Bilingualism," n.d.). Evidence of the students' attitudes toward diversity on a small scale was seen in their interactions with each other during classroom activities.

Thinking critically about knowledge is only a part of what scholars imply when using the term critical consciousness (Esposito \& Swain, 2009; Ladson-Billings, 1992, 1995a, 1995b, 2009; Helmer, 2010; Scherff \& Spector, 2010). The other part is conocimieno, "that aspect of consciousness urging you to act on the knowledge gained" (Anzaldúa, 2002, p. 557). Identifying injustice and saying nothing can too easily be seen as condoning those injustices, therefore it is not enough simply to think critically; action must be taken. The socio-political component of

CRP is a call to action, a call to activism: "the courage to act consciously on our ideas, to exert power in resistance to ideological pressure" (Anzaldúa \& Keating, 2002, p. 5.) The findings presented in this section support the assertion that Sra. Osana continuously and actively modeled socio-political consciousness for her first grade students.

## Summary of When I Came Here I Was Told I Was Being an Ambassador

The data presented in this chapter was directly related to answering the question of why Sra. Osana chose the methods she chose to teach culture in her language immersion class. The evidence suggested that she intentionally selected and utilized a variety of methods including teaching culture through the L2, through standalone culture lessons, through process, through juxtaposition, through real life application, and through repetition. Further, when evaluated through the culturally relevant pedagogy theoretical framework, the evidence implies that Sra. Osana teaches toward a culturally relevant pedagogy.

## Chapter 6: Implications and Limitations

## Review of the Study

This study was set into motion nearly twenty years ago when I was given the opportunity to participate in a study abroad program in Metz, France. During that trip I took a train from France to Germany, and sat next to a gentleman who challenged my intellect and changed my perspective of language and bilingualism more than I ever knew. We began a conversation in English and when he learned that I was in Europe to study the French language and culture, he immediately stopped speaking in English and began speaking in French. Although I did not realize the importance of the interaction at the time, I now know that without that experience I would not be who I am today. The experience greatly informed my cultural identity.

The idea of being able to enhance the availability of pluralistic language learning opportunities in public schools in the United States served as one catalyst for this study. Currently, the availability of such pluralistic programs are a scarcity (Delpit, 2006; Hochschild, 1984; Ladson-Billings, 2013). Seeking to explore the state of language education, this study applied two tenants of Critical Race Theory, interest convergence and racial realism, to examine the history of language education in the U.S. The findings implied that the promotion of language immersion programs across the country was not for the benefit of English language learners, but for the benefit of commerce and counter intelligence.

This qualitative study utilized narrative inquiry to examine observations and interviews of Spanish language immersion teachers at a local public language immersion school. The analysis of the narratives was conducted through the lenses of the theoretical frameworks of Culturally Relevant Pedagogy and Sociocultural theory. The data collection process consisted of three phases: the first phase collected demographic data and teacher planning data and was used
to select participants for the subsequent phases; phase two consisted of video recorded observations of the Spanish immersion teachers as they taught their classes; the final phase consisted of an interview with a Spanish immersion teacher. During the interview the teacher and I reviewed segments of videos taken during phase two. The interview was then transcribed, coded, and analyzed.

## Brief Summary of Findings

This study inquired about the methods language immersion teachers choose to teach culture in their classrooms and why they choose those methods. In all there were two broad categories of findings, one addressing the methods chosen by the teacher and the second answering why she chose those methods. In addition to the two broad categories there were sub findings that brought clarity to the project as a whole. The first finding identified five plus one key methods of teaching culture in the language immersion classroom. The plus one method, repetition, was so identified because its use was intricately woven into the application of the other methods: learning culture through the L2, through standalone culture lessons, through processes, through juxtaposition, and through real life application. The sub finding, the teacher's definitions of culture, was utilized consistently to identify which parts of the lesson taught culture and which parts did not. In this sub finding it was revealed that the teacher classified culture in two key ways: culture as a noun and culture as a verb.

The second broad finding suggested that the teacher chose the previously five plus one methods to teach culture in her language immersion classroom because she taught toward a culturally relevant pedagogy. This finding was addressed by exploring the teacher's practices both inside and outside of the classroom through the three key proponents of CRP. The supporting sub finding in this area also supported the first finding as it focused on the teacher's
intentionality about choosing which methods to use to teach culture. The finding suggested that although the formal lesson plans did not reflect culture being taught in the teacher's classroom, culture was proactively and intentionally being planned for and taught.

There was one sub finding that I found significant to the purpose of this study. The analysis of the teacher's practices viewed through CRP suggested that the primary participant's belief structure identified bilingualism and biculturalism as ways to overcome intolerance. Thus, the underlying motive of her working in a language immersion school was implied to be exposing students to additional cultures in an effort to influence them into being more accepting of people different from themselves.

## Quick View of Findings

$>$ Sra. Osana's definitions of culture
> 5+1 methods of teaching culture in language immersion classes

- Through the L2
- Through standalone culture lessons
- Through processes
- Through juxtaposition
- Through real life application
- +1 Through repetition
$>$ Sra. Osana chose the methods she used to teach culture in her classroom because she taught toward a culturally relevant pedagogy.
> Although the formal lesson plans did not reflect culture being taught, Sra. Osana and the other language immersion teachers at BR FLAIM were proactively intentional about teaching culture.


## Implications

"By focusing on what we want to happen, we change the present" (Anzaldúa \& Keating, 2002, p.
5), and by changing the present we affect change in the future. This project has implications toward a social justice that includes more than "just us," and enters the conversation toward a society where its members' ontoepistemology includes indigenous philosophies like Ubuntu.

## Teachers

The findings of this study have far reaching implications for other language immersion teachers. Because the goal of language immersion programs is for students to become bi-lingual, bi-literate, and to develop a bicultural awareness (Cloud et al., 2000; Lindholm, 1987; LindholmLeary, 2005; Soltero, 2004), teachers must be intentional about attaining these goals. This study suggests that bilingualism and biculturalism foster attitudes that are more accepting of people from other places, religions, races, languages etc. ("Is Bilingualism," n.d.); as such it becomes that task of teachers to assure that their students attain the goal.

## Society

This study identified two main types of bilingual programs promulgated in the United States: pluralistic and assimilative. Programs that value and support languages other than English in this country are anomalous (Delpit, 2006; Hochschild, 1984; Ladson-Billings, 2013; Lucas \& Paret, 2005). As participants in society we must awaken our conocimieno (Anzaldúa, 2002) and put action to our thoughts when we see injustice. This study implies that assimilative programs deliver injustice to the students and families who participate therein because of their parasitic exchange of language and culture. Addressing this injustice would require activism (Anzaldúa \& Keating, 2002) on the part of society to engage in meaningful dialogue about the true impact language education has on students and families and seeking solutions to begin to rectify the injustice.

## Policy Makers and Hiring Authorities

Teaching children an additional language in a school setting can be very beneficial. However, this study suggests that cultural identity of the persons selected to teach in the programs is crucial to their attaining the intended goals. With this consideration, it is imperative
that policy makers evaluate current policies as to language immersion teacher requirements. Because of the cultural expectation of such programs and to minimize the effects of English as privileged in the class, the evaluation should include the possibility of requiring that only native speakers be allowed to teach the language side of language immersion classes. Hiring authorities should be a part of the same conversation as they make the final decisions of who will educate the children.

## Limitations

The teacher described in this study showed that she was aware of and proud of her cultural identity, and was aware of her own strengths and limitations. Following her lead, I acknowledge that there are limitations to this study. First, I must address my personal bias toward language immersion programs. I am a long-term advocate for language immersion programs and the goals that they tout- bilingualism, biliteracy, and bicultural awareness. As a result, I participated in the development and implementation of a language immersion program in a public school setting. This leads to the next limitation, my children attend BR FLAIM and one is enrolled in the classroom of the principal participant. Readers may be skeptical of the analysis and assume that it is not genuine. I considered the challenges that could have resulted by documenting inconsistent teaching strategies, but the consequences of misrepresenting the participant outweighed them.

The third limitation addresses the design of the study. The number of participants did not allow opportunities to cross-reference narratives for common themes. The number of days spent collecting observation data could have been extended to provide more incidences of culture being taught in the classroom and thus discussed during the interview. The decision to observe for a specified number of days was prompted by the time of year; standardized testing was
approaching and I did not want to pose a distraction to the students or teachers. In a similar study I would begin the study in the fall. Looking forward I would improve upon the design by viewing both French and Spanish teachers to allow for comparisons between the languages. However, the decision to focus only on the Spanish teachers was pragmatic; I understand Spanish.

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## Appendix A: Survey

## Practices Implemented by Language Immersion Teachers to Teach Culture in Language Immersion Classrooms

Teacher Survey

Please take your time and complete this short survey. Responses are confidential.

## Part 1: Demographics

1. Name:
2. Current teaching assignment:
$\qquad$
3. Birth Date $(\mathrm{M} / \mathrm{D} / \mathrm{Y})$ : $\qquad$
4. Location of Birth (city, state/province/country):
5. What is your first learning language? Second language? Third language? Fourth Language?
$\qquad$
$\qquad$
6. Describe the setting in which you learned your first, second, additional languages.
$\qquad$
$\qquad$
$\qquad$
7. List your degrees and the setting in which you obtained them, public/private.
$\qquad$
$\qquad$
$\qquad$
$\qquad$
8. What is your highest degree?
9. What is culture?
10. Why have you chosen to work in a language immersion school?
$\qquad$
$\qquad$
11. Are you interested in participating in the observation and interview portion of this study?
$\qquad$ Yes
$\qquad$ No
___ More information needed

## Part 2: Instruction

Think of a lesson in which you teach culture with your students as you answer the following questions.

1. What are the student learning objectives for culture lessons?
$\qquad$
$\qquad$
2. Is this objective a part of the state/district/school expectation?
$\qquad$
$\qquad$
3. What strategies do you use to teach culture in your classes?
$\qquad$
$\qquad$
4. How will you know that the student has learned what you have taught?
$\qquad$
$\qquad$

# Appendix B: Interview Protocol 

Interview Protocol

## Teacher Background **

- Please tell me about your own educational background, beginning with elementary school.
- Were you ever in a bilingual/ESL program
- What is your first/native language?
- Talk about how and when you learned your first language
- Do you speak other languages?
- When and where did you learn them?
- What was the primary language of your education?
- Which language would you most likely use to express your emotions?
Current Teaching **
- Tell me about the process you went through to decide you wanted to be a teacher and a little about your history of teaching.
- What was your first teaching assignment? How many years have you taught at this school? Have there been changes in your program, grade or subject assignment during this time? Why did you choose to teaching in a two-way immersion program?
- Do you see teaching in a two-way program different from teaching in other programs?
- What is the most difficult thing about your job?
- What supports could you use?

Culture in the Classroom**

- Describe your process for lesson planning.
- When planning lessons what is the most important thing to consider?
- What role does culture play in lesson planning and teaching?
- Is there a campus plan or classroom plan for teaching culture?
- What is the process for planning international day?
- What are your goals for students in your class this year?
- How would you know if your students were meeting or not meeting these goals?
- How well do you think your students are performing towards these goals so far this year?


## Observation Based Questions

- Now I will show you a series of videos from you lessons last week. After each video I will ask you to tell me about the video.
- Calendar Lesson
- Bananas
- Is the ' $S$ ' in piscados necessary? What happened there?
- Brain Breaks

Video Day 3 - Stationary 4 (29:40-31:36) cont'd
Stationary 5 (0:00-1:10)

- Flag Comparison/Music of Paraguay

Video Day 3 - Stationary 5 (2:10-4:50)
Handheld 6 (0:00-2:40)
$\rightarrow$ Skip to Stationary 5 (6:45, 10:08-11:27)

- Money Routine

Video Day 4 - Stationary 1 (8:51-10:35)
Handheld 1 ( $0: 50-2: 18$ )

- Do students learn about money from Spanish speaking countries?
- What is "Oh ho sà ka?"
- Paraguay Dance Moves

Video Day 5 - Stationary 3 (4:00-7:01)
Handheld 4 (4:45-7:46)

- What are the cultural rules about saying please and thank you in your country? I noticed that none of the students reply with thank you when being given items. I also noticed, that you do not encourage them to do so.

Are there any questions that I have not asked that you thought I should have asked?
Do you have any questions for me?
Thank you.
** Questions from this section were derived from questions provided by Danielle Carrigo (2000).

## Appendix C: Explorando

mbre: $\qquad$ Fecha: $\qquad$ \#: $\qquad$

## Explorando !!!!!

| El objeto <br> es.... | el más <br> liviano | más <br> liviano | liviano | es <br> pesado | más <br> pesado | el más <br> pesado |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Prensa <br> Papeles <br> grande |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Prensa <br> Papeles pequeño |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Borrador |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Ficha 1 |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Ficha 2 |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Rana grande |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Rana pequeña |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Collar |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Skittles |  |  |  |  |  |  |

## Appendix D: Flag Comparison

Nombre: $\qquad$ Fecha: $\qquad$ \#: $\qquad$

Comparando las banderas de Estados Unidos y Paraguay


UNITED STATEB

Paraguay


## Appendix E: Calendar Handout



1. ¿Cuál es el nombre de el mes? $\qquad$
2. ¿Cuántos días hay en el mes de febrero en este calendario?
3. ¿ Los numeros que estan en los círculos son pares o impares?
4. ¿Los numeros en los triángulos son pares o impares?
5. ¿Que dia es el 14 de febrero? $\qquad$
6. ¿Cuantos dias hay en una semana? $\qquad$
7. ¿Qué mes esta despues de febrero? $\qquad$
7.¿ El primer dia de la semana es? $\qquad$
8. ¿El ultima dia de la semana es? $\qquad$
9. ¿Que dia de la semana es 1 de febrero? $\qquad$
10¿ Cuantos meses hay en un año? $\qquad$

## Appendix F：Lesson Plans

| Lesson Plans for Teacher＇s Name |
| :--- | for the week of 2／23／2015（Page 1）


| Standard（link） <br> Objective：TSL <br> －Use a non－standard object to find the weight of things <br> －Compare weight using a non－standard object as a unit of measurement <br> Math In Focus，Singapore Math：Chapter 10，Weight，Lesson 2 Day <br> 1：Finding the Weight of Things，Book 1B，Pgs 13－15 <br> Vocabulary：heavy，heavier，heaviest，light，lighter，lightest，weight，as heavy as <br> Student Book 1B，pp 13－15 <br> －Teach：Measuring Weight with Objects（Pg 13） <br> －Guided Practice（Pg 14）：Check For Understanding：reinforce using an object as a non－standard unit to measure weight；compare three things and identidy the lightest and the heaviest；compare the weight of two things using heavier or lighter <br> －Hands－On Activity：Use a Balance to Compare the Weight of by Using Non－ <br> Standard Units（Pg 15） <br> －On Your Own（Workbook B－Pgs 7－8） <br> Homework：Math：Math In Focus，Singapore Math：Chapter 10，Weight ，Lesson 2 <br> Day 1：Finding the Weight of Things，Book 1B，Pgs 7－8 <br> Standard（link） <br> Objective：TSL <br> －Use a non－standard object to find the weight of things <br> －Compare weight using a non－standard object as a unit of measurement <br> Math In Focus，Singapore Math：Chapter 10，Weight，Lesson 2 Day <br> 2：Finding the Weight of Things，Book 1B，Pgs 13－15 <br> Vocabulary：heavy，heavier，heaviest，light，lighter，lightest，weight，as heavy as <br> Student Book 1B，pp 13－15 <br> －Teach：Comparing Weight Using a Balance（Pg 15） <br> －Let＇s Explore！Use a Balance to Order Things from Heaviest to Lightest（Pg 15） <br> －Let＇s Practice（Pgs 16－17） <br> －On Your Own（Workbook B－Pgs 9－10） <br> Homework：Math：Math In Focus，Singapore Math：Chapter 10，Weight ，Lesson 2 <br> Day 2：Finding the Weight of Things，Book 1B，Pgs 9－10 <br> Standard（link） |
| :---: |
|  |  |
|  |  |
|  |  |
|  |  |
|  |  |

Objective：TSL
Assessment：
Math In Focus，Singapore Math：Chapter 10，Weight
－Lesson 1：Comparing Things
－Lesson 2：Finding the Weight of Things
Homework：Math：Assessment：
Math In Focus，Singapore Math：Chapter 10，Weight
－Lesson 1：Comparing Things
－Lesson 2：Finding the Weight of Things

－Ask students to give examples of animals that live in water，add to classroom and notebook charts．
－Ask students to describe what special feature is needed for each animal to live in a water environment（e．g．，fins for fish），add to charts．

## Lesson：

-What kinds of food might the animals hunt?
-What parts of the animal's body would help it to survive?
Closure: Students will complete their Habitat Chart in their science log.

Standards
SCI.K-4.LS-E-C1, SCI.K-4.LS-E-C2
Standard (link)
Objective:
-Examining the habitats of animals and determining how basic needs are met within each habitat
-Describing how the features of some animals enable them to live in specific habitats

## Day 4: Animal Sorts - Water (Cont'd from previous day) Introduction:

As a class, review chart of animal categories and vocabulary chart.
Lesson:
-Allow students to paste picture of a whale into their science notebooks.
(http://www.enchantedlearning.com/subjects/whales/label/labelbaleen.shtml)
-Through class discussion, encourage students to name features of the whale's body that benefit it in a water environment.
-Students should label these parts on their pictures, while the teacher models on the overhead or chart.
-Closure:
In science log, use vocabulary charts and labeled whale to write sentences about how a whale's features help him travel through water.

Standards
SCI.K-4,LS-E-C1, SCI.K-4.LS-E-C2
Standard (link)
Objective:
Examining the habitats of animals and determining how basic needs are met within each habitat
-Describing how the features of some animals enable them to live in specific habitats

## Day 5: Animal Sorts - Air Introduction:

-Teacher will ask students to give examples of animals that move in air to add to classroom chart.
-Allow students time to fill in chart in science log.
-Ask students to describe what special feature is needed for each animal to travel in an air environment (e.g., wings for birds), add to chart.
Lesson:
-What kinds of food might the animals hunt?
-What parts of the animal's body would help it to survive?

## Closure:

-Students should write the day's entries into their science log chart.

Standards
SCl.K-4.LS-E-C1, SCI.K-4.LS-E-C2
Standard (link)
Objective:TSW describe features of some animals that benefit them in their environments

Animal Sorts - Mammals - Reptiles- Amphibians - Birds - Fish - Insects DAY 1

Introduction:

- View the United Streaming Video about "Classification of animals"
- As a class, review chart of animal categories and vocabulary chart.

Lesson:

- Allow students to paste or draw picture of mammals that they may find in magazines/dictionaries
- Discuss the characteristics of mammals: fur, babies born alive,...

Closure:

- In science notebooks, use vocabulary charts to write sentences about what a mammal is.

Standards
SCI.K-4.S1-E-A1, SCI.K-4.SI-E-A5, SCI.K-4.LS-E-A1, SCI.K-4.LS-E-A3, SCI.K-4.LS-E-B1, SCI.K-4.LS-E-E2, SCI.K-4.LS-E-C1, SCI.K-4.LS-E-C3
Standard (link)
Objective:TSW describe features of some animals that benefit them in their environments

Animal Sorts - Mammals - Reptiles- Amphibians - Birds - Fish - Insects DAY 2

Introduction：
Review from previous day what the students discovered about the classification of animals
－View the United Streaming Video about＂Classification of animals＂
－As a class，review chart of animal categories and vocabulary chart．
Lesson：
－Allow students to paste or draw picture of mammals that they may find in magazines／dictionaries
－Discuss the characteristics of mammals：fur，babies born alive，．．．
Closure：
－In science notebooks，use vocabulary charts to write sentences about what a mammal is．

## Appendix G: IRB Approval

ACTION ON PROTOCOL APPROVAL REQUEST


Institutional Review Board Dr. Dennis Landin, Chair 130 David Boyd Hall

| TO: | Kenneth Fasching-Vamer <br> Human Sciences and Education |
| :--- | :--- |
| FROM: | Dennis Landin <br>  |

DATE: January 21, 2015
RE: IRB\# 3584
TITLE: Practices implemented by language immersion teachers to teach culture in language immersion classrooms

New Protocol/Modification/Continuation: New Protocol
Review type: Full $\qquad$ Expedited X Review date: 1/21/2015

Risk Factor: Minimal $\qquad$ Uncertain $\qquad$ Greater Than Minimal

Approved $\qquad$ Disapproved $\qquad$
Approval Date:1/21/2015 Approval Expiration Date: $1 / 20 / 2016$
Re-review frequency: (annual unless otherwise stated)
Number of subjects approved: 6
LSU Proposal Number (if applicable): $\qquad$
Protocol Matches Scope of Work in Grant proposal: (if applicable) $\qquad$
By: Dennis Landin, Chairman $\qquad$
PRINCIPAL INVESTIGATOR: PLEASE READ THE FOLLOWING Continuing approval is CONDITIONAL on:

1. Adherence to the approved protocol, familiarity with, and adherence to the ethical standards of the Belmont Report, and LSU's Assurance of Compliance with DHHS regulations for the protection of human subjects ${ }^{*}$
2. Prior approval of a change in protocol, including revision of the consent documents or an increase in the number of subjects over that approved.
3. Obtaining renewed approval (or submittal of a termination report), prior to the approval expiration date, upon request by the IRB office (irrespective of when the project actually begins); notification of project termination.
4. Retention of documentation of informed consent and study records for at least 3 years after the study ends.
5. Continuing attention to the physical and psychological well-being and informed consent of the individual participants. including notification of new information that might affect consent.
6. A prompt report to the IRB of any adverse event affecting a participant potentially arising from the study.
7. Notification of the IRB of a serious compliance failure.
8. SPECIAL NOTE:
*All investigators and support staff have access to copies of the Belmont Report, LSU's Assurance with DHHS, DHHS
( 45 CFR 46) and FDA regulations governing use of human subjects, and other relevant documents in print in this office or on our World Wide Web site at http://www.lsu.edu/irb

## Vita

Benterah Charles Morton is a native of Dekalb County, Georgia where he attend public schools in the Dekalb County School System. An advocate for public education Benterah received an Associates of Science in Teacher Education from Dekalb College and a Bachelor of Science in Secondary Science Education from the University of West Georgia. He then began teaching middle and high school science in Dekalb County. While teaching in Dekalb County he attained a Master of Education in Administration and Supervision from the University of West Georgia. After the completion of the MEd he moved to Houston, Texas and began teaching at a middle school in Cypress-Fairbanks Independent School District. The next step in Benterah's career took him to Stafford Municipal School District in Stafford, Texas. During his eight years in SMSD he served as assistant principal at three campuses (Elementary, Intermediate, and Middle School) and spent the bulk of the time as principal of the elementary school. He left the students of SMSD to pursue a PhD in Curriculum and Instruction from Louisiana State University. While pursuing this degree he also attained the certification of Educational Specialist in Educational Leadership.

