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# TWO DIFFERENT SPEECH COMMUNITIES IN PUERTO RICO: A QUALITATIVE STUDY ABOUT SOCIAL CLASS AND CHILDREN LEARNING ENGLISH IN PUBLIC AND PRIVATE SCHOOLS OF THE ISLAND

Jannette Hermina

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QUALITATIVE STUDY ABOUT SOCIAL CLASS AND CHILDREN LEARNING  
ENGLISH IN PUBLIC AND PRIVATE SCHOOLS OF THE ISLAND**

**BY**

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B.A., English Linguistics, University of Puerto Rico – Mayagüez Campus, 2003  
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**DISSERTATION**

Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the  
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## **DEDICATION**

In memory of my elementary school English teacher, Lydia E. Rosario. You taught me well.

I want to dedicate this dissertation to my high school English teacher, Mrs. Ivette Quijano who continues to inspire and mentor students and young teachers like me.

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**ABSTRACT**

This dissertation describes a qualitative study related to the learning of English in a public school and a private school in two small towns on the northern coast of Puerto Rico. The families and the children in this study are referred to as two speech communities. The research examines the social interaction of elementary school students in the English classroom of the two schools, as well as, during different extracurricular activities, educational and social resources that families use to increase the learning of English by their children. This study aims to illustrate that the access to and successful management of English and extracurricular activities as cultural capital is an asset in the learning of English in Puerto Rico. The research describes how children and parents see English as a tool for social mobility. The main research question is: Are there two different speech communities in Puerto Rico? If so, who are they? What are the linguistic and social differences in these two speech communities? The methodology included classroom observations, two sociolinguistic interviews with focal parents, a sociolinguistic questionnaire, and two brief

interviews with focal children. Finally, the qualitative analysis focuses on general aspects of the parents' perception of bilingualism, activation of cultural capital, children's social interactions in the English classroom, and uses of English in their daily lives. The conclusions bring a clearer picture of how English is perceived by these speech communities and what the advantages are of learning English to move higher in the social class strata of Puerto Rico. This qualitative research is one of few that compare access to English as a cultural capital tool between public and private school students in Puerto Rico.



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# **Chapter 1**

## **Introduction**

English as a second language in Puerto Rico has always been an issue embroiled in a sociohistorical and political storm. For nearly 115 years, English has been taught in public and private schools of Puerto Rico. According to the Puerto Rico Community Survey, Pousada (2009) reported the vast majority (85%) of Puerto Ricans did not speak English. In Puerto Rico, political parties have imposed language policies, and English as a second language (ESL) and language planning professionals have not taken part in the evaluation of these policies (Pousada, 1996). Puerto Rican learners are unique because of their particular historical, social, and cultural experiences (Schweers and Hudders, 2000).

English in Puerto Rico presents two contrasting opinions. First, English is viewed as a prestige language that can bring educational and financial benefits (Resnick, 1993). The second opinion is the association between language and identity. Spanish is seen as a symbol of national Puerto Rican identity. The Pro Autonomist and Pro Independence parties support social and political resistance to English as a second language. Many politicians believe that bilingualism would lead to the displacement of Spanish, the island's main language for nearly five centuries. Algren de Gutiérrez (1987) said the autonomist leaders who support social resistance to English and who impose language policies are mostly part of the upper-middle and upper class. This author adds that the emphasis on language as a symbol of national identity was used to reinforce the image of the Puerto Ricans as a distinct people.

Finally, the frequent and conflicting changes in the English language education in Puerto Rico will continue because of the unsolved political status of the island (Pousada, 1996). Puerto Rico is officially identified as the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico and it is a



territory of the United States. The commonwealth is an unsolved status because under this political status Puerto Rico is considered a colony of the United States. This political status limits the economic, social, and political development of the island. As long as Puerto Rico's political status is not clearly defined, the movement against teaching English will continue (Algren de Gutiérrez, 1987).

I am a Puerto Rican English teacher: my native language is Spanish, and my second language is English. During the 2006-07 academic year, as an elementary school teacher in Puerto Rico, I became interested in the access children have to extracurricular, educational and social resources in the schools of Puerto Rico. I was a fourth and fifth grade Title I English teacher in public schools outside San Juan the capital city, meaning that I focused on those students who scored below average on the No Child Left Behind (NCLB) required standardized tests for English. That same year, I took a second job as a private English tutor in a neighboring town. The six children I tutored ranged from fifth to 12th grade in private school. These two different educational and sociocultural contexts influenced my questions and concerns about the English learning situation in Puerto Rico. For example, in the public school most of the children were from working class families, but the students I tutored came from upper-middle class families and attended private schools. In addition, I noticed that students from private schools had access to a series of extracurricular, educational and social resources in their homes that students from public schools did not have. Furthermore, it seemed as if access to these additional resources was advantageous to learning English and to finding better educational opportunities.

At the end of the year, my observations of these two different educational and sociocultural settings made me think about the possible development of two different speech

communities in Puerto Rico. As an English teacher in a public school, I noticed that children from private schools had a higher proficiency level in English and that the English curriculum of their schools seemed more advanced and challenging. On the other hand, the English class in the public school was slower paced with a focus on basic skills such as memorizing vocabulary and writing sentences with simple grammatical structures.

This dissertation presents part of my inquiry into how access to additional resources is fundamental in the development of private school students' linguistic, social, and educational skills. Part of my investigation documents in detail my suspicion that there are two different speech communities on the island of Puerto Rico, which are basically defined by those who attend or attended private schools and those who attend or attended public schools.

### ***Research Questions***

The research questions that guided this dissertation are:

1. Are there two different speech communities in Puerto Rico? If so, what are they?  
What are the language use and social differences between these two speech communities?
2. Do children in public and/or private schools use any English in their school context?
  - a. What kinds of interactions do children engage in their public school or private school English classrooms?
  - b. What informal uses do children make of English during recess and other periods of time outside their public school or private English classroom?
3. Is there any resistance or empathy toward learning English in public schools? Is there any resistance or empathy toward learning English in private schools?

- a. How is resistance toward English manifested in the English classroom in either school?
- b. How is empathy toward English manifested in the English classroom in either school?
4. Do children in public schools and private schools and their families see English as a mechanism of social mobility in their future professional lives? If so, how?
5. What additional extracurricular, educational, and social resources do public school and private school families use to increase the learning of English for their children?

### ***Speech Communities and Macroacquisition***

A group sharing a particular language is a *speech community* (Brutt-Griffler, 2002). Brutt-Griffler (2002) defines macroacquisition as the acquisition of a second language by a speech community. Macroacquisition is the spread of language to a new speech community via a process of second language acquisition; it is a *social* second language acquisition process (Brutt-Griffler, 2002). It is important to point out that Brutt-Griffler refers to speech communities that do not have a large presence of native speakers of the target language English. Brutt-Griffler states that the process of macroacquisition ties social and historical conflicts to the process of language acquisition. This language acquisition process by a community is affected by the social, historical and political factors that have shaped the speech community. For this reason, there are speech communities where the acquisition of English as a new language has not replaced the native tongue of the community members. Brutt-Griffler gives examples of this sociohistorical process that leads to macroacquisition in nations such as Nigeria and South Africa (p.144).

Table 1.1 Macroacquisition and Type A and Type B Bilingual Speech Communities

(From Brutt-Griffler, 2002)

| <b>MACROACQUISITION:</b><br>The spread of language to new speech communities via a process of second language acquisition. It is a <i>social</i> second language acquisition process.   |   |
|---|---|
| <b>Characteristics:</b><br>No native English-speaking speech community<br>L2 learned primarily in school<br>Acquisition of English as a second language<br>Second language acquisition by groups<br>It is both a sociohistorical and linguistic process |   |
| <i>Type A Bilingual Speech Community</i>  | <i>Type B Bilingual Speech Community</i>  |
| Multilingual setting<br><br>Development of a new English speech community<br>English as a unifying linguistic resource<br><br>New English variety develops<br><br>Examples: South Africa, Nigeria, India, Singapore                                     | Monolingual setting<br><br>Existing speech community<br><br>The community shares both languages<br><br>Code-switching, mixing, and language transfer<br>Examples: Japan, Mexico, Jordan |

Research by Brutt-Griffler (2002) possibly suggests that Puerto Rico is developing two different speech communities via a process of *macroacquisition*. Brutt-Griffler (2002) illustrates two types of bilingual speech communities. Type A refers to a process of macroacquisition that coincides with the development of a new speech community. This occurs when speakers of different mother tongues simultaneously take part in the acquisition of a common second language (L2), different from any of the local first languages. Type A macroacquisition takes place in a multilingual setting in which the acquired language serves as a unifying linguistic resource. This Type A macroacquisition has taken place in countries such as Nigeria, India, and Singapore.

On the other hand, Type B bilingual speech community refers to macroacquisition that takes place in a monolingual society (everybody shares the same mother tongue), and then the acquisition of a second language turns that society into a bilingual speech community. In the case of English, this process has taken place in developing speech communities such as Japan, Mexico, and Jordan (Brutt-Griffler, 2002, p. 139).

In Puerto Rico, the question exists: Why after more than 115 years of American colonization has a world language such as English not replaced Spanish? Furthermore, why have Puerto Ricans not achieved bilingual competence after more than 112 years of exposure to English during the period of American colonization?

According to Brutt-Griffler's (2002) typology, Puerto Rico would be classified as a Type B bilingual speech community because Spanish is the mother tongue of the majority of the population and the acquisition of English could turn Puerto Rico into a bilingual speech community where all members share both Spanish and English as languages of communication. Acquisition of English has been slow, however, due to sociocultural factors, as well as the language teaching methods that have hampered the macroacquisition process (Pousada, 1996; Schweers & Hudders, 2000). Spanish is the dominant mother tongue of Puerto Ricans. In 2011, Spanish predominated in most monolingual settings of the island in schools, government offices, state courts, shopping malls, and private businesses (Blau & Dayton, 1997; Carroll, 2009). In Type B bilingual speech communities, English is used in "second language contexts" where it fulfills certain intellectual/cultural functions (Brutt-Griffler, 2002). In Puerto Rico, English has developed in the political and international economic contexts, but it has not been established as a basic language in the local economy among Spanish monolinguals (Nickels, 2005; Pousada, 2009; Ramírez-González & Torres-

González, 1996; Resnick, 1993; Vélez, 2000). For this reason, at the time of this research in 2011, English in Puerto Rico was limited to a colonizer language, and its functions included use in the English classroom at school, the country's economy, its politics, and its federal government offices (Nickels, 2005; Pousada, 2009; Ramírez-González & Torres-González, 1996; Resnick, 1993; Vélez, 2000). Still in 2011, colonialist political leaders projected English as the language of American colonizers. For this reason, as recently as 2011, English was associated with the domains of colonization such as the ones previously mentioned.

The basic question of this research is: do two different speech communities exist in Puerto Rico, and is the macroacquisition process of English qualitatively different in the two communities? The two groups in question are the low and working class families (speech community LWC) and the upper-middle and upper class families (speech community UMC)<sup>1</sup>. It seems that the public schools and private schools are the vehicles that form this class stratification and division (Kerckhof, 2001; Torruellas, 1990). The children who attend these two different kinds of schools are part of the two speech communities previously proposed. Middle class families in Puerto Rico include a wide range of professionals who would register their children in public schools or private schools depending on their income. Thus, the middle class has children acquiring English in both speech communities.

Brutt-Griffler (2002) suggests that in many of the postcolonial countries in Africa and Asia that have macroacquisition processes, the children of these emerging speech communities acquire their English from the schools. The schools could be the only English-speaking context in many countries that have emerging speech communities and that are

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<sup>1</sup> The speech community LWC refers to the working class families and the children who have been raised and socialized in this social class. Speech community UMC refers to upper class families and the children who have been raised and socialized in this social class.

developing new English speakers. However, in Puerto Rico, as in other countries colonized by the United States or England (e. g., India, Hong Kong, Sri Lanka), effective English education is reserved for the wealthier classes, while the working classes receive limited English education (Brutt-Griffler, 2002; Pousada, 1996, 2009; Schweers & Hudders, 2000; Torruellas, 1990).

The research in this dissertation is different from previous work done in the field of English as a second language in Puerto Rico because I wanted to capture the voices of the families whose children were learning English in schools. In addition, this study was not done in San Juan, the capital city of Puerto Rico. Instead, it was done in two small rural towns (Camuy and Hatillo) on the north coast of the island. My research did not focus on the political debate over English and the two political parties that embrace (Pro Statehood) or resist (Pro Autonomist and Pro Independence) the teaching of English in Puerto Rico's schools. In addition, this dissertation looked to specific contexts and factors that influenced ESL in Puerto Rico. It is important to point out that in this dissertation, I did not look at classroom instruction, teaching strategies, teachers' backgrounds, or ESL<sup>2</sup> curricula in schools. I did not focus on these factors because the limited amount of research that has been done in ESL and Puerto Rico has focused on these educational aspects.

This research presents a description of the educational, sociocultural, and linguistic factors that influence the learning of English as a second language in the public schools and private schools of Puerto Rico. In this study, I investigated:

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<sup>2</sup> As it will be stated in Chapter Two Theoretical Framework in the section *Classification of English in Puerto Rico* it is difficult to classify English in schools as a second language or as a foreign language. According to the teachers' endorsement license, they are classified as ESL teachers. For that reason, I use the ESL classification in this dissertation document.

- The factors that influence most private school Puerto Rican students outside the capital city to learn and master English productively.
- The factors that impede most public school Puerto Rican students from mastering English productively.
- How both social groups incorporate the use of English in their daily social interactions. In order to have better information about the uses of English by these students and the contexts in which it is used, I investigated the external factors and conditions that influence the learning outcomes and functional proficiency levels of English displayed by students from public schools and private schools in Puerto Rico.

To accomplish these goals, I conducted a qualitative study in two fifth grade classrooms of two elementary schools, one public and one private, in Puerto Rico. These two schools were observed for four months. It is important to point out that the two schools chosen were located in two nearby small and rural towns along the north coast of Puerto Rico.

This dissertation is organized as follows:

Chapter 2: Theoretical Framework – This chapter builds on three main frameworks from previous academic research done in Puerto Rico and other English as a second language speech communities. The three main concepts used as a framework are speech communities, sociopolitical and sociocultural history of English in Puerto Rico, and cultural capital. The chapter ends with the research gap regarding English in Puerto Rico as a form of cultural capital.

Chapter 3: Methods – This chapter describes qualitative study and the methods and instruments I used to conduct this research. In addition, the chapter has a brief description of



the setting of the research as well as statistical information used to delineate the social class stratification of the two towns (Camuy and Hatillo) that served as the settings in this research.

Chapter 4: Introducing the Participants – This chapter presents a detailed and colorful description of the two communities in which the schools were located. In addition, it is in this chapter where the reader sees the descriptions of the focal participants and their families as human beings who were members of a specific social class and speech community in Puerto Rico.

Chapter 5: Classroom Observations – This is one of the most fascinating chapters of this dissertation. It is in this chapter where we can see the focal students' and their classmates' social interactions inside the English classroom. This chapter provides copious data related to students' verbal and nonverbal participation in the English classroom, students' social interactions in English with their classmates, and students as active agents in the learning process of English as a second language.

Chapter 6: Public School Families – Using data collected from two tape-recorded interviews with LWC focal parents and their children, this chapter presents the public school families' definitions of bilingualism, and their views of English as a second language in their families' lives. In addition, the chapter presents data from the public school focal students' written journal where they describe their sociocultural experiences in school and at home.

Chapter 7: Private School Families – Using data collected from two tape-recorded interviews with UMC focal parents and their children, this chapter presents the private school families' definitions of bilingualism, and also their views of English as a second language in their

families' lives. As in Chapter five, the focal children also offered samples of their sociocultural experiences in their school and their homes in their written journal entries.

Chapter 8: Analysis and Conclusions – Finally, the last chapter presents the analysis of the data and its relationship with Brutt-Griffler's (2002) concept of speech communities and Bourdieu's (1977) concept of cultural capital. I also answer the five research questions. In addition, I state the limitations of the study, the pedagogical implications, and the directions for future research based on the analysis and results of this dissertation's research.

## **Chapter 2**

### **Theoretical Framework**

This chapter provides the sociohistorical background of Spanish and English in Puerto Rico and the uses of these two languages in different social contexts. The subsequent parts of this chapter illustrate the current English language-teaching situation in the public and private schools of Puerto Rico and the history of social and political resistance to the teaching of English in the schools of Puerto Rico. The possible “diglossic” situation of the uses and functions of Spanish and English in Puerto Rico will also be discussed. Some studies about empathy and resistance to English will be presented. Finally, a summary of the access to extracurricular activities and resources private school students have to help them learn and practice English is provided.

#### ***Colonial history of Puerto Rico and the English language***

Puerto Rico is situated in the Caribbean Sea and was a colony of Spain for four centuries from 1493 to 1898. In that year, it became a colony of the United States as a result of the Spanish–American War (Ramírez–González & Torres–González, 1996). In the last 116 years since the American occupation, the language situation of the island has not changed much. The Official Languages Act of 1902 made both English and Spanish the official languages of Puerto Rico in all government functions, except in public schools. The goals of this bilingual act were to assimilate Puerto Ricans to the American culture and to make Puerto Ricans bilingual within one generation (Nickels, 2005; Ramírez–González & Torres–González, 1996). Schools were believed to be the best place to introduce and spread English on the island (Resnick, 1993). From 1900 to 1949, Puerto Rico had seven different

language policy changes in the public schools (Algren de Gutierrez, 1987).<sup>3</sup> As a result, at the end of this period, secondary education was in English but elementary education was primarily in Spanish. Puerto Rico suffered numerous replacements of Secretaries of Education and disruptive shifts in mandated language use in the schools from 1898 to 1946 (Resnick, 1993; Vélez, 2000).

The first American colonial educational authorities considered Puerto Rican Spanish to be a “patois” with little value as an intellectual medium. These American colonizers did not realize how deeply embedded Puerto Rican Spanish was in the culture and identity of Puerto Ricans (Pousada, 1996; Schweers & Hudders, 2000; Ramírez-González & Torres-González, 1996). During the colonial period, Spanish came to be identified as a symbol of Puerto Rican national identity and culture. English was identified as the language of American colonizers (Algren de Gutierrez, 1987; Grosfogel, 2003; Morris, 1996; Nickels, 2005; Pousada, 1996; Resnick, 1993; Vélez, 2000).

In 1949, the first elected Puerto Rican governor, Luis Muñoz Marín, appointed Mariano Villaronga as the Commissioner of Education. Villaronga established Spanish as the medium of instruction in all public schools and English as a preferred subject. Morris (1995; 1996) points out that while there was an unqualified commitment to Spanish, Puerto Rican leaders such as Luis Muñoz Marín (1963) and Luis A. Ferré (1969) consistently

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<sup>3</sup>Some of the language policies included: 1898 - 1900 no use of Spanish at all, all subjects taught in English. 1900 - 1903 Spanish instruction in elementary school and English instruction in high school. 1903 - 1917 - all English instruction, except the Spanish class. 1917 - 1934 1<sup>st</sup> - 4<sup>th</sup> grades, Spanish was the medium of instruction; 5<sup>th</sup> grade - half and half; 6<sup>th</sup> grade through high school, English as the medium of instruction. 1934 - 1937 – Spanish instruction in elementary and English instruction in high school. 1937 - 1945 – 1<sup>st</sup> & 2<sup>nd</sup> grades, Spanish instruction, 3<sup>rd</sup> - 5<sup>th</sup> transitional grades; 6<sup>th</sup> grade – high school, English instruction. In 1950, the new Commonwealth status established the policy of Spanish as the medium of instruction and English as a preferred language.

pointed out the importance of learning English, not only because of Puerto Rico's association with the United States, but also because English was an international language.

Also in 1949, there was an increase in the number of Catholic schools run by U.S. religious orders, most of which used English in the classroom (Kerkhof, 2001; Morris, 1995; 1996). As a result, the Catholic schools were accused of being Americanizing agents. In 1962, Puerto Rican Secretary of Education Cándido Oliveras expressed concern that more than half of Puerto Rico's private Catholic schools were using English as the language of instruction; however, he did not find any evidence linking the use of English in private schools to "Americanization" (Morris, 1995; 1996).

Today, educational policies reflect the politicized nature of language use in Puerto Rico. The language policy of 1949, where Spanish is the medium of instruction and English is a favored subject in public schools, continues to be the policy today (Pousada 1996; Ramírez-González & Torres-González 1996; Resnick, 1993; Schweers & Hudders, 2000; Vélez, 2000).

In 1991, the government of Rafael Hernández Colón (Pro Autonomist Political Party) passed a law decreeing Spanish as the only official language of Puerto Rico for all government functions. However, in 1993 the newly elected governor, Pedro Rosselló (Pro Statehood Political Party) reinstated the old Official Languages Act of 1902 again making both English and Spanish official languages; this law is still in effect. Since 1902, it has been extremely difficult, if not impossible, to separate the school linguistic issue from the political status question of the island itself (Crawford, 1992).

The Resident Commissioner (2008 – 2010), Pedro Pierluisi, asked for more federal funding to implement more bilingual education programs in the public schools of the island.<sup>4</sup> Since the political party that was governing in 2012 (Pro Statehood Party) promoted statehood for the island,<sup>5</sup> one of their main goals was to increase the bilingual programs in the public schools. (Comisionado residente, 2010).

Pousada (2009) explains that there were twelve bilingual public schools operating in Puerto Rico. In 1996, when the governor's seat was in the hands of the Pro Statehood party, their leaders created the *Proyecto para Crear el Ciudadano Bilingüe* (Project to Create a Bilingual Citizen). In 1996, this program established 55 Spanish-English bilingual public schools on the island. By 2011, only eight of those schools were operating because the Pro Autonomist Party that won the governor's seat in 2000 cut the funding of these bilingual public schools (Pousada, 2009).

This brief summary of the history of the English language in Puerto Rico has portrayed the strong relationship between the teaching of English in public schools and political agendas on the island. For example, if the Pro Statehood political party wins the elections, they will approve more funding for English classes and bilingual programs in public schools. But if the Pro Autonomist political party wins the elections, they cut funding for English programs and bilingual programs in the public schools. Nickels (2005) states,

This political attachment to the language issue is noteworthy because every four years the issue is recycled during election time. Any attempt at improving the state of teaching and learning English is seen as a political maneuver, thus allowing the

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<sup>4</sup> The Resident Commissioner is the representative of Puerto Rico in the United States Congress; however, the Resident Commissioner does not have the right to vote in the U.S. Congress.

<sup>5</sup> At the time this research was done in 2011-12, Luis Fortuño was the governor (Pro Statehood party). Now in 2013-14, Alejandro García (Pro Autonomist party) is the governor of Puerto Rico. However, the Resident Commissioner chair is still in hands of the Pro Statehood Party (Pedro Pierluisi is the actual commissioner).

language issue to continue to be used as a political pawn in the electoral game, perpetuating the controversy. (p. 228)

Diverse scholars (Algren de Gutiérrez, 1987; Kerkhof, 2001; Nickels, 2005; Pousada, 1996; Resnick, 1993) have denounced the politicization of the language issue regarding the teaching of English and its curriculum in Puerto Rico by recycling the matter every time a new governor wins an election.

### ***Sociocultural language situation in public and private schools***

As previously discussed, the teaching and learning of English in public schools in Puerto Rico takes place in a highly charged political and ideological context (Nickels, 2005). By the time this study was done 2011-12, English was taught as a required subject in all grades (K-12) and two years in college, for those who attend. At the same time, some core courses in college can be taught in English if the professor does not speak Spanish (Nickels, 2005). This section reviews studies that investigate the teaching of English in public and private schools of Puerto Rico.

There is an unquestioned relationship between language choice and social class on the island of Puerto Rico (Kerkhof, 2001; Nickels, 2005; Pousada, 1996; 2009; Resnick, 1993; Schweers & Hudders, 2000; Torruellas, 1990; Zentella, 1999). This means that there is segregation between those who have mastered English and those who have not. According to Pousada (1996), highly competent bilinguals in Puerto Rican society tend to be middle and upper class members of the intelligentsia, the commercial circle, and the military. The acquisition of English is seen as a necessary tool for social mobility and economic benefits, and this also makes English a symbol of class differentiation (Kerkhof, 2001; Nickels, 2005; Pousada, 1996; Resnick, 1993; Torruellas, 1990; Zentella, 1999). Although English is accessible in public schools because it is a mandatory subject, students from private schools

are the ones who become functional bilinguals because many private schools have retained English as the language of instruction. In addition, the education in private schools has been recognized as being of higher quality (Resnick, 1993). Much research on the public school system of Puerto Rico has come to the general conclusion that there are deficiencies in textbooks, methods, and teacher preparation (Kerkhof, 2001; Pousada, 1996; 2009; Resnick, 1993; Schweers & Hudders, 2000; Torruellas, 1990). The hard reality is that Puerto Ricans from the middle and upper classes use bilingualism to their advantage, and lack of English disadvantages the lower class. In this way, upper class parents have made the decision to send their children to private schools where English is more actively and effectively developed (Kerkhof, 2001; Pousada, 1997; Schweers & Hudders, 2000; Vélez, 2000; Zentella, 1999). The socio-economic elite evaded the Spanish only policy of 1949 in schools by enrolling their children in private schools that either teach through the medium of English or otherwise emphasize English (Vélez, 2000; Zentella, 1999).

The learning of English is an asset for Puerto Ricans of all social classes, because they can use it to get a college education or to move to the United States for employment purposes. Lower-class people are aware of the situation in public schools and they recognize the best private schools as those with strong English learning programs (Kerkhof, 2001). Upper-class parents see English as an indispensable part of their children's general education (Kerkhof, 2001; Torruellas, 1990). Interestingly, upper-class parents who support statehood and independence for Puerto Rico send their children to private schools with strong English curricula. These parents argue that in today's globalized world, it is important to learn English. Parents choose private schools because of the good quality of English instruction. The most prestigious private schools in the San Juan metropolitan area are renowned for their



English instruction and English is utilized as a means of instruction in different subjects and areas (Pousada, 2009; Torruellas, 1990). In this way, English is creating linguistic barriers and social class stratification among Puerto Ricans (Kerkhof, 2001; Torruellas, 1990, Zentella, 1999). Private schooling and the mastery of English are playing a stratifying function in Puerto Rican society.

More than fifty years after Spanish was reinstated as the language of instruction in public schools, children of the higher social strata are receiving bilingual education. In this manner, there is not only linguistic division in the Puerto Rican population, but at the same time there is social division (Kerkhof, 2001; Torruellas, 1990; Zentella, 1999). The Puerto Rican elite communicates easily in Spanish or English because they can afford private schools and they study abroad (Torruellas, 1990; Zentella, 1999). The successful English programs of the private schools are a constant reminder that Puerto Ricans are capable of learning a second language and becoming bilinguals without losing their Spanish (Kerkhof, 2001; Torruellas, 1990; Zentella, 1999).

### ***Classification of English in Puerto Rico***

One of the main problems with the teaching of English in Puerto Rico is determining the appropriate classification of this language on the island – is it a foreign or a second language? In addition, Puerto Rico is not appropriately classified as an English speaking society in Kachru's (1990) World Englishes circles. Consequently, the task of preparing an adequate language-planning program that can fit the needs of Puerto Ricans is made more difficult. The following summary will provide an account of the different studies and analyses that have tried to find a proper linguistic classification for Puerto Rico as an English speech community.

Kachru's World Englishes circles (Inner, Outer, and Expanding Circle) refer to the global diffusion of English (Kachru, 1990). The Inner Circle includes the regions where English is used as a primary language (e. g. USA, UK, Australia, Canada, New Zealand). The Outer Circle represents places formerly colonized by Britain and the U.S. where English has official or semi official states (e.g. India, Nigeria, the Philippines). The Expanding Circle consists of the areas where English is used as a medium of international communication (China, Europe, the Middle East, Japan) (Kachru, 1990). Scholars (Strevens, 1982; Nickels, 2005) place Puerto Rico between the Inner and Outer Circles, due to the functions of English on the island. The relationship of Puerto Rico with the United States makes the status of English a pervasive one. On the other hand, English could be considered a second language and Puerto Rico part of the Outer Circle because of the constant migration of Puerto Ricans between the island and the United States. On the other hand, there are not enough native English speakers on the island to consider English a second language in the schools in Puerto Rico, so in this way Puerto Rico could be considered part of the Expanding Circle countries.

The pedagogical factors that have affected the learning of English as a second language include the particular historical, social, and cultural experiences of Puerto Rico, where schools have vacillated between English as a second language (ESL) and English as a foreign language (EFL) orientations (Blau & Dayton, 1997; Pousada, 1996; Schweers & Hudders, 2000). ESL classification requires a speech community that practices natural communication in English, such as in the United States or the U.S. Virgin Islands. An EFL approach is used when students do not have a speech community to practice their English everyday, such as in China. Yet the persistent influence of English in commercial signs, cable TV, English language broadcasting, federal courts, and the relationship with the United

States, argue for an ESL approach in schools in Puerto Rico (Blau & Dayton, 1997; Nickels, 2005; Pousada, 1996; Schweers & Hudders, 2000). Still there is not a concrete English speaking community in Puerto Rico where all ESL students can practice their English everyday after school (Nickels, 2005). An EFL approach can be applied to Puerto Rico, but it too is not completely accurate given the continuous migration and ties with relatives on the mainland United States (Pousada, 1996; Schweers & Hudders, 2000).

Taking into account the difficult situation of English in Puerto Rico, there is still a need for research about the role of English in schools and educational contexts. In addition, the aforementioned scholars document the need for more research in English language classrooms, as well as studies about the uses of English inside and outside the school context (Pousada, 2009; Torruellas, 1990; Zentella, 1999).

### ***Puerto Rican National Identity: Between Spanish and English***

Social and political empathy or claims of resistance to English has also been a main factor in the acquisition of English as a second language by different speech communities in Puerto Rico. This part of the paper will explain the development of the different social and political movements against teaching English that exist in Puerto Rico. It will also show how these movements have contributed to the claims of resistance toward acquiring/learning English in the Puerto Rican society. These movements have used the “language-identity” issue to remind Puerto Ricans that speaking Spanish is fundamental to a strong Puerto Rican identity.

According to Grosfogel (2003), in the 1950’s Puerto Rico’s Commonwealth status was institutionalized, along with the use of Spanish in the schools and state institutions. The leaders of the new Commonwealth stated that the Spanish language recognized Puerto Rican

culture and national identity (Grosfogel, 2003; Nickels, 2005; Zentella, 1999). The joint recognition of Spanish and Puerto Rican culture led to the unity and association of these two elements as needing inevitably to be present on the island. This means that Spanish was portrayed as an essential component of Puerto Rican identity and its use represented loyalty to Puerto Rican heritage.

The movement against teaching English in Puerto Rico is a rhetorical one that focuses on the strategies of argumentation and persuasion used by the movement's proponents (Algren de Gutiérrez, 1987; Vélez, 2000). In other words, the leaders of the movement use eloquent discourses about Puerto Rican identity and the use of Spanish to encourage Puerto Ricans to doubt and be ambivalent about being bilinguals. The movement began in response to the policy of teaching only in English in public schools in 1899. Many educators and politicians believed that bilingualism would lead to the displacement of the Spanish language (Crawford, 1992). The authorities on the language issue interpret the movement against teaching English as a reaction to the language policies followed in Puerto Rican public schools from 1905 – 1945 (Algren de Gutiérrez, 1987; Crawford, 1992).

In 1917, the anti-English movement leaders stressed that Puerto Ricans should defend the use of Spanish in schools because that language was theirs. These leaders increasingly portrayed the use of the Spanish language as a symbol of national identity (Nickels, 2005). Identity remained a prominent issue in Puerto Rican politics. The use of Spanish reinforced the formation of a Puerto Rican collective awareness posited in the movement against teaching English (Algren de Gutiérrez, 1987; Vélez, 2000).

In 1917, Puerto Ricans were granted American citizenship via the Jones Act. In the 1920's, within the political reality of Puerto Ricans' American citizenship, the movement

against teaching in English polarized Puerto Ricans. The leaders of the anti-English movement convinced the United States government that their rejection of English instruction was the national sentiment shared by the Puerto Rican population. The proponents of autonomy stressed that only a few Puerto Ricans needed English for instrumental reasons such as business or official transactions (Algren de Gutiérrez, 1987; Resnik, 1993). The emphasis on the Spanish language as a symbol of national identity was used to reinforce the image of Puerto Ricans as a distinct people to whom the United States was unjustly denying effective self-government (Algren de Gutiérrez, 1987).

In 2009, Pousada reported that the vast majority (85%) of Puerto Ricans did not speak English. This situation is primarily due to Puerto Rico's political leaders who support the philosophy of political autonomy and independence for Puerto Rico. These autonomist and independence promoting political leaders are themselves an educated bilingual elite, but they demand Spanish only in public schools, courts and other public institutions (Algren de Gutiérrez, 1987; Grosfogel, 2003; Zentella, 1999). Numerous newspaper columns and editorials advocate the use of Spanish; political parties include the defense of Spanish in their platforms and rapidly connect it to nationalism and the celebration of Hispanic identity (Algren de Gutiérrez, 1987; Resnik, 1993; Vélez, 2000).

For these reasons, those Puerto Ricans who want to learn English may get confused and overwhelmed because they do not want to betray their Puerto Rican culture. Some Puerto Ricans may consider that they only have two options: 1) to learn English and feel that they have betrayed their Puerto Rican identity (Americanization); or 2) to refrain from learning English and limit their socioeconomic mobility (Nickels, 2005).

### ***Empathy and Resistance to English***

This research looks at signs of empathy and resistance towards the learning of English in the classroom.

In the international context, Canagarajah (1999) reported signs of resistance to English language instruction from students in classrooms in Sri Lanka. The signs of resistance included comments, scribbles, and graffiti written by the students in the margins of their English textbooks. These signs of resistance shed light on the attitudes of students towards the textbook, and their strategies for dealing with the hidden curriculum of the English course (Canagarajah, 1999). According to Canagarajah, this is a widespread student activity that usually passes unnoticed by teachers and researchers. In the Sri Lankan case, students used the creativity of their writings and drawings to show their feelings toward language instruction that misunderstands and ignores the real interests of their sociocultural context.

In this research, I investigated how Puerto Rican students show resistance or empathy toward the learning of English as a second language. There are few studies about the factors of resistance and empathy toward English in Puerto Rican schools. However, some of the previously mentioned studies have identified different signs of empathy and resistance displayed by students toward English in Puerto Rico.

Resistance to English and loyalty to Spanish are usually described as the main causes for the fact that 80 percent of Puerto Ricans do not speak English fluently after a century of U.S. domination (Zentella, 1999). Resistance may or may not be a factor; still, resistance does not easily explain why most of the public school children learn less English than the private school children in Puerto Rico (Zentella, 1999). Besides resistance, there are different

extralinguistic factors (e.g. curriculum, materials, parents and students' access to additional resources) that contribute to this issue in the public schools of Puerto Rico.

One explanation for the maintenance of Spanish in Puerto Rico was the density of the population of Puerto Rico in the 1900's (Vélez, 2000). According to Vélez, there were no extensive uninhabited tracts of land that American colonizers could appropriate for themselves, making it difficult for speakers of a foreign language such as English, and therefore the foreign language itself, to penetrate the existing Spanish-speaking community. According to this author, two factors that contributed to the maintenance of Spanish in Puerto Rico are resistance and demographics (Vélez, 2000).

In Puerto Rican private schools in metropolitan San Juan, students have been documented to be active agents, resisting or embracing their chances for learning English (Torruellas, 1990). Seniors at these private schools held very positive attitudes towards English. Seniors said they liked English and expressed language preferences for books and novels written in this language. Moreover, English is a prestigious language among these private schools' students (Torruellas, 1990). In these private schools, teachers relate the advantages of learning English, describing it as an international language useful for communicating "in any part of the world." In this way, teachers are depoliticizing English and presenting the positive aspects in a way that does not conflict with the students' personal views towards Spanish (Torruellas, 1990). As a result, these students recognize the importance of Spanish as a symbol of Puerto Rican identity, and they also recognize the benefits that come from the mastery of English (Torruellas, 1990).

There are no qualitative studies that look at signs of resistance and empathy to English in the public schools of Puerto Rico and the role of the students in this conflict. This

research documents how students in public schools are active agents displaying behaviors that have been labeled as resistance or empathy in the literature. This dissertation will be one of the first studies that will look in depth at the issue of resistance and empathy inside the English classrooms of public schools in Puerto Rico.

### ***Functions of English and Spanish in Puerto Rico (Diglossia)***

Spanish and English seem to have separate functions in the Puerto Rican speech communities. Also, as previously discussed, two different social classes use Spanish and English according to the social context. It is clear that Spanish is available for use as the common language in almost all formal and informal contexts in Puerto Rico. English seems to be used in English classrooms, tourist spots, federal government offices, media and technology. However, the following discussion describes broader functions for Spanish and English in Puerto Rican speech communities. Furthermore, these scholars show many more social contexts or domains where English is used. The term “diglossia” is defined according to Fishman’s (1967) theoretical framework, based on multilingual societies. Canagarajah (2005) describes a “diglossic” situation on the island of Sri Lanka that is similar to the one in Puerto Rico.

Some of the main characteristics of “diglossia” involve an H (higher) language (or variety of one language) that is spoken by the elite and which is used for intragroup purposes at various times and various places (Fishman, 1967). According to Fishman, as a common norm, the majority of the elite and the majority of the masses never interact with one another; as a result they do not form a single speech community. This narrows the linguistic repertoires of the two groups, preventing societal bilingualism from developing. This kind of



diglossia also reflects two different social classes: an upper and lower class, each with a language appropriate to its own concerns (Fishman, 1967).

Spanish in Puerto Rico is considered a language of wider communication, which gives it a functional and prestigious status (Vélez, 2000). It seems that Puerto Rico is developing a diglossic situation in which English is used in the domains of finance, industry, commerce, tourism, science, federal courts, technology, and the armed forces (Pousada, 2009; Ramírez-González & Torres-González, 1996; Vélez, 2000). Puerto Rico is often described as overwhelmingly ethnically and linguistically homogeneous (Vélez, 2000). Spanish is the native language of 94% of the population (Pousada, 2009). It is still spoken in the homes, and children come to school already knowing Spanish. Furthermore, Spanish is also used in all the domains listed above where English is used (Resnick, 1993; Vélez, 2000). In the 2000 census, it was reported that English was not spoken in most of the homes. In the public education system English is a required subject from first grade to the second year of college (Nickels, 2005).

English also functions as a communication language in some other domains in Puerto Rico. Some of these domains include: English signs, hospital records and laboratory reports, instructions on products from medicine to packaged products in supermarkets and on household appliances, as well as street names, buildings and more (Nickels, 2005). One of the most important functions of English is in the area of media entertainment. In Puerto Rico there are many English-language magazines and newspapers with large numbers of subscribers. Cable TV offers most channels in English. It has been claimed that Cable TV is an effective method for learning English because it develops language skills in an interactive

way throughout commentaries, discussion and repetition of key phrases (Nickels, 2005; Pousada, 2009).

There are many social settings in Puerto Rico where English is spoken and where Spanish-English code-switching may be the norm (Pousada, 2009). Some examples of these English social settings include: pubs, bilingual theaters, certain social clubs, some Protestant churches, and all Jewish temples. The use of code-switching, particularly among young people, may occur at places such as large malls (particularly Plaza Las Américas) and music concerts (Pousada, 2009). Puerto Ricans also use Spanish-English code-switching as a means of communication on the Internet, especially in social media and/or social networks such as: Facebook, Twitter, MySpace, Instagram, and LinkedIn (Carroll, 2008).

According to Pousada (2009), in the 2006 Puerto Rican Community Survey 15.1% of Spanish-speaking adults self-reported that they speak English “well.” In the 2000 census, towns near the metropolitan area (Guaynabo, Cataño, Carolina, Dorado) and on the east coast (Ceiba, Fajardo, Culebra, Vieques) self-reported that 20% or more of adults speak “very good” English (Pousada, 2009). These towns are tourist spots, business centers, national government offices, federal offices, and military bases.

According to the previous authors, Puerto Ricans do not enjoy societal bilingualism as a single speech community. In the last decades, English has spread to the media and technological domains and has influenced younger generations. Spanish is still considered a prestigious language and is also used in many government contexts. Puerto Ricans feel comfortable when they speak Spanish in any context. However, English has more prestige in many sociolinguistic contexts. English has remained the official language of federal government transactions, and it is important to point out that Puerto Ricans from all social

classes recognize the power of English as a language that can bring socio-economic mobility. As a final point, upper class Puerto Rican bilinguals generally are the interlocutors in most of the domains where English is used for specific functions in Puerto Rico.

### ***Extracurricular activities***

As mentioned previously, the acquisition of English in Puerto Rico is connected to social class and to the kind of school--public or private-- that children attend. At the same time, the kind of school they attend and social class determine the access to extracurricular, educational and social resources that children will have in their lives. In this manner, the term “extracurricular activity” will have a main role in this dissertation research. I define extracurricular activity as an activity that students from any social class perform afterschool or at some other time when they are not in the traditional classroom. These activities may include sports, music, dancing, arts and crafts, technological access, summer camps, family travels inside and outside the country, etc. Research has identified a relationship between involvement in extracurricular activities and increased opportunities to learn English as a second language (Pousada, 2009; Torruellas, 1990). Many of the activities mentioned above seem to be potential contexts for practicing and expanding English skills. Torruellas (1990) details the additional extracurricular, educational, and social resources to which upper class seniors at three private schools in San Juan have access. The following description of these resources provides a better understanding of how these extracurricular activities contribute to a positive attitude towards English in Puerto Rico.

According to Torruellas (1990), some of the educational activities and resources that encouraged English use in classes and extracurricular periods of time were reading short stories, plays and novels. Furthermore, several student organizations used English. Students

also utilized English to communicate with their American peers and friends. At the time of Torruellas' study, some students at these private schools practiced sports at Fort Buchanan, a U.S. Army base in Puerto Rico, which closed in 2000. These experiences helped students use English. Other forms of extracurricular activities that helped students to learn and use English were trips to the United States for vacation, for academic competitions, or to live for extended periods. In addition, high school seniors from these private schools traveled to the United States for summer camps or to visit universities. Students from wealthy families have the opportunity to go to areas such as New England to take summer English courses (Torruellas, 1990).

The geographic location of these students' homes and their parents' jobs made it more likely that they would come into contact with native English speakers. Most of the upper-class families studied by Torruellas worked and settled in the San Juan area. The higher social status of these upper-class parents brought them more opportunities for using English at work with native speakers of the language (Torruellas, 1990).

All the studies and literature previously discussed present the "core" of the theoretical framework of this dissertation. I have presented the main factors and issues that contribute to the complicated problem of English language learning in Puerto Rico. In other words, the problem of learning English in Puerto Rico is not limited to merely a personal choice of whether to speak Spanish or English; it goes much further and deeper. Learning English in Puerto Rico involves complicated historical, social, cultural, political, economic, and educational factors that are intertwined with issues of social class stratification.

### ***Research Gap***

Previous studies about English learning in Puerto Rico from the perspective of colonialism and Americanization do not make an in-depth analysis of many language questions (Kerkhof, 2001; Nickels, 2005; Pousada, 2009; Torruellas, 1990; Zentella, 1999). New studies should critically examine English as a form of social and cultural capital in Puerto Rico and as a means of reproducing social inequality (Torruellas, 1990). Furthermore, many scholars claim that the colonialism/Americanization perspective is also the position of the intellectuals who write language policies on the island and those who are active in the movement against teaching English.

Extracurricular activities and additional educational and social resources are often referred to in the sociocultural literature as *cultural capital* (Pousada, 2009; Laureau, 2000; Torruellas, 1990). According to Bourdieu (1977a) and Passeron (1979), cultural capital involves the social connections, material, economic, and intellectual resources that help people move in the correct circles to attain what they want. In Puerto Rico, the learning and mastering of English is a sign of empowerment and better opportunities, making it a form of cultural capital. The upper-middle class uses private school education and private English tutoring as mechanisms (educational and extracurricular resources) to get this form of cultural capital for their children. The attainment of cultural capital by the upper-middle and upper classes in Puerto Rico is a topic that needs more in-depth analysis because of the inequalities it causes in education. The differences are evident when upper-middle class students go to colleges in the United States or they enter intermediate and advanced English courses in colleges in Puerto Rico while public school students enter pre-basic and basic English courses in college.

There is a gap in research about cultural capital in terms of specific extracurricular, educational and social resources, and how these perpetuate social class stratification in Puerto Rico. This study focuses on how the attainment of these elements of cultural capital advantages the learning of English as a second language and how they are used for future academic success. This review of the research examines the structure and distribution of cultural capital using two relevant bodies of literature: a) cultural capital theory; and, b) cultural capital and minority and socially marginalized groups.

### ***Cultural Capital Overview***

As previously stated, cultural capital involves the social connections, material, economic, and intellectual resources that help people move in the correct circles to attain what they want (Bourdieu, 1977a; Passeron, 1979). The concept of habitus explains the context in which individuals develop mechanisms that are adapted to their social needs and to the world in which they live everyday (Bourdieu, 1977a; Passeron, 1979). Cultural capital should include primarily knowledge, expertise, and the resources individuals have (Devine- Eller, 2005). Habitus should include primarily preferences and practices, things actors do, and the uses individuals make of those resources (Devine–Eller, 2005). At the same time, cultural capital comes with other forms of capital such as economic, social, and human (Bourdieu, 1977b; Passeron, 1979). These forms of capital function in schools and in this way contribute to the social reproduction of inequality. One of the main arguments of the concept of cultural capital is that schools promote the reproduction of social class stratification in their daily sociocultural setting (Bourdieu, 1977b; Devine-Elller, 2005; Passeron, 1979). In this way, schools help to replicate in adulthood the social class origin of the students.

### ***Cultural Capital and minority and socially marginalized groups***

Many cultural capital studies argue that there is an assumption that people of color and Latinos ‘lack’ the social and cultural capital required for social mobility (Yosso, 2005). It is well known in the sociocultural field that cultural capital is possessed and inherited by privileged groups in society (Yosso, 2005; Devine-Eller, 2005; Robbins 2005). The other sources of cultural capital, such as social capital and economic capital, can be acquired in two ways: from one’s family and/or through formal schooling. Schools reward particular dispositions and tastes that are claimed to be ‘natural’ characteristics of cultural capital attainment in upper class children. At the same time, social origin is an influential factor in terms of gaining a higher education because the scholastic system continually eliminates a high proportion of children from the disadvantaged classes (Devine-Eller, 2005; Robbins 2005; Yosso, 2005). Some of the educational and cultural factors that influence minority students’ academic progress are limited parental access to economic and educational resources, prejudice toward the culture and language used in the home, and intolerance toward the interactional styles that are not the ones rewarded in the typical teacher/student patterns of schools (Cummins, 1986).

Previous research has exposed the limitations of cultural capital in white working class children, African American youth, Puerto Rican high school students, and low-income immigrant children in the United States (Antrop–González, Vélez & Garret, 2005; Lareau, 1987; Carter, 2003). The class position and the class culture of middle class families are two forms of cultural capital not available to working class families. Cultural capital operates within the social context and in different social spheres. In this way, students recognize the benefits of access to additional resources that are a source of cultural capital. At the same

time, they make appropriate use of these extracurricular and additional social resources to reach their educational goals (Antrop-González, Vélez & Garret, 2005; Lareau, 1987; Carter, 2003).

Mexican and Puerto Rican students and their parents in the United States see a connection between high academic achievement and extracurricular activities (Antrop-González, Velez & Garret, 2005; Cerna, Pérez & Sáenz, 2007). These activities also contributed to their establishment of social capital through social networks. Some of the resources that are associated with cultural capital are available at school, such as computers, books, tutoring, and sports, contributing to cultural capital access (Antrop-González, Velez & Garret, 2005; Monkman et al., 2005). Cerna, Pérez & Sáenz (2007) recommend bringing this minority population more resources, attributes and values, as well as student services, to enhance their access to human/educational capital.

This review includes the theoretical framework of cultural capital, as well as further analyses and critiques by other theorists besides Pierre Bourdieu. At the same time, there are studies about the connection of cultural capital with social class stratification. These studies compare the attainment of cultural capital by social classes (upper vs. working) and by racially and ethnically diverse groups (Whites vs. African Americans, Latinos).

### ***Conclusion***

This dissertation aims to add to the current literature related to English as a second language and social class stratification in the commonwealth of Puerto Rico. The previous theoretical framework presented different historical, educational, social and political aspects of the history of English in Puerto Rico from 1898 until today. English in Puerto Rico has always been a controversial issue that has affected the educational excellence of Puerto



Ricans, especially those in the low and working classes who attend the public schools on the island. As history has shown, there are clear social and linguistic divisions that are basically distinguished by two things: access to cultural capital, and mastering of English. Politics in Puerto Rico has proved to be a powerful factor in the way the government and other leaders have manipulated the issue of English to their own convenience while they confuse those of the more disadvantaged social classes. The conflict between language use and the connection with identity has impeded the process of learning English as a second language among the low and working social classes. The political discourse in Puerto Rico labels English as a colonizer language. One main question remains: does the majority of Puerto Ricans see English as a colonizer language? Moreover, as previously discussed, educational factors such as the uncertain classification of English in Puerto Rico as an ESL or EFL language and the access to extracurricular activities are major factors in the learning of English. Finally, this theoretical framework located and drew on only one study (Torruellas, 1990) that investigated English as a form of cultural capital in private schools in Puerto Rico.

This dissertation presents English as a form of cultural capital in public and private schools in Puerto Rico. English in public schools has always been controversial and chaotic. This has contributed to poor research and language planning in schools because of the many difficult steps that the bureaucratic system has imposed on researchers, scholars, and teachers to do research in their educational system. It is for this reason that research inside public school English classrooms in Puerto Rico is almost non-existent.

The present work is significant to the field of education and sociocultural studies because there are few studies that compare access to additional resources for English learning in public and private elementary school students in Puerto Rico. This dissertation will also

be one of the first studies that compares the social interaction of students inside the English classroom of one public and one private school in Puerto Rico.

## **Chapter 3**

### **Methods**

#### ***Methodological Approach***

This research was conducted using a qualitative research approach that involves “the collection of data in a natural setting sensitive to the people under study.” (Creswell, 2007, p. 37). I studied families in two different school systems--public school families and private school families in rural Puerto Rico-- who represented two different social and economic groups. In this study, I observed, described, and focused on the learned behaviors, beliefs, perspectives and language of two culture-sharing social and economic groups (Creswell, 2007). As part of the qualitative research approach, I interviewed the participants and immersed myself in part of their daily lives. The continuous observation and interaction with participants for seven months in these two social class groups helped me to see a better picture of what their sociocultural practices were regarding English language learning and use. Qualitative research prioritizes multiple forms of data collection such as sociolinguistic interviews and analysis of classroom observations (Creswell, 2007). In this dissertation research, I did not do certain data collection, procedures often associated with qualitative research because I was not given permission by the Institutional Review Board to conduct them.

In this qualitative research I present the voices of the participants. In addition, I describe and interpret the issue of English as a cultural capital tool in public and private schools in Puerto Rico. In this sense, I studied if one of the schools, the private school, provided certain privileges (learning of English) to its clientele (upper- middle class families and their children) that the public school did not. I focused on two school sites in order to

illustrate two different contexts and perspectives on the issues of access to extracurricular, educational, and social resources in two different school systems in Puerto Rico. The public school system is under the administration of the Department of Education of Puerto Rico. Although private schools must be accredited by the Department of Education in Puerto Rico and Middle States, they are independent entities. I chose a particular private Catholic school as one of the settings because of its reputation in the community of having a strong English program. The private Catholic schools are under the administration of the Private Catholic Schools Association of the island and also must to be accredited by the Department of Education and Middle States.

This qualitative study focused on two different sociocultural student groups while they were learning English as a second language in two small, neighboring towns in Puerto Rico. I focused on the social and cultural settings and opportunities of the children in each school and therefore in each social class. The social networks, as well as the social and cultural contexts the children experience, were different from one social class group to another. I delineated the social context of the two social class groups according to descriptions about the parents' employment, number of children in the home, extracurricular activities (e.g., tutoring, sports practices, etc.), friends' networks, and the schools' practices and resources. More in-depth descriptions about material possessions include the type of housing, entertainment, material possessions, household resources, and traveling experiences. These more in-depth descriptions will be detailed in Chapter Four: Introducing the Participants.

### ***Participants***

I observed one fifth grade class that teaches English at a public elementary school and one fifth grade class that teaches English at a private elementary school in rural Puerto Rico for four months. I received permission from the schools to observe their English classrooms. Chapter Four: Introducing the Participants explains and describes more in detail the selection process of the schools and the classrooms. I observed a fifth grade English classroom in both schools. Although I observed the class as a whole, the main participants in this research were three focal lower working class (LWC) public school students and their families and three focal upper middle class (UMC) private school students and their families. The three focal families at each school consented to be part of the research and to be interviewed outside of the school at their homes, at the parents' workplace, or at a fast-food restaurant.

### ***Criteria for selection of the focal participants***

To select the focal children and their families, I designed a brief questionnaire (see Appendix A) in which the parents answered questions about their children's education. During the first week of my observations in the schools, I gave 22 notification letters and brief questionnaires (see Appendix A) to all the children in the class to give to their parents. Some students returned the consent forms and questionnaires the next day of observations and others returned the forms one week later. I carefully analyzed the responses to this brief questionnaire. One of the main selection criteria was socioeconomic status of each family. I documented the demographics of each school by asking for official paperwork, and I did my best to select children who represented the population of each school. Because my goal was to look at these two populations and contrasting social classes, and because my research questions addressed that each school orients toward one of these socioeconomic classes, I

consciously selected lower-working class participants at the public school and upper-middle class participants at the private school.

### ***Positionality of the researcher***

I am a Puerto Rican woman, and my native language is Spanish. My native language Spanish was an advantage in order to communicate effectively with the children, parents, and school administrators.

In this investigation, although I am a Puerto Rican from the region where the study was conducted, the positionality of the researcher was that of a relative outsider in both school contexts (public and private) in Puerto Rico. I knew the general public school context because of my previous experience working as an English teacher for one year in one public elementary school in Puerto Rico. At the time of the study, I did not know the children who were registered in the fifth grade in the fall of 2011 and the home context of these public school children. I was able to understand many conflicts and situations in the public school because I was part of the public school community for a long time; first as a student for 13 years (K-12), and then as a teacher for one year (2006-07). I attended public schools in Camuy from elementary school through high school. However, the public school selected for this study was a new school for me, and I did not have experience there as a student or teacher.

The private school context was unfamiliar to me as a researcher and as a teacher. In this sense, I considered myself an outsider in the private school context. However, four years before the research was conducted, I served as a private English tutor at the homes of three families whose children were private school students in Hatillo. In this manner, I had some knowledge of private school children's home context in the town of Hatillo.

## *Setting*



Figure 3.1 Map of the towns of Puerto Rico

The setting for the research focused on two elementary schools in two small towns on the north coast of Puerto Rico. The responses of the parents to the sociolinguistic questionnaire helped to analyze the social class stratification of the towns. I identified the social class of the families according to their educational opportunities, the parents' jobs, and with the help of the teachers.

### ***Ocean View Private School***

The private elementary school was in Hatillo. For purposes of this study I used a pseudonym for the private school and it will be called Ocean View Private School. Although Hatillo is a small town, the economy boomed about 20 years ago because of the dairy industry and the establishment of big chain stores such as Walmart, Sam's Club, Sears, JC Penney, and a large shopping mall. The first Walmart store in Puerto Rico was established in Hatillo, and then the other big chain stores began opening in Hatillo. The dairy industry has been the backbone of Hatillo's economy. Hatillo is the main producer of milk on the island.

The price of milk has escalated along with the economic difficulties the town is suffering. Now, consistent with the struggling economy of all Puerto Rico, economic development in Hatillo is slow. Still, many big chain stores and restaurants continue to establish their businesses there. The total population of Hatillo is 43,059 inhabitants (Mayor's Office, personal communication, October 21, 2010). Much of the population of Hatillo is employed in technical part-time jobs (Mayor's Office, personal communication, October 21, 2010). This part of the population forms the low working class of the town. On the other hand, because of the success of the dairy industries, 40 to 50 years ago many Hatillo families sent their children to the first private schools in town, and now most of these graduates are professionals in different fields and are members of the upper and elite classes in Hatillo.

Hatillo had a gradual boom in the private school business for approximately 25 years (approximately late 1970s to early 2000s). Hatillo has five large private schools (grades K-12) with approximately 500 to 1,200 students in each school, and more than five smaller, private elementary schools, each with approximately 50 to 200 students each. Hatillo has a total of 16 public schools (10 elementary schools, four middle schools, and two high schools).

### ***Central Town Public School***

The public elementary school in this study was in Camuy. For purposes of this research I will call the public school Central Town Public School. Camuy is 4.5 miles west of Hatillo on the north coast of Puerto Rico. In contrast with Hatillo, the economic development of Camuy has not been rapid. Camuy had three textile and shoe factories, but they closed about 15 years ago when they moved to other Latin American countries seeking for a cheaper labor force. The main economic industries include two textile factories



(military uniforms), a wood cabinet factory, a cake/bakery production factory, and tourism (beaches, natural caves park, restaurants) (Mayor's Office, personal communication, October 21, 2010). The total population of Camuy is 35,244 inhabitants (Mayor's Office, personal communication, October 21, 2010). A large part of Camuy's population holds part-time jobs at the chain stores in Hatillo. It is important to point out that Camuy has three small, private elementary schools with approximately 50 to 100 students each. The monthly tuition in these schools ranges from \$ 70 to \$120. Camuy has 18 public schools (11 elementary schools, five middle schools, two high schools, and an agricultural high school). In terms of social classes, Camuy is more diverse with a working class, middle class, upper-middle class, and an elite class. Most of the town's population can be classified as middle class. See table below.

Table 3.1 Family Income of Hatillo and Camuy

| <b>Family Income</b>                          | <b>Hatillo<br/>(Population<br/>43,059)</b> | <b>Camuy<br/>(Population<br/>35,244)</b> |
|---|--|--|
| <b>Below Poverty Level*</b>                   | <b>8,659 (70%)</b>                         | <b>7,516 (72%)</b>                       |
| \$0 to \$24,999                               |  |  |
| • Low class (\$0 to \$10,000)                 | 4,122                                      | 3,819                                    |
| • Working class (\$10,001 to \$24,999)        | 4,537                                      | 3,697                                    |
| <b>Above Poverty Level*</b>                   | <b>3,693 (30%)</b>                         | <b>2,923 (28%)</b>                       |
| \$25,000 to \$200,000 or more                 |  |  |
| • Middle class (\$25,000 to \$45,000)         | 2,186                                      | 2,923                                    |
| • Upper-middle class (\$45,001 to \$75,000)   | 1,030                                      | 662                                      |
| • Upper class (\$75,001 to \$200,000 or more) | 477  | 264                                      |

\*Poverty levels based on documents from the *Estado Libre Asociado de P.R. Departamento de Educación, Secretaría Auxiliar de Planificación y Desarrollo Educativo, Informe sobre el nivel de pobreza.*

Social class income ranges and numbers based on

<http://www.citymelt.com/county/PuertoRico/Hatillo/Camuy+Municipio-PR.html>

Most working class families in Hatillo and Camuy may have only one parent working at one of the industries previously mentioned. Middle class families may include one parent who has a job with the government and the other parent may hold a part-time job. The upper class in Hatillo and Camuy includes mostly health professionals, lawyers, engineers, business people, and entrepreneurs.

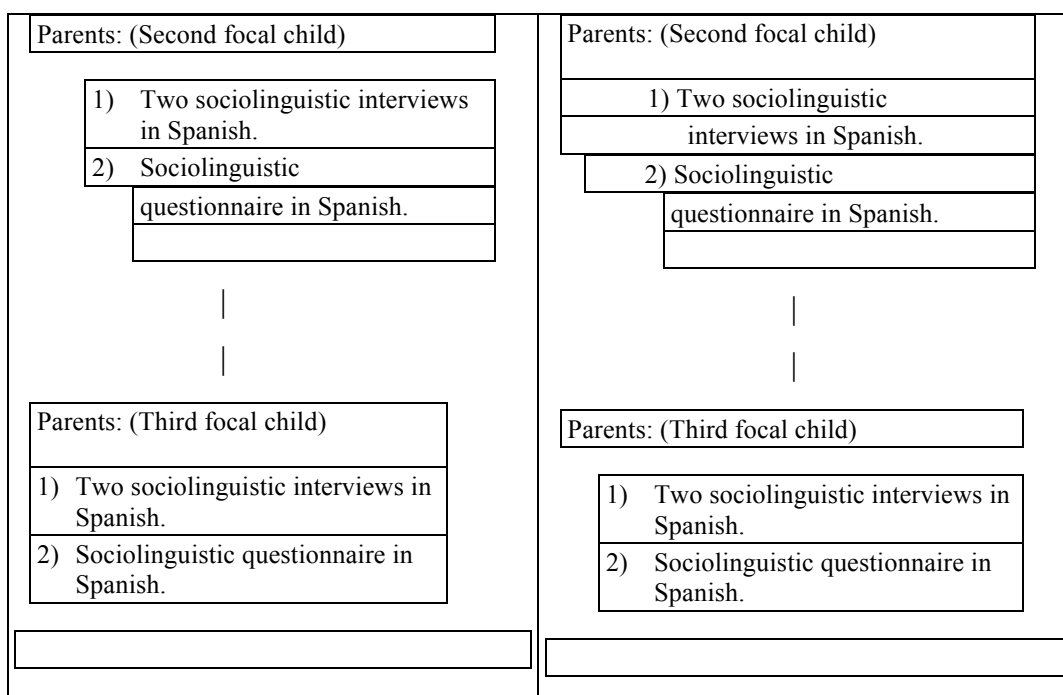
Because Camuy and Hatillo are geographically close, their inhabitants frequently interact. In other words, the flow of people between the two towns is constant every day. The communities influence each other. People from Camuy go back and forth to Hatillo for schooling purposes, to run errands, to work, to participate in sports, to shop, and to take part in other leisure activities. Camuy and Hatillo have many cultural similarities, such as

Christmas festivities and summer festivals that help promote interaction between the populations of both towns. People in both towns can interact in the same social situations and public places. Many families in both towns met because of this interaction and there are strong family and cultural ties between Camuy and Hatillo. Most of these family contacts and friendships stay inside the same social class, meaning that the social class lines are rarely crossed.

### ***Data Collection***

Table 3.2 Data Collection Process

| <b><i>Public School – LWC families</i></b>   | <b><i>Private School – UMC families</i></b>  |
|--|--|
| <div><b><i>English Classroom</i></b></div> <div>Fifth grade - Observation in English classroom. Total of 23 hours.</div> <div><b><i>Focal Students - 3</i></b></div> <div>Interactive journal (one or two entries per week of observation).</div> <div>Two brief sociolinguistic interviews with three focal children in Spanish.</div> <div> </div> <div> </div> <div> </div> | <div><b><i>English Classroom</i></b></div> <div>Fifth grade - Observation in English classroom. Total of 23 hours.</div> <div><b><i>Focal Students - 3</i></b></div> <div>Interactive journal (one or two entries per week of observation).</div> <div>Two brief sociolinguistic interviews with three focal children in Spanish.</div> <div> </div> <div> </div> <div> </div> |
| <b><i>Parents</i></b>  | <b><i>Parents</i></b>  |
| <div>Parents: (First focal child)</div> <div>1) Two sociolinguistic interviews in Spanish.</div> <div>2) Sociolinguistic questionnaire in Spanish.</div> <div> </div> <div> </div>   | <div>Parents: (First focal child)</div> <div>1) Two sociolinguistic interviews in Spanish.</div> <div>2) Sociolinguistic questionnaire in Spanish.</div> <div> </div> <div> </div>   |



This data collection process consisted of the following steps.

1. Place: English classrooms.

- A. Observation of a total of two English classrooms (fifth grade). I observed one English class in a public school in Camuy and one English class in a private Catholic school in Hatillo. In the observations I observed all of the children who were in the classroom. These observations included the focal and non-focal children that were in the classroom at the time of the study. Time: 50 minutes per day. I observed the private school classroom on Mondays and Wednesdays and the public school classroom on Tuesdays and Thursdays. A total of 23 hours of observations were conducted at each school. The first set of weekly observations (two days per week) took place in the two schools in the month of

September 2011.<sup>6</sup> Then, I did biweekly observations (one or two observations every week) in October 2011. I did a last set of weekly observations (two days per week) during the months of November and December 2011.

- B. I recorded my field notes in a journal notebook, observing expressions of empathy or resistance toward English of all of the children in the classroom (focal and non-focal) as is described in Table 3.3 on page 49. I created an empathy and resistance chart every day I observed, and it was divided in two columns: empathy and resistance. I wrote down the verbal phrases and nonverbal behaviors of students in their appropriate column. In addition, I created another chart where I indicated the English and/or Spanish responses of the students to the teacher's questions. I had a new chart every day I observed, divided into Spanish, English, and no response, and I indicated the responses in their appropriate column.
- C. The written interactive journal collected sociolinguistic data from the three focal children. In this journal the focal children and I had a dialogue about topics and questions that at least initially I suggested. I asked them about their feelings and emotions about the English class, as well as other daily situations (e.g., best friends, field trips, homework, daily classes, school activities, sports and artistic practices, etc). Every week, the children wrote something in the interactive journal, and I responded subsequently, creating a back-and-forth conversation. This feedback provided me with richer data about the children's attitudes toward English and other aspects of their social lives. The three focal students in the

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<sup>6</sup> During the observations in September, I identified three students, as well as their parents, in each school who became my focal participants.

public school wrote their entries most of the time in Spanish. Two of the focal children in the private school wrote their entries most of the time in Spanish, and one of the focal children in this school wrote all his entries in English.

2. Place: Home

- A. Two brief sociolinguistic interviews with each of the six focal children. Each interview lasted approximately 20 minutes. I conducted the interviews in Spanish (the children's and the parents' native language). I did the first set of interviews in October 2011, and the follow-up interviews in February and March 2012. The interviews focused on the use of Spanish and English in the children's different domains of social interaction. I focused on certain aspects of their social lives, such as their view of English, English as a social mobility tool, attitudes toward English, friends, extracurricular activities, and the use of technology in their homes (see Appendices B and E).

3. Place: Home

- A. Two tape-recorded sociolinguistic interviews with each set of parents of the focal children. Each interview lasted for approximately 30 minutes. I conducted these interviews in Spanish. I did the first set of interviews in October 2011 and the follow-up interviews in February and March 2012. The interviews focused on the use of Spanish and English by the parents and children in different domains of social interaction, parents' view of English, English as a social mobility tool, and attitudes toward English. I focused on certain aspects of the family's social lives such as social networks, language choice, extracurricular and leisure activities, and the use of technology in their homes. The second interviews included a

different set of questions with each focal parent, based on their answers and responses to the questions of the first sociolinguistic interview (see Appendices C and F).

#### 4. Place: Home – Sociolinguistic Questionnaire

A. I also gave to the parents the sociolinguistic questionnaire about the family's uses of English and Spanish, literacy in both languages, and educational practices. I administered the questionnaire on the same day as the first tape-recorded sociolinguistic interview in October 2011. The questionnaire was in Spanish. The questionnaire included multiple-choice questions about: sociolinguistic and demographic facts, parents' education, use of technology, leisure activities, parents' and children's attitudes toward English and Spanish, and parents views of their children's education (see Appendix D).

### ***Instruments***

#### 1. Classroom

a. Observations – researcher's journal, field notes. In the researcher's journal, I recorded all the children's verbal expressions and behaviors (focal and non-focal) in the English classroom. These were simplified classroom observations where I focused on children's expression of empathy or resistance toward English. The following table presents some signs of empathy and resistance according to Torruellas' (1990) Ph.D. dissertation. Torruellas did her study in three private, elite high schools in the metropolitan area of San Juan, Puerto Rico. In this study, I based my empathy and resistance observations on this table, but I also found different signs and behaviors that added more complexity to the table. Chapter Five: Classroom Observations

presents more in detail the new signs and behaviors I found in the English classrooms of the two schools in this study.

Table 3.3 Signs of Empathy and Resistance toward English - Torruellas (1990) Initial Framework

| <b>GENERAL OBSERVATIONS</b>                                     |  |
|---|--|
| Number of students in class                                     |  |
| Focal student's spatial location in the class                   |  |
| Materials used during lesson                                    |  |
| <b>SIGNS OF EMPATHY</b>   | <b>SIGNS OF RESISTANCE</b>   |
| Cooperative behaviors   | Responses in Spanish   |
| Verbal responses in English                                     | Refusing to participate in classroom activities                          |
| Willingness to participate in classroom activities              | Verbally questioning the learning of English                             |
| Reminding other students to use English                         | "I do not understand," and "They feel more American than Puerto Ricans." |
| Seeking out, using and responding to English language materials |  |

## 2. School

- a. I collected sociolinguistic data from the six focal children through a written interactive journal. In this written journal, the focal children and I exchanged ideas and thoughts about different topics and questions. The focal children expressed their feelings and emotions about the English class and other daily situations (e.g. interaction with best friends, school field trips, daily homework, classes at the school, school special activities, extracurricular activities). Every week the children wrote in the written journal and I responded, creating a normal conversation. The children's writings and



insights were a rich source of data reflecting their attitudes toward English and different aspects of their social lives.

3. Home, Parent's workplace, Fast-food restaurant

- a. Two brief sociolinguistic interviews with each focal child at their home, parent's workplace, and/or fast-food restaurant. (See Appendixes B and E).
- b. Two sociolinguistic interviews with the parents of the focal students in their home and their workplace. (See Appendixes C and F).
- c. One sociolinguistic questionnaire – parents of the focal students filled this out (See Appendix D).

***Data Analysis***

I did the data analysis of this dissertation in a set of different steps and used different methods. I coded the interviews and the classroom observations with TAMS analyzer (Text Analysis Mark-up System Analyzer). This program first was created to analyze qualitative data and is used to analyze data in qualitative research. This program allowed me to code the data of the interviews and the classroom observations for specific themes. Every theme was coded in a specific color. Every time a theme emerged in the interviews and classroom observations, a color was assigned to it. The colored themes that were repeated and appeared more often in the texts became themes and topics relevant to the dissertation research.

***Sociolinguistic Interview Analysis***

First, I focused on the 12 sociolinguistic interviews with the focal parents and the 12 brief interviews with the focal children. I transcribed these interviews and typed them in Microsoft Word documents, and then I converted these MS word document files into RTF (Rich Text Files) files to fit into the TAMS analyzer program. I started coding for themes

that were present in the questions and in the responses of the focal participants. Each theme had a different color, and the interview excerpts were coded in color depending on the theme they represented. As part of this coding, I read the data from the interviews four times to make sure which themes were more recurring and repetitive in the transcribed texts. As a result of this repetitive reading and review of the data, I found new themes that were repeated more than others in the data. At the end of the coding process, the most recurring themes that emerged across the six focal parents' interviews from both schools were bilingualism, English in the future of their children, uses of English in Puerto Rico and in the world, and the English class.

I used the same process of coding, reading and theme analysis with the focal children's interviews. The coding of the children's interviews also produced themes that were consistent across all the children's 12 interviews. Some of these themes included uses of English in Puerto Rico and in the world, the English class, and uses of English in their future lives. The identification of the codes in the interview data helped me to better understand the views of these six focal families in respect to English as a second language in their lives.

The use of the TAMS analyzer helped me to identify excerpts and quotations that supported or deconstructed beliefs and myths about the language situation in Puerto Rico. These excerpts and quotations were an important part of the data analysis and development of this research.

### ***Classroom Observations Analysis***

I recorded the classroom observations in a researcher's journal notebook. As previously explained, the observations were made two days a week per school. After I

finalized the observation process, I typed the information from the researcher's journal notebook to an MS word document. Next, I used the same sociolinguistic interview process of converting and transferring the files into an RTF document for a TAMS analyzer. I used a set of codes for the classroom observations and used consistent themes to analyze the interaction of the children in the English classrooms. The observations in the two English classrooms resulted in two sets of themes in each classroom. Each set of themes was recurring in the data of the observations in its classroom. Each English classroom of each school had two themes and they were different. The two themes I identified in the public school English classroom were children making fun of their classmates' English and Spanish-English code-switching. For the private school English classroom, I also identified two themes that were: teamwork/cooperation among students, and learning English through games. The codes and themes helped me to delineate and understand better the social interaction of the students in the English classroom.

### ***Quantitative Data Analysis***

I used qualitative research to conduct this study. I studied the participants in their natural settings, which helped me build a holistic picture of their communities (Creswell 2007). I used quantitative data analysis to analyze a second part of the classroom observations. I used percentages to calculate the numbers of two main tasks in the classroom observations: (a) all of the students' responses in Spanish and English to the teacher questions and (b) the verbal and nonverbal empathy and resistance behaviors of all of the students toward English. This second part of the classroom observations also was recorded in the researcher's notebook. I used charts with columns and check marks to record the

students' answers in English and Spanish to the teacher questions. I used a new chart every day for the two tasks.

### ***Conclusion***

To conduct this research, I selected a qualitative research approach. First, I used qualitative research to gather a holistic picture of the sociocultural practices of the two speech communities I aimed to study. Then, the qualitative approach seemed to be the most appropriate research methodology for this kind of study for the following reasons: (a) I studied two different sociocultural and economic groups; (b) I interviewed and was immersed in the daily lives of the participants to gain an understanding of their sociocultural practices as speech communities; (c) I gained access to the families which helped with the data collection in the sense that they were more open with me during interviews and meetings. Qualitative research seemed to be the more appropriate methods to use in this research for the complexities and difficulties of speech communities, social class, and the educational systems.

This methods section has presented in detail the different instruments and data collection processes used in this research. Sociolinguistic interviews and questionnaires were chosen because these are effective instruments to gather sociolinguistic data about language use in the different daily contexts in which the participants interacted. The classroom observations were an essential instrument as part of the qualitative process to gather information about the two social groups I studied. The written interactive journal also helped to gather qualitative data because the participants wrote about part of their activities outside the school. In this manner, I was able to immerse myself into the lives of the focal children through the observations and their reports in the daily journals. It also is important to point

out that I was able to collect some of this qualitative data in my researcher's journal when I visited the families and their communities.

Two specific factors helped me to develop a solid image of the focal parents and their communities. These two factors were the commute to their homes and/or parents' workplaces and chatting with the parents before the interviews. The following chapter will present an in-depth description of the six focal families and the communities where they lived and where the two schools were located. These descriptions will complement Chapters six and seven where I present the focal families' perspectives and thoughts about English and cultural capital in their lives and their children's lives.

## **Chapter 4**

### **Introducing the Participants**

This chapter provides a clearer picture of the setting and participants in this research. The chapter starts with a description of the two schools: Central Town Public School and Ocean View Private School.<sup>7</sup> The descriptions are focused mainly on the infrastructure and physical resources both schools had and offered to their students. Then, I give detailed descriptions of my daily commute to the schools and of the communities that surrounded these schools. Finally, there is a detailed description of the six focal families. These descriptions bring a clearer picture of the different social, cultural, educational, and economic factors influencing the families at the time of the research. Some of the families were more open and trusting with me than others when describing their daily problems and worries. When talking on the phone about meeting places, the families and I agreed to meet in a place that was accessible to them and where they felt comfortable. Three of the families opted to conduct the meetings and interviews in their homes. The families that allowed me inside their homes included one family in Central Town Public School (the family of Focal B student Aidan) and two families in Ocean View Private School (the family of Focal D student Jessica and the family of Focal E student Amanda). Two of the families of Central Town Public School (family of Focal A student Joshua and family of Focal C student Vincent) allowed me into the mother's workplace. One family in Ocean View Private School (family of Focal G student Jason) decided to hold the meetings and interviews in a fast-food chain restaurant. The place where the meetings and interviews were held was an important factor in terms of descriptions and getting more sociocultural information about the

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<sup>7</sup> I used pseudonyms for the schools and focal children's names.

families. In the home environment, I could see the neighborhoods, houses, and social interaction of the families in their daily natural contexts. It also gave me the opportunity to interact with family members other than the focal children, as well as with relative and family friends.

### ***Selection of the Schools***

I visited potential school sites in April 2011. Two private schools were visited and finally Ocean View Private School was selected because of the great interest in my research expressed by the school principal and the English teacher in the research classroom. My first preference for a public school as a research site was an elementary school where I studied and where I worked as a public school teacher. I received permission from the superintendent of schools of Camuy (*superintendente de escuelas*) to observe the English classroom in my first choice of public schools. However, this situation changed when I returned to the public school research site in August, 2011. Problems and conflicts with the school principal in this school led me to change the research site to another public school. At the recommendation of the superintendent of schools of Camuy, I switched schools and finally chose Central Town Public School as a research site. In addition, the English teacher in Central Town Public School was very interested in the research and was extremely helpful during the time of the research.

### ***Selection of the Focal Participants***

To select the focal children and their families, I designed a brief questionnaire (see Appendix A) in which the parents answered questions about their children's education. During the first week of my observations in the schools, a letter was sent to notify the parents about the observations in each English classroom. The brief questionnaire was attached to the

notification letter. I sent home with the 22 children in each class questionnaires to give to their parents. I carefully analyzed the responses to this brief questionnaire. One of the main selection criteria was socioeconomic status. In addition, I consulted with the English teachers, and they helped select the focal participants and their parents. I contacted by phone the parents who notified me that they were interested in participating in a second, more detailed part of the study (September 19, 2011). The final decision of choosing the focal participants was based on promptness to respond to my phone call and willingness to meet with me one week after the phone call. In this manner, those parents who quickly responded to the phone call and made an appointment to meet with me were chosen as the focal participants of the study.

The first sociolinguistic interview with focal parents and focal children was in October 2011 and took place in different venues. I confirmed the date, time, and place of the interview one day before by telephone. Four of the six interviews were conducted on the scheduled date. The other two interviews were rescheduled due to unavailability of the parents: Focal C participants and Focal G participants. In the case of Focal C, the scheduled day was the mother's day off at work. She preferred to do the interview at her workplace because its accessibility. In the case of Focal G, the day originally scheduled interfered with a parent committee meeting at Ocean View Private School.

***Dates of first sociolinguistic interview***

Focal A – Joshua – October 4, 2011 - Noon

Focal B – Aidan – October 5, 2011 - 4:30 p.m.

Focal C – Vincent – October 20, 2011 - 4:00 p.m.

Focal D – Jessica – October 12, 2011 - 1:00 p.m.

Focal E – Amanda – October 22, 2011 - 11:00 a.m.



Focal G – Jason – October 18, 2011 - 5:30 p.m.

***Dates of second sociolinguistic interview***

Focal A – Joshua – February 17, 2012 - Noon

Focal B – Aidan – February 21, 2012 - 4:00 p.m.

Focal C – Vincent – February 23, 2012 - 4:00 p.m.

Focal D – Jessica – March 1, 2012 - 5:30 p.m.

Focal E – Amanda – March 18, 2012 - 2:30 p.m.

Focal G – Jason – February 21, 2012 - 5:30 p.m.

***Central Town Public School***

On Tuesday and Thursday mornings at approximately 8:35 a.m., I started driving to Central Town Public School from my parents' home near the north coast of Camuy. My parents' house was approximately 10 -15 minutes from the downtown. I drove through the rural streets of my countryside barrio. In general, a small town such as Camuy has 13 *barrios*. Small barrios have elementary schools and bigger barrios can also have middle schools. Most of the people who live in barrios own a small land lot where they have their house and a small patio. In Camuy, the kind of businesses in barrios may include a small grocery store (*colmado*), a small bakery, a small cafeteria, a small basketball court, and a small communal center for meetings. In contrast with other barrios in Camuy, my barrio has a small seafood market (*pescadería*) and a small vacation complex because the Atlantic Ocean borders our north coast. Most often, there are not government offices in barrios. People must travel to the downtown area to run their errands. As in many barrios in Puerto Rican towns, affluent neighborhoods can be found tucked inside less privileged communities. Over the past few years, controlled access communities with security guards and tall concrete

fences have emerged in *barrios*. These controlled access communities are home to mainly upper-middle and upper class families.

While driving to the school, I traveled east on one of the island's main streets # 2 (the military street), and exited to downtown Camuy. As I entered the downtown, I passed a small industrial area that struggles to survive in the island's hard economic situation. I passed the military uniform manufacturing plant and the newly renovated bakery/cake factory. There was approximately a half-mile of old houses, where offices for lawyers and doctors blended with small cell phone stores and *colmados*, and across from them was the town's credit union. Past the credit union, traffic was heavy because people crossed the busy street to go to the U.S. post office. Also, young adolescents crossed the street and parked their cars to attend classes in the only small technical college available in Camuy. At this point, I looked for a parking space in the parking lot of the supermarket and bank in front of the school. I walked across the parking lot, passing the lunch food truck and the small beauty salon. Once I crossed the main street, I stopped at the gate of Central Town Public School.

Central Town Public School was a K- 6 public elementary school in downtown Camuy. At the time of the study, approximately 255 students were registered. There was a small parking lot inside the school where teachers parked their cars. This school consisted of four buildings (two small buildings and two bigger ones). The two small buildings had one floor. In these buildings were the main office, the only computer room in the school, the library, and other administrative small rooms such as the social worker's office and one administrative assistant's office. The second small building was the lunchroom. The two bigger buildings were the first to sixth grade classrooms. There were five classrooms on each one of the two floors in each building. There was a small basketball court in the center of the

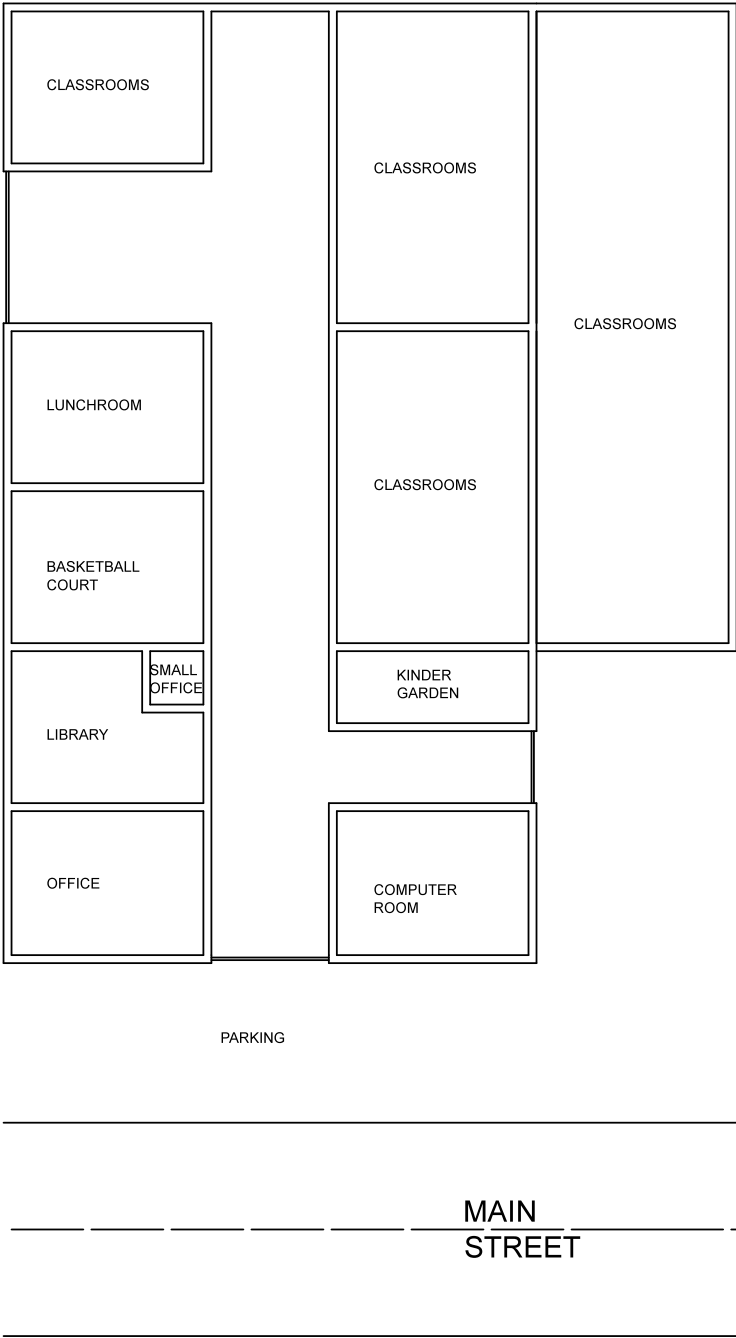
school. There were no special classrooms for music, arts and crafts, or technology, because the parents did not pay extra money for their children's education. All of the classes (math, science, social sciences, Spanish, physical education, and music) were taught in Spanish. The English class was the preferred language subject. The school bulletin boards, signs and announcements were all in Spanish. In addition, the signed up sheet I signed in the school office as part of my daily observations was in Spanish. The only context where written English was present inside the school were the English classrooms, the library, and the computer classroom. The English classrooms had signs and posters in English that welcomed the students and announced some English class material. The library had a limited availability of English resources, such as dictionaries and books. At the same time, the computer classroom had a limited English context because of the access to the Internet and some English websites. Observations in Chapter five give more detailed information of the English resources available inside the English classroom I observed at Central Town Public School.

Parents with children in public schools did not have to pay tuition or fees for their children's education. In addition, they did not have to pay for books or for lunch. Public school students could use the required textbooks for free for one year, and they also received free lunch and free breakfast. The only thing parents paid for were school materials that teachers may require for special assignments and projects.

The observations usually took place on Tuesdays and Thursdays from 9-10 a.m., which was the English class time. The group I observed was one of the two fifth grade English classes in the school. My routine in the school was the following: check in with the security officer and/or volunteer parent at the gate, sign my name in the school visitors'

notebook, and walk to the classroom. Most of the time I waited outside the classroom (approximately five to 10 minutes) for the students to come to the English class. These minutes before the class started helped me to make contact with the school janitor, teachers in the hallway, and sometimes parents visiting the school, and to listen to other classes being taught. In this school, I also got updates about students' and teachers' absences, homework, exams, school construction, and cultural activities.

Figure 4.1 Central Town Public School



## ***Public School LWC Focal Families***

### ***Information from the Sociolinguistic Questionnaire***

#### ***Family of Focal A Student – Joshua***

Joshua's family had four members: mother, father and two boys. Joshua was the older son. His younger brother was in third grade. Joshua's mother had an associate degree and was a receptionist in the federal programs municipal office in Camuy, where I interviewed Joshua and his mother. The federal programs municipal office was a small office downtown. It basically had the receptionist's desk (Joshua's mom's desk) and about six other small desks where other administrative assistants worked and processed paperwork related to federally funded programs. There were about four chairs where people sat and waited for their turns to consult regarding their situations and concerns.

Joshua's father was a truck driver who delivered merchandise around the island. At the time of the study, Joshua and his brother did not take part in any extracurricular activities and had never lived in the United States. The family lived 10 minutes from the central town in a country "*barrio*" and both children were born and raised in Puerto Rico. The main language spoken at home was Spanish. The family reported they had traveled one time to the mainland United States for a short vacation and to visit family members there. Joshua's family had access to cable TV and to the Internet, and they watched only 10 hours of English TV per week. They also had some books and magazines in English, but the children preferred to read in Spanish.

Joshua's mother reported that she would like Joshua to speak more English because she believed Joshua had a great potential to learn English. In the summer of 2010, Joshua's mother paid for English classes for him in a public university near Camuy. Classes were held every Saturday for one month (four continuous Saturdays) for three hours. Joshua's

mother said that she did not enroll him in the English classes again the following summer because apparently the program did not continue and the university was also a little bit too far from their home. Joshua wanted to become an astronomer, and he recognized that scientists needed to use English in their daily work.

#### *Family Focal B Student – Aidan*

Aidan's family had five members: mother, father, and three boys. I interviewed Aidan and his mother at their home, the top story of a two-story house, where Aidan's grandmother lived on the first floor. Their floor had four bedrooms and one bathroom, a small kitchen, a small dining room, and a small living room. The view of the Atlantic Ocean from the balcony of Aidan's family house was breathtaking. Aidan was the middle son. Aidan's older brother was in eighth grade, and his younger brother was one year old. Aidan's mother had an associate degree from the Interamerican University in Puerto Rico and was a stay-at-home mother. Aidan's father was a car mechanic.

At the time of the study, Aidan was part of a federally funded after school program that funded music classes for children in the town. Aidan played the trumpet and attended the classes four days a week after school. His older brother attended baseball practices as an extracurricular activity. The "small leagues" baseball teams were funded mainly with money from the city, but they needed members of the community to get involved for the continuation of the program.

The family lived in a small neighborhood approximately five minutes from the center of the town. The houses on the main street of this neighborhood could be classified as lower-working class. Many of the heads of the families who lived there had low-paying technical jobs. The three boys were born and raised in Puerto Rico. The main language spoken at

home was Spanish. The family had never lived or traveled to the mainland United States, nor had they visited any other country. However, relatives lived in the United States. Aidan's family had access to cable TV and to the Internet, and they watched only 10 hours of English TV per week. They also had some books in English, but the children preferred to read in Spanish. Aidan's mother said she would like Aidan to speak more English. She said she bought her sons an English vocabulary book that had a picture of each word, gave a definition, and said how to pronounce the word. Aidan and his older brother practiced a new word each day. However, the book was a level one, and she could not find the continuation levels of these vocabulary books. Aidan wanted to become a professional athlete either in baseball or basketball and said he might need English in case he played Major League Baseball or in the National Basketball Association, both of which are professional sports leagues in the United States.

*Family of Focal C Student – Vincent*

Vincent's family had three members: mother, one girl, and one boy. Vincent was the younger child, and his older sister was in sixth grade. Vincent's mother was a cashier/waitress in a cafeteria located on one of the main streets of Camuy. I interviewed Vincent and his mother in the cafeteria. The cafeteria had five tables inside and four tables on a small balcony outside. During the day, the cafeteria sold breakfast and lunch plates, as well as essential groceries such as milk, juices, bread, cheese, candies, and snacks. This cafeteria remained open until midnight. At night, it typically sold alcoholic beverages, cigarettes, lottery tickets, and other game tickets. Vincent's mother had never gone to college. Vincent did not live with his father, but they had contact every other weekend. Even though I could not confirm Vincent's father's occupation, it seemed as if his father was



a nurse. Vincent's mother told me in a follow-up interview that she believed Vincent's father was a nurse, but she was not sure. Vincent's family lived in the same neighborhood as Aidan's family.

In the fall of 2011, Vincent did not attend any extracurricular activity. However, when I contacted the family for the follow-up interview in February 2012, Vincent had a cast on his leg. His mother told me she decided to enroll Vincent in American football practice in the afternoons as an extracurricular activity. She told me that Vincent really wanted to play any sport after school. She found a small group of parents and children that were starting an American football team and enrolled him. However, by the second week of practice, Vincent had an accident on the field, and a doctor recommended putting a cast on his left leg.

Vincent and his sister were born in Puerto Rico. The family lived for two to three years in California and then moved back to Puerto Rico; they had not gone back or visited any other foreign country. The main language spoken at home was Spanish. Vincent's family had access to cable TV but not to the Internet, and they watched less than 10 hours of English TV per week. Vincent's mother said she would like Vincent to speak more English. She also said that sometimes she read to her children in English and tried to help them with the language. Vincent's mother had some knowledge of English because apparently she had lived back and forth between Puerto Rico and the United States.

At the time of the study, it seemed as if the family was planning to move back to the United States in the summer of 2012. However, until my last days in Puerto Rico in early August 2012, Vincent's mother was still working in the cafeteria. Apparently, they changed plans and did not move to the United States.

In the first interview, Vincent said he wanted to have a profession in which he could help people and he mentioned that he wanted to be a doctor or a police officer. However, in the follow-up interview, he said he wanted to join the army. Vincent's mother also said in the follow-up interview that she was trying to convince him to join the army when he graduated from high school. She mentioned the economic and federal benefits that he would get if he joined the army.

Table 4.1 Comparison of Public School LWC Focal Families

| <i><b>Public School Focal Family</b></i> | <i><b>Number of Family Members</b></i> | <i><b>Parents' Job</b></i>                            | <i><b>Access to Cable TV and Internet</b></i> | <i><b>Extracurricular Activities</b></i>                              | <i><b>Traveling/ Vacation</b></i>                     |
|--|--|---|---|---|---|
| Family of Focal A Joshua                 | 4 - Mother, Father, Two boys           | Mother – Receptionist<br><br>Father – Driver          | Cable TV – yes<br>Internet – yes              | No  | Yes – one time to Orlando, Fla.                       |
| Family of Focal B Aidan                  | 5 – Mother, Father, Three boys         | Mother – Stay-at-home mother<br><br>Father – Mechanic | Cable TV – yes<br>Internet – yes              | Yes – Music classes funded by a federal program                       | No  |
| Family of Focal C Vincent                | 3 – Mother, One boy and One girl       | Mother – Waitress/cashier                             | Cable TV – yes<br><br>Internet – no           | Fall 2011 – No<br><br>Spring 2012 – Yes – American football practices | No – But they lived two or three years in California. |

### ***Ocean View Private School***

My drive to Ocean View Private School from my parents' home on the north coast of Camuy took approximately 15 - 20 minutes, depending on traffic. I drove through the rural streets of my barrio and then took the military street #2. I passed the border between Camuy and Hatillo, marked by a traffic light and the beautiful subterranean Camuy River that divided the two towns. I stopped at the second traffic light inside the limits of Hatillo and turned left to enter downtown. Traffic here was heavy because there were many doctors' and

lawyers' offices, as well as drug stores, clinical laboratories, and the power/electricity office with its ever-present long line of people waiting to be attended to. I also passed a street vendor hawking big bunches of fresh cilantro and Puerto Rican lettuce. Before turning right onto the back street of downtown, there was the *frituras* food truck, selling its delicious *alcapurrias*, *pastelillos*, *papas rellenas*, and *sorullos*, among other greasy delights.<sup>8</sup>

Once on the back street, I drove approximately half a mile east towards Ocean View Private School. In this half-mile I could see the Atlantic Ocean and some well-kept medium-sized middle-class houses, some being remodeled or reconstructed. Between the houses and Ocean View Private School was a public middle school. Ocean View Private School was separated from the public middle school by a small street and a big concrete fence on the private school side. After this half mile, I turned left and parked in front of the school.

The observations in the English classroom usually took place on Mondays from 8:30 -9:30 a.m. and Wednesdays from 9:30 -11 a.m. My routine in Ocean View Private School was almost the same every day of observation. First, I said hello to the security officer at the school gate and signed his visitor notebook. Then, I walked into the school office and asked the receptionist for a visitor's badge. Sometimes I stayed in the office until the school bell announced the classroom/class period change. Other times I walked early to the fifth grade English classroom and waited for the teacher and the students to come to the classroom. These minutes before the class (approximately six to eight minutes) were very helpful to have contact with the students and talk about different school topics. Sometimes the students were already in the classroom waiting for their teacher to arrive. In this way, during the last

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<sup>8</sup> *Frituras* is a typical Puerto Rican food. People mostly eat them for breakfast or as a snack. *Frituras* are deep fried in oil. *Alcapurria* is a fried mix of mashed green bananas usually stuffed with meat. *Pastelillo* is a flat flour dough (kind of tortilla) rolled and fried and usually stuffed with seafood, ground meat or cheese. *Papas rellenas* is a mix of mashed potatoes and flour usually stuffed with ground meat. *Sorulllos* is a mix of cornmeal usually stuffed with cheese.

two months of observations some students, as well as the focal students, felt confident talking with me about exams, homework, extracurricular activities, cultural activities, teachers and students who were absent, and their families. As the semester unfolded, students were curious about the research and asked how many times they spoke in English during the class. At the end of the class they came to me and looked in my researcher's journal to see how many checkmarks were under the English column by their name.

Ocean View Private School was a K-12 private Catholic school. At the time of the study, approximately 667 students were registered. Across the street from the school was the Atlantic Ocean. The school was located at the east exit of the downtown area. There was a small parking lot inside the school where teachers parked their cars. Across the street was a second parking lot where the teachers and high school students parked their cars. Students also parked along the street by the main gate. The school consisted of a three-story building with many classrooms facing an interior plaza. Just inside the main gate was the school office where the receptionists, secretaries, and the principal had their offices. On the first and second floor, were the elementary school classrooms. The secondary school classrooms were located in the most interior part of the school and on the third floor. In addition, this private school had many other classrooms that served the academic, religious, artistic, and athletic interests of the students. These interests were represented in the following structures: two libraries, three computer classrooms, an audiovisual resources classroom, a small chapel (*capilla*), the nuns' classroom, the school's band classroom, a recreation room, and an enclosed basketball/volleyball court.

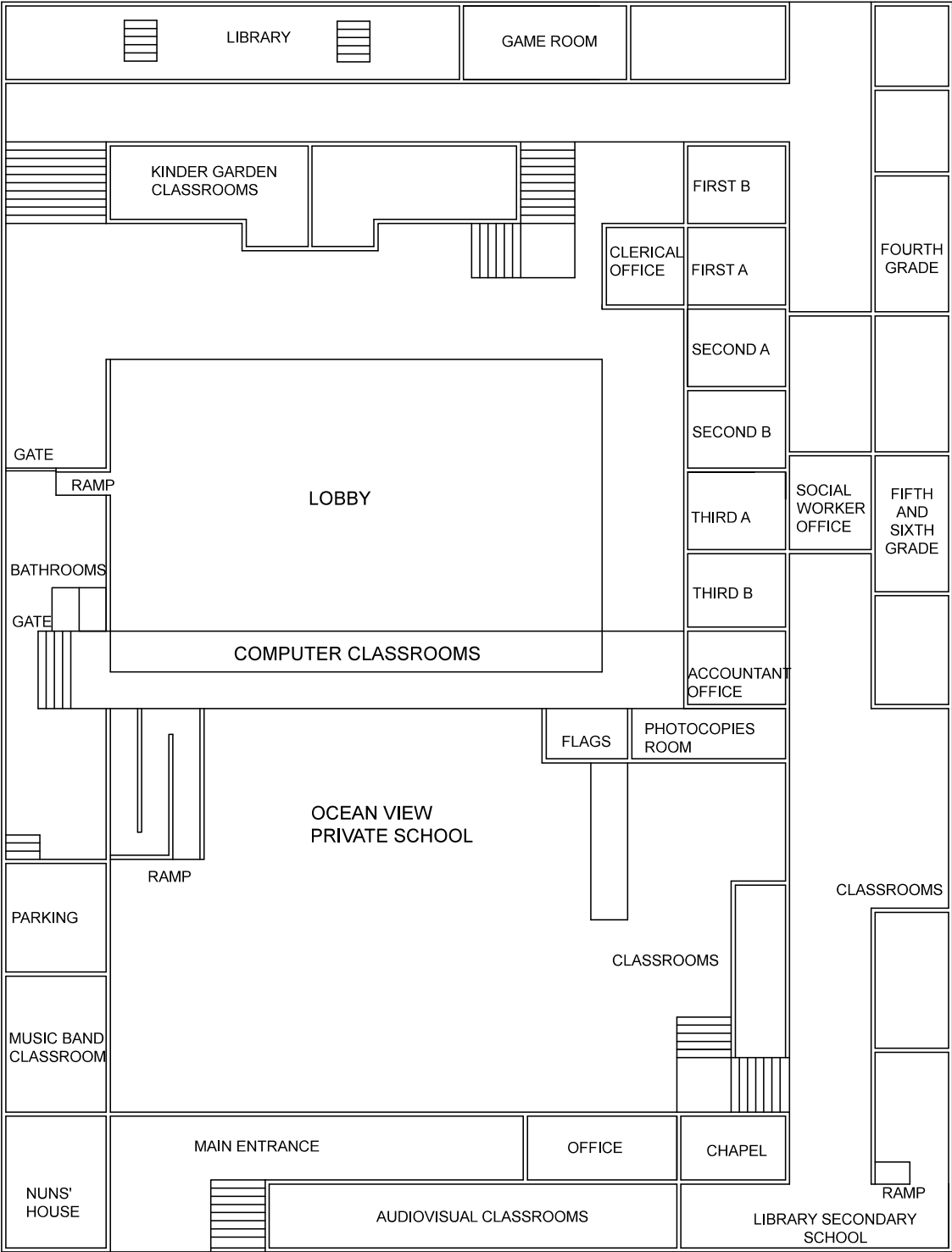
It is important to contextualize the presence of English as a written and spoken language in the different locations inside Ocean View Private School. The signing sheets in

the school's office, as well as other paperwork, were in Spanish. The main language of bulletin boards, announcements, and other written material was Spanish. The curriculum of Ocean View Private School consisted of all the classes taught in Spanish (math, science, social sciences, Spanish, physical education, and arts or music). The students also took English as a preferred language subject and an English conversation class. This school provided diverse contexts where written English was present. The English classroom had signs and posters with English literacy among books and other resources. In addition, the school had two libraries with a variety of books and dictionaries in English. During my experience there I became aware of some book fairs that were held in the elementary school library. These book fairs offer the students the opportunity to buy books (novels and short stories) written in English. The two audiovisual classrooms offered access to English literacy with computers and access to the Internet and English websites. The classroom observations section in Chapter five gives more detailed information about the English resources available inside the English classroom I observed in Ocean View Private School.

Parents in Ocean View Private School paid a tuition fee per semester of about \$800 for the elementary school. In addition, parents paid a monthly fee of about \$130 to \$140. The tuition and monthly fees increased for the secondary school level and were approximately \$100 to \$150 more for the semester tuition, for a total of approximately \$950 and perhaps \$50 more for the monthly fees, for a total of \$180. The total cost per semester would be \$1,500 for the elementary school and \$1,950 for the secondary school. Parents also had to buy the textbooks and school uniforms. The students had two different kinds of uniforms: a typical, formal one they wore almost every day, and the sport uniform that they used when they had physical education class. During the school year, the students

participated in a series of cultural and artistic activities. These activities also involved paying some fees of about \$10 to \$30, depending on the activity and if it involved wearing special clothes, bringing food, or artistic performances.

Figure 4.2 Ocean View Private School



### ***Private School UMC Focal Families***

#### ***Information from the Sociolinguistic Questionnaire***

##### ***Family of Focal D Student – Jessica***

Jessica's family had five members: mother, father, two girls and one boy. Jessica was the younger daughter. Jessica's older brother was in the ninth grade, and her sister was in sixth grade. Jessica's mother was a secretary in a private school. She had a bachelor's degree from the University of Puerto Rico, Arecibo Campus. Jessica's father was pensioned because of an accident at work. Jessica and her older sister attended diverse extracurricular activities. Both of them attended dance classes and often acted in the church's religious plays. In addition, Jessica was on the volleyball team at the elementary school and attended the games and practices. Jessica's brother attended music classes and sometimes acted in the church's religious plays. They stated more than once how important it was that her children attended extracurricular activities and developed high proficiency in English. She explained that she never attended extracurricular activities when she was a child and wanted her children to have these opportunities and experiences. She also stated how difficult it was for her when she was studying English at the university. At the same time, Jessica's father stressed to his children the importance of learning correct English pronunciation.

The children were born and raised in Puerto Rico. I interviewed Jessica and her mother in their home. Jessica's family lived in a neighborhood that is considered an upper-middle class neighborhood in Hatillo. Many of the successful families of the dairy industry live in this neighborhood. However, Jessica's house was modest compared to bigger houses in the neighborhood. As far as I could see, Jessica's home had three bedrooms and two bathrooms. The living room, the dining room, and kitchen were medium sized and there was a small patio. The house was located on a dead-end street with five other bigger houses.



Jessica's family had access to cable TV and Internet, and they watched 15 hours of TV in English per week. They had books in English in the house, and Jessica's mother tried to make her children read more in English. The main language spoken at home was Spanish, but Jessica's mother would like her children to speak more English. The family had traveled four times to the mainland United States for vacations and to visit family members.

In the first interview, Jessica said she wanted to be a doctor or a lawyer. Then in the follow-up interview, she said she wanted to be a lawyer because she did not like to see blood, human tissues, and surgeries. Jessica's brother wanted to be an engineer because he wants to have an expensive sports car.

#### *Family of Focal E Student – Amanda*

Amanda's family had four members: mother, father, and two girls. Amanda was the older daughter, and her sister was in kindergarten. Amanda's mother was a public school teacher who has a master's degree in environmental sciences. Amanda's father was the director of the technology center at one of the University of Puerto Rico campuses. He has a bachelor's degree in computer sciences from the University of Puerto Rico. Amanda attended music classes and the volleyball team practices and games as part of her extracurricular activities. The family lived in Camuy, and the children were born and raised in Puerto Rico. Her family traveled approximately 20 minutes every morning to bring Amanda and her sister to Ocean View Private School. Amanda's family had access to cable TV and to the Internet at home, and they watched 10 hours of English television per week. Amanda's family had books and magazines in English. The family speaks and reads mostly in Spanish, except for Amanda's father who might read in English some of his computer technical material. Amanda's mother said she would like her daughters to speak more English.

I interviewed Amanda and her mother at their home. Their house was spacious and had a modern architectural design, a two-car garage, and a spacious patio, with a gazebo for activities such as barbeques, birthday parties, and family reunions. The house had an elegant living room and a family room where the family watched TV and played video games. It had a good-sized dining room and an updated kitchen with modern appliances. There were three bedrooms and two bathrooms. In addition, a small space next to the dining room served as Amanda's father's office with computers, a printer, a scanner, and books. The house was on a dead-end street with five other homes. The other houses were spacious and had modern architectural designs, too.

Amanda had a cousin who was in her same grade and same school, but she was in a different classroom. It was evident during my visits to Amanda's house that her cousin, who lived nearby, was always doing homework with Amanda. The two girls seemed to exchange and share ideas about their classes and homework. At the same time, Amanda's mother and her cousin's mother were always attentive to the different assignments and activities taking place at Ocean View Private School.

The family said they traveled one time to the United States for vacation and to visit a family member. They had also traveled to the Dominican Republic for vacation. Amanda always said she wanted to be a lawyer and/or a chef because she wanted to travel to different countries and to experience other cultures. Amanda knew that if she spoke English, she could communicate with people around the world and could learn about their cultures.

#### *Family Focal G Student – Jason*

Jason's family had five members: mother, father, and three boys (including twins). Jason was the oldest son in the family. The twins were in second grade. Jason's father was

an engineer who had a bachelor's degree from the University of Puerto Rico, Mayagüez campus. Jason's mother was trained as an accountant, with a Bachelors degree from the University of Puerto Rico, Mayagüez Campus. However, at the time of the study she was a stay-at-home mother. Apparently she wanted to dedicate extra time to her sons. Because Jason's father was an engineer in a prestigious multinational pharmaceutical company on the north part of the island, it seems as if money was not a critical issue in Jason's mother's decision to be a full-time mom. I interviewed Jason and his father at a fast-food restaurant. Jason's father decided that the restaurant was the most accessible place to meet after he got out of his work. Jason's father was really convinced of the importance of being multilingual and he said the most important languages he would like Jason to speak were English, Portuguese, and Mandarin. Jason attended art classes and catechism as part of his extracurricular activities. His brothers were also in art classes and one of them was taking guitar lessons.

The children were born and raised in Puerto Rico, and the family lived in Camuy. Similar to Amanda's family, Jason and his brothers traveled approximately 20 minutes every morning to attend Ocean View Private School. Jason's family had access to cable TV and Internet, and they watched 10 hours of English television per week. Jason's family had books and magazines in English, and the children liked to read in English. The main language spoken at home was Spanish, but Jason's father would like his children to speak more English. The family said they had traveled two times to the United States for vacations and to visit family members, and they had also traveled to the Dominican Republic for vacations. Jason said he wanted to be a videogames designer, and he needed to speak

English because most videogames are in English. He also said he would like to be multilingual because some games are in different languages.

Table 4.2 Comparison of Private School UMC Focal Families

| <i><b>Private School Focal Family</b></i> | <i><b>Number of Family Members</b></i>    | <i><b>Parents' Job</b></i>                                       | <i><b>Access to cable TV and Internet</b></i> | <i><b>Extracurricular Activities</b></i>           | <i><b>Traveling/ Vacation</b></i>  |
|---|---|--|---|--|--|
| Family of Focal D Jessica                 | 5 – Mother, Father, Two girls and One boy | Mother – Secretary<br><br>Father – Pensioned                     | Cable TV – yes<br>Internet – yes              | Yes – Dance classes, volleyball team, church plays | Yes – two times Orlando, Fla.<br><br>Summer weeks in a vacation complex on the southwest coast of Puerto Rico (Tourist English speaking area). |
| Family of Focal E Amanda                  | 4 – Mother, Father, and Two girls         | Mother – Teacher<br><br>Father – Director of a technology center | Cable TV – yes<br>Internet – yes              | Yes – Volleyball team, music / guitar classes      | Yes – Orlando, Fla. and Dominican Republic.  |
| Family of Focal G Jason                   | 5 – Mother, Father, and Three boys        | Mother – Stay at home mother<br><br>Father – Engineer            | Cable TV – yes<br>Internet – yes              | Yes – Art classes, catechism                       | Yes – California and Dominican Republic.   |

## ***Conclusion***

This chapter provided a more in-depth description of the focal participants and the physical and sociocultural settings of the research. The description of the places (schools and communities) portrays the daily interactional settings of the six focal children.

## ***Similarities and differences***

The schools showed differences in terms of size and resources available to the students to expand their intellectual, sports, and artistic abilities. However, it is important to

point out that Ocean View Private School is a K-12 school, so the academic and physical offerings serve a more diverse population of multi-aged students. The limited facilities in Central Town Public School are designed to meet the basic requirements of academics, sports, and technological resources of elementary school-aged students. In this sense, Ocean View Private School brings diverse opportunities to its students, and its resources and facilities help to develop the students' abilities and talents to their maximum.

Socioeconomic differences are present not only in the infrastructure and offerings of the schools, they are evident in the houses and communities I visited. Even though both towns, Camuy and Hatillo, looked similar in terms of economy and businesses established around the schools, the focal children's home communities had differences. For example, the homes of the public school lower working class (LWC) focal families were smaller and more modest than the homes of the private school focal families. Public school LWC focal families' communities were located closer to the downtown area and were more crowded. Private school upper middle class focal families' communities were located in the countryside and the houses were more scattered than those in the communities of the public school families.

Finally, the parents' jobs and the children's extracurricular activities were two of the main differences between the two social groups. The jobs of the parents in the private school required higher levels of education, expertise, and the use of English. Private school parents were more exposed to the use of English in their jobs (secretary, technology center, and engineer) than the jobs of the parents in the public school. In addition, all of the private school focal children attended or took part in artistic or sports extracurricular activities that their parents paid for. Only one public school child attended one sports extracurricular

activity, which was federally funded. Private school focal children had more extensive interaction with children of their same social or higher social status than the public school focal children as stated by the focal parents in Chapter seven. In addition, private school focal children were experiencing more diverse academic and social contexts than the public school focal children. In the end, the diverse contexts may bring an additional opportunity for private school focal children to practice English with different children.

### ***Summary***

The description of the six focal families is the most important piece in this chapter, for these families are the main source of information for this research. They are a sample of the families whose children attended Central Town Public School and Ocean View Private School at the time of the study. Most importantly, the descriptions point out the main sociocultural characteristics of these families. The three public school focal students attended the same school, and the three children took the English class with the same teacher in the same classroom. The three private school focal students attended the same school, and the three children took the English class with the same teacher in the same classroom. However, each family had unique characteristics and a particular interest in English and in the education of their children. The depiction and unfolding of the two interviews with parents and children in the subsequent chapters will help to display more clearly their goals about learning English in Puerto Rico. The observations inside the English classrooms also will expose the attitudes and communications of the focal children in a classroom context. It is important to point out that even though this is a small sample of families, they were indeed part of the public school and private school communities in two rural towns in northern Puerto Rico.

Finally, the previous descriptions of the focal families have not addressed the following themes that are central to this dissertation:

- The perception of bilingualism according to the families.
- English in the future lives of the children, according to the students themselves and their parents.
- The quality of education received by the children, according to their parents.
- The importance of the extracurricular activities, according to the parents.
- The behavior and social interaction of the children inside the English classroom.

The following chapters will address these central themes. In addition, we will see how the focal families and their children make the learning of English an important factor in their family and school lives.

The next chapter will describe the interaction of the six focal children in their respective English classrooms (public and private schools). In addition, the classroom observations will bring details of the sociolinguistic dynamic that was happening among the students in the two English classrooms, with special focus on the six focal children (three – public school, and three – private school).

## **Chapter 5**

### **Classrooms Observations**

The following chapter presents a description of the observations in the English classrooms of Central Town Public School and Ocean View Private School. As previously stated, my observations in the English classrooms of both schools took place from September to December 2011. I did 23 hours of observations in the fifth grade English classroom of each school. I did my observations in Central Town Public School every Tuesday and Thursday for 55 minutes for four months. I observed the fifth grade English classroom of Ocean View Private School every Monday for 50 minutes and every Wednesday for 1.5 hours for four months.

In the classroom observations I used diverse methods and techniques to document the use of English and the students' interaction in the classroom. I focused my observations on three main issues/topics. First, I paid special attention to the participation of all the students including the focal students, focusing on how many times they responded in English or Spanish to the teachers' questions. Second, I focused on the social interaction of all the students including the focal students in the English classroom while they were working on class related activities and tasks. Third, I observed the attitudes of empathy or resistance expressed verbally of all students regarding English, while they were learning the language as a second language in the schools. These three different issues/topics helped me to better understand the social dynamics and sociolinguistic situation in both English classrooms.

Initially, I grounded my observations about verbal and nonverbal behaviors of empathy and resistance on Torruellas' (1990) dissertation. Torruellas observed high school



seniors at private schools in the metropolitan area of San Juan in Puerto Rico. According to her observations, seniors held positive attitudes toward English and some of their positive behaviors included: they liked English and expressed language preferences for books and novels written in this language. Table 5.1 shows the verbal and nonverbal empathy and resistance behaviors that I initially considered as I observed the English classrooms in each school, based on Torruella's study.

Table 5.1 Signs of Empathy and Resistance toward English (Torruellas 1990)

| Based of Torruellas' (1990) Ph.D. dissertation in Private High Schools  |  |
|---|--|
| SIGNS OF EMPATHY  | SIGNS OF RESISTANCE  |
| Cooperative behaviors:<br>Verbal responses in English<br>Willingness to participate in the English classroom activities<br>Reminding other students to use English<br>Seeking out, using & responding to English language materials | Responses in Spanish<br>Refusing to participate in the English classroom activities<br>Verbally questioning the learning of English.<br>"I do not understand,"<br>"they feel more American than Puerto Ricans" –<br>Negative responses to classmates who only spoke English. |

This research is different to Torruellas' dissertation because I collected a higher number of expressions of empathy and resistance toward English. In addition, the diversity of the spoken phrases and nonverbal behaviors expanded this list to the point that sometimes it was difficult to classify them in only two categories. More information is provided later on in this chapter.

The following analysis will present first a physical description of the English classrooms and the resources available in each one. Then, there is a brief description of the English teachers in both English classrooms. Since the English teachers were not my main focus in this study, the descriptions are brief and general. However, both teachers contributed in one way or another in the selection of focal children and the data collection inside the

classrooms. Finally, I present the classroom observations and analysis in Central Town Public School, and then the classroom observations and analysis in Ocean View Private School.

### ***Central Town Public School***

The observations in the public school usually took place on Tuesdays and Thursdays from 9:00 am to 10:00 am, which was the English class time. The group I observed was one of the two fifth grade classes in the school. I selected this particular classroom because the flexibility of the schedule. The schedule of this fifth grade English classroom was in the mornings. In this way, I could visit the public school English classroom on Tuesday and Thursday mornings.

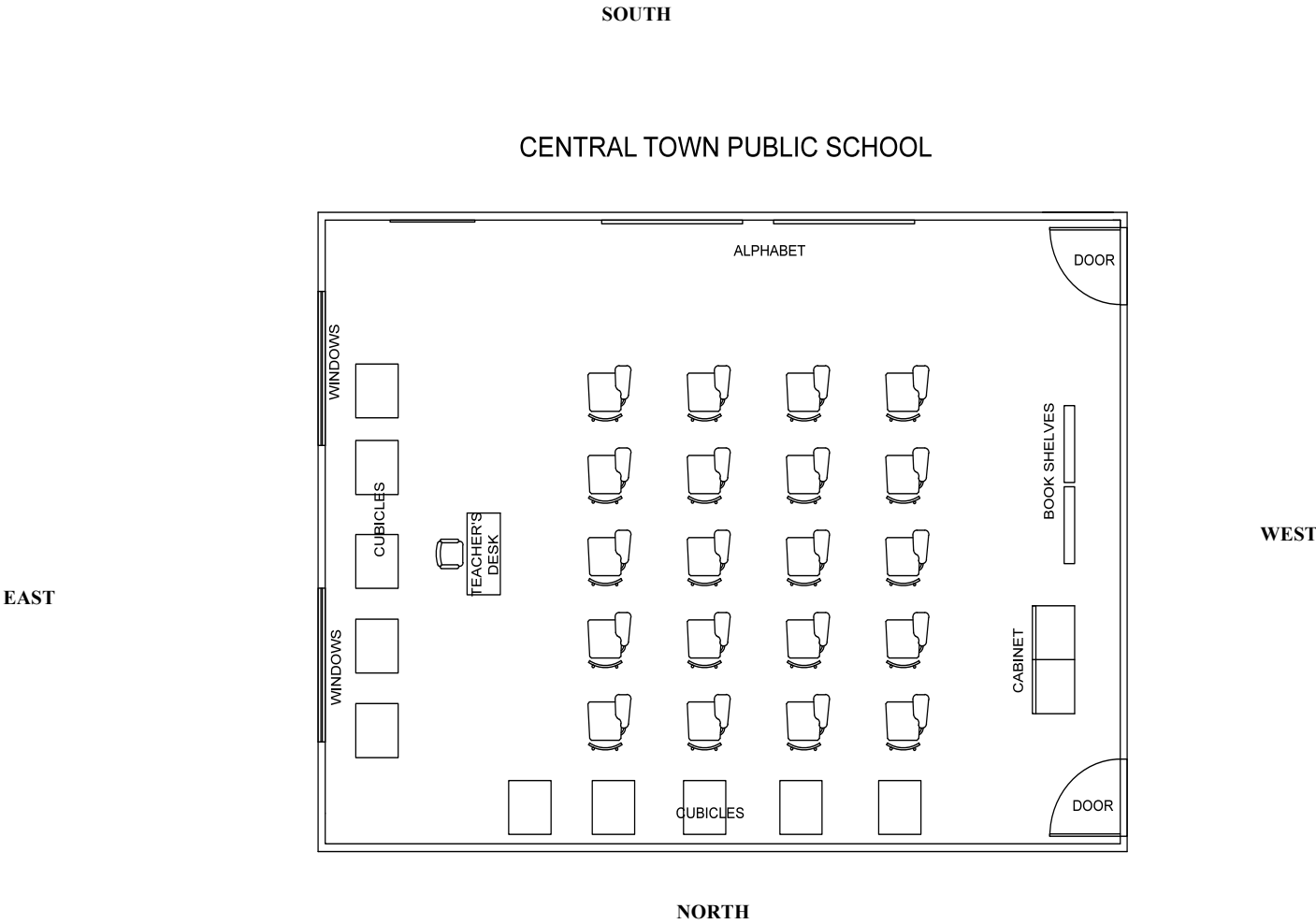
### ***The English classroom in Central Town Public School***

There were approximately 22 students in the fifth grade English classroom that I observed in Central Town Public School in Fall 2011. The fifth grade English classroom was located on the second floor of the second main building of the school. The classroom was air-conditioned and the students' chairs were in four orderly rows with five chairs in each one. The teacher's desk was situated on the east side of the classroom. A chalkboard and a white board were located on the south side of the classroom. Interestingly, there were ten cubicles, each one with a tape-recorder, on the north and east side of the classroom. The teacher explained that sometimes she used the tape-recorders, so the students could tape their voices (conversations) and then they could listen to their pronunciations. In this manner, they could correct their English pronunciations. However, in the four months I observed the English classroom, the fifth grade students never used the tape-recorders. The classroom had some posters about vocabulary, grammar, and the alphabet in English. There was one

bookshelf and two file cabinets. The bookshelf had some English – Spanish and English – English dictionaries and some English short stories and novels from the Scholastic series.

In this classroom, even though I made a connection and had contact with the fifth graders I was observing, I didn't feel that they responded to me as strongly as the children in the private school. By this I mean that I had contact with the focal students for the matters of the research, but the other students didn't show a lot of interest or trust in me. Only one student (a girl) was more talkative than the others and sometimes asked me questions about her behavior inside the classroom. However, one time I did not do an observation on one of the indicated days and the teacher pointed out that students asked why I was absent. However, the teacher in Central Town Public School trusted me and talked openly with me about some of the school's situations and students' problems more than the teacher in Ocean View Private School.

Figure 5.1 Central Town Public School – Fifth Grade English Classroom



### *The English teacher in Central Town Public School*

The English teacher in Central Town Public School was about 38 – 42 years old. Mrs. Duarte<sup>9</sup> had a Bachelors degree from the University of Puerto Rico – Arecibo Campus and a Masters Degree from a small private university in Puerto Rico. Mrs. Duarte was funny and her class was very organized. Every day when the students arrived, the daily activities and exercises for the class were already written on the board. She greeted the class in English and continued the activities planned for the day. Mrs. Duarte often switched back and forth from English to Spanish. During my observations, Mrs. Duarte stated many times how important English was for her students' professional future. In addition, she reminded the fifth graders of the many sacrifices their parents were making so they could have a better future. Mrs. Duarte told them that to study medicine, law, engineering, to go into the army, or to work in business, they would need English, because they would have to read books, travel, and communicate with people. In the following excerpt from the researcher's journal, Mrs. Duarte reminds her students about their parents' sacrifices so they could have a better life. Students were discussing a review for an exam and they were distracted and talking in Spanish:

The teacher reminds the students that their parents were sacrificing in hard jobs (such as cleaning hotel rooms, taking care of old / sick people, selling catalogue products, and working in cafeterias and fast food restaurants), so they could have good things and attend school for a better future. In addition, the teacher mentions that many families in the classroom depend on welfare (food stamps) to survive everyday.

A "typical" English class at Central Town Public School was one with a series of two or three activities. One of the activities would involve the interactive participation of the students and in the other two activities the students were more passive, listening or copying

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<sup>9</sup> I used pseudonyms for the teachers' and focal participants' names.

from the board. The following excerpt presents an example of the different kinds of interactions the teacher and the students engaged in during a normal day of class where the main topic was the short story Akiak.

Excerpt 5. 1 October 6, 2011

***The class has continued discussing the short story Akiak. At the beginning of the class, the students dance and sing a song with the English teacher. After that students continue discussing with the teacher the story Akiak. Students are discussing the following questions.***

***Reading Comprehension questions***

- 1. What is the Iditarod race?***
- 2. What route does the Iditarod run along?***
- 3. In what month does the race take place?***

***Students answered some of the oral questions correctly but in Spanish. They are motivated to answer but they do it in Spanish. Some students start reading the questions aloud. One student spells Anchorage in order to answer one question. Joshua is participating and reading one of the questions. Joshua and Aidan are raising their hands. After some more questions, Joshua and Aidan continue raising their hands to participate. Joshua answers one of the questions in English – Last race. (It was Akiak last race.)***

***Students finished discussing the questions about the story Akiak. Now the students have to copy the questions with the answers from the board. While they are doing that the teacher is writing in their notebooks the grade of the last English exam. The three focal students are writing in their notebooks the questions and answers of the story. Now the students are silently copying from the board.***

This lesson represents a typical English class in this public elementary school in Puerto Rico.

The students in Central Town Public School were active when answering the teacher's questions about the story Akiak. The students seemed to know the material, but it was difficult for them to elaborate the correct answers in English. As a result, the students completed most of their answers in Spanish and this resulted in the Spanish-English code-switching pattern that was so common in this classroom. Finally, this typical lesson presented the students' active interaction in the first part of the class: singing a song and answering

orally the questions of the story. In the second part of the class, the interaction among the students was almost non-existent while they were writing in their notebooks.

### *Students' participation in the English classroom*

This analysis will first present the percentages of the responses and participation of the students in English and Spanish. The numbers and percentages were calculated in the following manner: every time any student participated in the class and answered one of the teacher's questions (e.g. What is the setting of the story?) and /or responded to a grammar exercises (e.g. Fill in the blanks with the correct form of the verb "be") in Spanish or English, I tallied that response in a chart with a checkmark. I had a new chart every day I observed, divided into Spanish, English, and no response, and I checked the responses in their appropriate column. I then tallied the number of responses during all 23 hours of observations in four months. The following table presents the final total of the participation and answers in Spanish and English of the students in the public school English classroom.

Table 5.2 Central Town Public School Participation

| <b>Spanish</b>                         | <b>English</b>                         | <b>No response</b>                     |
|--|--|--|
| 155                                    | <b>260</b>                             | 11                                     |
| 36%                                    | <b>61%</b>                             | 3%                                     |
| Total # of tokens / responses<br>= 426 | Total # of tokens /<br>responses = 426 | Total # of tokens /<br>responses = 426 |

As the table presents, the fifth grade students at Central Town Public School gave their answers most of the time in English. Basically, the students answered in English 61 percent of the time during those four months, and in Spanish 36 percent of the time. They did not respond to the teacher's questions three percent of the time. Diverse factors inside the English classroom may have influenced these numbers. For example, the number of times/tokens the students in Central Town Public School did not answer/respond their

teacher's questions was only three percent. The curriculum in Central Town Public School did not give given the opportunity to the students to elaborate their answers in long sentences. Also, many of the class tasks only required the students to answer with one word or a short phrase, not giving them the opportunity to develop more complex sentences and critical thinking in English. This method of teaching may have limited the possibilities of participation of the students in the public school. The students were speaking English in the classroom, but they also remained silent to some of the teacher's questions.

Table 5.3 presents the participation of the focal students in the English classroom of Central Town Public School.

Table 5.3 Participation of the Focal Students in the Public School English Classroom

| <b>Focal Student</b> | <b>English participation</b> | <b>Percentage</b> |
|----------------------|------------------------------|-------------------|
| Joshua               | 12 / 260                     | 5%                |
| Aidan                | 16 / 260                     | 6%                |
| <b>Vincent</b>       | <b>30 / 260</b>              | <b>12%</b>        |

For this analysis, I only counted the responses in English of the focal participants. I divided their number of English responses by the total number of English responses in their classroom, or the number of tokens presented in the previous Table 5.2. Vincent was the focal student with the highest participation in the English classroom and his English responses represented twelve percent of all the English responses. Aidan followed, with his responses representing six percent of all the responses in English. Finally, Joshua's responses represented five percent of all the English responses in the classroom. There were two girls who frequently participated, too, and they were always raising their hands to contribute in the class. I do not have the numbers for the girls because they were not focal students. The following section will describe how the focal students interacted inside the English classroom and what activities they were involved in.



### *Central Town Public School Students' Social Interaction in the Classroom*

The following notes from the researcher's notebook give an example of the kind of interactions and reactions the students had in the public school English classroom. First, the following example presents how focal students behaved and interacted in the classroom, based on their daily class activities.

Excerpt 5.2 Date: December 6, 2011

***Aidan got distracted with one of his classmates. Joshua finished his work. Aidan also finished his work. The teacher sent Aidan to erase the white board and many students say "No!" Apparently they have not finished copying their work. Vincent finished his work already.***

Basically, students engaged in this same routine every time they were copying exercises from the board. All the students were very consistent in finishing their written work, and they were also cooperative doing small tasks the teacher assigned them around the classroom, such as wiping the white board and collecting papers and notebooks. In addition, there were times when some students were slower than others and did not finish their writing on time, provoking situations such as the one described in excerpt 5.2.

The notes that follow present examples of one of the main patterns I found in the public school English classroom – making fun of classmates while they were speaking and/or reading in English.

Excerpt 5.3 November 8, 2011

***Some students were laughing at the pronunciation of one classmate. The teacher scolds them. Some students look at each other and laugh when the teacher makes a correct pronunciation of some words. Some of these words included, for example: child, house, neighbor, lives, surrounded.***

The different behaviors that I observed in the public school classroom included: students looking insecure and nervously laughing, students laughing at their classmate's wrong selection of vocabulary, and students laughing at their classmates' pronunciations. It

is important to point out that when these behaviors and interactions happened, the teacher always tried to take control of the situation. These episodes were interesting because after the students laughed or made fun of each other, the other classmates felt kind of uncomfortable and shy to participate. This kind of behavior made me ask the following two questions: (a) Why do students laugh at their classmates instead of helping them out? and, (b) Is this a learned behavior from previous English classes, or maybe from their family context?

While analyzing the data of the children in the public school English classroom, these patterns of laughing and making fun of classmates were more evident when students were reading sentences on the board and reading short stories. As previously stated, not only incorrect pronunciation was negatively judged and ridiculed, but also the incorrect use of English vocabulary was a source of mockery for classmates. The following excerpt presents this kind of situation.

Excerpt 5.4 September 20, 2011

***One student reads and she seems insecure, and nervously laughs. Two students are reading the phrase “Watch out!” When the two students are reading this phrase, the other students laugh. One student says “point” instead of “period” and another student laughs. One girl says “sentiment” and once again another student laughs. The teacher tells her not to laugh/joke at her classmates.***

The second main pattern I observed in the fifth grade English classroom of Central Town Public School was Mrs. Duarte’s Spanish–English code-switching during class. Spanish-English code-switching was most common when the class was discussing a short story. During the months I observed, the class read two short stories, titled *Akiak* and *My name is María Isabel*. For example;

Excerpt 5.5 October 4, 2011

***The students listen to the explanation of the story Akiak in Spanish. The class continues in lapses of listening to the story and then explanations in Spanish and short questions in English about the story.***

It seemed as if this code-switching pattern was part of the teacher's approach to clarifying her students' doubts about the short stories. The teacher also checked the understanding of the students when she asked questions about the story. Most of the time she asked the questions in English, but sometimes the students replied with their correct answers in Spanish. This Spanish-English code-switching interaction between the teacher and the students appeared to be because perhaps the teacher thought it was vital for the students' understanding of the short stories. I observed this same pattern again with the short story *My name is Maria Isabel*.

Excerpt 5.6 November 23, 2011

***The students finished reading the story My name is Maria Isabel. Then students continue discussing with the teacher the story and the following reading comprehension questions.***

- 1. Who is Maria Isabel?***
- 2. What is Maria Isabel's problem?***
- 3. Why is she upset?***

***Students answered some of the oral questions correctly but in Spanish. They are motivated to answer, but they do it in Spanish.***

The students at Central Town Public School were motivated to participate and they knew the correct answers to the short story questions; however, there were diverse reasons that could explain why students were uncomfortable answering in English, and why they engaged in this code-switching while discussing a short story. Since the most common social pattern of the students in the English classroom included making fun of each others' English pronunciation or incorrect use of vocabulary, this could explain the pressure the students felt to make a correct statement that their classmates would not judge or use as a joke. As a result, making fun of their classmates' uses of English was a pattern that students were very conscious of, one that would put them on the spot, and they would be the source of mockery

for the entire class.

The only focal student who actively participated in English was Vincent. As previously stated, Vincent was the only public school child who had lived in California for two or three years. Joshua and Aidan participated in the English class, but they were not as active as Vincent in reading sentences. For this reason, Vincent often suffered the mockery of his classmates while reading sentences aloud from the board. It is important to point out that these excerpts are examples of the solitary work the students used to do in the English classroom.

Excerpt 5.7 November 8, 2011

***Vincent is reading a sentence from the board, and he makes some mispronunciations. The sentence is “My favorite neighbor lives in a yellow house.” Some students start to yell the correct pronunciation to him. Then, some of them start to laugh, and Vincent became impatient and in an unfriendly way he said to them: “Ya!!” – (Enough!!)***

Excerpt 5.8 December 8, 2011

***Vincent reads the sentence, “Many people go to Hawaii on their vacation.” He mispronounces “people” and some students laughed about it.***

It is really interesting that, despite the many times his classmates made fun of Vincent, he continued participating and making the effort to improve his English skills. Sometimes this kind of behavior of making fun of students’ mispronunciation seemed to inhibit the participation of the other students in the classroom, but this was not the case with Vincent

There were also situations inside the classroom that encouraged the empathy of the students toward the English language class. During one of the observations, the English teacher, Mrs. Duarte, congratulated Joshua because of his performance in the class.

Excerpt 5.9 October 6, 2011

***The teacher says that Joshua has the highest grade in the last exam, with a perfect score. He smiles and looks proud at the teacher’s comment.***

In addition to Vincent, Joshua and Aidan were also active participants in the English

classroom. Some of the classroom activities they participated in included oral reports and making sentences with phrases written on the board.

Excerpt 5.10 November 1<sup>st</sup>, 2011

***Joshua and Aidan did their oral reports about their families. Some students read their oral reports, while others memorized it and said it orally. Joshua read his oral report and Aidan memorized his and said it orally.***

In the excerpt that follows the students were supposed to make a sentence using prepositional phrases, for example: “on the corner” and “next door.”

Excerpt 5.11 November 3, 2011

***Joshua is very active making sentences. He made the following sentence: “The store on the corner is closed.” Aidan made the following sentence: “The woman next door gave me candy.”***

The participation of Joshua and Aidan gives an idea of their skills in English and of the potential of these public school students when they were given the opportunity to participate with confidence. They made an effort to speak in English spontaneously, and when their English seemed correct, the other classmates just respected their participation and stayed quiet without bothering them.

#### *Attitudes of Students Regarding English*

Because English is acquired as a second language in the public schools of the island, there are different reactions and feelings toward this imposed language in the schools. In this section, I will report on the different phrases that students used in the English classroom to show their empathy or resistance toward the teaching of English. It is important to point out that I collected these phrases by writing them down every time the students said them aloud. As previously stated in table 5.1, I grounded my observations about verbal and non-verbal behaviors of empathy and resistance on Torruellas’ (1990) dissertation. I expanded this list in my data collection, and I documented more examples of these verbal and non-verbal

behaviors beyond those that Torruellas (1990) documented. Most of the time, the students said these phrases to other students or to the whole class as a way to state their feelings and opinions.

As table 5.4 presents, I could only pick out 21 phrases of resistance or empathy in Central Town Public School.

Table 5.4 Central Town Public School Empathy and Resistance Phrases and Behavior

| <b><i>Empathy</i></b>  | <b><i>Resistance</i></b>  |
|--|---|
| <b>Phrases stating the completion of tasks</b>                                     | <b>Not understanding English</b>  |
| “Missi ya yo terminé.” ( <i>Missy I finished.</i> ) x 2                            | “I not understand.”   |
| “Yo lo terminé.” ( <i>I finished it.</i> ) x 3                                     | “¿Qué es eso?” ( <i>What is that?</i> )   |
| “I finished.” x 2  | “No entiendo.” ( <i>I do not understand.</i> )                                    |
| “I answered.”  | “¿Puedo contestar en español?” ( <i>Can I answer in Spanish?</i> )                |
| <b>Asking for the meaning of a word in English</b>                                 | <b>Questioning the Completion of Tasks in the Class</b>                           |
| “What’s a <i>boiler</i> ?”   | “¿Hay que hacer eso?” ( <i>Do I have to do that?</i> )                            |
| “What is a <i>trip</i> ?”  | “Yo no voy a copiar.” ( <i>I am not going to copy.</i> )                          |
| “Missy ¿qué significa “summer”?” ( <i>Missy what is the meaning of “summer”?</i> ) | “¿Tengo que escribir eso?” ( <i>Do I have to write that?</i> )                    |
| “¿Qué dice ahí?” ( <i>What does it say there?</i> )                                | “¿Hay que copiar eso? ¿Qué, Qué?” ( <i>Do we have to copy that? What? What?</i> ) |
| <b>Nonverbal Behaviors</b>   | “¿Missy hay que copiar eso?” ( <i>Missy do we have to copy that?</i> )            |
| Reading oral reports. (nonverbal behavior)   | <b>Nonverbal Behaviors</b>  |
| Translating words English to Spanish. (non-verbal behavior)                        | Getting distracted with other classmates.   |
| Reading short stories. (nonverbal behavior)  | Not finishing the class work.   |
| Answering questions about the story. (nonverbal behavior)                          | Not doing the homework.   |
| <b>Empathy phrases - 12 - 57%</b><br>Total number of phrases/tokens = 21           | <b>Resistance phrases – 9 - 43%</b><br>Total number of phrases/tokens = 21        |

There were three behaviors that I agree with Torruellas (1990) were signs of empathy. These included: reading oral reports, reading short stories in front of the class, and answering questions. The students in this classroom spoke out empathy phrases toward English 57 percent of the time, and they spoke resistance phrases toward English 43 percent of the time. Basically, the resistance phrases can be divided into two groups: not understanding English

and questioning the completion of tasks in the English class. There were a high number of phrases and behaviors related to empathy towards the class. These empathy occurrences can be divided into: a) asking for the meaning of a vocabulary word and, b) stating the completion of one task.

Besides verbal phrases that signaled empathy or resistance toward English, the students also engaged in non-verbal behaviors that signaled empathy and resistance. Some of the non-verbal behaviors that could be classified as empathy in Central Town Public School included completing the class tasks, helping the teacher to collect books and papers, and bringing their notebook to the teacher for her signature. The nonverbal behaviors that can be considered as resistance included getting distracted with other classmates, not finishing the class work, and not doing the homework.

The total number of phrases/tokens is relatively low considering that this includes collected phrases over four months. There were different factors that could influence the low number of expressions in the English classroom of Central Town Public School. The first factor was the limited interaction among the students in this classroom. Second, the students were not in the English class for an extended period of time; they only took 55 minutes of English class everyday. Finally, it seemed as if the students were not accustomed to expressing their ideas and thoughts about the English class orally.

### *Summary*

This section revealed the patterns of social interaction in the English classroom of Central Town Public School. In this classroom students spoke English to answer the questions of their teacher, but they also used Spanish to answer questions that were formulated in English. Also, in this classroom English-Spanish code-switching was

frequently used by the teacher and the students in their class activities. Vincent was the focal student who used more English in the classroom, but at the same time his classmates had a pattern of making fun of him and other classmates who mispronounced words in English. Joshua and Aidan also demonstrated their skills in English when they constructed sentences that were very good for their grade level. Students at this public school liked to ask for the meaning of vocabulary words in English and to state the completion of a task in the classroom. These could be considered as signs of empathy with the class since they showed some curiosity to know more words in English and willingness to complete the work assigned by the teacher. On the other hand, these fifth grade students also questioned copying the work written on the board and complained to the teacher with the classical “I do not understand” in order to not complete the work or perhaps to show some kind of resistance.

### ***Ocean View Private School***

In this section I present my notes from the researcher’s notebook with examples of the interactions and reactions of the students in the private school English classroom. The observations in the English classroom usually took place on Mondays from 8:30-9:30 am and Wednesdays from 9:30am -11am. I selected this particular classroom because the flexibility of the schedule. The schedule of this fifth grade English classroom was in the mornings. In this way, I could visit the private school English classroom on Monday and Wednesday.

### ***The English classroom in Ocean View Private School***

There were 22 students in the fifth grade English classroom that I observed at Ocean View Private School in Fall 2011. This classroom was physically larger than the English classroom in Central Town Public School. There was more space between the orderly rows



and the students could move more easily across the classroom. There were four orderly rows with seven desks in each. The teacher's desk was on the west side of the classroom. There were two chalkboards on the east side of the classroom. There were many windows on the north side of the classroom, with a beautiful view of the Atlantic Ocean. The classroom did not have air conditioning. The English classroom was also decorated with the English alphabet and science, history, math, religious and reading posters in English. Finally, there was a big bulletin board on the west side of the classroom that announced two important things: recognition to the all-star student of the week, and announcements and events of the week. Basically the all-star student of the week was a student who behaved well, participated, and performed well in the English class. A picture of the student was put on a star and that was his/her recognition as the all-star student of the week. However, this activity only lasted for the first three weeks I observed the classroom. After that it seemed as if the teacher and the students forgot about the all-star student of the week.

The floor plan is a rectangular room with the following features:

- Orientation:** EAST is at the top, SOUTH is at the top right, WEST is at the bottom, and NORTH is at the bottom left.
- Top Wall:** Labeled "EAST". It features a "CABINET" on the left and an "ALPHABET" display in the center.
- Right Wall:** Labeled "SOUTH". It has a "DOOR" at the top right corner and a "POSTERS" display running vertically.
- Bottom Wall:** Labeled "WEST". It contains a "TEACHER'S DESK" in the center, "BOOK SHELVES" on the left, and a "BULLETIN BOARD" on the right. A "DOOR" is located at the bottom right corner.
- Left Wall:** Labeled "NORTH". It features two "WINDOWS" positioned vertically.
- Seating:** A grid of 20 chairs, arranged in 5 rows and 4 columns, facing the front of the room.

The English teacher at Ocean View Private School was a young teacher about 28 – 34 years old. Mrs. Heredia had a Bachelors degree from a university in Puerto Rico. She greeted the students in English and she spoke English all the time. She seldom switched to

Spanish. The only times I heard Mrs. Heredia speak Spanish in the English classroom were to clarify some grammar rule, to discipline the students, or to remind them about some special activity in the school. Mrs. Heredia never yelled at her students or seemed to be mad at them. She only reminded them that they should behave correctly, as they should with all the other teachers. Mrs. Heredia also expected her students to be attentive every time a classmate was speaking or participating in the English class. Mrs. Heredia also liked to hear her students' life stories in English. She gave her students the freedom to speak about different topics as long as they expressed their feeling and ideas in English. The following excerpt from the researcher's journal shows Mrs. Heredia encouraging her students to participate and speak English. Students were discussing the first chapters of the novel

Charlotte's Web:

The teacher encourages some students to answer in English instead of Spanish. One student is talking about dogs and he forgets the word "street." Another student helps him to finish the sentence, telling him the word "street." Now the students are telling stories about their pets. Some of them tell the stories in Spanish, but most of them are telling the stories in English. These stories are kind of long.

A typical day in the fifth grade English classroom in Ocean View Private School was one full of different activities, so the students could participate in different ways. The following excerpt presents an example of the different kinds of interactions the teacher and the students engaged in during a normal day of class where the main topic was Volcanoes.

Excerpt 5.12 October 19, 2011

***The students are reading Volcanoes, [described on the board as] a "short informative selection" about the formation of volcanoes and their destructive force as natural disasters. Jessica and Amanda are following the reading selection, but they do not raise their hands to read aloud. Jason gave an explanation/answer about volcanoes to one of the teacher's questions. Now Amanda is raising her hand to participate and read. Jason raises his hand to continue answering the questions about the selection. Students all talk at the same time in English to answer one of the questions. The class continues with the students reading aloud the paragraphs of the reading selection. Amanda is now participating and***

*reading aloud one of the paragraphs of the short story. Amanda could not pronounce correctly the year 1963 and the other students help her. No one laughs. They help her to pronounce the year. Jason continues reading the next paragraphs. The teacher asks the questions that are written on the board. Students answer the questions orally and the teacher and/or the students write their responses on the board.*

*How volcanoes form? When magma pushes up through crust. Amanda and Jason answered the two types of volcanic vents – Vents – 1) “a hole in the ground that lava flows.” 2) “a hill or a manta that lava flows from.”*

*The second question – Where volcanoes form? “Where two plates of the Earth come together”. Amanda answers and the teacher writes it on the board. A second student writes an answer on the board.*

*Types of Volcanoes: 1) Shield Volcanoes – Mauna Loa, Kilauea. 2) Cinder Cone Volcanoes – Some volcanoes in Guatemala. 3) Dome Volcanoes – Lassen Peak. 4) Strato Volcano – Mount Hood, Mount Chaste [sic].*

*Amanda and Jason are raising their hands to participate. Jessica answers part of the types of volcanoes and writes them on the board.*

As these research notes reveal, the students comfortably participated in the different activities in the class and they helped each other to better understand the concepts of the readings.

Once again, students are interacting in different ways and freely moving in the classroom to accomplish the tasks of the class. I thought this was a good example of the level of complexity of the English class in this private school because of two factors. The first factor is the complexity of the reading selection *Volcanoes*, because there was a lot of scientific vocabulary that could be considered difficult for ESL students in fifth grade. The second factor was the different activities and techniques the teacher used to analyze the reading selection, so the students could understand it better. It is important to point out that the teacher never code-switched to Spanish to explain the reading selection to the students.

#### *Students' participation in the English classroom*

This analysis will first show the percentages of the responses and participation of the students in English and Spanish in the private school. The numbers and percentages were

calculated in the same way as at Central Town Public School, as described on pages 88 - 89.

I then tallied the total number of responses during 23 hours of observations in four months.

The following table presents the final results of the participation in Spanish and English of the students in the private school English classroom.

Table 5.5 Ocean View Private School Participation

| <i><b>Spanish</b></i>                  | <i><b>English</b></i>                  | <i><b>No response</b></i>              |
|--|--|--|
| 93                                     | <b>469</b>                             | 0                                      |
| 17%                                    | <b>83%</b>                             | 0%                                     |
| Total # of tokens / responses =<br>562 | Total # of tokens / responses =<br>562 | Total # of tokens / responses =<br>562 |

As the table shows, the students at Ocean View Private School provided their answers most of the time in English. Basically, the students answered in English 83 percent of the time during those four months, and in Spanish 17 percent of the time. Finally, the students at Ocean View Private School always responded to the teacher's questions. I never made a checkmark under the "no response" column in the four months of classroom observations.

Table 5.6 presents the participation of the focal students in the English classroom of Ocean View Private School.

Table 5.6 Participation of the Focal Students in the Private School English Classroom

| <b>Focal Student</b> | <b>English participation</b> | <b>Percentage</b> |
|----------------------|------------------------------|-------------------|
| Jessica              | 15 / 469                     | 3%                |
| Amanda               | 14 / 469                     | 3%                |
| <b>Jason</b>         | <b>37 / 469</b>              | <b>8%</b>         |

For this analysis, I only counted the responses in English of the focal participants. I divided their number of responses by the total number of English responses of all the students in the classroom, or the number of tokens presented in the previous Table 5.5 Jason was the focal student with the highest participation in the English classroom and his English responses represented eight percent of all the responses. Jessica and Amanda's English responses each

represented three percent of all the responses in English. The section that follows describes the complexities of these social interactions among the students, the teacher, and their relationship with the diverse activities of the class.

*Ocean View Private School Students' Social Interaction in the Classroom*

The students in the English class in Ocean View Private School were very sociable with me. Developing confidence and trust with me during the study, not only were the focal students talkative with me in Spanish, sharing their school and home experiences, but the other students also liked to talk to me and ask questions in Spanish about the research. These fifth graders used to talk with me before the class started and they also approached me at the end of the class.

Excerpt 5.13    October 26, 2011

***Jessica and Amanda told me that they have a volleyball game today. The game is at 3:00 pm. They will play in the school's basketball/volleyball court. Jessica and another student approached me to see what I was writing. They were surprised that I wrote five pages about their actions in class. In addition, Jessica and Amanda were telling me about all the private Catholic schools they have played against, such as the ones in Quebradillas, Arecibo, and Manatí. (These are other towns and cities on the north coast of Puerto Rico.)***

After this observation, the students were curious about their participation in the English classroom and they came almost every day after each observation to check how many times they answered or spoke English in the classroom. At this point, it seemed that the students were comfortable with my presence in the classroom.

The first pattern of social interaction in Ocean View Private School was cooperative learning among students while doing diverse reading and grammar exercises. Students had the freedom to move around the classroom and discuss their answers with other classmates. Students interacted with more than one classmate and they went back and forth among classmates while doing their class activities. These interactions were mostly in English, but

there were times when the students interacted in Spanish while discussing their work.

Particularly, the three focal children were very active doing cooperative learning. The most active focal student during cooperative learning was Jessica. She walked around the classroom checking her answers with other students. Amanda was active consulting other students, too, but she was one of the students who was frequently consulted by other students. Amanda performed both roles: the student who consulted others for help and the student who was consulted by others. Other students who were checking their work consulted the third focal student, Jason, almost all the time. Basically, Jason performed the role of the student whom others consulted to check their English class tasks.

Excerpt 5.14 October 24, 2011

***Jessica and Amanda are doing their work together. They are consulting each other about their work. Apparently, this cooperative learning is very common in the English classroom.***

Excerpt 5.15 November 30, 2011.

***Now that some students are working on the acrostic, there is a lot of cooperative learning going on. Students are helping each other with the acrostic. Students are asking what words start or do they use with the letters WILBUR to complete the acrostic. Also, they are asking questions about the rhyme. Some of them show each other their acrostic poem. They ask each other the meaning of certain words in English. Cooperative learning continues. Some of the classmates approach Jason, and he is showing his work to two other classmates.***

The second interaction pattern I observed in the English classroom of Ocean View Private School was students playing games as part of the learning process. Games were an important part of the class during the months of September, October, and November. It is important to point out that these games were often used during grammar lessons. These games often required the students to be divided into groups and to participate as team members.

Sometimes the teacher divided the group into two teams: one boys' and one girls' team, or there were two mixed teams (boys and girls). During the games the students were always very excited, and they were also very competitive. Many of the games I observed were about

action and linking verbs. Some of these games required the students to write sentences, mention verbs, and classify verbs. The following excerpt describes one of these games, classifying linking and action verbs:

Excerpt 5.16 November 2, 2011

***Two groups are doing an activity about linking and action verbs. The class is divided into Group A and Group B. Amanda is in group A, and Jessica and Jason are in group B. They will have to classify action verbs and linking verbs.***

| <b><i>Action Verbs</i></b>  | <b><i>Linking Verbs</i></b>   |
|---|---|
| <b><i>won</i></b><br><b><i>looked</i></b><br><b><i>saw</i></b><br><b><i>jumps</i></b> | <b><i>Appear</i></b><br><b><i>smelled</i></b><br><b><i>is</i></b><br><b><i>looked</i></b> |

***Students are very excited playing the game. One student chooses a card from a bag, and they have to read the sentence. After they read the card, they have to decide if the verb is an action or linking verb. Students get together to decide a correct answer. Students clap every time a student answers correctly. Both groups are tied so the teacher decides to do a tiebreaker. The tiebreaker is to write a sentence using a verb. Jessica is one of the students selected to do the tiebreaker. At the end of the game, Group B won with the help of Jessica who wrote the sentence “Juan eats a lot.”***

These field notes present how students interacted while playing games in the English classroom. It is important to point out that all the students participated in these games, and they helped and cooperated with their classmates. In addition, the games made the class more interactive and exciting for the students. Once again, the games proved how important teamwork was in the learning of English in this fifth grade classroom in Ocean View Private School.

Students in this private school English classroom were also constructing their own knowledge and were not afraid of questioning grammar rules. The following excerpt presents a fascinating verification of grammar rules where Amanda noticed that her teacher made a mistake.



***Agreement with verb “be” and verb “have.” One student reads. The teacher explains that these are special verbs. Students are doing repetition of the “be” and “have” chart and the verb rules. Jason is raising his hand, because he wants to ask a question. Students have different questions about the verb “be” rules. Jason asks some questions about the verbs and the rules and asks for examples. Now the teacher explains the rules with the verb “have.” The teacher made a mistake explaining the verb “have”, she wrote “they have” as a singular noun /under the singular noun column. Amanda notices the mistake and she tells the teacher that “they have” should be a plural noun. Then, other students help Amanda to explain to the teacher and then the teacher realizes the mistake. The teacher says “thank you” to Amanda and she corrects the mistake.***

When this “incident” happened, I remembered I was so impressed and surprised because at that time I considered Amanda kind of quiet in comparison with the other two private school focal children. In addition, sometimes she looked confused when the teacher explained new grammar material and skills. However, when she corrected the teacher’s mistake with the verb “have”, she demonstrated that her English proficiency and skills were at the same pace as her classmates and the other two focal children.

The last researcher notes excerpt presented in this chapter describes the last days of the Fall 2011 semester when the students were working on their portfolios. The portfolio was the assignment for the novel Charlotte’s Web. These portfolios included different kinds of activities such as word puzzles, poem writing, open-ended questions, and writing paragraphs. During those days the students were supposed to read the assigned chapters of the novel Charlotte’s Web at home. The chapters were discussed in the classroom and this discussion was complemented with a series of activities, such as the ones described here.

***Amanda showed me her portfolio. They are doing a series of activities related to the novel Charlotte’s Web. The sheets of the portfolio include writing poetry, writing small descriptive paragraphs using the five senses, drawing a map and doing a legend. Other activities include answering questions about the novel, such as the characters, what happened, and other story elements questions. The following is an example of one of the activities/ questions that the students did in the portfolio.***

### ***Wilbur's Dream***

***Question #2 – Write a paragraph about a dream that Wilbur probably had that night. Jason goes to the board and writes the following: I think that Wilbur dreamed about figuring out who and what is his new mystery friend.***

***The teacher says it is great what Jason wrote. Jason's friend (Roberto) says that Jason's sentence "está brutal" (it is amazing).***

Jason was one of the students who participated the most in the English classroom. Jason was unusual in the sense that he took risks in the English classroom and liked to be the first to participate in activities like this that seemed a little bit more challenging for the other students. Jason's friends congratulated him when he participated in these activities and was successful in his answers.

### ***Attitudes of Students Regarding English***

In this section, I present some of the phrases that I heard while I was observing the English classroom in Ocean View Private School. I collected these phrases every time the students said them aloud. As previously stated, I grounded my observations about verbal and nonverbal behaviors of empathy and resistance on Torruellas' (1990) dissertation. If we refer back to chart 5.1 at the beginning of this chapter, there are more examples of these verbal and nonverbal behaviors that Torruellas documented in her study, and that I used in my data collection. Most of the time the students said these phrases to other students or to the whole class as a way to state their feelings and opinions.

As previously stated, the interaction in the fifth grade English classroom of Ocean View Private School was different from the interaction of the students in Central Town Public School; students produced a higher number of tokens and I could pick up more phrases. The students at the private school had a more interactive, cooperative, and free style classroom environment, and they did a series of activities that allowed them to express more frequently their feelings and thoughts about the English class. Also, some days in the week

these students were in the English classroom for 1.5 hours, half an hour longer than the English class sessions at Central Town Public School. The students I observed in this classroom expressed phrases of empathy towards the English language class 74 percent of the time, and 26 percent of the time their expressions could be considered resistant towards the English class. The students spoke a total of 50 tokens/phrases of empathy and resistance.

Table 5.7 Ocean View Private School Empathy and Resistance Phrases and Behavior

| <b><i>Empathy</i></b>   | <b><i>Resistance</i></b>   |
|---|--|
| <b>Looking for the meaning of vocabulary words</b>  | <b>Not understanding English</b>   |
| “¿Qué significa “chance”?” ( <i>What is the meaning of “chance”?</i> )  | “No entiendo lo que dice ahí.” ( <i>I do not understand what it says there.</i> )        |
| “¿Missy qué es “chubby”?” – “gordita, llenita” – (other student answers). ( <i>Missy what is “chubby”?</i> )                      | “I don’t understand.”  |
| “Who is Gwendolyn Brooks?”  | “I’m tired I’m gonna take a break.”  |
| “¿Cómo se dice <i>deslizar</i> ?” ( <i>How do you say “deslizar” (to slide)?</i> )  | “Se me olvidó.” ( <i>I forgot.</i> )   |
| “¿Cómo se dice eso en español?” ( <i>How do you say this in Spanish?</i> )  | “Missy no entiendo.” ( <i>Missy I do not understand.</i> )                               |
| “Missy como digo “tamaño” en inglés.” – “Size” (other student answers.) ( <i>Missy How do I say “tamaño” (size) in English?</i> ) | “Spanish only.”  |
| <b>Stating enthusiasm for participating</b>   | “No sé.” ( <i>I do not know.</i> )   |
| “Missy yo quiero ir.” ( <i>Missy I want to participate.</i> )   | “No entiendo.” ( <i>I do not understand.</i> )   |
| “I want to participate, me, me.”<br>“Missy tu nunca me mandas.” ( <i>Missy you never call me out to participate.</i> )            | “Ay Missy esto no lo entiendo.” ( <i>Ay Missy I do not understand this.</i> )            |
| “Yo, yo.” (raising hands to participate) ( <i>me, me.</i> )   | <b>Asking clarification about some tasks</b>   |
| “La otra vez yo no participé.” ( <i>The other time I did not participate.</i> )   | “¿Qué repaso?” ( <i>What review?</i> )   |
| “Sólo las nenas participan.” ( <i>Only the girls participate.</i> )   | “¿Qué?” (When teacher says irregular verbs will come in the final exam) ( <i>What?</i> ) |
| “Missy yo quiero la 8.” ( <i>Missy I want to do number eight.</i> )   | “Chacho Missy eso es mucho.” ( <i>Man, Missy that is a lot.</i> )                        |
| “Yo Missy.” ( <i>I/me Missy.</i> ) x 2  | “Puerto Rico es lo mejor que hay.” ( <i>Puerto Rico is the best.</i> )                   |
| “Missy yo sé.” ( <i>Missy I know.</i> )   | <b>Nonverbal behaviors</b>   |
| “English only.”   | Getting distracted with other classmates.  |
| “English only is the new rule in the class.”  | Walking around the classroom with no purpose.  |
| “Because you are talking.” (reminding other students not to talk when the teacher is explaining something)                        | Doing the class work at a slow pace.   |
| “I talk like an American.”  |  |
| “Amo el homework.” ( <i>I love the homework.</i> )  |  |
| “What page?”  |  |

|  |   |
|--|---|
| “Missy de que se trata esa novela.” ( <i>Missy what is that novel about?</i> ) |   |
| “It is about Charlotte.”   |   |
| “Can you bring an example?”  |   |
| “I always bring crayons.”  |   |
| <b>Completion of Tasks</b>   |   |
| “Yo he leído como 4 capítulos.” ( <i>I have read like 4 chapters.</i> )        |   |
| “Yo la tengo bien.” ( <i>I have it correct.</i> )                              |   |
| “Me, me.”  |   |
| “I finish.”  |   |
| “Yo terminé primero que tú.” ( <i>I finished before you.</i> )                 |   |
| “Yo también.” ( <i>Me too.</i> )   |   |
| “Missy terminó.” ( <i>Missy I finished.</i> )                                  |   |
| “Missy terminó.” ( <i>Missy I finished.</i> )                                  |   |
| “I’m done.” x 2  |   |
| “Ay qué fácil.” ( <i>Oh so easy.</i> )   |   |
| “Ay!!!” (When the class ends.)   |   |
| <b>Nonverbal Behaviors</b>   |   |
| Explanation of irregular verbs. run – ran (nonverbal behavior)                 |   |
| By memorizing – (irregular verbs) (nonverbal behavior)                         |   |
| <b>Empathy phrases – 37 – 74%</b><br>Total number of phrases / tokens = 50     | <b>Resistance Phrases – 13 – 26%</b><br>Total number of phrases / tokens = 50 |

Besides the verbal phrases that signaled empathy or resistance toward English, the students also engaged in nonverbal behaviors that were also signs of empathy and resistance. Some of the nonverbal behaviors that I observed in Ocean View Private School included completing the class tasks fast, checking their work with classmates, and taking their notebook to the teacher for her signature. The nonverbal behaviors that can be considered as resistance included getting distracted by other classmates, walking around the classroom with no purpose, and doing the class work at a slow pace.

Basically, the empathy phrases in this classroom were related to looking for the meaning of vocabulary words, stating enthusiasm for participating in the class, and announcing completion of tasks in the classroom. The resistance phrases can be divided into two groups: not understanding English, and asking clarification about some tasks. In this

classroom the number of phrases/tokens is higher, with 50 tokens the total number. In the private school there was one day a week of the two on which I observed (Wednesdays) when the class was longer (1.5 hours), so this could be a factor to explain the greater number of tokens. A second factor could be that the students in this English classroom moved freely, looking for other classmates' support while working on a class activity. In this way, the students felt more comfortable expressing their feelings and thoughts toward the teaching-learning experience in their classroom.

### *Summary*

The descriptions of the social interactions of the fifth grade students in the English classroom of Ocean View Private School bring a complex and diverse picture of this English class. In this school students spoke more English in their class and they always answered their teacher's questions. Jason was the student who spoke the most English in the classroom and he was also one of the most active participants in the class. Based on the patterns of cooperative learning and the comments of his classmates, it was clear that Jason was identified as a "leader" in the English class in terms of academic performance. In other words, students knew that Jason was the student to check their answers with before going to the teacher. Jessica and Amanda were also team players and they were part of the cooperative learning and participation in the class. The long and complex English class also gave space for the students to express their feelings and thoughts about the class. In this sense, the students at Ocean View Private School expressed a long list of verbal and nonverbal expressions related to empathy towards English. It was pretty clear that they enjoyed the class and the many activities that were prepared for it every day. However, the students also displayed some verbal and nonverbal expressions that could be considered as

resistance towards English. It is important to point out that sometimes students seemed tired and overwhelmed by the amount of activities and the long period of time in the English classroom. They spent one hour and a half every Wednesday in the classroom, so this could be an explanation for the different “resistance” behaviors that students engaged in to attract the attention of the teacher and their other classmates.

### ***Conclusion***

The observations in both English classrooms help to distinguish the two speech communities that will be described in chapters six and seven. The detailed descriptions of typical classroom lessons, the social interaction among the teacher and children in each class, the students’ participation, and the opinions and thoughts of the children in each classroom bring a wider and more complex picture of who the members of these two proposed speech communities are. For example, the focal children and all the students used English more in the English classroom of the private school, and this may be considered a sign of an emerging bilingual speech community. The focal children and students in the English classroom of the public school had a restricted use of English and Spanish was used more. In this way, their practices of speaking Spanish more frequently in the English classroom are more connected to a Spanish monolingual speech community. The interactions and patterns in the English classroom of each school are different and diverse. According to the observations, the main differences in interaction and teaching/learning patterns were: teaching strategies, learning activities, the students’ uses of English inside the classroom, the students’ reactions to the participation of their classmates, and the students’ opinions and reactions to the class.

Table 5.8 Summary Social Interactions in the Two English Classrooms

| <b>Central Town Public School English Classroom</b>   | <b>Ocean View Private School English Classroom</b>  |
|---|---|
| <b><i>Social Interaction</i></b> – Students did not move a lot around the classroom, no cooperative learning, students felt uncomfortable and sometimes were ridiculed by classmates when speaking English, frequent English-Spanish code-switching. Teacher code-switched. | <b><i>Social Interaction</i></b> – Students move freely in the classroom, frequent cooperative learning, students helped each other when someone did not know the correct pronunciation of a word, most of the speaking interaction was in English. Teacher used only English.            |
| <b><i>Participation</i></b> – Sometimes students did not answer the teacher’s questions, not a lot of spoken English, Vincent was the student who used English the most. Simple responses to questions.   | <b><i>Participation</i></b> – Students were excited to participate, more spoken English, Jason was the student who used English the most. More complex English sentences.   |
| <b><i>Actions, Opinions, and Thoughts toward the English class</i></b> – More empathy phrases (57%) than resistance phrases. Fewer total phrases than the private school. Students stated the completion of a class task.   | <b><i>Actions, Opinions, and Thoughts toward the English class</i></b> – More empathy phrases (74%) than resistance phrases. More empathy and resistance phrases than the public school. Students frequently asked for the meaning of words and encouraged more participation in English. |
| <b><i>Learning Activities</i></b> – Read and listen to short stories, write simple sentences, answers simple questions, oral reports.   | <b><i>Learning Activities</i></b> – Answer open-ended questions, grammar games, grammar focused exercises, reading novels, create a portfolio.  |

One main difference between the classrooms is the role of the students in the learning-teaching process of English. First, the students in the English classroom in the public school did not seem to be very active or interactive in terms of participating and speaking in English. Cooperative learning or teamwork was almost absent in this classroom and students who participated individually were sometimes ridiculed and made to feel uncomfortable while trying to practice and improve their English. On the other hand, the students in the English classroom of the private school were acting as active agents in their learning of English as a second language. These students interacted more with their classmates and were able to move from one place to another inside the classroom in order to check and discuss grammar and literacy tasks with their classmates.

The private school students also acted as active agents in their learning when they frequently asked for the meanings of new words in the second language, and when they

encouraged the participation of their classmates. In contrast, the social interaction in the public school was different because the students in the public school only checked their answers with the teacher. Even though the students expressed their interest in the meanings of new vocabulary words, there was little encouragement for them to go beyond and participate more in the English class.

Finally, the participation of the focal students in Central Town Public School was based on the routine of selecting the correct word or phrase as an answer to the teacher's questions, with not much time for students to elaborate complex sentences as correct answers. Vincent's participation in the English class was more evident because he was more active reading aloud, and sometimes his classmates made fun of him when his pronunciation was not standard. Basically, the focal students in Central Town Public School behaved well in the English classroom and followed the patterns and rules that were expected of them. The participation of the focal students in Ocean View Private School was more noticeable because of the constant interaction and discussion of the English tasks among students. As my observations confirmed, Jason was one of the most popular students in the English classroom in terms of academic excellence. His classmates knew about Jason's highly proficient skills in English and they always wanted to double-check their answers with him before the teacher corrected them. Jessica and Amanda were really good at teamwork inside the English classroom and outside on the volleyball team that both of them were part of.

This chapter concludes the detailed findings and descriptions of the two English classrooms. These findings and descriptions have presented the similarities and differences between the two social groups (LWC and UMC) inside the English classrooms. In the following two chapters, focal parents and focal children make their own statements about



why they think English is important and why it is a useful resource to move higher in the social class strata of Puerto Rico.

## **Chapter 6**

### **Public School Focal Families**

The six focal families serve as the two cultural groups and the main participants in this dissertation research. This chapter focuses on the three focal families from Central Town Public School. These three focal families represent the lower working class (LWC) cultural group. This chapter discusses in detail the two sociolinguistic interviews with the focal parents, the two brief interviews with the focal children, and the written interactive journals with the focal children.

First, I will report on the analysis of the two sociolinguistic interviews with the focal mothers, and the two brief sociolinguistic interviews with the focal children. The first interviews were done in October, 2011, and the second interviews were done in February and March, 2012. I conducted the interviews in Spanish and I transcribed and translated the texts. The first interviews included the same set of questions for every focal child and the same set of questions for every focal parent (see Appendices B and C). The second interviews included a different set of questions for every focal child and a different set of questions for every focal parent (see Appendices E and F), based on the individual responses to the first interview questions.

In addition, I will report the results and analyses of the written interactive journals with the focal children (Joshua, Aidan, and Vincent) in Central Town Public School. The written interactive journals elicited communication about the focal children's feelings and emotions about the English class, as well as other daily situations (e.g. homework, daily classes, school activities, weekend plans, extracurricular activities, etc.) Two of the focal children (Joshua and Vincent) in Central Town Public School wrote all their entries in

Spanish. Aidan wrote some of his entries in English and some in Spanish. Every week the children wrote something in the interactive journal and I responded approximately twenty minutes afterwards on the same day, creating a back-and-forth conversation. I want to point out that some of the focal children were more enthusiastic than others in writing in the interactive journal. Some of the focal children gave me their notebooks at the beginning of the class in every visit to the classroom. However, there were others whom I had to push a little bit so they could give me back their interactive journal in every other visit to the classroom. This means that some children wrote twice a week, while others only wrote once a week in their journals. Generally, I took the first minutes of their class to read their short written entries (usually half page or one page each) and then I responded to them with some other question, or just opened a new entry with a new question. Then, at the end of the class I returned the interactive written journals to each of the focal children. Finally, the focal children had two to three days to write between entries.

The following section first analyzes the conversations with the three focal public school families. The conversations include an analysis of each focal parent's perceptions of bilingualism, views of English and its usefulness in their children's future lives, the evaluation of the English class, and the children's extracurricular activities. Following the parents' interviews there is an analysis of each focal child's view of English as a language, the uses of English in their future lives, and the children's evaluation of the English class.

#### ***Focal A – Joshua's family***

The sociolinguistic interviews with Joshua's mother revealed different opinions and attitudes in respect to the learning of English in public schools. As previously stated, Joshua's mother was the receptionist in the municipal federal programs office, so she knew

how useful English was in terms of reading documents. However, she stated that she rarely had to read any documents in English in her workplace. The interviews with Joshua and his mother took place during their lunch break at the municipal federal programs office. Joshua was the older son; he had one younger brother. Joshua was not attending any extracurricular activity at the time of the study.

### ***Joshua's mother***

Joshua's mother was the only one who said that she did not speak English at all. This was an interesting fact because she worked in an office that dealt with federal funded programs, where one would expect some use of English because of the relationship with United States government laws and regulations.

### ***Perception of bilingualism***

Joshua's mother perceived bilingualism as useful to be able to communicate and speak in Spanish and English for the job market. Joshua's mother was not really specific when she talked about bilingualism, such as having an extensive vocabulary and high proficiency reading skills, but her opinion about the class stated how important these two skills were in her son's English learning and Spanish-English bilingualism.

Excerpt 6.1 Joshua's mother First Interview Date: October 4, 2011

*Sí. Porque no mucha gente en PR lee inglés, así que cuando hay un personal que habla inglés es bien importante, es clave. Quizás en el lugar todo el mundo se refiere a él. Las instrucciones son en inglés, los programas federales son en inglés así que siempre buscan contactar esa persona para que le ayude. Si uno no sabe no puede aportar demasiado. (Yes. **Because not many people in Puerto Rico read English, so when there is someone who speaks English it is very important, it is key. Maybe in that place everybody would go to him. The instructions are in English, federal programs are in English so they always look to contact that person to help them. If you don't know you cannot contribute much.)***

Based on her job experience, a person who can read in English is really valued. Also, this statement revealed that not many people in Camuy read English and it is difficult to find

bilingual employees. It is interesting that Joshua's mother gave relevancy to the fact of reading in English rather than speaking in English in federal jobs. In this sense, she was recognizing that not only speaking English, but also reading English, is important to find a job.

*Views of English and its usefulness in her child's future life*

When I asked Joshua's mother about good federal jobs and their benefits, she specified that a federal job was a high paying job that assured economic stability. She also thought that a job with a U.S. federal agency was good because it involved a series of benefits and advantages not available in other professional fields. According to Joshua's mother, knowledge of English was necessary in federal jobs because the documents were in English and they always needed someone to read in English. However, she recognized that she did not speak or read any English. Joshua's mother recognized the importance of both languages, Spanish and English, in her son's future life, and that bilingualism would open doors for good jobs in his future.

Joshua's mother identified the professions of lawyer and engineer as two of the jobs where English is used more often. On the other hand, when asked about what kind of federal job she would like for her son, she chose the postal service because of the employee benefits it offered.

Excerpts 6.2 and 6.3 Joshua's mother Second Interview Date: February 17, 2012

*En el correo. Eh por los beneficios marginales y que es federal eso debe ser bueno. (In the post office. Eh because of the fringe benefits and it is federal so it should be good.)*

*Beneficios marginales, también plan médico, algún seguro. Yo creo que sí algún plan médico. (Fringe benefits, also health insurance, some insurance. Yes, I believe some health insurance.)*

This statement gives an idea that a job in the postal service office is really appreciated among the low-working class of Camuy. Aidan's mother also stated later that the post office would

be a good job. In Puerto Rico, the label/phrase *federal job* is synonymous with a prestigious, safe job with good benefits, but where some knowledge of English is necessary.

### *Evaluation of the English class*

Joshua's mother considered the English class a good class, and the reading material useful. She stated that the short stories were helpful for the development of Joshua's English skills. Although Joshua's mother classified the English class as good, she said she was disappointed with the other classes, such as science, because the teacher was absent many times during the semester. His mother considered that the English teacher was doing a good job, because Joshua was reading short stories and acquiring vocabulary. She said about the English class:

Excerpt 6.4 Joshua's mother First Interview Date: October 4, 2011

*Sí es muy buena creo que sí. Pienso es una de las mejores la clase de inglés. Por lo menos el material que consigo en las libretas es bueno y se ve interesante. Joshua me habla bastante de los cuentos que leen verdad del Titanic, y eso el me habla mucho de la clase de inglés. Esa no falta casi. (It is really good I think. I think the English class is one of the best. At least the material I find in the notebooks is good and looks interesting. Joshua talks a lot about the short stories that they read like the Titanic, and he talks a lot about the English class. The teacher is rarely absent.)*

The fact that the English teacher was seldom absent was very important for Joshua's mother. She considered this a good quality, in addition to the homework her son was doing and short stories he was reading in the English class. It is important to point out that absenteeism is a big problem in the public education system of Puerto Rico. The system does not have a program of substitute teachers and some teachers could be absent for months if they have some health condition. The students do nothing in the patio and no one teaches them. In this manner, this problem affects the quality of education of the students in the public school system.

## **Joshua**

The interviews with Joshua offered a space to know more in depth his feelings and attitudes towards his English class.

### *Views of English as a language*

One concept that came up in the interviews with the three public school focal children was the verb *aprender* (to learn) English in order to communicate. *Aprender* (to learn) was an important concept because in contrast with Spanish, English was a language in the periphery of the daily sociocultural contexts of these focal families and children. To learn English for these focal children was a way to have access to the language in school. Joshua considered that the English class was important because it gave him the opportunity to learn and be able to speak with other English speakers in some future workplace. Like his mother, Joshua considered that the short readings in the class were helpful for his learning of English. Besides the English class fifty-minutes everyday, Joshua used English when he played videogames for one hour at his home.

Excerpt 6.5 Joshua First Interview Date: October 4, 2011

*Sí porque aprendo a hablar inglés, ¿no?. Para contestar las preguntas que la maestra me dice. (Yes, because I learn to speak English, right? To answer the questions that the teacher asks me.)*

In the following statement Joshua talked about the jobs where people use English the most.

Excerpt 6.6 Joshua Second Interview Date: February 17, 2012

*El ... doctores, científico, no sé. Pues porque los doctores y los científicos van pa' allá afuera tienen que hablar en inglés pa' poder eh eh pa' poder entender. (The...doctors, scientist, I do not know. Well, because doctors and scientists go over there, abroad (the United States) they have to speak English so they can understand.)*

### *Uses of English in his future life*

According to Joshua, English would be necessary in his future life in case he traveled to other countries so he could communicate with people. As previously stated in

Chapter four, Joshua wanted to be an astronomer, so when asked about professions where English is used, his answers were scientists and doctors. Joshua recognized that his future profession would require him to interact in English in the workplace:

Excerpt 6.7 Joshua Second Interview Date: February 17, 2012

*Cuando... Cuando haya una persona de Estados Unidos pues hay que hablar inglés, pa' poder entenderlo. (When... When there is a person from the United States so you have to speak English, so you could understand him.)*

In this last statement Joshua only recognized the need of speaking English for his job. He did not associate the use of English with any other area in the astronomy field besides speaking English with someone who speaks it. Joshua and his mother considered speaking English as the most useful tool of bilingualism in any job field. They are not connecting the other language skills of Spanish-English bilingualism (writing and listening) with entering a university. It is important to point out that Joshua's mother talks about reading in English as an important language skill in her son's future professional job.

#### *Evaluation of the English class*

Joshua stated that he participated in the English class by answering the teacher's questions and this helped him to learn to speak English. At the same time, he said that his favorite thing about English was to read short stories, while his least favorite thing about English was to write/copy in English from the board. The new skills he remembered he learned during the year were cause and effect and fact and opinion. In addition, he liked reading the short story about Martin Luther King Jr., because he learned how people fought for their civil rights and laws. Finally, Joshua commented that the English class would be more difficult in higher grades.

#### ***Focal B – Aidan's family and Aidan's mother***

Aidan and his mother were part of the second public school focal family of this



research. Aidan's mother was a housewife and there were three boys in this family. Aidan's father was a car mechanic. The two interviews with Aidan and his mother took place at the family home in a low working class neighborhood really close to downtown Camuy, where Aidan's mother juggled my interview with her functions as a housewife and mother of three boys.

### *Perception of bilingualism*

Aidan's mother considered reading and vocabulary very important to learn English, but Aidan's English learning in his public English classroom was not focused on that. She stated that she tried to improve her English by reading books to improve her vocabulary. She did not speak English frequently or with anyone in her family, but she said that once in a while if tourists asked her something in English she was able to speak some English with them. Aidan's mother was willing to learn English by herself. Still, Aidan's mother also considered speaking English to be the most important part of bilingualism. In the following statement Aidan's mother talked about the bilingual development of her son, but she especially pointed out the importance of learning English and speaking it well.

Excerpt 6.8 Aidan's mother Second Interview Date: February 21, 2012

*Pues el ha aprendido este como usar los verbos un poco mejor, porque a veces uno habla en presente y pone el verbo en pasado ese tipo de cosas que son importantes. Sí, porque tiene que saber hablarlo bien para aprenderlo. (So he has learned how to use verbs a little better, because sometimes you talk in present tense and use the verb in past tense, that kind of thing that is important. Yes, because he has to speak it well so he can learn it.)*

### *Views of English and its usefulness in her child's future life*

According to Aidan's mother Spanish – English bilingualism was/is an advantage to compete for any job in Puerto Rico or in the United States. She did not consider that Aidan was a bilingual child, but she said that everyday he was learning something different in the English class. Aidan's mother really emphasized as important that her son speak English

when he finishes high school. Aidan's mother also valued the post office as a safe, reliable job, one where English was an indispensable tool.

Excerpt 6.9 Aidan's mother Second Interview Date: February 21, 2012

*Por ejemplo, si el va a buscar un trabajo en el correo pues necesita saber inglés, sea aquí o sea en los Estados Unidos. Los exámenes son en inglés, así mismo creo los exámenes de enfermero y todas esas cosas son en inglés y si uno no sabe, pues puede ser tremendo enfermero y si no contesta el examen bien porque no sabe el inglés, pues no le van a dar el trabajo. (For example, if he is going to look for a job in the post office, he needs to know English, whether here or in the United States. The exams are in English, in the same way I think the nurse's exams and all those things are in English and if you do not know, you can be an awesome nurse, and if you do not answer the exam correctly because you do not know English, well, they will not hire you.)*

#### *Evaluation of the English class*

Even though Aidan's mother recognized that her son is getting a "good" education, she was not that happy with the English class in general. She expressed that through the years the English class did not become more challenging. In her opinion, it seemed as if they only added small skills to the same material. She also pointed out that the English class is not preparing Aidan to speak English fluently in an everyday context with native speakers. In the first interview Aidan's mother stated, "The English that they teach in Puerto Rico is so basic that they do not learn how to speak it." She also added that the students "take twelve years of English and when they get out they do not know anything." According to her, the teaching of English in the public schools should be more aggressive, so the students could speak something when they graduate from high school. After these statements, I asked her in the second interview what she meant by "so basic":

Excerpt 6.10 Aidan's mother Second Interview Date: February 21, 2012

*Porque a veces sucede por ejemplo en primer grado, en segundo grado, y en tercer grado dan básicamente lo mismo añadiéndole quizás una bobería, pero sigue siendo lo mismo, tu no ves que haya eso mismo que hay en español que ahora le añaden como más cosas. El inglés se queda como casi siempre en lo mismo, en lo mismo, en lo mismo. (Well sometimes it happens for example that in first grade, second grade, and third grade they basically teach the same just adding some stupid thing, but it continues to be more of the same. You*

***do not see that they do what they do in the Spanish class where they add more things. The English class always stays the same, the same, the same. )***

Aidan's mother felt that the Spanish class gave more challenges and advanced skills to Aidan than the English class. In addition, she recommended that the public school system should offer incentives and motivate the students to read other kinds of books besides the ones they have in their classrooms.

#### *Children's extracurricular activity*

Aidan was attending a federally funded after school music program. Also, Aidan's older brother was attending baseball practices funded by the mayor's office and other private businesses of Camuy. Aidan's mother commented about the importance of the extracurricular activities and the social connections the children make at these activities.

Excerpt 6.11 Aidan's mother First Interview Date: October 5, 2011

***Sí, ellos están en clases de música, el otro juega pelota. Es tranquilo y socializan con muchos niños de diferentes sitios. Español. (Yes, they are in music classes, the other one plays baseball. It is quiet and they socialize with many children from different places. Spanish.)***

Socialization with children from different places was an important part of the extracurricular activities, according to Aidan's mother. However, the language of socialization in these extracurricular activities (music class and baseball practice) was Spanish. Even though the children might socialize with other children from higher social classes, they are not using English as their socialization language.

#### ***Aidan***

Aidan was the middle son in his family and he played the trumpet as part of his extracurricular activities.

### *Views of English as a language*

Aidan mentioned *aprender* (to learn) and to speak English as two important things about his English class. When I asked him, Aidan stated that sometimes he spoke English with his friends during lunchtime, but this same question revealed a different answer in the written interactive journal. Aidan wrote down that he did not speak English during lunchtime, and if he spoke some phrases or words in the English class he could not remember those. One interesting fact that came up in Aidan's interview was that, besides "using" English in videogames and reading the English class books, he also read the subtitles of movies in English. Aidan stated that when he read the subtitles of movies, he tried to get the meaning of complicated words in English. Perhaps this is the influence of his mother, who stated that reading in English is the best way to acquire vocabulary. Aidan mentioned he needed English to understand things that were not translated into Spanish. Aidan mentioned that lawyers used English because they worked with many people who spoke English. Aidan's perception of English use in the future was limited to speaking in English with someone who speaks the language.

Excerpt 6.12 Aidan First Interview Date: October 5, 2011

*Porque si voy a un lugar en el que hablan inglés y no sé, pues no puedo hablar. (Because if I go to a place where they speak English and I do not know, then I cannot speak.)*

Once more, the use of English in the future is limited to speaking with someone, but not using English literacy in any field of professional life in the future.

### *Uses of English in his future life*

Speaking in English was very important for Aidan because that would bring him the power of communication with other speakers in English speaking countries. Aidan's main

concern about learning English and his future life was that if he played professional sports, he would have to move to the United States and would have to speak English.

Aidan said that lawyers used English in their jobs. Aidan also thought that the English class would become harder and harder in higher grades (middle and high school). In the first interview Aidan told me he wanted to be a baseball player. Later, in the second interview he stated he would also like to be a basketball player and we talked about speaking English in his workplace.

Excerpt 6.13 Aidan Second Interview Date: February 21, 2012

*Si llego a niveles más altos como NBA o cosas así tengo que ir para allá afuera. (If I reach higher levels like the NBA or things like that I have to go there abroad (USA)).*

#### *Evaluation of the English class*

Aidan mentioned that he learned how to speak English in the class, but he also stated that it was kind of easy. When I asked him what new things he learned this year (5<sup>th</sup> grade) in the English class, he said “some things but almost nothing.” Aidan also enjoyed reading the short story about Martin Luther King Jr. because “*fue la más interesante*” (it was the most interesting one). Aidan thought that the English class was going to be more complicated in higher grades and in the university, because the teachers would be stricter.

Aidan and his mother recognized that English is important to find a good job, and it also brings more opportunities. However, once again the data from the interviews does not show the connection of English as a tool that would facilitate entering college or acquiring work in other professional fields where English literacy could be necessary.

#### *Focal C – Vincent’s family*

The interviews with Vincent and his mother took place in the cafeteria (the mother’s workplace). Both interviews were conducted after Vincent got out of school and after his

mother finished her work shift. The interviews with Vincent's mother involved the conversation about English as a medium of communication for families migrating between the United States and Puerto Rico. Vincent and his family moved to Puerto Rico from California approximately eight years ago. For this reason, it seemed as if Vincent and his mother were always looking forward to moving back to the United States. Vincent lived in the same low working class neighborhood as Aidan, close to downtown Camuy.

### ***Vincent's mother***

Vincent's mother was born and raised in Puerto Rico. Apparently, her family was part of the many circular migrating families (families that move back and forth between Puerto Rico and the United States). At the time of the study, she still had family members who were living in Seattle, Washington.

### ***Perception of bilingualism***

Vincent's mother and his aunt sometimes spoke English to Vincent. His mother said that the purpose of this was for Vincent to retain the language. According to her, Vincent does not speak the language, but he understands it. However, she stated that they almost never read in English. She said the bilingual development of her son is more or less the same as in previous years, meaning that there has not been significant improvement from previous years.

Excerpt 6.14 Vincent's mother First Interview Date: October 20, 2011

*Pues, si el quiere tener un mejor trabajo en un futuro el tiene que aprender inglés, para tener mas oportunidades. (Well, if he wants to have a better job in the future he has to learn English, so he can have more opportunities.)*

Vincent's mother was convinced speaking two languages was important to find a better job with higher pay.

*Views of English and its usefulness in her child's future life*

Vincent's mother saw English as a door opener for more job opportunities. Learning English was very important because Vincent was learning another language and it would bring more opportunities to find a good job. She also recognized that English was needed in all kinds of jobs. Interestingly, she pointed out that because she had some knowledge of English, every time an English speaker went to the cafeteria where she worked, she was the one who spoke English to the customer. She stated her opinion about English in the workplace.

Excerpt 6.15 Vincent's mother Second Interview Date: February 23, 2012

Vincent's mother: *Es que todos como tal, pues nosotros vivimos aquí en Puerto Rico, aquí hay que saber hablar inglés también. Yo misma trabajo aquí, pero pues cuando viene gente que habla inglés pues yo necesito hablar porque la mayoría de las muchachas no hablan inglés.*

Jannette: *¿Tu eres la que los defiende?*

Vincent's mother: *Sí.*

**(Vincent's mother: *Well all the jobs, because we live here in Puerto Rico, here we have to know how to speak English also. I work here, but when people who speak English come I need to speak it because the majority of the girls do not speak English.***

**Jannette: *You are the one who helps them out?***

**Vincent's mother: *Yes.***)

However, her experience proved that English is needed in every job field in Puerto Rico. No matter the educational level of the persons, they would eventually use English at some time in their workplaces. It is important to point out that Vincent's mother's workplace (the cafeteria) was not close to any famous tourist site, but it was located on one of the main streets of the island. Finally, Vincent's mother was influencing her son toward a career in the armed forces.

Excerpt 6.16 Vincent's mother Second Interview Date: February 23, 2012

*El sabe que yo le he dicho que el ejército, que yo quiero que se vaya para el ejército, que yo quiero que el se vaya pa'l army. (He knows that I told him that the army, that I want him to go to the armed forces, I want him to go to the army.)*

She felt a military job could bring Vincent a series of federal benefits and professional opportunities that would help him to develop his full potential as an adult.

#### *Evaluation of the English class*

Vincent's mother was the only parent who clearly stated her dissatisfaction with the public education system of the island. Vincent's mother stated that the teaching of all the subjects was poor and there was no exception with any class. In addition, she did not think that Vincent was learning the basic skills of the English language that could help him with his bilingual development. She stated that the correct use of verbs, adjectives and articles was important to develop proficiency in English. In the first interview she stated: "In the schools they are not teaching them the fundamentals." When asked what the fundamentals were, she responded:

Excerpt 6.17 Vincent's mother Second Interview Date: February 23, 2012

*Para mi pues como organizar. Es que pues el inglés es diferente al español, sabes tiene que como organizar los verbos, los adjetivos, los artículos. (To me it means like to organize. English is different from Spanish, you know, you have to organize the verbs, the adjectives, the articles.)*

Finally she recommended the teaching of more conversational practices, because this would help her son to improve his English.

#### *Children's extracurricular activity*

Vincent's mother said that extracurricular activities give children advantages. However, Vincent was not attending extracurricular activities in Fall 2011; he started attending American football practice in Spring 2012. Vincent's mother considered the sport



activities that Vincent did at school as extracurricular activities, even though these were part of the physical education class and the curriculum.

Excerpt 6.18 Vincent's mother First Interview Date: October 20, 2011

*Están en deportes, ellos juegan, están en diferentes cosas en la escuela. Se habla español y tienen bastantes amigos. Le dan ventaja porque les ayuda en las diferentes destrezas motoras, y por lo menos los deportes les ayudan en las destrezas motoras, en el compartir con otras personas, el relacionarse con otras personas. (They are in sports, they play, they are in different things in school. They speak Spanish and they have many friends. It gives them an advantage because it helps them with different motor skills, and at least sports help them with their physical skills, and sharing with other persons, and forming relationships with other persons.)*

Vincent's mother also mentioned the importance of socialization with different children in the extracurricular activities. She also stated that her son spoke Spanish in the extracurricular activities, so English was not used among the children as a socialization language.

### ***Vincent***

In the two interviews with Vincent he always stated that his family was going to move back to the United States. Again and again, Vincent displayed the influence of the circular migration issue of many Puerto Rican families. In this manner, English was important for Vincent because he was expecting to use it constantly in his daily life at sometime in the near future.

### ***Views of English as a language***

English was a language that Vincent spoke a little bit in the classroom, but he used it on the Internet and in videogames almost everyday after school. Vincent was the only focal child of the public school focal families who said that his mother spoke English.

Excerpt 6.19 Vincent Second Interview Date: February 23, 2012

*Sí. En cuando ella vivía en por allá y en otros lugares, y aquí habla poquito, porque aquí no se habla mucho inglés. (Yes. In ... when she lived over there (USA) and in other places, and here she speaks a little bit, because here they do not speak a lot of English.)*

Vincent admired the fact that his mother was able to speak English. Vincent also stated that learning and speaking English was important because he might move to another country.

Excerpt 6.20 Vincent Second Interview Date: February 23,2012

*[A]prendo mucho inglés. Y como creo que yo me voy de este país, me voy pa' otro país y allí hablan inglés, y quiero aprender inglés, pa' cuando yo vaya allá aprender, que ya me lo sepa. (I learn a lot of English. Because I believe I am going to leave this country, and I am going to another country, and they speak English there, and I want to learn English, so when I move there to learn, that I would already know it.)*

#### *Uses of English in his future life*

There were two main functions of English in the future life Vincent predicted for himself. These were for communication purposes in case of moving to the United States and for enlisting in the army. So far, Vincent wanted to learn English so that, in case he had to move back to the United States, he would know the language. Vincent considered English to be a difficult language that he had to learn in order to reach his goal of enlisting in the army. He knew that enlisting in the army involved continuous communication in English with others. In the following statement Vincent recognized the need of learning English more than Spanish because he would need it for the army.

Excerpt 6.21: Vincent Second Interview Date: February 23,2012

*A mí me gusta más la clase de inglés porque como yo quiero ir pa'l army, pues quiero aprender mucho inglés. (I like the English class more because I want to go to the army, so I want to learn a lot of English.)*

#### *Evaluation of the English class*

Vincent mentioned he liked the English class because he learned English and he wanted to learn English. He stated that the most difficult thing about English was remembering vocabulary or translating some words from Spanish into English, such as *cancha* (basketball court) and *carretera* (street). Vincent said that he learned about action

verbs in English class. When asked about his thoughts about the English class in the middle / high school, he said it would be more difficult and he would learn more.

Vincent's mother's statements present the need for English from two main points: the possibility of moving back to the United States, and the use of English in any job including the armed forces. In this way, Vincent and his mother had the same goals about learning English for a better future. Still, the main concern of learning English remains the ability to speak English rather than writing or reading it. Vincent and his mother did not mention any connection of English literacy with a future performance in the university or in any job position.

### ***Possession and Activation of Cultural Capital***

The lower-working class families made use of their limited resources to activate the cultural capital of their children. However, the lower-working class families had limited access to extracurricular activities. Some reasons for this included limited access to these activities in the town and the school, economic constraints, parents' busy work schedules, transportation issues, and limited extracurricular activities offered by the national government for children in the LWC community. The public school focal parents also used some additional resources to try to increase the cultural capital of their families. Some of these resources included English vocabulary books, sporadic summer English classes, and English input by some family members. In addition, it is important to mention access to Cable TV, Internet, and videogames as resources that helped these lower-working class families increase the learning of English by their children. Two of the LWC focal families had access to Cable TV in their homes. Even though limited in economic and educational resources, these LWC parents tried to give their children the education and resources they did

not have access to. For example, Joshua's mother talked about how she tried to pay for English classes for her son one time. However, the distance and other expenses limited the possibilities of continuing the English classes.

Excerpt 6.22 Joshua's mother First Interview: October 4, 2011

*Si yo lo les pagué unas clases de inglés en el CUTA. El año pasado. El tiene un certificado del CUTA. Se lo pagué. Eran clases de inglés nada más los sábados. Era como 3 horitas. Le dieron un certificado de la UPR. Me interesa muchísimo pero la verdad que pues... No y yo no le puedo ayudar tampoco porque yo no lo sé. Pero a mi me encantaría que el, el es bastante bueno. El es el mayor pero es el que yo veo que le puedo sacar potencial. Viajaba todos los sábados a Arecibo. Era mediodía nada más. Sí era inglés para niños. **(I paid for some English classes for him in CUTA (University of Puerto Rico-Arecibo Campus). There were English classes only on Saturdays. It was for three hours. They gave him a certificate. I am really interested but well... I cannot help him because I do not know (English). But I would like for him, he is really good. He is the oldest and I see I can bring out his potential. I traveled / did the commute every Saturday to Arecibo. It was only half a day. Yes it was English for children.)***

Aidan's mother also tried to help her children to have access to other English related activities to increase this capital. However, as with Joshua's mother, limitations of diverse resources did not allow the initiative to be successful.

Excerpt 6.23 Aidan's mother First Interview Date: October 5, 2011

*Yo le compré a ellos es como un librito que tiene unas láminas, entonces al lado tiene la palabra. Te explica como es y te dice como leerla, entonces se supone que es una palabra para cada día. Yo se lo compré hace tiempo. Yo se lo tenía en la mesita y ellos todos los días pues leían uno para que obtuvieran más vocabulario. No porque eso era la Etapa 1 y no volví a conseguir ni la etapa 2 ni la..., pues se quedó ahí en la etapa 1. **(I bought them like a small book with pictures and next to it the word. It explains for you what it is and it tells you how to read it, then it is like a word per day. I bought it a long time ago. It was by their night table and they everyday read one so they could acquire more vocabulary. That was Level 1, but I could not find Level 2 or the..., so it stopped with Level 1.)***

Vincent's mother focused on sports activities that were part of the physical education curriculum at the school. However, these activities did not take place in a different context or in a place where children and families could increase their social capital.

Excerpt 6.24 Vincent's mother First Interview Date: October 20, 2011

*Están en deportes, ellos juegan, están en diferentes cosas en la escuela. Se habla español y tienen bastantes amigos. Le dan ventaja porque les ayuda en las diferentes destrezas motoras, y por lo menos los deportes les ayudan en las destrezas motoras, en el compartir con otras personas, el relacionarse con otras personas. (They are in sports, they play, they are in different things in school. They speak Spanish and they have many friends. It gives them an advantage because it helps them with different motor skills, and at least sports help them with their physical skills, and sharing with other persons, and forming relationships with other persons.)*

These parents tried to increase the cultural capital of their children using the restricted economic and social resources they had available. Due to some of their daily life complexities and limitations, their activities and their efforts to activate capital were not plentiful or necessarily successful.

*The use of the word “ventaja” as a code for cultural capital*

Focal parents in the LWC speech community made use of their limited economic and social resources to try to increase the cultural capital of their children regardless the complexities and difficulties in their daily lives. The LWC focal parents referred to the word “advantage – (ventaja)” when talking about learning and speaking English to get a good job in the future.

Excerpt 6.25 Aidan's mother First Interview Date: October 5, 2011

*“Porque si eh le abre puertas para un mejor trabajo o una oportunidad en Estados Unidos o algo así, o aquí mismo pero un trabajo que necesite ser bilingüe, pues tiene la ventaja sobre alguien que no sea.” (Because yes eh it opens the door for a better job or for an opportunity in the United States or something like that, or just here but in a job that he needs to be bilingual, so he has the advantage over someone that it is not.)*

Aidan's mother used the word “advantage – (ventaja)” when referring to being a bilingual person and looking for jobs. Once again being bilingual is seen as an advantage to get a good job with the goal of increasing cultural capital.

*“Abre muchas puertas en trabajos en la misma educación y muchas oportunidades, brinda mas oportunidades.” (It opens many doors in jobs and many opportunities it brings more opportunities.)*

Finally, Vincent's mother used the word opportunity when talking about how English is an advantage in her son's future life. In this way, when those doors open there are many opportunities of increasing and activating cultural capital.

### ***The written interactive journal***

The written interactive journals basically gave details about the daily activities and practices of the focal children and their families. In general, these included how the children divided their school and leisure activities at home, weekend and holiday activities with the families, school context, classes, and speaking English at school. However, as previously stated, some of the public school focal children gave one answer verbally in their sociolinguistic interview and then, when asked the same question in the written interactive journal, their answer was different. This was particularly true with the questions about how much English they speak in the class, and if they could remember some phrases that they spoke in English in English class or outside the classroom. For example, I asked the following questions to the three focal children in the tape-recorded interviews:

**What language do you use more with your friends?**

*Joshua – Español. (Spanish)*

*Aidan – Español. (Spanish)*

*Vincent – Español. (Spanish)*

**Do you ever use English with your friends?**

*Joshua - A veces. (Sometimes)*

*Aidan – Sí. (Yes)*

*Vincent – A veces poquito a poquito inglés. (Sometimes, little bits of English.)*

### **Where do you use English with your friends?**

**Joshua** – *Por la cancha. A las 12 en el almuerzo. (On the basketball court. At noon during lunch-time.)*

**Aidan** – *En el salón de inglés y a veces en el patio. En el patio a las 12, o cuando estoy libre. (In the English classroom and sometimes in the patio/yard. At 12:00 noon in the patio/yard, or when I am free.)*

**Vincent** – *Hablo inglés, yo hablo inglés hablo en la cancha de la escuela en los lugares en toda la escuela yo hablo inglés. Al mediodía o por la tarde. (I speak English, I speak English on the school's basketball court and in places all over the school I speak English. At noon or in the afternoon.)*

The written interactive journal asked the following questions: **How many times did you speak English today in school? What things did you speak about in English? What did you say?** The responses of the children were:

**Joshua** – (No hablé hoy inglés.) *No, I did not speak English today.*

**Aidan** – *I did not speak English at school.* (These were his English words.)

**Vincent** – (Dos o tres veces. No sé.) *Two or three times. I do not know.*

Even though the three focal children reported that they sometimes speak English on the school playground or basketball court during lunch-time, it was not clear how often they spoke English. At least the responses of the focal children to the second sets of questions in the written interactive journal indicated that their uses of English in the school context were limited to their English class participation. More in depth analysis of the focal children's participation in the English classroom is presented in chapter five Classroom Observations.

Finally, there were not big differences in the sociocultural practices used across the public school focal children and their families. Some of the information that the written interactive journal revealed about these working class families were weekend plans such as going out to eat to fast food restaurants, watching TV, playing videogames, hide and seek, basketball, playing with iguanas, going to church, and studying. The focal children also

wrote about how “it is fun” to participate in the English class, because they could learn more. However, when asked about doing homework at home, Joshua and Aidan gave diverse responses. Joshua liked doing homework because he earned points that added to the final grade. On the other hand, Aidan did not like to do homework because he was at school all day and had to attend his music class after school. He only liked to do homework when they assigned special projects involving pictures. Finally, when talking about extracurricular activities, Aidan said that he practiced the trumpet everyday in the extracurricular class and at home. Vincent admitted that he was not in an extracurricular activity anymore, but that he missed the basketball practices because they were very good.

### ***Evaluation of the English class in the written interactive journal***

The written interactive journal also elicited some information about the focal children’s evaluation of the English class. For example, when asked what class was more important between Spanish and English, the three focal children said that English was more important than Spanish. The three focal children liked taking easy exams in the English class and getting good grades. They also said that they liked to participate in the English class because it was fun and they could learn (*aprender*) to speak the language.

### ***Summary and Analysis***

#### ***Parents’ Perspectives***

Four main themes emerged in the two sociolinguistic interviews with the three focal parents in Central Town Public School.

1. The perception of bilingualism.
2. Parents’ views of English and its usefulness in their children’s future lives.
3. The evaluation of the English class.



4. The importance of their children's extracurricular activities.

### *Bilingualism*

Public school parents' perception of bilingualism involves speaking English to be able to communicate and to find a good job. At the same time, public school parents did not mention that their children speak English in their every day context. Also, with one exception these parents did not mention the use of English literacy in the university context or in jobs.

### *Their views of English and its usefulness in their children's future lives*

The parents in the public school stated reasons for considering English to be an important language in their children's education. These parents mainly focused on the need for English for communicative purposes in the workplace. They also consider English to be an important language in some national and federal jobs. Parents in the public school also mentioned English as an important tool if their children move to the United States. The following list shows how these focal public school parents saw English in their children's future lives.

- a) Jobs and professions: nurse, lawyer, engineer, education jobs, government jobs, federal jobs, Postal Service, army.
- b) To move to another country.
- c) To work in the United States.
- d) To practice English in the United States.
- e) To read documents in English.
- f) To speak with someone from the United States in the workplace.

### *Evaluation of the English class*

Two of the public school focal parents in this research classified the English class in their children's public school as good. These parents showed satisfaction with the English class and the education their children were receiving in Central Town Public School. They expressed that they were happy with the English class and the way the teacher was teaching the class. However, not all the parents gave good evaluations to their children's English class. One of the public school focal parents expressed her discontent with the public education system and the English curriculum in general. Finally, when asked what class was more important between English and Spanish, two of the public school focal mothers said that English was more important. Only one of them said that both classes were equally important for her.

### *The importance of their children's extracurricular activities*

Only one of the focal children (Aidan) in the public school was attending extracurricular activities at the time of the study. I did not ask directly to the focal parents in the public school why their children were not attending extracurricular activities. Different factors as previously discussed could influence the lack of participation of the other two public school focal children in extracurricular activities.

### ***Children's Perspectives***

These are some of the main perspectives about English and its use in their lives, according to the focal children (Joshua, Aidan, and Vincent) in Central Town Public School. At the same time, the focal children had the opportunity to express their evaluation and interests regarding the English class. Public school focal students mentioned the word

“*aprender*” (to learn) and how important is to learn English. These main themes emerged in the two brief interviews with the three focal children.

1. Their views of English as a language.
2. The uses of English in their future lives.
3. The evaluation of the English class.

Focal children described their views of English in terms of socialization and academic purposes. The following list shows their different purposes for using English, according to the public school focal students.

- a) To speak with someone who speaks English.
- b) To speak with someone from the United States in the workplace.
- c) To move and live in the United States.
- d) To play professional sports in the United States.
- e) To work in professional fields such as law because some documents are in English, and in the army English is spoken constantly.

#### *Evaluation of the English class*

Although the public school focal children did not talk extensively about the English class, they stated some comments that helped to connect their ideas and opinions with their parents’ evaluation of the English class. The children pointed out the importance of learning to speak English and how fun it was to participate in the English class. Also, the children agreed with the parents and stated that the class was easy. The public school focal children were asked two times about what class was more important, the English or the Spanish class. They were first asked in the written interactive journal and the second time was in the second tape-recorded interview. The three public focal children stated both times that the English

class was more important than the Spanish class because they were learning a second language and because they could use it in the future.

### ***Conclusion***

Many of the statements of the public school focal parents and children established that these low working class Puerto Rican families do not feel that English is a threat to their native language, Spanish. Instead, low working class families see English as a medium of social mobility and a means to assure a job in the competitive job market of the island. However, the perception of bilingualism of these low working class families is basically limited to speaking and reading English. Joshua's mother and Aidan's mother were the two mothers who mentioned reading in English. Joshua's mother said that reading documents in English is an important tool in federal jobs. Aidan's mother stated that reading could be helpful to acquire vocabulary in English. In general, the three public school LWC families limited their perception of bilingualism mainly to verbal, conversational English skills in order to communicate with others and to have an advantage while looking for a job. One possible explanation of Aidan's mother's concern for better vocabulary could be that a more expanded vocabulary also helps to communicate better with English speakers. Joshua's mother stated reading in English as an important skill because of her own experience working in the municipal federal programs office.

These public school focal parents and focal children do not articulate a priority for acquiring English academic literacy as a tool for entrance into a university or for academic success in higher education. The families (mothers and sons) have stated that the main goal is to speak very good English to communicate with any English speakers in Puerto Rico or in the United States. For these public school focal families, speaking English is seen as a

golden ticket that could open doors for any job position, especially in the federal government branches.

Two of the three mothers expressed their dissatisfaction with the English class curriculum. Although these mothers did not work in highly paid professional jobs or have college educations, they were able to give recommendations and ideas to improve the English class curriculum (reading different books, conversation classes). They did not consider their children to be bilinguals, but they said that their children understood English and were making some progress in their bilingual development. The focal mothers also said that their children did not speak English during extracurricular activities. The focal children stated they only used English in the English class and in videogames or on the internet. However, they did not speak English with anyone outside the classroom.

As a sampling of a speech community, these selected low working class families had very limited use of English in their daily social interactions. The following points summarize the main facts about the focal public school families.

- Perception of bilingualism – The perception of bilingualism was limited to the ability to communicate in Spanish and English with people in the workplace or in the United States. The public school focal children valued the learning of English because this would allow them to speak English in the future with coworkers and native speakers of the language. The public school focal mothers also reinforced the ability to speak English as something important in their children's future. The perception of bilingualism among this small sampling of a speech community presents the limited uses of English they see in their children's future professional life.

- Bilingual members in the family – Only one public school focal family stated that it had a bilingual member. Only one of the public school focal children considered that his mother was bilingual because she could speak English. Even though this one public school focal mother did not define herself as a bilingual person, her multiple statements about speaking English inside and outside Puerto Rico could define her as bilingual. This public school focal mother was the only mother who openly declared that she speaks and uses English every now and then. However, her interaction in English with her son was rare and limited.
- Use of English in parents' workplace – Only one public school focal mother stated that she used English in her workplace. She said that her uses of English in the workplace were sporadic and restricted to speaking and interacting with tourists on the island. However, this represented more exposure to English for this mother and it could result in more exposure for her son, too. Her son used to hang out after school in his mother's workplace; this means that if his mother was interacting in English with a customer he would listen to the English conversation and receive some input in this second language.
- Use of English outside the English classroom – The three public school focal children stated that videogames and the internet were their only constant exposure to English outside the English classroom and at their homes. These three focal children did not receive a lot of exposure to English from their parents, homes, or extracurricular activities. The children stated that these limited resources seemed to help them with some basic English words and phrases.

- English in the children's future – According to this sample speech community, the three main uses of English in the future were to find a good job, to move to the United States, and to communicate (speak English). It is important to point out that the three mothers were interested in their children getting jobs with the federal government, the postal service, and the army. The focal mothers believed that knowledge of English would help their children to get these jobs and to succeed in them.

This chapter described the public school focal families as a speech community. This is a sample of the speech community that mainly speaks Spanish, speaks English very sporadically, and the children have limited access to extracurricular activities. It is also a speech community that sees English as a social mobility mechanism that can assure a secure job in a federal branch (postal service, army).

The chapter that follows will present the description of the private school focal families as a sample of a distinct speech community. In this manner, chapters six and seven compare and contrast the descriptions of both social groups as speech communities, based on their views and uses of English and their sociocultural practices.

## **Chapter 7**

### **Private School Focal Families**

This chapter will present more in depth sociocultural and sociolinguistic aspects of the private school families. As with the public school focal families, the private school families are one of the two cultural groups and main participants of this dissertation research. This chapter focuses on the focal families from Ocean View Private School, who represent the upper middle class cultural group of the research. This chapter discusses in detail the two sociolinguistic interviews with the focal parents, the two brief interviews with the focal children, and the written interactive journals with the focal children.

First, I will report on the analysis of the two tape-recorded sociolinguistic interviews with the focal mothers and one focal father, and the two brief sociolinguistic interviews with the focal children. The first interviews were done in October, 2011, and the second interviews were conducted during February and March, 2012. The interviews were conducted in Spanish, the native language of the children and their parents. The first set of interviews included the same set of questions for every focal child and the same set of questions for every focal parent (see Appendix B and E). The second set of interviews included a different set of questions for every focal child and a different set of questions for every focal parent (see Appendix C and F) as a follow up to information provided in the first interview.

In addition, I will report the results and analysis of the written interactive journals with the focal children (Jessica, Amanda, and Jason) in Ocean View Private School. The written interactive journals elicited communication about the focal children's feelings and emotions about the English class, as well as other daily situations (e.g. homework, daily



classes, school activities, weekend plans, extracurricular activities, etc). In Ocean View Private School two of the focal children (Amanda and Jessica) wrote some of their entries in Spanish and some in English. Jason wrote all his journal entries in English. As mentioned in Chapter five, the focal children wrote in the interactive journal every week. I responded later, and this created a back-and-forth conversation. Some of them gave me their notebooks at the beginning of the class, and wrote twice a week. However, there were others who only wrote once a week in their journals and were less enthusiastic. Most of the time, I read their short written entry (usually half page or one page each) and then I responded to them with some other questions, or just opened a new entry with a new question. At the end of the class I returned the interactive written journals to each one of the focal children. Normally, the focal children had two to three days to write between entries.

The following section first analyzes the conversations with the three focal private school families. The conversations include an analysis of each focal parent's perceptions of bilingualism, views of English and its usefulness in their children's future lives, the evaluation of the English class, and children's extracurricular activities. Following the parent interviews there is an analysis of each focal child's view of English as a language, the uses of English in their future lives, and the children's evaluation of the English class.

#### ***Focal D – Jessica***

Jessica was an active girl who liked to participate in artistic and sports activities. Jessica was comfortable talking with me during the two interviews. She was also very talkative with me during the minutes I waited for the English class to start. Jessica and Amanda were the two students who informed me about many of the issues and activities happening at the school. Jessica frequently interacted with her other classmates while doing

grammar and reading exercises in the class. Most of the time these interactions were in English, and Jessica seemed comfortable speaking in both languages.

### *Jessica's family*

Jessica's family lived in an upper-middle class neighborhood in Hatillo. The interviews with Jessica and her mother were conducted at their home in Hatillo. The interview with Jessica and her mother sheds light on how important the learning of English was in this family. Especially during the interview, it came up that Jessica's dad was very concerned about his children's correct use of English. Jessica's father was unable to work and received a government pension.

Jessica's mother was a secretary in a school and she really liked to have her children participating in extracurricular activities. In the two interviews, she emphasized how important it is that her children learn English and stated the advantages of private school education in the lives of her children.

### *Perception of bilingualism*

Even though Jessica's mother said that she spoke a little bit of English and could understand people speaking English, she stated that Jessica's father (her husband) was the real bilingual in her family. She added that he was the one who helped her to improve her English and who corrected their children's English. When asked about her uses of English in her daily life, Jessica's mother revealed that it was her husband who helped her to survive her English classes while finishing her bachelor's degree in college. According to her, the only persons who speak English at the house are her husband and her children (Jessica included). Even though her children liked to speak English, she said that sometimes they felt afraid or timid to speak it; she felt the same. For Jessica's mother Spanish and English were two

languages that her children should speak perfectly. Jessica's mother was the one who corrected the Spanish pronunciation and grammar of her children and Jessica's father corrected their English pronunciation and vocabulary.

In addition to encouraging correct pronunciation in English, Jessica's mother also stated that she encouraged her children to read in English. For this reason she liked to buy books in English for her children at the book fairs of the private school. She added that her children liked to read in English more than in Spanish.

Excerpt 7.1 Jessica's mother First Interview Date: October 12, 2011

*“Sí que ellos tuvieran mas fluidez... Pero por ejemplo, en tiempos de clase leen las cosas que le mandan de la escuela. Pero adicional, por ejemplo, en las ferias de libros que hacen en el colegio, pues ellos van y compran libritos y los leen. En inglés, les gusta más en inglés.” (Yes that they could have more fluency... For example, during class time they read things that they assign them in school. But in addition, for example, at the book fairs that they hold in the school, they go and buy little books and read them. In English, they like to read more in English).*

*Views of English and its usefulness in her child's future life*

Jessica's parents considered English to be a really important tool for their children's future academic and professional life. The word “advantage – (*ventaja*)” came out many times in the statements of Jessica's mother. Definitely for Jessica's mother, the fact that her children were learning good English gave them an advantage over other children who may not have the opportunity of becoming true bilinguals. Another point that came out is the possibility of the family moving to the United States or the children studying their academic careers there. She pointed out that not only in the United States would they need English, but also in Puerto Rico. Good job positions and promotions in the limited Puerto Rican job field depended on the knowledge of English and being a Spanish-English bilingual. Jessica's mother based her statements on her own experiences struggling with English books and the English classes in the university. She said she suffered so much at the university in her

English classes that she did not want her children to have the same traumatic experience she had. Her thought was that if her children could master English their academic lives in the university would be easier. Finally, Jessica's mother mentioned that her children wanted to pursue careers in the fields of engineering, architecture, medicine, and law, and these high paying fields also required the use of English in Puerto Rico. I asked Jessica's mother the following question based on her experience in college: Do you think the English teaching in the private school will benefit your children in college? Why?

Excerpt 7.2 Jessica's mother Second Interview Date: March 1, 2012

*"Claro que sí. Porque no van a pasar lo que yo sufrí. Porque de verdad que por que por lo menos el inglés, la base que yo tenía cuando yo me gradué de cuarto año, no era buena. Yo te digo la verdad que yo he aprendido mucho desde que yo estoy con mi esposo, porque tienes que aprenderlo, tienes que desenvolverte, porque tu nunca sabes si nosotros nos tenemos que mudar en algún momento a Estados Unidos. Por lo menos tu puedes desenvolverte."* **(Of course. Because they are not going to suffer like me. Because truly at least in English, the foundation that I had when I graduated from the twelfth grade was not good. I tell you the truth that I have learned a lot since I am with my husband, because you have to learn it, you have to continue developing yourself, because you never know if we have to move at some moment to the United States. At least you can continue developing yourself.)**

#### *Evaluation of the English class*

Jessica's mother believed her children were receiving a good education. Particularly she considered that Jessica's English class in Ocean View Private School was more advanced than any other fifth grade English class in any public school. According to Jessica's mother, the private school strengthened the teaching of English more than the public school. Also, the books that Ocean View Private School used for the English class were more advanced than those used at the public schools of the area. For example, she considered very helpful the fact that Jessica was reading English fiction novels in fourth and fifth grade; in Fall 2011, Jessica read the novel *Charlotte's Web*, then in Spring 2012, she read the novel *A Dolphin's*

Tale. In addition, Jessica's mother considered helpful the assignments related to the fiction novels. The assignment for the novel Charlotte's Web involved the creation of a portfolio with different activities. Jessica's mother, together with the other two focal parents, considered this portfolio to be an excellent assignment that improved their children's English skills. Jessica's mother stated that while working on the portfolio, her daughter was really independent and she did not ask for her parents' help. In addition, after Jessica read and analyzed each novel, the teacher gave an exam. Because of all these activities in the English classroom, Jessica's mother considered that the English class at Ocean View Private School was a good one in which Jessica was improving her English everyday.

Excerpt 7.3 Jessica's mother First Interview Date: October 12, 2011

*“Pues le han dado oral reports, eso si le han dado muchos, muchos oral reports. Le han dado exámenes de análisis de novela. Ellos están leyendo novelas desde cuarto grado, y ellos tienen pues que leer novelas, y entonces pues toman unos exámenes como tal de análisis, y también han hecho proyectos eh de las novelas. Por ejemplo, ellos le dan unas carpetas con ciertas preguntas para cada capítulo, y ellos tienen que contestarlas y entregarlas en cierto tiempo. Por ejemplo, cada semana tienen que entregar un capítulo. (Well they have given them oral reports, yes they have given them many, many oral reports. They have given them exams analyzing novels. They have been reading novels since they were in fourth grade, and they have to read novels, and then they take analysis exams, and they also have done projects eh about the novels. For example, they give them a portfolio with a number of questions about each chapter, and they have to answer them and turn them in within a period of time. For example, every week they have to turn in a chapter.)*

#### *Children's extracurricular activity*

Jessica's mother loved that her children attended different extracurricular activities. Jessica was on the volleyball team of the private school, attended dance classes, and was part of the religious plays of the church the family attended. According to Jessica's mother, these extracurricular activities advantaged her children. Some of these advantages included the interaction her children had with other children from other places, and the fact that they could learn more about the fields of the arts, sports, and music. The two main reasons for involving

her children in extracurricular activities were that they could develop high self-esteem and they could become better persons. At the same time, Jessica's mother recognized that she was giving her children opportunities she never had when she was a child. Jessica's mother stated more than once that private school education and enrollment in extracurricular activities were two opportunities that she was giving her children and she never had those opportunities or advantages when she was a child. Even though these extracurricular activities were sometimes overwhelming for her and her children, she considered it worthwhile because of all the advantages for her children's future lives.

Excerpt 7.4 Jessica's mother Second Interview Date: March 1, 2012

*"Porque eso lo ayuda también a que ellos tengan una alta autoestima, para que ellos pierdan esa timidez. Por ejemplo, el grande, el grande es muy tímido, y el dice que yo soy la madre más mala del mundo porque yo lo obligo a que participe en actividades. Pero yo, por ejemplo, ahora mismo ellos van a salir el 29, 30, 31, y 1ero de abril en la obra. El grande no quería participar, y yo le dije, 'No tu lo vas a intentar, y si no te funciona 'fine' por lo menos lo intentaste.' Yo me veo en mí, a pesar de que mi mamá ha sido superbueno conmigo, ella siempre ha estado en todo conmigo, pero y no pude desenvolverme en muchas actividades, ni en yo nunca pude participar de volleyball, yo no pude participar exacto. Pues eso para mí también ellas están en danza, y yo nunca tuve nada de eso, nunca a pesar de que ella siempre estuvo conmigo. Pues yo entiendo que eso a ellos los va a ayudar a ser mejor persona, y a ser más seguros de ellos mismos." (Because that also helps them to have high self-esteem, so they can lose that timidity they have. For example, the oldest, the oldest is really timid and he says that I am the worst mother in the world because I make him participate in activities. But I, for example, now they will participate in a play on the 29, 30<sup>th</sup>, 31<sup>st</sup> and April 1<sup>st</sup>. The oldest did not want to participate, and I told him, "No, you are going to try, and if it does not work for you, fine, at least you tried it." I see in myself, although my mother was really good with me, she was always there for me, but I could not develop in many activities, I could never participate in volleyball, I could not participate right. So that because of me they are in dance classes, and I never had any of that, never even though she was always there for me. So I understand that will help them to be better persons, and they will have more confidence in themselves.)*

### **Jessica**

Jessica was a really active girl who liked to talk with me every day before the English class started. We used to talk with Amanda (Focal E) about volleyball games, school activities, and other classmates' activities. As previously stated, Jessica wanted to be a doctor

or a lawyer. She was very active on the volleyball team, in dance classes, and in the plays of her family's church. Her mother said she was not shy and liked to participate in different things.

#### *Views of English as a language*

Jessica liked to read in English, but she did not really like reading the novel Charlotte's Web. She stated that she did the portfolio alone, but her father supervised her work. Jessica's father has had a big influence on his daughter's motivation to study English. According to Jessica, her father said that English was really important for her future studies. Like the public school focal children, Jessica used the word "*aprender*" – to learn – as something that she liked about the English class. To learn English was important for Jessica because she could speak it with people around her.

Excerpt 7.5 Jessica First Interview Date: October 12, 2011

*"Sí. Porque hablo con todos mis amigos y con mi familia también."* **(Yes. Because I talk with all my friends and with my family, too.)**

#### *Uses of English in her future life*

Jessica knew that she would use English in her future academic life in the university. She knew that the English class would be more difficult in the university, because it was difficult already. For Jessica, one of the most important reasons for using English in her future life would be if she went to the United States to study her academic degree. The second most important reason was that she knew that if she was going to be a lawyer or a doctor, it would be required for her to speak English. In addition, Jessica was also aware of the possibility of moving to the States with her family or as part of her academic studies, and of living there for a long time. I asked Jessica the following question: Why do you need to know English in Puerto Rico?

Excerpt 7.6 Jessica Second Interview Date: March 1, 2012

*“Bueno, a base de alguna clase que quiera coger que sea en inglés, o si quiero ir a los Estados Unidos a estudiar.” (Well, based on some class that I want to take and it is in English, or if I want to go to the United States to study.)*

#### *Evaluation of the English class*

Jessica said she liked the English class because she learned a lot and it is a new language. Jessica learned the use of adjectives and definite and indefinite articles as part of the new material of the English class. She also mentioned that they read *Charlotte's Web* and they were reading *A Dolphin's Tale*. As part of the reading of *Charlotte's Web*, the students worked on a portfolio as a final project for the English class. Jessica stated that she really liked the portfolio:

Excerpt 7.7 Jessica Second Interview Date: March 1, 2012

*“Sí. Mucho, porque todo el portafolio lo hice yo sola, así más que con la maestra y mis compañeros.” (Yes. A lot, because I did the complete portfolio alone, more than with my teacher and classmates.)*

Jessica considered the English class difficult and expected it to be more difficult in secondary school. Finally, she knew she would have to use English in the university in Puerto Rico or if she decided to study in a university in the United States. Jessica says the English class was more important than the Spanish class *“Porque aprendemos otro idioma.” (Because we learn another language.)* Date: March 1, 2012

#### ***Focal E Amanda***

Amanda was a girl who was always smiling. She seemed to have a good relationship with Jessica. When I first met Amanda she was shy, but as the study advanced I gained her confidence. She started to talk with me more every time I observed the English class. At the end of the school year she was very helpful giving me details about the school infrastructure and resources.



### ***Amanda's family***

I did the two interviews with Amanda's family on Sundays because that was the only time the family really had free time. The interviews were conducted in the dining room of the family's home. Between the extracurricular activities of the girls, Amanda's father's busy job, and Amanda's mother's coursework for her Masters degree, it was really difficult for them to find a space during the week to do the interviews. Amanda's father was the director of the technology center of one of the state university campuses. The family lived in a beautiful spacious house in Camuy with easy access to the main street.

### ***Amanda's mother***

Amanda's mother was a high school science teacher who completed her Masters degree in environmental sciences at the end of the study. One of the most important facts she stated in the two interviews was the good reputation Ocean View Private School had in the north area of the island. According to her, in this school the children always had classes, even when the teacher was absent, and they were always busy because the teachers were always giving a good amount of homework to the children. In addition, the level of the classes and the amount and difficulty of homework were really competitive and challenging for the children.

### ***Perception of bilingualism***

Like the other private school parents, Amanda's mother considered speaking English to be a basic skill in the bilingual development of her daughter. In addition, Amanda's mother stated that an expanded vocabulary and reading in English were two important factors in the development of her daughter's English-Spanish bilingualism. She also felt that the written and grammatical practices that Amanda did in her English class were useful.

Moreover, Amanda's mother liked that her daughter was reading different kinds of literary genres such as novels, short stories, and paragraphs.

Excerpt 7.9 Amanda's mother First Interview Date: October 22, 2011

*“Bueno, se les ha dado reportes orales donde ellos han tenido que describir las láminas utilizando párrafos, eh se le han dado también cuentos de diferentes ficción, fábulas para que ellos entonces seleccionen el que mas le gusta y ellos le hagan un resumen a la maestra. Lecturas breves también, que ella pueda comprender. También, les han dado para hacer párrafos sobre alguna actividad que les guste, sobre este en verano, que les cuenten sobre las vacaciones.” (Well, they have given them oral reports where they have had to describe pictures using paragraphs, eh have also given them short stories of different fiction, fables, so they can select the one they liked the most and summarize it for the teacher. Also, brief readings that she can understand. Also, they have assigned them paragraphs about some activity that they like, about their summer, so they can tell about their vacation.)*

Amanda's father was also the only one believed to be a true bilingual person in this family.

Amanda's mother stated that sometimes Amanda spoke a little bit of English with her cousins or her father. Finally, she also stated that she supported Amanda's love of English literacy.

Excerpt 7.10 Amanda's mother First Interview Date: October 22, 2011

*“De hecho, verdad siempre y cuando ella se interesa a comprar un libro en inglés, yo estoy dispuesta a comprarlo.” (In fact, in reality every time she is interested in buying a book in English, I am willing to buy it for her.)*

#### *Views of English and its usefulness in their children's future lives*

Amanda's mother accepted English to be an indispensable tool for her daughter's future. English would open doors for Amanda in the job market. However, she stated that both English and Spanish are important to be competent in the job market in Puerto Rico. Amanda's mother said that she talks to Amanda about the importance of learning English because it will help in her future professional life. She pointed out that English is needed in college for taking classes and reading the textbooks. Moreover, Amanda's mother felt English to be very important to finish a Masters or a doctorate degree because a bachelor

degree did not require a lot of effort using English. In addition, Amanda's mother assumed English would help Amanda to travel the world.

Excerpt 7.11 Amanda's mother Second Interview Date: March 18, 2012

*"Bueno, yo entiendo que el idioma inglés le abre muchas puertas a ella. Es bueno para ver y entender programas de televisión, es bueno para leer revistas, es bueno para viajar, es bueno para adquirir o desenvolverse mejor en los estudios en el campo laboral. El idioma inglés le abre a las personas una infinidad de oportunidades en la vida. O sea, no es tan solo hablar un idioma, yo entiendo que la medida que una persona tenga la destreza para hablar este en diferentes lenguas, puede conocer diferentes culturas, y puede adquirir un mayor conocimiento en todas las áreas." (Well, I understand that the English language opens many doors for her. It is good for watching and understanding TV programs, it is good for reading magazines, it is good for traveling, it is good for acquiring or developing oneself better in the work field. The English language opens to people endless opportunities in their lives. I mean, it is not only speaking a language, I understand to the degree that a person has the skill to speak in different languages, he/she can come to know different cultures and acquire greater knowledge in all fields.)*

According to her, mastering English would allow her daughter to be an expert in other professional fields such as medicine, law, and business. Interestingly, Amanda's mother was the only one to connect English with cultural knowledge of other countries.

#### *Evaluation of the English class*

Amanda's mother classified the education of her daughter in Ocean View Private School as good. She was happy with the school because it provided her daughter a variety of opportunities in the artistic and sports fields. She also liked the fact that the students were always busy and if a teacher was absent, the students would always have a substitute teacher. Amanda's mother recognized the English class to be an "intensive" course where her daughter was improving day by day. The English class focused on grammar and reading.

Excerpt 7.12 Amanda's mother First Interview Date: October 22, 2011

*"Sí. Yo entiendo que están aprendiendo inglés, es un curso este intensivo donde se le da tanto la destreza de lectura y gramática. Siempre tienen trabajos para la casa, asignaciones, trabajos especiales, exámenes." (Yes. I understand that they are learning English, it is an intensive course where they are teaching the skills of reading and grammar. They always have tasks to do at home, homework, special projects, exams.)*

Amanda's mother talked about a special homework the teacher assigned to Amanda.

Excerpt 7.13 Amanda's mother Second Interview Date: March 18, 2012

*Algo bien importante, y que me ha gustado mucho es que en este último mes, la maestra le dio una un trabajo especial en el cual ella tenía que leer una novela en inglés, y tenía que realizar un vocabulario. Tenía que definir la palabra en inglés, y tenía que buscar una lámina. Y yo entiendo que este trabajo le amplía el conocimiento en términos de vocabulario. (Something really important, and that I have liked a lot is that in this last month, the teacher gave her a special homework in which she had to read a novel in English, and had to make a vocabulary. She had to define the word in English, and she had to look for a picture. I understand that this homework expands her knowledge in terms of vocabulary.)*

She was really happy about this homework. She even recommended that the teacher assign them to write a sentence in English with the vocabulary word, to improve the homework even more.

#### *Extracurricular activities*

Amanda was on the volleyball team and she was taking music classes. According to Amanda's mother, the extracurricular activities were a place where her daughter could interact with children of different social classes. Amanda interacted with children of her same school, from different grades, and from different social backgrounds. Some of the advantages of the extracurricular activities included the development of skills in the sports field, and development of other physical abilities. However, Amanda's mother stated that the language that predominated in the extracurricular activities was Spanish. Apparently, the presence of English was minimal and children preferred to speak and interact in their native language, Spanish.

Excerpt 7.14 Amanda's mother Second Interview Date: March 18, 2012

*“Ventajas, yo entiendo que no tan solo en términos académicos, un estudiante puede desarrollar o este ser... Yo lo que quiero decir es que las actividades extracurriculares le dan la oportunidad al estudiante a desenvolverse con otro tipo de personas, e inclusive a adquirir mejores este destrezas, pues físicamente hablando, tienen la oportunidad de*

*interrelacionarse con otras personas de de su misma clase social, o con diversas clases sociales. Y, pues, nada, puede pues desarrollar otras habilidades, y no sé aprender en otras facetas como deportes.” (Advantages, I understand that it is not only in the academic field, a student can develop or be... What I want to say is that extracurricular activities give the student the opportunity to develop in contact with other kinds of persons, and also to acquire better skills, physically speaking, they have the opportunity to interrelate with persons of their same social class, or diverse social classes. And, well, nothing, they can develop other abilities, and I don’t know, learn in other areas like sports.)*

### **Amanda**

Amanda was in the same grade as her cousin, who also lived close to her. Even though they were not in the same classroom, their relationship was close and they used to do English homework together.

#### *Views of English as a Language*

Amanda stated two times in the same interview that she liked to read in English. She said the best thing about English was to read short stories, and sometimes she bought books in English.

Excerpt 7.15 Amanda First Interview Date: October 22, 2011

*“Cuentos, novelas en inglés, porque quiero, porque yo las compro y las leo.” (Short stories, novels in English, because I want, because I buy them and read them.)*

This information was confirmed by her mother, who said that if her daughter wanted a book in English she would buy it for her. Amanda pointed out that her father and mother corrected her English sometimes. For Amanda, English was necessary in case she was traveling and got lost, so she could ask questions in English to people. She also said English was useful to talk with friends and students who might not speak Spanish.

#### *Uses of English in her future life*

The main use of English in Amanda’s future was to travel and encounter cultures of other countries. She mentioned she wanted to travel to Spain, France, Italy, and England.

Amanda wanted to study outside Puerto Rico and for this reason English was important for her.

Excerpt 7.16 Amanda First Interview Date: October 22, 2011

*“Porque aprendo inglés y puedo ir también a países que hablan inglés y estudiar allá.”*  
***(Because I learn English and I can go to countries that speak English, too, and I can study there.)***

She also recognized the use of English in the university and in her future job as a chef or a lawyer. Amanda said that if she worked as a chef or as a lawyer there would be people from other countries that might speak English.

Excerpt 7.17 Amanda First Interview Date: October 22, 2011

*“Porque encuentro, porque abogada puedes estudiar inglés, español, y puedes viajar a todos los países.”* ***(Because I find, because as a lawyer you can study English, Spanish, and you can travel to all the countries.)***

#### *Evaluation of the English class*

Amanda liked the English class because she could learn English and study abroad in the future. She stated that it was important to learn a second language. Amanda expanded her English vocabulary in fifth grade, and she said that she read *Charlotte's Web* and was going to read *A Dolphin's Tale*. She started reading long fiction novels in fourth grade.

Amanda had mixed feelings about the portfolio:

Excerpt 7.18 Amanda Second Interview Date: March 18, 2012

*“Medio. Porque algunas preguntas fueron muy difícil y otros pues... no y ya. De ese portafolio aprendí este preguntas, vocabulario, y eso.”* ***(Regular. Because some questions were really difficult and others well... no, and that is it. From that portfolio I learned questions, vocabulary, and those things.)***

She also predicted that the English class would become more difficult in the secondary school. Finally, Amanda stated more than one time that she liked to read in English because this would help her to improve her English.

***“Lo más que me gusta de inglés es pues leer cuentos.” (The thing I like the most of English is to read short stories.)***

Amanda and her mother had the same goals about the use of English in the future. These goals included using English with the purposes of: developing bilingual literacy, getting a college education, and knowing new cultures and countries.

### ***Focal G Jason***

Jason was the only boy who was part of the focal children in Ocean View Private School. Jason was serious and seemed to care a lot about his performance in the English class. At the same time, it was clear that Jason and one of his classmates (a boy) were very active participants in the English class, speaking English all the time inside the classroom. Jason enjoyed every time he got correct answers in the daily exercises of the class.

### ***Jason’s family***

Jason’s family was the only family where I interviewed the father as part of the focal parents’ interviews. Jason’s mother was an accountant, but at the time of the study she was a stay-at-home mother taking care of her children. Jason’s mother did not participate in the interview. The interview with Jason and his father took place in a fast food restaurant close to their house. The interviews were conducted after Jason’s school and after his father got out of work.

### ***Jason’s father***

Though Jessica’s and Amanda’s families referred to the father as bilingual, Jason’s father was the only one of the private school focal parents who believed himself to be bilingual. He was an engineer who worked with a well-established multinational company on the north coast of Puerto Rico.

### *Perception of Bilingualism*

Bilingualism and multilingualism were very important for Jason's father. He said his son's spoken English and grammar were quite good, but he wanted Jason to improve his pronunciation, vocabulary, and literacy. He said that acquiring vocabulary was a big part of learning a second language.

Excerpt 7.20 Jason's father Second Interview Date: February 21, 2012

*“Vocabulario lo he visto que ha sido mucho mejor, lo he visto que en términos de la lectura se han motivado más y le han dado más en términos de lectura. Yo lo que quiero es que lo esfuercen más en términos de la lectura y la pronunciación. Sí definitivamente, sin vocabulario no hay idioma. O sea, para uno poder hablar un idioma bien, tiene que conocer las palabras de ese idioma, y yo entiendo que el inglés es lo mismo, y el tiene que mejorar ese vocabulario, para poder seguir mejorando.” (I have seen that his vocabulary is much better, I have seen that in terms of literacy the school has motivated him more and they have given him more readings. What I want is that they pressure him more in terms of literacy and pronunciation. Definitely, without vocabulary there is no language. I mean, in order to speak a language well, you have to know the words of that language, and I understand that English is the same, and he has to improve that vocabulary, so he can continue improving.)*

Jason had books in English that his father bought for him. Some of these books were for entertainment and some were religious. Jason's father said that multilingualism and/or learning more languages besides English was an important factor to “open doors” in the future for his children. He stated the following languages were important in today's globalized world: Japanese, Chinese, Cantonese, French, Italian, and Portuguese.

### *Views of English and its usefulness in their children's future lives*

As previously stated, Jason's father thought that in today's world multilingualism rather than bilingualism was a basic tool in the job market. He also used the phrase “door opener” when he referred to the knowledge of more than one language. He saw English as a language that could bring many opportunities to his son. Because Jason's father was an engineer, he could give examples for the need of English in the Puerto Rican job market,



based on his personal experiences. According to Jason's father, the high demand for jobs in Puerto Rico and the limited availability of job positions made the job market a highly selective one. For this reason, one qualification that could make a difference in getting a job in Puerto Rico was the knowledge of English, because some of the multinational companies were from the United States. Not only was English important to work in a multinational company, but the knowledge of other languages, such as Portuguese, Italian, Mandarin, Japanese, and Hindi, could bring opportunities of employment in companies around the world. He basically stated that if he was a multilingual person, he could be a valuable person for the company because they could send him anywhere in the world to support the operations in other branches of the same company.

In addition, the fact that Jason's father worked in a multinational company gave him the opportunity of interacting in English everyday. He said he used English everyday because the home companies were in the United States, the technical support communication was in English, and the professional workshops were in English. In this way, he used English extensively everyday in his workplace, and sometimes at his home with his children and other family members.

Jason's father also focused on the opportunities his son would have if he had knowledge of English. For example, he mentioned a number of opportunities that went beyond finding a good job: study abroad, meet new people, and experience new cultures.

Excerpt 7.22 Jason's father Second Interview Date: February 21, 2012

*“Mira, me refiero oportunidades de educación, oportunidades de intercambio educativo, oportunidades de trabajo, estas oportunidades de conocer gente nueva, conocer experiencias, y culturas distintas que no conocería si no conociera los idiomas.” (Look, I am referring to opportunities in education, opportunities of study abroad, opportunities in the job market, opportunities of meeting new people, have new experiences, and experience new cultures that he would not know if he did not speak the languages.)*

Finally, he said that besides his job, other fields such as accounting and computer sciences needed English everyday. Most importantly, he pointed out that “ English was needed in order to perform any professional or technical job”.

#### *Evaluation of the English class*

In general, Jason’s father thought that the quality of education in Ocean View Private School was really good. It was a strict school, where the students were always busy and the teachers and administration motivated the students to do their best. Jason’s father said that his son did not show a marked improvement in his English since the beginning of the semester. He felt Jason was really proficient in English, and he did not think his oral and grammar skills have improved. However, he recognized that Jason’s English vocabulary and reading skills improved a lot during the year. He would like to see the English class include more pronunciation lessons, because this would improve the bilingual development of his son. He did not see a lot of homework for the English class, but there were big projects that involved a big effort from the students. He was content that they did a lot of oral communication practice in the English class.

One of the academic offerings Jason’s father liked at the school was the additional conversational English class the children took besides the regular English class. This class was offered in all the levels (elementary to high school). According to him, this class was really important because children at an early age could learn and acquire language easier.

Excerpt 7.23 Jason’s father First Interview Date: October 18, 2011

*“Te puedo decir que me ha sorprendido mucho que para los grados elementales le dan inglés conversacional, que eso es algo que no te lo dan en muchos sitios. Aunque, no se como lo dan en los niveles intermedios y superiores. Sí, dan también inglés conversacional. Pero, que en los grados elementales dan inglés conversacional yo lo veo muy positivo, muy bien.”*  
***(I can say that I am really surprised that for the elementary grades they are teaching conversational English, that is something that not many schools teach. However, I do not know how they teach it in middle and high school. Yes, they also teach conversational***

**English. But, that in the elementary grades they teach conversational English I see as very positive, really good.)**

Excerpt 7.24 Jason's father Second Interview Date: February 21, 2012

*“Porque al principio es cuando los muchachos tienen la mayor capacidad de aprender un lenguaje, en esos grados primarios, y absorben mucho más rápido los idiomas, por eso yo pienso que si uno le va a enseñar bien, debería ser al principio, bien al principio y incorporar mucho la parte conversacional para que así crean ese hábito.” (Because at the beginning is when the children have the greatest ability of learning a language, in those primary grades, and they absorb the languages much faster, for that reason I think that if you are going to teach them well, it should be at the beginning, at the very beginning, and incorporate the conversational part a lot so they create that habit.)*

Finally, even though Jason's father was satisfied with the English class and its curriculum in general, he thought that English TV programming had more influence on his son's bilingual development than the English class.

#### *Extracurricular Activities*

Jason and his brothers were attending art classes and catechism. In addition, his brothers were attending music classes. Jason's father said that he liked his children to attend extracurricular activities because they socialized with different persons. He said that most of the social interactions were in Spanish; however, sometimes the children tended to speak in English among themselves.

Excerpt 7.25 Jason's father First Interview Date: October 18, 2011

*“Sí, ellos este tienen las clases de arte. Por ejemplo, está en las clases de arte con los otros dos hermanos de él. Hay uno de los hermanos de Jason que está en clases de guitarra. Ellos tienen que sí clases de catecismo, catecismo católico. A mi me gusta que ellos estén en las actividades. Ellos socializan con las personas, pero casi todo es en español. Ellos, cuando ellos hablan entre ellos mi opinión es un tipo de “role-play” que ellos mismos empiezan a hablar inglés como fueran carácter o cosas así. O empiezan a intercambiar información en inglés, pero mayormente es en español.” (Yes they are in art classes. For example, he is in art classes with his two brothers. One of Jason's brothers is in guitar classes. They attend catechism classes, Catholic catechism. I like that they are in activities. They socialize with persons, but almost everything is in Spanish. They, when they talk among themselves, in my opinion it is a kind of “role-play,” that they start talking in English as if they were a character, or something like that. Or they start to exchange information in English, but it is mostly in Spanish.)*

Finally, Jason's father stated that the extracurricular activities were an advantage for his children. These activities helped his sons with psychomotor coordination, and the religious classes gave them important moral values.

### **Jason**

Jason was the only boy I interviewed as part of this research in Ocean View Private School. Jason wanted to be a videogames creator and he wanted to go to college in Puerto Rico. According to his father, Jason had been a Spanish-English bilingual child since the age of one year old because he first started to watch English TV and then he spoke Spanish.

#### *Views of English as a Language*

Jason confirmed the affirmations of his father about his bilingual development when he was still a toddler. He stated that English is the language he learned first, and he used it a lot with his friends on the playground. In addition, Jason stated that he also spoke English with some family members including his father, siblings, and uncles.

Excerpt 7.26 Jason First Interview Date: October 18, 2011

*“Sí, lo hablo en la escuela cuando juego con mis amigos. Lo hablo mucho. Porque puedo decir que es el idioma que yo aprendí primero, y no tengo que usar tantas palabras como el español.” (Yes, I speak it at school when I play with my friends. I speak it a lot. Because I can say it is the language I learned first, and I do not have to use so many words as in Spanish.)*

Jason also recognized that he needed English when he traveled to the United States, and he spoke it in different places and with some family members there. Lastly, Jason declared that all his books and videogames were in English. This fact was confirmed by his father and adds to their statement of Jason's extensive use of English in his school and home contexts.

#### *Uses of English in his future life*

Even though Jason used English a lot in his daily life as a child, he recognized he would have to use it in his future, too. Jason stated that he would use English in future visits

to his uncle in California and if he decided to move to the United States for a job. Moreover, Jason mentioned a couple of times that he might like to be a business man in the United States and for this reason he needed to speak English. Jason wanted to make a career as a videogames creator, and he said that for this career he would need to be multilingual and English was the first step to speaking more languages.

Excerpt 7.27 Jason Second Interview Date: February 21, 2012

*“Todavía no estoy seguro de que voy a ser. Creador de videojuegos sería uno. Bueno para los videojuegos como son multilingües, van a necesitar pues primero el inglés es uno. Los videojuegos mayormente se juegan en inglés.” (I am still not sure what I want to be. Creator of videogames will be one. Well for videogames because they are multilingual, I will need English first. That’s one language. The videogames are mostly played in English.)*

Due to the fact that Jason’s English literacy seemed to be pretty good, his uses of English in his future life were focused on different professional tasks (business, create videogames in one specific language, read videogames instructions, etc) that would require him to have the knowledge of English.

#### *Evaluation of the English class*

Jason thought that the teachers in Ocean View Private School were really good and they taught a lot. According to him, the English class was fun because the teacher always planned many activities, including games. He enjoyed reading the novel Charlotte’s Web:

Excerpt 7.28 Jason Second Interview Date: February 21, 2012

*“Sí, me gustó la novela Charlotte’s Web. Sí, me interesó. Que si tu usas tus talentos para ayudar a otras personas es un sacrificio muy bueno.” (Yes, I liked the novel Charlotte’s Web. Yes, it was interesting. That using your talents to help other persons is a really good sacrifice.)*

Jason also thought the English class was difficult and said that it would be even more difficult in secondary school.

### *Possession and Activation of Cultural Capital*

One important question in this dissertation is: how do upper-middle class families activate their cultural capital resources? The responses to this question are complex and unclear; however, we can mention some actions, behaviors and ideas that, to my understanding as a researcher, were signs of cultural capital activation in these upper-middle class families. The UMC families observed in this research used diverse resources such as: private school education, economic wealth, parents' college degrees, professional experiences, and knowledge of English to activate their cultural capital. In addition, these resources were available to these families because of the interaction in different sociocultural contexts with people of their same social class. Other useful ways in which parents activate the educational capital of their children included: professional connections, Spanish and English literacy, and social connections with families of the same social class or upper classes. The following statements of the three focal parents of the UMC speech community present some of those ideas and behaviors that were signs of cultural capital activation.

Excerpt 7.29 Jessica's Mother First Interview: October 12, 2011

*Bueno la calidad que ellos están recibiendo yo entiendo que es buena. Y entiendo que la calidad de la educación de los niños es buena. Eso era lo que yo quería para ellos. (Well the quality that they are receiving I understand is good. I understand that the quality of the education of the children is good. That is what I wanted for them.)*

Jessica's mother focuses on how important it is for her family to find a school with high standards because that is what she always wanted for her children. High quality education is fundamental in cultural capital possession and activation.

Excerpt 7.30 Amanda's mother First Interview: October 22, 2011

*Bueno porque entiendo que es una de las mejores escuelas en esta área norte de PR. Que le ofrece una gran variedad de oportunidades, cursos, deportes, también se desarrollan en las artes. (Well, I understand that it is one of the best schools in the north area of Puerto Rico. It offers her a great variety of opportunities, courses, sports, and they also develop the arts.)*

Amanda's mother also presented high quality education as one of the most important factors for her children to be successful in their future lives. In addition to the prestige of the school, the fact that the school offered elite class activities (arts and sports) was a plus in the decision of choosing the school. These UMC mothers knew how to increase and activate the cultural capital of their daughters. They recognized that certain factors in the schools were more decisive than others for their children to ascend the social class strata of Puerto Rico.

Jason's father used his social connections at work to find a good school for his sons. The private school was recommended to Jason's father by one of his colleagues at his workplace. This colleague told him that the school was really good. In the following excerpt Jason's father said how important it was for him that his children receive an education that goes beyond the basic classes.

Excerpt 7.31 Jason's Father First Interview: October 18, 2011

*Mi opinión es que la calidad de la educación es muy buena. Entiendo que a veces tienden a ser un poco estrictos o mucha carga de trabajo, pero yo entiendo que es parte de motivarlos a llevarlos más allá de una educación básica. (My opinion is that the quality of the education is really good. I understand that sometimes they are a little bit strict or they have a heavy load of homework, but I understand that is to motivate them beyond a basic education.)*

These UMC parents had clear goals for how to increase and activate the cultural capital of their children, so they could ascend the social class strata in Puerto Rico.

*The use of the word "ventaja" as a code for cultural capital*

In this research, the upper-middle class focal families increase their possession of cultural capital by enrolling their children in private schools that provide them with other mechanisms, such as social connections, learning of English, extracurricular activities, sports, and access to technology, arts, and music, that will increase their cultural capital, resulting in moving higher in Puerto Rican social class strata. These families used additional

methods to go to the places where the upper classes met and networked and exchanged their cultural capital: trips and visits to museums, cultural activities, restaurants and vacation getaways in the capital city San Juan, and on the southwest coast of Puerto Rico were common among the three UMC families presented in this research. For example, these two focal mothers talked about some of the activities that their families did to increase the cultural capital of their families. The word “advantage – (*ventaja*)” was often used by the UMC focal parents when referring to the possession of three main things: a) learning of English or a third language, b) participation in extracurricular activities, and c) private school education. The word “advantage – (*ventaja*)” came out many times in the statements of Jessica’s mother. Definitely for Jessica’s mother, the fact that her children were learning good English gave them an advantage over other children who may not have the opportunity of becoming true bilinguals.

Excerpt 7.32 Jessica’s mother First Interview: October 12, 2011

*Bueno yo entiendo que le dan una ventaja porque se desenvuelven eh aprenden más sobre el deporte sobre las artes verdad la música, la danza. Yo entiendo que sí que tiene una ventaja. (Well, I understand that it gives them an advantage because they can develop more and learn more about sports, arts, music, and dance. I understand it is an advantage.)*

Excerpt 7.33 Amanda’s Mother First Interview: October 22, 2011

*Bueno nosotros vamos por la isla eh a restaurantes nos gusta disfrutar de la gastronomía puertorriqueña. Pues nada visitamos la Parguera, nos gusta visitar la Parguera, nos gusta visitar Fajardo, me gusta que mis hijas conozcan lo valioso de los recursos naturales, por eso me gusta llevarlas a reservas naturales de Puerto Rico, y que ellos conozcan la importancia de estos lugares para todos los seres humanos. (Well we go throughout the island to restaurants to enjoy the Puerto Rican gastronomy. So, nothing we visit la Parguera, we like to visit la Parguera, we like to visit Fajardo, I like my daughters to know the value of the natural resources, for that reason I like to bring them to the natural reserves of Puerto Rico, and I like them to know how important these places are for all humanity.)*



Amanda's mother also spoke about the advantages of exposing her daughters to places where they could learn about the sciences, and where they also had the opportunity of interacting with other English speakers.

### ***Written Interactive Journal***

The written interactive journals basically gave details about the daily activities and practices of the private school focal children and their families. In general, these included how the children divided their school and leisure activities at home, extracurricular activities, weekend and holiday activities with the families, school context, classes, and speaking English at school. One interesting fact about these journal entries was that the private school focal children were consistent in their answers about speaking in English on the playground with friends and at their homes with family members. In contrast to the public school focal children whose answers in their journals contradicted their answers in the oral interviews, the private school focal children confirmed their answers that they in fact speak English at school. It is important to point out that two of the children, Jessica and Jason, wrote their answers in English most of the time. I asked the following questions to the three focal children in the individual oral tape-recorded interviews:

**What language do you use more with your friends?**

***Jessica*** – Español. (*Spanish.*)

***Amanda*** – Español. (*Spanish.*)

***Jason*** – Bueno inglés, porque jugamos más en inglés. (*Well English, because we play more in English.*)

**Do you ever use English with your friends?**

***Jessica*** – A veces. (*Sometimes.*)

***Amanda*** – No. (*No.*)

***Jason*** – Sí. (*Yes.*)

**Where do you use English with your friends?**

*Jessica* – En la escuela, en el salón de inglés. (*In the school, in the English classroom.*)

*Amanda* – Aquí (casa) y aquí solamente. (*Here (at home) and...only here.*)

*Jason* – En el recreo y algunas veces en autobuses y ... (*On the playground and sometimes in buses and...*)

The written interactive journal asked the following questions: **How many times did you speak English today in school? What things did you say in English? What did you say?**

The responses of the children were:

*Jessica* – *Like four times. I do not remember.* (These were her English words.)

*Amanda* – Ninguna, siempre estoy hablando. No recuerdo lo que dije. (*None, I am always talking. I do not remember what I said.*)

*Jason* – *I spoke English in my English class, at home and on lunch-time. I talked about card strategies and Pokémon information.* (These were his English words.)

In addition, because two of these focal children stated that they spoke in English two times in different social contexts, I decided to ask one more question in the written journal about speaking English. I asked Jessica and Jason the following questions: **What English words do you use when you are playing with your friends? What words/phrases do you use when you are at lunch or at your home?** The responses were:

*Jessica*: Bueno para jugar con mis amigas no, pero en el salón sí. Pues hablamos sobre la clase y el trabajo que tenemos. Pero en el patio no. (*Well to play with my friends no, but in the classroom yes. We talk about the class and the class work we have. But on the playground no.*)

*Jason*: *The words that I use when I'm playing Pokémon are usually Pokémon attacks. I talk about Pokémon at school and at home I talk about some games.* (These were his

English words.)

Jessica and Jason confirmed that at some point they speak English at school. These private school focal children are speaking their second language inside and outside the English classroom with members of the same speech community, the children of the upper-middle class in Puerto Rico.

In addition, these written entries elicited information about the sociocultural practices of these three private school focal families. Some of these practices included visits to other family members in Puerto Rico during holidays, watching movies in English with their families, playing videogames in English, playing with siblings and neighbors, attending extracurricular activities, and evaluation of the English class. Among the activities that the private school students wrote about were going out for dinner with their families to restaurants, and “hanging out” on the west coast of Puerto Rico and /or in the capital city, San Juan. The three focal children enjoyed the extracurricular activities and felt comfortable in these. Jessica and Amanda wrote about practicing volleyball and attending and playing games against other schools. Jason wrote about different art techniques and the different drawings he did in the art classes.

### ***Evaluation of the English class in the written journal***

The three focal children wrote about their English class. Jessica wrote that she loved to participate in the English class because she learned a lot. She also said that English was a difficult class and it was not as easy as it looked. Amanda said that she liked to participate in the English class because it was fun. Jason stated that he liked to participate in the English class because in that way he could check if his answers were right or wrong. In addition, the three focal children expressed their feelings about reading the novel Charlotte's Web. Jessica

was very sincere and stated the novel was kind of boring. Amanda said that she liked it and that she was reading it in the classroom. Jason stated that he liked it and gave a brief description of two of the main characters. The fact that two of these focal children were able to give their opinions about *Charlotte's Web* with specific details of the novel's plot reflects they understood the contents of the text.

### ***Summary and Analysis***

#### ***Parents' Perspectives***

As with the focal parents in Central Town Public School, four main themes emerged in the two sociolinguistic interviews with the three focal parents in Ocean View Private School.

1. Their perception of bilingualism.
2. Parents' views of English and its usefulness in their children's future lives.
3. The evaluation of the English class.
4. The importance of their children's extracurricular activities.

#### ***Bilingualism***

Private school (UMC) focal parents mentioned bilingualism and the components for a successful bilingual education: reading, speaking, vocabulary, writing, good pronunciation, and grammar. Some of these parents and their family members classified themselves as bilinguals and felt comfortable speaking in English. Two of the parents reported that their children speak English and most of the time they felt comfortable using the language. In this way, speaking is an important part of being bilingual, according to the private school focal parents. It seems as if these private school focal parents were aware of the other skills that are important in order to become a fully bilingual person, such as correct pronunciation,

vocabulary, and literacy. These focal parents connected the use of English literacy with the future of their children in the university. The two mothers and the father stated how English literacy would be an advantage in their children's college life.

*Their views of English and its usefulness in their children's future lives*

The focal parents in the private school gave diverse reasons for considering English a fundamental language in their children's future life. In fact, these parents described the importance of English for their children's future lives as undergraduate students, graduate students, and professionals. Parents were focused on the use of English at the college level and as an important language in high paying professional careers. Finally, two of the focal parents stated that English is the first step to becoming a multilingual speaker and having access to cultural knowledge from around the world. The following list shows the different ways in which these private school parents saw English in their children's future lives:

- a) To move to the United States.
- b) To find a good job.
- c) To attend a good college.
- d) To have an easier life during the college years.
- e) To take the AP (Advance Placement Exams) and transfer college credits in English courses.
- f) To have access to material possessions.
- g) To get into the careers of medicine, engineering, law, accounting, business, education, architecture, pharmacy, and to get a Masters and a Ph.D. degree.
- h) To have different travel experiences, different cultural experiences, to meet new people, to get into internships, to study abroad.

- i) To understand technology and media.
- j) To work in multinational companies.
- k) To learn other languages besides English, such as: Japanese, Portuguese, Mandarin, and French.
- l) To recognize bilingualism and multilingualism as a tool for success in their professional field and for career advancement.

#### *Evaluation of the English class*

The focal parents in Ocean View Private School expressed their satisfaction with the way the English class was taught, and they also gave recommendations on how to improve the curriculum. Two of the parents stated that their children's English vocabulary had improved a lot during the last year. The three private school focal parents were content with the fact that their children were reading novels and doing special projects based on these. Finally, when asked what class was more important between English and Spanish, two of the private school focal parents said that English was a little more important than Spanish in terms of finding a job and of the effort required to learn it.

#### *The importance of their children's extracurricular activities*

The three focal children in Ocean View Private School were attending two extracurricular activities each at the time of the study. The focal parents commented about the importance of the extracurricular activities and the social connections the children made through these activities. The focal children in the private school attended diverse extracurricular activities, such as sports practices, music classes, art classes, dance classes, and catechism. In addition, one of the focal parents added that his child sometimes used English in the extracurricular activities with his friends. Even though the use of English was

not extensive in the extracurricular activities, there was at least some kind of interaction in their second language.

### ***Children's Perspectives***

These are some of the main perspectives about English and its use in their lives according to the focal children (Jessica, Amanda, and Jason) in Ocean View Private School. These main themes emerged in the two brief interviews with the three focal children and in the written interactive journals.

1. Their views of English as a language.
2. The uses of English in their future lives.
3. Evaluation of the English class.
4. The extracurricular activities.

These UMC focal children stated that English was an important tool in their future because they had two main goals: its use at the university level and to be a multilingual person. The following list gives the uses of English identified by the private school focal student participants.

- a) To use it in the university.
- b) To study in a university in the United States.
- c) To use it in the following professional fields: medicine, law, business, technology, and computer programming.
- d) To travel and to experience other cultures.
- e) To move to the United States and to study in a university there.
- f) To be multilingual.

As we can see, the perspectives about English expressed by the private school children are similar to those of their parents. Both parents and children see the need for English in their future academic lives in college and in high paying professional jobs.

#### *Evaluation of the English Class*

When asked what class was more important between Spanish and English, all the focal children commented that the English class was more important than the Spanish class. However, two of them stressed the importance of the correct use of Spanish, too. In addition, these focal children felt that the English class was difficult. The private school focal students also mentioned that they liked to participate in the English class because it was fun and they learned. Even though one of the focal children had mixed feelings about the novel *Charlotte's Web*, all three of them agreed that the hard work they put in on the final portfolio was worthwhile, because they learned a lot and worked in collaboration with their classmates to develop the different activities.

#### ***Conclusion***

First of all, it is important to point out that these three private school focal families were really open minded and comfortable in their interviews. The three private school focal families made extensive and substantial statements about English in the lives of their children and their children's education. In addition, the statements showed different social, cultural and educational experiences in contrast, with the public school focal families, most probably based on the parents' educational level and the families' lifestyles.

The descriptions and analyses previously discussed established that these upper-middle class families consider English as an essential tool in the present and future lives of their children. They also see English as a medium of social mobility and as a tool to compete



for highly paid professional jobs. The three private school focal families have a clear perception of bilingualism based on their understandings of effective English competency in universities and professional fields. These three families consider it important not only to speak English, but also to have correct pronunciation, vocabulary, and literacy skills that will help their children succeed in their college years and then in their professional field.

These three focal families (two mothers and one father) stated their satisfaction with the English class and the curriculum. In general, these focal parents noticed that their children's vocabulary and literacy skills had improved in the last two years. In addition, one of the focal parents was really impressed with the quality of the Conversational English class. Only one of the parents really referred to his son as a bilingual child, while the other two said that their daughters were making enormous progress in the difficult English class. Despite the difficult English class, all three private school focal parents said that their children speak English with their friends. One of them added that his child spoke English at extracurricular activities.

It is clear that this sample speech community has a more extensive use of English than the sample speech community in the public school. The parents of this community encourage the use of English in different contexts besides the English classroom. Moreover, the parents in this sample speech community have to use English in their workplaces, two of them more extensively than the other. These sociocultural experiences of the parents with English in their workplaces are reflected in the selection of school they have made for their children's education. Finally, these UMC focal families seemed to be using some of the additional resources they possess (cultural capital) to increase the learning of English in their children. These additional sociocultural resources include their (parents') Spanish-English

bilingualism, economic resources, private school education, and extracurricular activities.

These sociocultural resources are an advantage in one way or another to increase their children's interaction in English or any other foreign language.

The following points summarize the main facts about the focal private school families.

- Perception of bilingualism – The perception of bilingualism of these three focal families included a broad understanding of the different language skills that included speaking, correct pronunciation, vocabulary, and literacy. This sample speech community is aware of the advantages of being competent in the four basic skills of two languages, such as Spanish and English. In addition, these focal parents and children consider that English is the first step to become a multilingual person. Multilingualism is the ultimate goal of these parents for the linguistic futures of their children.
- Bilingual members in the family – Interestingly, the three private school (UMC) focal families (two mothers, and one father) identified the male figure of the household (the three fathers) as the true bilingual persons who helped their children with English and corrected their pronunciation and grammar. Two of the fathers of these private school focal families have lived part of their lives in the United States, while the third uses English in his workplace almost daily, so these factors had helped in the fathers' Spanish-English bilingualism. In addition, one of the focal parents said that he interacted in English with his siblings and his father. He added that he also considered these members of his family to be bilinguals.

- Use of English in parents' workplace – Two of the focal families declared that the fathers used English extensively in their workplaces. English was an everyday language for these two fathers because they had to use it in technology, phone calls, meetings, workshops, and other diverse tasks/activities. In addition, these fathers stated that speaking and reading in English were two main skills they used in their workplaces.
- Uses of English outside the English classroom – These three focal children have quality exposure to English outside the English classroom. As previously stated, the three focal children received English input from their parents while doing English homework or speaking English with them. In addition, the Internet and English literacy at home were other important factors that contributed to more exposure to English for the children. Because these parents had the economic means, they stated that they were very active buying books in English every time their children asked for them. Lastly, one of the parents stated that his son used to speak English sporadically with his friends in one of the extracurricular activities. The contexts that offered exposure to English for these three focal children were different and diverse. The most important fact is that these upper-middle class children were learning and improving their English every day due to the access they had to additional extracurricular, educational, and social resources.
- English in the children's future – This sample speech community believed the three main uses of English in the future lives of their children to be: a) get a high paying professional job, b) have a diverse college experience; and c) be multilingual/learn more languages. The three focal parents referred to the fields

of medicine, law, engineering, architecture, business, science, and technology as rewarding professional fields where their children could fulfill their educational goals. However, they also stated that in order to access these professional fields their children would have to be fully Spanish-English bilinguals and have some proficiency in a third major language of the world.

This chapter described the private school focal families as a speech community. This is a sample of the speech community which has Spanish as its first language, there is at least one Spanish-English bilingual person as a member of the family, the children attend numerous extracurricular activities, and they see themselves as future Spanish-English bilinguals. They have many opportunities inside and outside the English classroom to develop a high proficiency in English. It is also a speech community that sees English as a door opener for many great opportunities in their children's lives, such as high paying professional jobs, a fulfilling college experience, and the opportunity to learn more languages. Lastly, they also see English as a social mobility mechanism from upper-middle class to the upper and elite social classes of Puerto Rico.

In summary, the parents and children's statements in the interviews and the observations of the two English classrooms present two very different speech communities. The following chapter will analyze and conclude the sociocultural and sociolinguistic characteristics of these two proposed speech communities in Puerto Rico.

## **Chapter 8**

### **Analysis and Conclusions**

This last chapter gives an overview and final remarks about the two main concepts of speech communities and cultural capital and their relationship to the findings of the research. I will answer the research questions and give a closing analysis of the findings of this dissertation. Finally, the chapter ends with the limitations of the study, pedagogical implications, and directions for future research.

#### ***Analysis***

The Theoretical Framework presented in Chapter two stated that, taking into account the difficult sociopolitical and historical situation in Puerto Rico, there is a great need for research about the role of English in schools and educational contexts. It is my hope that the analysis presented here in response to the research questions will aid understanding of different sociocultural realities that affect the learning of English in Puerto Rico.

In this analysis I introduce the research questions and then I analyze and answer each one. I have four sets of data: sociolinguistic interviews with the focal parents, interviews with the focal children, classroom observations, and written journals. I studied the data gathered with these instruments and here I report on the information I obtained from these sources to draw my conclusions. The information provided justifies and supports the statements and claims I make in this concluding part.

This dissertation has five main research questions, with other sub questions. In this analysis, I decided to answer first the simplest/most straightforward questions. I answer the most complex main research question at the end.

## ***Research Question #2***

*Do children in public and/or private schools use any English in their school context?*

According to the observations in the classrooms, children both in public and private schools use English in their school context. As was expected, the children use English in their English classrooms in the two schools. However, the main differences in the uses of English in the school context were the places outside the classrooms where they used English, and the extent to which they used English inside the classrooms.

It is important to outline the two differences in detail in order to understand the two proposed speech communities. For example, the focal children in the public school reported that they used English only inside the classroom; they did not use English outside the classroom. It is possible that these children made use of some sporadic words or phrases in English outside the classroom, but this seemed to be rare in their daily context. During classroom observations, the percentage of English responses by all the children in the public school English class was 61% to the teacher's questions.

In contrast, the focal children in the private school used English extensively inside the classroom and they seemed to use English outside the classroom in other school contexts. During classroom observations, the percentage of English responses by all the children in the private school English class was 83% to the teacher's questions. The focal children reported using words and phrases in English in their free time at school, with some frequency. It is also important to point out that this use of English outside the classroom was reported for one of the focal students, Jason, more than for his other two focal classmates. More importantly, the students at the private school were documented during the classroom observations to

answer the teacher's questions with more English utterances, and often more complex utterances, than the students in the public school.

In summary, the focal students in the public school restricted their use of English to the classroom and even there it was limited in quality and in linguistic complexity with short and simple sentences (e.g. "Last race.", "Some commercials are boring.>"). In contrast, the focal students in the private school used English inside the classroom and outside on the school playground. In addition, classroom utterances in the private school English lessons were often extended and quite linguistically complex with longer and complex sentences (e.g. "I think that Wilbur dreamed about figuring out who and what is his new mystery friend.", "When magma pushes through the crust.>").

### ***Research Question #2a***

*What kinds of interactions do children engage in their public school or private school English classrooms?*

Children interacted in English in the English classrooms of both schools. The children in the public school English classroom interacted in Spanish, too, on a daily basis in the classroom. Peer talk about the class tasks was almost non-existent in the public school classroom and for this reason the children rarely interacted in English among themselves. In the private school, the students moved freely about the classroom and they were able to share their class tasks with their classmates. The teamwork and cooperation in the English classroom of the private school were essential in the English learning process.

The students in Central Town Public School engaged in different verbal and nonverbal behavior patterns that were part of their interactions every day in their English classroom. As previously stated in Chapter seven, the students in the public school English classroom did not feel comfortable speaking in English because sometimes their classmates

made fun of them. On the other hand, the students in the private school helped their classmates when they had problems with the pronunciation of English words.

Another pattern of interaction in the public school English classroom was Spanish-English code-switching by both students and the teacher. Several times students participated in class and showed their knowledge of the class material using Spanish-English code-switching. In contrast, the children in the private school English classroom interacted more in English during their peer talk, so this means that the use of Spanish during this peer talk was minimal. Moreover, the instruction of the class was almost completely in English with only a few instances of Spanish in two to three times during the observation time.

The student in the public school had limited interaction among themselves and rarely played games during the observation period; mainly they engaged in answering short questions and reading short stories as learning activities. In contrast, the interaction in the English classroom of the private school was energetic, with lots of student participation, and the teacher used games with frequency. The teacher in the private school had lesson plans and activities that required constant participation by the children in the classroom. As a result, the students in the English classroom of the private school seemed to have fun while learning and speaking their second language.

### ***Research Question #2b***

*What informal uses do children make of English during recess and other periods of time outside their public school or private school English classroom?*

According to their written interactive journals and their brief interviews, the children in both schools stated that they made some sporadic use of English on the school patio and in their home contexts. However, the findings of this question are controversial because the public school focal children said one thing in their interviews and something different in their



written journals. Focal children in the public school said first that they do speak English on the school patio, but they said in their written journals that they do not speak English outside the classroom, or do not remember speaking English. On the other hand, the focal children in the private school said in both the brief interviews and the written journals that they speak English in and out of the classroom. Their responses were consistent, and only one of them (Amanda) said she did not speak English outside the classroom but instead spoke it at home with her father.

Based on these statements, it appears that the students in the private school use English at school outside the English classroom with their friends. On the other hand, it appears that the students of the public school barely used English at school outside the English classroom, that is, their uses were limited to the English classroom context.

### ***Research Question #3***

*Is there any resistance or empathy toward the learning of English in public schools?  
Is there any resistance or empathy towards the learning of English in private schools?*

According to the results presented in tables 5.4 and 5.7 in Chapter five, empathy and resistance toward English were present in both the private and public school of this study, and these reactions were manifested in different ways. As previously stated, the empathy attitudes toward English were associated with the following cooperative behaviors: verbal responses in English, willingness to participate in the English classroom activities, reminding other students to use English, and seeking out, using and responding to English language materials. The resistance attitudes toward English included the following behaviors: refusing to participate in the English classroom activities, verbally questioning the learning of

English, and phrases such as “I do not understand.” The observations in the two classrooms presented different patterns of resistance and empathy in each school.

The results of the charts disclosed that empathy is more visible and evident than resistance in both classrooms. The students in the public school English classroom spoke out empathy phrases toward English 57 percent of the time, and they spoke out resistance phrases toward English 43 percent of the time. The students in the private school English classroom expressed phrases of empathy toward English 74 percent of the time, and 26 percent of the time their expressions could be considered resistant toward English. It is important to point out that the total number of phrases and utterances was very different between the two classrooms. The students in the private school produced 17 percent more utterances of empathy than the students in the public school.

Torruellas (1990) study was limited because the signs of empathy and resistance toward English were not diverse and their scope was restricted. This dissertation study has complexified and deepened the definitions of empathy and resistance behaviors inside the public and private school English classrooms. While Torruellas’ study only focused on verbal responses and cooperative and non-cooperative behaviors, the students in this dissertation research went beyond these indicators and showed a series of behaviors that presented the complexities of the claims of empathy and resistance toward English in Puerto Rico. Based in the data presented in tables 5.4 and 5.7, the signs of empathy and resistance are diverse and numerous in the English classrooms investigated in this study. In this study, students showed empathy and resistance toward English in different ways that included: verbal speech, physical behavior, and critical thinking. Examples will be given in response to the following questions. Finally, to define and classify empathy and resistance speech,

behaviors, and ideas toward English is not a simple task about Spanish and English and language identity. As this study has presented Puerto Rican, students go beyond in their critical thinking and ideas toward the English class and they show it in ways that require more in depth research and analysis contrary to what it has been proposed and promoted in the last years.

### ***Research Question #3a***

*How is resistance toward English manifested in the English classroom in either school?*

Resistance toward English was manifested in the English classrooms of both schools. However, resistance toward English was manifested less than empathy in both classrooms. The students in the public school classroom spoke resistance phrases toward English 43 percent of the time. The resistance phrases were divided into two types: not understanding English (e.g. “I not understand.”), and questioning/challenging the completion of tasks (e.g. “¿Tengo que hacer eso?” – Do I have to do that?) in the English class. The non-verbal behaviors that were considered to display resistance included getting distracted by other classmates, not finishing the class work, and not doing the homework.

The students in the private school spoke resistance phrases 26 percent of the time. The resistance phrases were divided into two types: not understanding English (e.g. “I don’t understand.”), and asking for clarification about some tasks (“¿Qué repaso?” – What review?). The nonverbal behaviors that were considered resistant included getting distracted by other classmates, walking around the classroom with no purpose, and doing the class work at a slow pace.

The students in the two schools shared one resistance verbal behavior pattern in common: not understanding the English used in class. According to Torruellas (1990),

phrases such as: “I do not understand”, and “I don’t understand what it says there” can be considered to display resistance toward English. However, these phrases can also be considered as empathy phrases. Since students often stated completion of tasks, phrases such as “I do not understand.” could mean a request for clarification to start and complete a task. Finally, two other nonverbal behaviors considered to display resistance were: being distracted by other classmates, or being otherwise distracted while the teacher was conducting the class.

Still, there were differences in the resistance behaviors in the two English classrooms. First, some public school students frequently did not complete their special homework, such as oral reports and other written works, and made fun of their classmates when they spoke English (bullying). In the public school, students did not walk around inside the classroom during the completion of tasks unless they stood up and walked to the teacher, so she could correct their tasks. In contrast, some students in the private school walked around the classroom with no purpose as a resistance behavior. However, most of students at the private school tended to finish their work and to complete special homework on time. In conclusion, resistance behaviors were present in the English classrooms of both schools. These behaviors were not a factor that necessarily impeded the learning of English in the students of the private school. They usually overcame those distractions and continued their participation in the class. Yet, this was not always the case in the public school English classroom where the bullying (making fun of students speaking English) seemed to silence many of the students who wanted to learn English.

### ***Research Question #3b***

*How is empathy toward English manifested in the English classroom in either school?*

Data from the classroom observations and the empathy and resistance charts presented in Chapter five showed that empathy was manifested in both English classrooms at a higher rate than resistance. There were a high number of phrases and behaviors that Torruellas considered in her 1990 study as empathy attitudes toward English. These empathy phrases and behaviors included: a) asking for the meaning of a vocabulary word; and, b) stating the completion of a task. There were three behaviors that, according to Torruellas (1990), I considered to be signs of empathy in the public school and these included: reading oral reports, reading short stories, and answering questions. The students in the public school spoke empathy phrases toward English 57 percent of the time. Some of the nonverbal behaviors that could be classified as empathy in the public school included completing the class tasks, helping the teacher to collect books and papers, and bringing one's notebook to the teacher for her signature.

The students in the private school expressed phrases of empathy 74 percent of the time. Some of the nonverbal empathy behaviors that I observed in the private school included completing the class tasks quickly, checking one's work with classmates, and bringing one's notebook to the teacher for her signature. The empathy phrases in this classroom were related to looking for the meaning of vocabulary words (e.g. "¿Qué significa "chance"?" – What is the meaning of chance?), stating enthusiasm for participating in the class (e.g. "I want to participate, me, me."), and announcing completion of tasks in the classroom (e. g. "I finish.")). Since a diversity of empathy phrases were expressed by many students in the private school, this positive pattern of support encouraged them and their classmates to be

active agents in the learning of English in the private school. For example, these students replied successfully to open-ended questions related to the class material. In addition, they also helped classmates who had problems while pronouncing new vocabulary words. More than simple empathy phrases, these were ways in which these elementary school children expressed their critical thinking (e.g. consulting their classmates – cooperative learning) and exposed their ideas (e.g. “Missy, eso es mucho.” – Missy that is a lot. (to copy from the board)) about the teaching methods used in both schools, but more often in the private school.

One final remark: the lower-working class and the upper-middle class parents did not speak directly about resistance and empathy towards English. However, some of their statements showed empathy toward English. Parents stated how important English was for the future of their children’s lives and they thought Spanish-English bilingualism was essential to finding a good job. Moreover, these parents did not refer to the political rhetoric of Spanish as an identity symbol to show any resistance toward English. They were open about learning English (LWC and UMC families) and additional languages (UMC families) for better professional opportunities. Even though the political influence of English as a symbol of statehood and Spanish as a symbol of autonomy-independence is present in the daily political arena of Puerto Ricans, the parents in this research went beyond these ideological claims and stated their opinions and thoughts about English. Last, it is a possibility that these parents defined empathy toward English as positive attitudes for bilingualism and learning English. On the contrary, it is not possible to say that these parents displayed resistance toward English because they did not state any negative ideas or thoughts about learning English as a second language, at least not in this research. According to the

data in this study, resistance toward English is not present in the LWC and UMC family contexts, but it is sometimes present in the students' behaviors in the English classroom of public and private schools.

#### ***Research Question #4***

*Do children in public and private schools and their families see English as a mechanism of social mobility in their future professional lives? If so, how?*

The families in both the public school and in the private school see English as a social mobility tool in the future of their children. English is seen as a language that can bring advancement to a higher social class in the Puerto Rican social class structure for the families of the two speech communities. The public school LWC focal families are a sample of a speech community that sees English as a social mobility mechanism that can guarantee a secure job in a federal branch (postal service, army) and bring economic stability to their children's lives. These public school families see English as a social mobility mechanism to the middle class. By contrast, the private school focal families are an example of a speech community that sees English as a door opener for many great opportunities in their children's lives, such as high paying professional jobs, a fulfilling college experience, and the opportunity to learn more languages and travel abroad. For these private school families, English is seen as a social mobility mechanism from upper-middle class to the upper and elite social classes of Puerto Rico.

The statements of the focal children in the public school expressed their wishes to move higher in the social strata with jobs that will require the use of English. When these children were asked about their future aspirations, they named the following: scientist, professional athlete, and army enlistee. All these job positions require the use of English in one way or another, and the children recognized this when they said that in those workplaces

they would use English to speak with people. It is important to point out that these public school children did not mention English as a tool for English literacy in college. Only one of the LWC focal children really sees himself in an academic field where going to college is necessary for his job aspirations of becoming a scientist, but he never spoke about university study as a necessary route to his professional goal. In the case of the other two LWC focal children, even though college was always a possibility, the reality is that a college education is not a requirement in order to be drafted into a professional sport such as basketball or baseball, nor is it required to enlist in the army. This is an important difference between UMC and LWC children in terms of how high in the social class structure they aspire to rise.

The UMC focal children also saw English as a social mobility tool, but their future aspirations for job positions are more connected to a college education than the children in the public school. For example, the UMC children mentioned the following job aspirations: lawyer, doctor, and videogames creator. All of these careers require a college education and the use of English. Moreover, these private school focal children said that English also would be useful to travel to other countries and encounter new cultures. These children aspire for high paying jobs that would help them to move into the elite class and eventually, with the help of social connections--social capital--, to move into the elite social class in Puerto Rico.

The families in the two speech communities also saw English as a social mobility tool in the future lives of their children. The LWC focal mothers make statements about how English will play an important role in the job possibilities for their children in the future. For example, Joshua's mother said that sometimes documents in federal jobs are written in English and someone is required to read them. Aidan's mother also said that English is



useful to find a job in the postal service and/or other fields, such as nursing. Vincent's mother said that in any job her son would need to use English. In summary, English would be useful to obtain a job in which the children would be valued as employees because they could speak or read in English. One important fact is that these public school parents have practical aspirations for their children in their future jobs because as bilinguals they could achieve a secure job. The children would be able to move into a higher social class where they could have access to different forms of cultural capital.

The UMC focal families (two mothers and one father) focused on how English is not only important in the job market, but also how English is an indispensable language to obtain a college education necessary for the high-paying professional careers that their children aspire to. Jessica's mother was convinced that the English her daughter learned at the private school would help her to have an easier college life than the one she herself had had. Amanda's mother was quite clear that English would be a good tool for her daughter to use to get immersed into the different cultures of the world and to have expertise in diverse fields. Finally, for Jason's father English was not the only language that could provide social mobility; other languages, such as Mandarin and Portuguese, could bring his son more cultural capital and a higher social status.

There is a big contrast between the two speech communities in terms of their views of English as a social mobility tool. The LWC families focused more on English as a useful instrument to compete for a reliable job position where they would be indispensable because they speak English. On the other hand, the UMC families saw English as a language that could provide a variety of resources that would result in acquisition of global cultural capital, and this would result in successful social mobility into the elite social classes. The families in

the two speech communities and the two social class groups had diverse opinions and views about what cultural capital was and how it could be activated. Table 8.1 on page 197 in the Research Question # 5 section presents the differences in the access and management of cultural capital of the families in the two speech communities/social class groups.

### ***Research Question #5***

*What additional extracurricular, educational, and social resources do public and private school families use to increase the learning of English for their children?*

This last question is the second central important question of this dissertation because it addresses the concept of cultural capital, defined here as the additional extracurricular educational, social resources that the families access and use. The second main point of this dissertation's theoretical framework was the use of English as a tool of cultural capital by these families. As stated in Chapter two, the mastering of English in Puerto Rico is a sign of empowerment and better opportunities, providing cultural capital. According to Bourdieu (1977a), cultural capital refers to the different artifacts and approaches that people implement to achieve higher social status. In this dissertation, English is one of the 'artifacts' used by both social groups, lower-working class families and upper-middle class families, to achieve a higher social status. However, the approaches and the manner in which these two social groups activate their cultural capital (English) are different.

Lareau (2000) presents extensive work on cultural capital practices of upper class white families in the United States and how these families use and activate their cultural capital resources. Lareau mentions factors that are essential in the attainment of cultural capital by children of the upper class families. Some of these factors are: (a) income and material resources play a role in facilitating family-school relationships; (b) social networks mediated parents' connections to the school, and higher social class provides parents with

more resources to intervene in schools and to bind into tighter connections with social institutions than are available to working-class families; and, (c) persons who attended boarding schools where they are exposed to classical music, fine arts, and other elements of an elite education are referred to as having a large amount of cultural capital. Lareau suggests key elements of class cultures become forms of cultural capital because they give parents a pool of resources which they can activate. She also said that not everyone activates resources in the same way, and these variations are not only class determined. Depending on the social class, parents play out their resources with different degrees of sagacity. Lareau defines “habitus” (2000) as the dispositions the individuals acquire in their socialization process.

Table 8.1 presents a summary of the main findings of this study about cultural capital management, the ideas of the parents about English as a cultural capital tool, and the cultural capital resources the families had available at the time of the study.

Table 8.1 How the two speech communities see cultural capital

| <b>Cultural Capital View</b>   |   |
|--|---|
| <b><i>LWC – Lower Working Class Speech Community</i></b>   | <b><i>UMC – Upper-Middle Class Speech Community</i></b>   |
| <b>Perception of bilingualism</b> – To speak and communicate in Spanish and English.   | <b>Perception of bilingualism</b> – To read, write, listen, and speak in Spanish, English and a third or more languages.  |
| <b>Extracurricular activities</b> – If they are available and accessible, children also socialize with other children from different social classes. It is also important that children develop cognitive and motor skills.  | <b>Extracurricular activities</b> – Main purpose was to socialize with children from different social classes. It is important for the parents that the children develop different physical and cognitive skills and that they learn more about arts, music, and sports.  |
| <b>Professions and/or jobs mentioned for the future of their children:</b> Postal Service, army, nursing.  | <b>Professions and or jobs mentioned for the future of their children:</b> lawyer, architect, engineer, business, computer science.   |
| <b>Literacy</b> – Only one mother mentioned reading in English as an important skill to find a job. The other two mothers did not mention the use of English as an academic language at the college/university level; however, they mentioned that English is important to pass the exams to get into some professions such as nursing and the army.   | <b>Literacy</b> – English literacy at the college level is important, because children can also continue graduate studies and participate in other academic related activities such as internships and study abroad.  |
| <b>Traveling</b> – Traveling inside the island is a form of amusement. Traveling outside the island when possible to visit family members or to move to the States looking for a better job.   | <b>Traveling</b> – Traveling inside and outside of Puerto Rico is seen as a way to expand cultural knowledge and to give their children an opportunity to practice English.   |
| <b>Parents</b> - Mostly monolingual parents. Parents who are bilinguals do not have higher educational degrees. The use of English at work is sporadic.  | <b>Parents</b> – At least one bilingual parent in each family. These parents use English extensively at work and had literacy in Spanish and English. Most of them have an undergraduate and graduate degree.   |
| <b>Public School Education</b> – Public schools are the best education these parents can give their children. Parents criticize the English class and gave suggestions to improve it. At the same time, parents appreciate the offerings of extracurricular after-school activities in their children’s schedule. However, few families or children participate in these activities because of lack of availability and financial resources. | <b>Private School Education</b> – Private school education is what the parents call “a better education” for their children with “a more advanced English class”. In addition, private school offers a series of “elective” classes that provide their children skills and knowledge in the sports and artistic field. Parents are pleased with the English education their children receive.                       |
| <b>Social connections</b> – Mainly family and friends from the same school. Parents may interact with other LWC parents in the school while picking up their children from school or in the same neighborhood where they live.   | <b>Social connections</b> – Social capital is valuable among the families. Their children have interaction with children in other private schools in the area through extracurricular activities, and parents increased their social capital interacting with these parents in other private schools. Two places where this interaction happened – children’s extracurricular activities and/or parent’s workplace. |

According to Lareau’s (2000) statements about cultural capital, in this study the upper-middle class parents increase their cultural capital with the following activities that are

associated with elite classes: theater (plays), playing musical instruments, and classical art and music. At the same time, these families used additional methods to go to the places where the upper classes met and networked while they exchanged their cultural capital. For example, trips and visits to museums, cultural activities, restaurants and vacations getaways in the capital city San Juan, and on the southwest coast of Puerto Rico were common among the three UMC families presented in this research.

In addition to these external resources, the upper-middle class families also used some of their own cultural capital to increase the cultural capital of their children; for example, in each one of the UMC focal families of this research there was at least one bilingual member (the father). These fathers used their bilingualism to increase the English learning of their children. Management and activation are two essential functions of cultural capital. Lareau (2000) makes clear that the activation of cultural capital is a complicated process, one that is not always clearly explained in her research. As in Lareau's research, the responses to this question in this study are complex and unclear; however, this dissertation has presented some behaviors and ideas that, to my understanding as a researcher, were signs of cultural capital activation in these upper-middle class families.

Focal parents in the LWC speech community made use of their limited economic and social resources to try to increase the cultural capital of their children regardless of the complexities and difficulties in their daily lives. Because of the limitations of their disposable economic, social, and extracurricular resources, their activities and their efforts to activate capital were not as successful as those in the UMC speech community. Some of their efforts and activities included paying English classes on Saturday, buying English books, and promoting sports related extracurricular activities for their children.

To sum up, the access to and possession of cultural capital was very different between the two social classes/speech communities. The upper-middle class had the social connections, educational tools, and economic means to activate and increase their cultural capital. These parents considered English as an indispensable tool, which must be added to the cultural capital management of their children. They used both “inherited” resources (family economic resources, social class) and “new expanded” resources (extracurricular activities, private school education, parents education, social networks) to improve their children’s use of English and to create an easier pathway for their future professional lives. In contrast, the lower-working class had limited access to cultural capital resources and, as a result, their activation of this capital was more difficult and limited. The LWC had limited social connections with the upper and elite classes, limited educational tools (the parents did not have professional degrees), different English classroom pedagogies, and limited economic resources. The LWC community had different cultural capital and academic priorities than the UMC community. These differences were more marked in the future aspirations of their children, the participation in extracurricular activities and other sociocultural activities, as well as in the interaction in English with other speakers. The two speech communities see cultural capital in a different way, as is stated in table 8.1, so it is important for teachers and educators in the public education system to be aware of the cultural capital tools and management of the LWC community because these practices are different from upper class practices. Different cultural capital resources should not be a form of social class stratification in schools and should not limit the future professional aspirations of the children in the LWC community.

## Main Research Question

*Are there two different speech communities in Puerto Rico? If so, what are they? What are the language use and social differences between these two speech communities?*

To answer the most important research question of this dissertation, I present a table with a summary of some of the findings within the two proposed speech communities.

Table 8.2 Two Proposed Speech Communities in Puerto Rico

| <b><i>(LWC) Lower Working Class/Public School</i></b>  | <b><i>(UMC) Upper-Middle Class /Private School</i></b>  |
|--|---|
| <b><u>Research findings</u></b>  | <b><u>Research findings:</u></b>  |
| <b><u>Speech Community</u></b> - Pre-existing Spanish monolingual speech community.  | <b><u>Speech Community</u></b> - Pre-existing Spanish monolingual speech community, with some presence of bilingual speakers (e.g. fathers). Tentative, evolving and emerging case of Brutt-Griffler's Type B bilingual speech community, where the acquisition of a second language turns a monolingual society into a bilingual speech community. |
| <b><u>Class</u></b> – Required English class 50 minutes per day/five days a week.  | <b><u>Class</u></b> - Required English class varied from 50 minutes to 90 minutes per day. In addition, students took a conversational English class.   |
| <b><u>Extracurricular Activities</u></b> - Limited access to extracurricular activities.   | <b><u>Extracurricular Activities</u></b> - Extensive presence of extracurricular activities.  |
| <b><u>Traveling</u></b> - Family members in mainland United States who make sporadic visits to Puerto Rico.  | <b><u>Traveling</u></b> – Tourist spots in Puerto Rico and outside the island. Travel to the United States.   |
| <b><u>Parents' bilingualism</u></b> - Parents are not bilingual.   | <b><u>Parents' bilingualism</u></b> - At least one parent is a Spanish-English bilingual.   |
| <b><u>English Classroom Interaction</u></b> - Limited interaction in English in the English language classroom. Simple English utterances. Presence of code-switching by students and teacher. | <b><u>English Classroom Interaction</u></b> – Cooperative learning and frequent English interaction in the English language classroom. More complex English utterances.   |
| <b><u>Literacy</u></b> - No clear connection of English literacy with college education.   | <b><u>Literacy</u></b> - English literacy claimed to be important for college education.  |

It is necessary to revisit part of the theoretical framework that was used to ground this research. Brutt-Griffler's (2002) concept of a speech community refers to a community that shares the same language(s), and she refers to macroacquisition as the acquisition of a second language by a speech community. According to this author, there are two types of speech communities: Type A are multilingual societies where the second language serves as an

unifying language, or lingua franca, and Type B are monolingual societies and the second language turns that society into a bilingual speech community.

In this research, I proposed that two speech communities were emerging in Puerto Rico. The first is the speech community LWC (Lower Working Class), the lower-working class families and their children who attended or are attending public schools. The second is the speech community UMC (Upper Middle Class), the upper-middle and upper class families and their children who attended or are attending private schools in Puerto Rico.

Besides Brutt-Griffler, other scholars have embraced the idea of speech communities in the sociolinguistic field. Some scholars such as Gumperz (1962) and Spolsky (1974), state the complexity of defining the term “speech communities” because it could refer to either small or large social groups within one nation. Gumperz (1962) refers to a speech community as a linguistic community and defines it “as a social group which may be either monolingual or multilingual” (p. 133). He adds that a linguistic community can consist of a small group, or it may cover large regions of a country. Spolsky (1974) argues that sociolinguists have failed to answer what the size of a speech community is. He says that from a socio-political point of view, a speech community can be as large as a nation, but this is not useful from a sociolinguistic point of view. In terms of educational linguistics, the most useful definition or size of a speech community is the school and the community that it serves, and from there we can expand the term to school districts, cities, and regional systems. Spolsky emphasizes that a speech community should always start with the smallest unit, which is the school and the community it serves.

Based on Spolsky’s arguments and standards for a speech community, the smaller the community the better, so the two speech communities presented in this dissertation are two



schools and the communities they serve. For this reason, the term “speech community” is appropriate to name each of the two different cultural groups studied in this qualitative research. For purposes of the analysis of this research, the speech communities presented here are small communities that share one or two languages (Spanish and English), are situated in a small region of a country (two small towns on the north coast of Puerto Rico), and each is comprised of one school and its community.

More recently, the research of Llurda (2004) and García and Barlett (2007) have expanded on the view of Brutt-Griffler’s (2002) speech communities. Llurda considers that Brutt-Griffler’s macroacquisition concept does not lead to language extinction, but rather to bilingualism of an entire speech community. In this sense, this could be an explanation of why Puerto Ricans have not lost Spanish with the official imposition of English after more than 116 years of American colonization. In addition, in this study I have documented that there are two speech communities inside Puerto Rico and a macroacquisition process that is leading to different levels of English language learning (bilingualism) on the island.

García and Barlett (2007) point out that scholars (Canagarajah, 1999; Mazrui, 2004; Pennycook, 1994; Phillipson, 1992) have emphasized how second language learners are situated in specific social, historical, and cultural contexts in speech communities. These scholars also emphasize that the teaching and learning of English has to take into account the sociolinguistic and sociohistorical context of the language community involved. According to García and Barlett (2007), traditional individual models of second language acquisition have ignored three factors. First, it is the role that communities of practice (groups who interact and communicate regularly and have shared ways of communicating, including the use of two languages) (Lave and Wenger, 1991) play in providing social positions for

participants' second language practices. The two speech communities presented in this study have different communities of practice that include the different schools they were attending at the time of the study, as well as their differing family contexts. The second is the complex ways in which learning and speaking a second language engage speakers' social identities (Norton, 2000; Norton Peirce, 1995). The third is the way power relations influence linguistic interaction (Bourdieu, 1991). These last two points present two problems for Brutt-Griffler's definition of speech communities. The first issue is the possession of cultural capital in the speech communities and the social class issue inside these speech communities. Brutt-Griffler does not address in-depth the social class differences in the Type A and Type B speech communities. Secondly, even though Brutt-Griffler (2002) makes quite clear that the major vehicle for spreading English in these communities is the school, she does not clearly specify which schools are spreading the new language, and how and why they do so. Regarding this issue, several questions remain: Is Brutt-Griffler referring to public educational systems (government schools), is she referring to private religious schools, or is she referring to private elite schools? And in each case, what is the school's process for promoting, or inhibiting, the macroacquisition of the new language? The points previously explained present the complexities of the term "speech communities" and how difficult it is to classify the two proposed speech communities into distinct categories.

According to my observations and the data from the interviews, the UMC community is an emerging, evolving Type B bilingual speech community under Brutt-Griffler's conditions. It is a tentative and evolving bilingual speech community that has learned English as a second language in Puerto Rico. It is made up of non-native speakers of English, and perhaps some of their English teachers are/were non-native speakers of English. Brutt-

Griffler (2002) makes clear that she is not labeling countries such as Mexico, Japan, and Jordan 'bilingual nations'. She is simply using her terms to point out the existence of bilingual speech communities within these and other nations. According to the data in this research, for Brutt-Griffler, the UMC of Puerto Rico is a Type B emerging and evolving bilingual speech community within the much larger Puerto Rican Spanish speech community. Importantly for this study, Brutt-Griffler adds that "bilingual" in the speech communities' context does not imply so-called "balanced bilinguals" who possess equal fluency in each language (p.147). In addition, according to my findings, the UMC speech community is a community where some of its members are Spanish-English bilinguals, and many of the parents are professionals in high paying jobs where they use English extensively in their professional field. Moreover, the parents in this community see their children's need to learn English proficiently, but also the need for them to learn a third language that will increase their opportunities in their future professional lives.

This leaves us with the question of how to classify the LWC community as a speech community under Brutt-Griffler conditions. The LWC speech community is a different speech community, and it does not fit into any of Brutt-Griffler's speech communities categories. Many in the LWC speech community are Spanish monolinguals who do not possess functional English proficiency and therefore do not share English with other members of the same community. It seems as if the LWC speech community is the existing monolingual Spanish speech community of Puerto Rico. They are studying English as a subject, mainly in public schools, but they rarely encounter or use the language outside of school. They are acquiring English at a slower pace, with a more limited proficiency level, and with different goals than the UMC speech community.

The definition of the two speech communities provided in this dissertation research is based on my data. These communities can still display second language acquisition among their individual members, and these personal acquisition processes complement the macroacquisition process, that is, the acquisition of a second language by the speech community. The development of languages in the two speech communities described in this research is influenced by certain factors that at the same time define the speech communities. For example, the type of school, parents' education, and extracurricular activities differentiates one speech community from the other.

One more question remains, are these speech communities learning English as a second or a foreign language? According to the data presented here, it is most likely that the emerging and evolving bilingual speech community UMC is learning English as a second language (ESL) due to their contact with family members, interaction with school classmates, constant traveling inside and outside Puerto Rico, and extracurricular resources. On the other hand, the speech community LWC might be learning English as a foreign language (EFL), because they rarely interact with English speakers, they sporadically use English in the English classroom, their travel is limited inside and outside Puerto Rico, and resources are largely inaccessible to them. Finally, this analysis presented how important is education and its different resources in the developing of speech communities.

To sum up, this research does not define the two speech communities as distinct members of the two main political movements (Pro Statehood and Pro Autonomy/Independence in Puerto Rico). In contrast, the analysis and conclusions presented here classify these families based on their social class, uses of English, educational experiences, perception of bilingualism, their views of English, and their access to

extracurricular activities. Resnick (1993) said English in Puerto Rico has been promoted for its instrumental value because it can bring educational and financial benefits, and this claim is supported by the statements of the parents in both speech communities documented in this study. Even though the parents and children in these speech communities recognize Spanish as a symbol of national identity, they do not consider their native language to be an obstacle for their children to learn English, not do they feel that English “threatens” their children’s Puerto Rican identity. As stated in Chapter one Introduction, the question of political status is overshadowed by the question of language (Crawford, 1992; Algren de Gutiérrez, 1987). Political parties will continue to portray English as the colonizer language that is a threat to the national identity of Puerto Ricans. Resnick (1993) points out that the factors that impede the bilingualization of the island’s population include: nationalism, political uncertainty, and the association between language and identity. However, according to the data in this research, the factors that impede the unification of the island as a single speech community include an impoverished pedagogy and unequal cultural capital.

Finally, if the political status of Puerto Rico is not solved in the next years, social class stratification influenced by Spanish-English bilingualism and a fragile economy will continue to widen in the island’s society. Most important, many families, such as the ones in this research, want their children to have access to quality bilingual education in a school system where political groups do not have an influence to pursue their own interests.

### ***Limitations***

This study has both strengths and weaknesses. One of the strengths of this study is that the researcher is Puerto Rican and a former elementary school teacher in the region where the research was done. The research was conducted outside the metropolitan area in

the country-side on the northern coast of Puerto Rico, a context where few researchers have worked. A second strength of the research was that I am a native speaker of Spanish and it was easy to communicate with the participants of the study, as well as with school administration and teachers. My knowledge of the school system in Puerto Rico, in combination with my native Spanish language, allowed me to communicate in the system and be able to understand the problems and concerns of the schools. Also, since my parents permanently live in Puerto Rico, I was able to stay at the research site for a longer time after I finished collecting my data. In this way, I could extend my stay in the community and be part of its daily activities and interactions for three more months, a total of ten months.

This research also has some limitations. One is the small number of families selected to participate. This is a qualitative research study and it does not pretend to generalize the results of the sociocultural practices of the six focal families to all lower-working class and upper-middle class families in Puerto Rico. At the same time, this research only studies families in two small towns outside the metropolitan area in Puerto Rico, so the educational and social resources of families and schools can differ depending on their geographical locations. Only two classrooms, and two teacher's pedagogies, were documented, one in each school. Other limitations of the study include the fact that the Institutional Review Board (HRPO/IRB) did not give permission for the focal children to carry tape-recorders for a whole day at school, making it impossible for the researcher to track the use of English by the focal children outside the English classroom. Also, the focal students' speech could not be tape recorded inside the English classrooms, again because of restrictions placed on the study by the university's HRPO/IRB Committee. Another limitation of this study was the limited social contexts where the children were observed. The fact that the children were not

observed more extensively at their homes or in their extracurricular activities limited some of the analysis and the answers to the research questions.

### ***Pedagogical Implications***

Pedagogical implications are an essential part in qualitative research done in educational systems. This section presents some of the pedagogical implications according to the main findings of this study. These implications seek to improve the quality of life of children in the public and private school systems of Puerto Rico. The findings of this study suggest that the following actions be undertaken by Puerto Rican educators and the Department of Public Education in Puerto Rico:

1. To create awareness in the public school speech community about the importance of ESL literacy in the future of their children. Because of the need of English literacy in many professional fields (business, law, nursing, science, engineering, etc.) and in meaningfully accessing many books at the college level, it is crucial that public school students and parents make a connection between the learning of English and other languages and the use of English literacy at the college level.
2. To implement different external programs such as: summer internships promoting math, science and foreign languages, and permanent after-school programs with diverse offerings in advanced academic classes, technical courses, and sports and arts. These kinds of external programs should focus on increasing the cultural capital of public school children, so that they can be competitive with the children of the elite classes and can develop other academic and social skills. These programs should adopt a dual language pedagogy. These activities and workshops can be taught through Spanish, English, and even add a third language.

3. To simplify the process of bringing national, federal, and private funding to the schools and their districts in order to develop different academic, scientific, technological, arts, and sports programs that can benefit the access to cultural capital by public school students. At the same time, these programs should be developed and lead by teachers, students and parents in the LWC communities because they are the ones who know the needs and problems that really have to be addressed. In this way, I propose that corporations and private companies donate money to the schools and communities that have showed a real interest and need to increase the additional extracurricular, educational, and social resources of their public school students. The LWC families and students need to be educated and guided by teachers, scholars, and professionals to know how to access and activate cultural capital and its resources.
4. To develop an environment of cooperative learning and anti-bullying in the English classrooms of the public schools. Students should be oriented to accept the sociocultural and linguistics differences of their classmates. At the same time, cooperative learning can promote teamwork among the students, and they can learn from their mistakes and develop a sense of collaboration, solidarity, and sensitivity toward their classmates and the learning of a second or third language. Cooperative learning and/or teamwork should be highly valued in the ESL classroom to support the students' social networks and camaraderie.

Three suggestions based on these findings that can be adopted by the public education system to help to increase cultural capital and the extensive use of English in public school students are: (a) obtain more funding and donations from private organizations/corporations and work together with them to develop contexts where children can interact, develop, and



activate cultural capital in diverse forms; (b) offer more diversity in foreign languages, advanced courses and research courses; and, (c) offer diverse academic, artistic, and athletic focused after-school activities. The recommendations and ideas previously discussed would help the children of the lower-working class to develop cultural capital resources that could help them in the future to be competitive with the children of the upper classes.

Besides the pedagogical implications for students and teachers at school, this research also suggests options for the parents to increase their access to more cultural capital and learning of English literacy in their families. One idea that could support parents includes schools offering after school activities and workshops for both parents and their children. Finally, parents and children in the LWC and UMC speech communities could participate in programs sponsored by the government and/or private entities to share and activate their cultural capital resources and exchange ideas about their children's sociocultural practices.

The last pedagogical implication and recommendation in this research suggests approaches to classroom pedagogy to support English language development in schools. As documented in this study, English remains a "foreign" language for public school students, while it is a "second" language in private schools. The teaching pedagogies must acknowledge these differences and seek to equalize pedagogical quality. Language planning in public schools in Puerto Rico has not been generally effective in the English classroom. For this reason, it is time for the Department of Education to start adopting the creative ideas and innovative plans from knowledgeable and expert practitioners (teachers, ESL professors and researchers) who are making a difference in the ESL and bilingual fields on the island. In this way, if some private and public schools have effective teaching pedagogies, these should be shared with other schools in the system. Some of these ideas include:

- a) promoting workshops between private school teachers and public school teachers, so the teachers can exchange experiences, lesson plans, curricula, and teaching techniques/styles, as appropriate, while also learning about each other's realities and challenges.
- b) teachers could talk about their own experiences inside the classroom and the students' behaviors toward the diverse approaches used in the classroom to teach English as a second language.
- c) the Department of Education should not only include conversational English in some high schools as an elective course, but should also include English courses that reinforce the writing and literacy skills.
- d) the incorporation of the teaching of grammar through innovative and motivational approaches not through rote learning, in the English curriculum of the public schools to benefit the students in their writing and conversation skills.

### ***Directions for Future Research***

Societal bilingualism describes the presence and role of more than one language in a given geographical space, and some nations with societal bilingualism include Canada or Switzerland (Brutt-Griffler, 2002 p. 146). Fishman (1967) adds that commonly the majority of the bilingual elite and the majority of the monolingual masses never interact with one another; as a result they do not form a single speech community. This narrows the linguistic repertoires of the two groups, preventing societal bilingualism from developing. This research implies that Puerto Rico does not enjoy societal bilingualism as a single speech community.

One main point that the results and analysis of this research presented was the possible development of societal bilingualism among specific social classes and communities located in specific geographic locations. This leads to the question: how could widespread societal bilingualism develop in Puerto Rico? And, where does it exist now? The research about societal bilingualism in Puerto Rico and its relationship with social class and possession of cultural capital has to be addressed in the future. The issue of defining societal bilingualism in Puerto Rico is important to develop effective language policies that can be implemented in public schools and in the communities they serve. Moreover, studies of societal bilingualism can inform the kinds of speech communities the schools are serving in the different towns and cities of the island, and in this way contribute to the development of an effective language policy for Puerto Rico which includes appropriate teaching approaches for English or other foreign languages.

More directions for future research include expanding the present speech communities study to other geographical locations in Puerto Rico, including the metropolitan areas and elite schools where access to English as a form of cultural capital is extensive and diverse. Moreover, the research can be extended to the new Puerto Rican immigrant populations in Florida, Texas, California, and elsewhere on the mainland.

Finally, I would also like to expand this research to middle school and high school students, with a comparison between the two proposed speech communities at these schooling levels. It would be interesting to see the development of participation by the students in the English classroom, as well as the empathy and resistance verbal and non-verbal behaviors toward English depending on schooling level. The comparisons could provide a clearer picture of the gap in the learning of English between the two speech

communities, and whether this gap is likely to become greater as students move from elementary to secondary school.

### ***Concluding Remarks***

One of the main goals I wanted to achieve with this study was to present the learning of English in Puerto Rico through the lenses of the concepts of speech communities and cultural capital, rather than portraying English as a colonizer language connected to politics. This goal was accomplished because the learning of English was presented using the statements, feelings, and thoughts of lower-working class parents and their children and upper-middle class parents and their children. These individuals and families are the ones who really see the need for English in their lives, and most importantly, they did not resort to politics or rhetoric to prove their points. This research did not base itself on the words and statements of politicians or government education officials who are removed from the realities and needs of the common Puerto Rican population. Finally, this research empowers the lower-working class and upper-middle class families because it gives them voices to speak out their ideas, ambitions, and goals for the future education of their children.

## Appendices

### Appendix A

#### Brief Questionnaire about the education of your children

Brief questionnaire about the education of your child

1. Where was your child born? \_\_\_\_\_
2. When did your children start to learn English?  
Since he / she was born \_\_\_\_\_ When he /she was one year \_\_\_\_\_  
When he/she was 2-3 years old \_\_\_\_\_ When he/she was 4 -5 years old \_\_\_\_\_
3. How long has your child been learning English?  
Approximately 10 - 11 years \_\_\_\_\_ Approximately 9-8 years \_\_\_\_\_  
Approximately 6 – 7 years \_\_\_\_\_ Approximately 4 -5 years \_\_\_\_\_
4. Do you have a relative who lives or has lived in the United States and has return back or frequently returns to the island?  
Yes \_\_\_\_\_ No \_\_\_\_\_
5. Does your child participate in additional sport, artistic, or academic activities (basketball, soccer, volleyball, baseball, modeling, dancing, singing classes, English tutoring, other classes tutoring) besides attending school?  
Yes \_\_\_\_\_ Which one? \_\_\_\_\_ No \_\_\_\_\_
6. Is there anything else about your child and learning English that you want us to know?  
\_\_\_\_\_

## **Appendix B:**

### **First Sociolinguistic Interview with the Focal Children**

1. How long have you been in this school? What do you like about the school?
2. How long have you studied English? Do you like the English class? Why?
3. Do you like to speak English? Why? Why not?
4. Do you think English is important for you? Why?
5. What is your favorite thing about English? What is your least favorite thing about English?
6. What language do you use more with your friends? Do you ever use English with your friends? Where do you use English with your friends?
7. Where do you use English outside of the classroom? If so, when?
8. What kinds of things do you read in English? How long have you read in English? What do you read in English? When did you start reading in English? Why?
9. Do you have a computer at home? Do you use the internet? Do you go to Spanish or English websites? How often?
10. Do you play videogames? Do you play games in Spanish or English?
11. Do you watch TV? Do you watch Spanish or English TV programs?
12. Tell me what do you do everyday after school.
13. What sorts of activities do you do during vacation? Do you ever take trips during vacation?
14. What would you like to do/study when you grow up?

## **Appendix C:**

### **First Sociolinguistic Interview with the Focal Parents**

#### **Neighborhood**

1. How long have you been living in this place?
2. How do you feel about living here?

#### **Children's Education**

3. Why did you choose that school for your children?
4. Can you tell me about the quality of education your children are receiving at that school? Tell me your opinion of the school your child is attending.

#### **English Class**

5. What do you think of the English class? Do you think your children are learning English? Why?
6. Can you describe some of the assignments or special projects that have been assigned to your children as part of the English class?

#### **Attitudes towards English**

7. Do you support your children learning English in the school? Why?
8. Why do you think learning English is important for their future life?
9. Do you think English is important to find a better job with a higher pay? Why?

#### **Uses of English**

10. Do you speak English? Where do you use English?
11. Do your children speak English?
12. Where do they speak English?
13. Does anyone in your family speak English?
14. Who in this family speaks English to your children? Purpose? When, where?
15. Would you like your children to speak more English?
16. How often do your children read books or other materials in their free time? Do they read in Spanish or English? How often?
17. How do you feel about your children reading in English? How do you feel, about your children reading in Spanish?

#### **Media, Extracurricular Activities and Family Activities**

18. Do you have computers at home? Do you have access to the internet? How often do the children use the computer and the internet? With what purpose do they use the internet? Do they use Spanish or English websites?
19. Does your family watch TV? Do they watch programs in English?
20. Do your children play videogames? Are the games in English or Spanish?

21. Do your children do any other activities besides school (e.g. sports, modeling, singing, play an instrument, etc)? What is the context of these other activities? Do your children have many friends in these activities? What language do they use there?
22. Do these activities give your children any advantages or disadvantages?
23. How many relatives do you have? Do any of them live in the United States? Where?
24. How often do you visit these relatives?
25. Do you interact in English with these relatives?
26. At a party or social gathering, what language do you usually speak?
27. How often does the complete family travel for summer or winter vacations? Where do you go? Why? Which languages do you speak there? Why?
28. What parts (towns) of Puerto Rico do you visit more frequently? Why?
29. What other activities does your family do together? Where do you do these activities and why do you like to do them?
30. Is there anything else you do to motivate / encourage your child to learn and use English?



## Appendix D:

### Sociolinguistic Questionnaire

**Thank you for taking the time to respond to these questions.** Please fill in the blanks with the information that best suits you. You are free to choose more than one answer in some of the questions.

1. Age: \_\_\_\_\_
2. Place where you were born: \_\_\_\_\_
3. Place where you were raised: \_\_\_\_\_
4. First / native/ home language:  
a. Spanish \_\_\_\_\_ b. English \_\_\_\_\_
5. Where did you study? \_\_\_\_\_
6. Education Completed:  
a. middle school \_\_\_\_\_ b. high school \_\_\_\_\_ c. technical school \_\_\_\_\_  
d. Bachelors degree \_\_\_\_\_ e. Masters degree \_\_\_\_\_ f. Ph. D \_\_\_\_\_
7. Mother's job \_\_\_\_\_ Father's job \_\_\_\_\_
8. Do you have Dish and/or Cable TV?  
a. Yes \_\_\_\_\_ b. No \_\_\_\_\_
9. More or less, how many hours per day do you spend watching Cable TV in English?  
a. 15 hours or more \_\_\_\_\_ c. 11-14 hours \_\_\_\_\_  
b. 5 hours or less to 10 hours \_\_\_\_\_ d. Zero \_\_\_\_\_
10. More or less, how many hours per week do you spend watching TV in Spanish?  
a. 15 hours or more \_\_\_\_\_ c. 11-14 hours \_\_\_\_\_  
b. 5 hours or less to 10 hours \_\_\_\_\_ d. Zero \_\_\_\_\_
11. How many computers do you have at your home?  
a. 0 \_\_\_\_\_ b. 1 \_\_\_\_\_ c. 2 \_\_\_\_\_ d. 3 or more \_\_\_\_\_
12. Do you have access to Internet at your house?  
a. Yes \_\_\_\_\_ b. No \_\_\_\_\_
13. Do you use Internet in English?  
a. Yes \_\_\_\_\_ b. No \_\_\_\_\_

14. Do your children have a Playstation, Xbox, or Wii?

a. Yes \_\_\_\_\_ b. No \_\_\_\_\_

15. Do you have English prints here (at your home)?

a. Books \_\_\_\_\_ b. magazines \_\_\_\_\_ c. newspapers \_\_\_\_\_ d. puzzle books \_\_\_\_\_  
e. No \_\_\_\_\_

16. What languages do your children speak at your home?

a. Spanish \_\_\_\_\_ b. English \_\_\_\_\_ c. both \_\_\_\_\_

17. On a scale of 1-5 with 5 being excellent, **how would rank your child's education.**

(1 - very poor, 2 - poor, 3 - average, 4 - good, 5 - excellent)

1 \_\_\_\_\_ 2 \_\_\_\_\_ 3 \_\_\_\_\_ 4 \_\_\_\_\_ 5 \_\_\_\_\_

18. On a scale of 1-5 with 5 being excellent, how would rate the following statement.

**English is important for my child's education.**

(1 - very poor, 2 - poor, 3 - average, 4 - good, 5 - excellent)

1 \_\_\_\_\_ 2 \_\_\_\_\_ 3 \_\_\_\_\_ 4 \_\_\_\_\_ 5 \_\_\_\_\_

19. On a scale of 1-5 with 5 being excellent, how would rate the following statement.

**It is important for my child to be bilingual.**

(1 - very poor, 2 - poor, 3 - average, 4 - good, 5 - excellent)

1 \_\_\_\_\_ 2 \_\_\_\_\_ 3 \_\_\_\_\_ 4 \_\_\_\_\_ 5 \_\_\_\_\_

20. Would you like your children to speak English more frequently?

a. Yes \_\_\_\_\_ b. No \_\_\_\_\_ c. They already speak enough English \_\_\_\_\_

21. What would you like your children to do when they finish high school?

a. Work \_\_\_\_\_ b. Join the Army \_\_\_\_\_ c. Join the police \_\_\_\_\_ d. Go to a community college \_\_\_\_\_  
e. Go to the state college \_\_\_\_\_ f. Go to a private college in PR \_\_\_\_\_ g. Go to a college in another country \_\_\_\_\_  
h. Other \_\_\_\_\_ (\_\_\_\_\_)

22. What profession would you like your children to have? \_\_\_\_\_

23. Would you like your children to study at a college in the United States?

a. Yes \_\_\_\_\_ b. No \_\_\_\_\_

24. How many times has your family traveled to the United States? \_\_\_\_\_

25. What are the reasons you traveled to the US? (check all that apply)

a. to visit relatives \_\_\_\_\_ b. for vacations \_\_\_\_\_ c. lived there \_\_\_\_\_  
d. job / business \_\_\_\_\_ e. school trip \_\_\_\_\_ f. Other \_\_\_\_\_ (\_\_\_\_\_)

26. What other countries has your family visited? \_\_\_\_\_

27. Do your children...

- a. play a sport \_\_\_\_\_ b. play a musical instrument \_\_\_\_\_  
c. take dance classes \_\_\_\_\_ d. take tutoring \_\_\_\_\_ e. learn a foreign language \_\_\_\_\_

28. Does your family listen to music in English?

- a. Yes \_\_\_\_\_ b. No \_\_\_\_\_

29. Which kind of music do they listen to in English?

- a. Hip Hop/Rap/R & B \_\_\_\_\_ b. Reggae \_\_\_\_\_ c. Reggaeton \_\_\_\_\_  
d. Rock/Pop/alternative \_\_\_\_\_ e. other \_\_\_\_\_

30. How frequently do you read to your children?

- a. Everyday \_\_\_\_\_ b. Two times a week \_\_\_\_\_ c. Two times a month \_\_\_\_\_ d.  
Once a month \_\_\_\_\_ e. Almost never \_\_\_\_\_

31. What language do you read to your children?

- a. Spanish \_\_\_\_\_ b. English \_\_\_\_\_ c. Both \_\_\_\_\_

32. Does your family have friends who speak English as a native language (Americans, British, Canadians, Australians)?

- a. Yes \_\_\_\_\_ b. No \_\_\_\_\_

33. How did you meet your English-speaking friend?

- a. In San Juan \_\_\_\_\_ b. In a tourist spot (Where?) \_\_\_\_\_ c. In a vacation trip \_\_\_\_\_  
d. On the Internet \_\_\_\_\_ e. Other \_\_\_\_\_ (\_\_\_\_\_)

34. Do you speak English with your English-speaking friend?

- a. Yes \_\_\_\_\_ b. No \_\_\_\_\_

35. How often?

- a. 1-3 hours a day \_\_\_\_\_ b. 2-3 times a week \_\_\_\_\_ c. 1-2 times a month \_\_\_\_\_ d.  
1-2 times a year \_\_\_\_\_

## **Appendix E:**

### **Follow up Sociolinguistic Interview with Focal Children**

#### **Focal A – Joshua**

1. ¿Qué tan importante es para ti la clase de inglés en comparación con la clase de español?
2. Basado en orden de importancia para ti, ¿en qué orden ubicarías las siguientes clases?  
\_\_\_\_\_ matemáticas,  
\_\_\_\_\_ ciencias,  
\_\_\_\_\_ estudios sociales,  
\_\_\_\_\_ español,  
\_\_\_\_\_ educación física,  
\_\_\_\_\_ inglés
3. ¿Mas o menos cuánto tiempo pasas haciendo asignaciones todos los días? ¿A qué clase le dedicas más tiempo?
4. ¿Qué cosas nuevas has aprendido este año en la clase de inglés?
5. ¿Cuál de los cuentos que has leído hasta ahora en la clase de inglés te gustó más?
6. ¿Cómo piensas que va a ser la clase de inglés en la escuela intermedia y en la escuela superior?
7. ¿Cuáles tu piensas son los usos que le vas a dar a la clase de inglés en tu futuro?
8. ¿Cómo tu piensas que vas a utilizar el inglés en la universidad?
9. ¿En cuáles trabajos se utiliza más el inglés? ¿Por qué?
10. En la última entrevista me dijiste que querías ser científico. ¿Todavía es así? ¿Cómo y dónde piensas que vas a utilizar el inglés en el futuro cuándo estés trabajando como científico?
11. ¿Qué persona adulta o mayor admiras y respetas más? ¿A qué se dedica esta persona? ¿Habla en inglés? ¿Dónde?
12. ¿Qué planes tienes para verano?

### **Focal B – Aidan**

1. ¿Qué tan importante es para ti la clase de inglés en comparación con la clase de español?
2. Basado en orden de importancia para ti, ¿en qué orden ubicarías las siguientes clases?  
\_\_\_\_\_ matemáticas,  
\_\_\_\_\_ ciencias,  
\_\_\_\_\_ estudios sociales,  
\_\_\_\_\_ español,  
\_\_\_\_\_ educación física,  
\_\_\_\_\_ inglés
3. ¿Mas o menos cuánto tiempo pasas haciendo asignaciones todos los días? ¿A qué clase le dedicas más tiempo?
4. ¿Cuál de los cuentos que has leído hasta ahora en la clase de inglés te gustó más?
5. ¿Qué cosas nuevas has aprendido este año en la clase de inglés?
6. ¿Piensas que aprendes mucho inglés con los subtítulos de las películas? ¿Por qué?
7. ¿Cómo piensas que va a ser la clase de inglés en la escuela intermedia y en la escuela superior?
8. ¿Cuáles tu piensas son los usos que le vas a dar a la clase de inglés en tu futuro?
9. ¿Cómo tu piensas que vas a utilizar el inglés en la universidad?
10. ¿En cuáles trabajos se utiliza más el inglés? ¿Por qué?
11. En la última entrevista me dijiste que querías ser pelotero, ¿todavía eso es así o has cambiado de profesión? ¿Cómo y dónde piensas que vas a utilizar el inglés en el futuro cuándo seas pelotero?
12. ¿Dónde te gustaría jugar pelota? ¿Te gustaría jugar pelota en los Estados Unidos? ¿En qué parte?
13. ¿Qué persona adulta o mayor admiras y respetas más? ¿A qué se dedica esta persona? ¿Habla en inglés? ¿Dónde?
14. ¿Qué planes tienes para verano?

### **Focal C – Vincent**

1. ¿Qué tan importante es para ti la clase de inglés en comparación con la clase de español?
2. Basado en orden de importancia para ti, ¿en qué orden ubicarías las siguientes clases?  
\_\_\_\_\_ matemáticas,  
\_\_\_\_\_ ciencias,  
\_\_\_\_\_ estudios sociales,  
\_\_\_\_\_ español,  
\_\_\_\_\_ educación física,  
\_\_\_\_\_ inglés
3. ¿Mas o menos cuánto tiempo pasas haciendo asignaciones todos los días? ¿A qué clase le dedicas más tiempo?
4. ¿Cuál de los cuentos que has leído hasta ahora en la clase de inglés te gustó más?
5. ¿Qué cosas nuevas has aprendido este año en la clase de inglés?
6. ¿Si te vas a vivir a otro país a dónde te gustaría irte? ¿Por qué?
7. ¿Por qué crees que el inglés se usa mucho en los trabajos? ¿En cuáles trabajos se utiliza más el inglés? ¿Por qué?
8. ¿Cómo piensas que va a ser la clase de inglés en la escuela intermedia y en la escuela superior?
9. ¿Cuáles tu piensas son los usos que le vas a dar a la clase de inglés en tu futuro?
10. ¿Cómo tu piensas que vas a utilizar el inglés en la universidad?
11. En la última entrevista me dijiste que querías ser médico o policía, ¿todavía eso es así o has cambiado de profesión? ¿Cómo y dónde piensas que vas a utilizar el inglés en el futuro cuándo estés trabajando como policía o médico?
12. ¿Qué persona adulta o mayor admiras y respetas más? ¿A qué se dedica esta persona? ¿Habla en inglés? ¿Dónde?
13. ¿Qué planes tienes para verano?

### Focal D – Jessica

1. ¿Qué tan importante es para ti la clase de inglés en comparación con la clase de español?
2. Basado en orden de importancia para ti, ¿en qué orden ubicarías las siguientes clases?  
\_\_\_\_\_ matemáticas,  
\_\_\_\_\_ ciencias,  
\_\_\_\_\_ estudios sociales,  
\_\_\_\_\_ español,  
\_\_\_\_\_ educación física,  
\_\_\_\_\_ inglés
3. ¿Mas o menos cuánto tiempo pasas haciendo asignaciones todos los días? ¿A qué clase le dedicas más tiempo?
4. ¿Qué cosas nuevas has aprendido este año en la clase de inglés?
5. ¿Sabes el o los títulos de las novelas o cuentos que has leído en inglés?
6. ¿Qué tiempo de estudio le dedicas a la clase de inglés en comparación con otras (español, matemáticas, ciencias, etc.)? ¿Por qué?
7. ¿Te gustó hacer el portafolio de la novela *Charlotte's Web*? ¿Por qué? ¿Qué cosas aprendiste?
8. ¿Cómo piensas que va a ser la clase de inglés en la escuela intermedia y en la escuela superior?
9. ¿Cuáles tu piensas son los usos que le vas a dar a la clase de inglés en tu futuro?
10. ¿Cómo tu piensas que vas a utilizar el inglés en la universidad?
11. ¿Tu papá te habla en inglés? ¿Cuándo?
12. En la última entrevista me dijiste que querías ser doctora o abogada, ¿todavía eso es así o has cambiado de profesión? ¿Cómo y dónde piensas que vas a utilizar el inglés en el futuro cuándo estés trabajando como abogada o doctora?
13. ¿Qué persona adulta o mayor admiras y respetas más? ¿A qué se dedica esta persona? ¿Habla en inglés? ¿Dónde?
14. ¿Qué excursiones hay planeadas en el colegio para este semestre?
15. ¿Qué planes tienes para verano?

### Focal E – Amanda

1. ¿Qué tan importante es para ti la clase de inglés en comparación con la clase de español?
2. Basado en orden de importancia para ti, ¿en qué orden ubicarías las siguientes clases?  
\_\_\_\_\_ matemáticas,  
\_\_\_\_\_ ciencias,  
\_\_\_\_\_ estudios sociales,  
\_\_\_\_\_ español,  
\_\_\_\_\_ educación física,  
\_\_\_\_\_ inglés
3. ¿Mas o menos cuánto tiempo pasas haciendo asignaciones todos los días? ¿A qué clase le dedicas más tiempo?
4. ¿Qué cosas nuevas has aprendido este año en la clase de inglés?
5. ¿Qué tiempo de estudio le dedicas a la clase de inglés en comparación con otras (español, matemáticas, ciencias, etc.)? ¿Por qué?
6. ¿Me puedes decir el título de algún cuento o novela que has leído en inglés?
7. ¿Te gustó hacer el portafolio de la novela *Charlotte's Web*? ¿Por qué? ¿Qué cosas aprendiste?
8. ¿Cómo piensas que va a ser la clase de inglés en la escuela intermedia y en la escuela superior?
9. ¿Cuáles tu piensas son los usos que le vas a dar a la clase de inglés en tu futuro?
10. ¿Cómo tu piensas que vas a utilizar el inglés en la universidad?
11. ¿Te gustaría estudiar en los Estados Unidos? ¿Dónde? ¿Por qué?
12. En la última entrevista me dijiste que querías ser abogada o chef, ¿todavía eso es así o has cambiado de profesión? ¿Cómo y dónde piensas que vas a utilizar el inglés en el futuro cuándo estés trabajando como abogada o chef?
13. ¿A qué países te gustaría viajar si estudias abogada? ¿Por qué?
14. ¿Qué persona adulta o mayor admiras y respetas más? ¿A qué se dedica esta persona? ¿Habla en inglés? ¿Dónde?
15. ¿Qué excursiones hay planeadas en el colegio para este semestre?
16. ¿Qué planes tienes para verano?



### **Focal G – Jason**

1. ¿Qué tan importante es para ti la clase de inglés en comparación con la clase de español?
2. Basado en orden de importancia para ti, ¿en qué orden ubicarías las siguientes clases?  
\_\_\_\_\_ matemáticas,  
\_\_\_\_\_ ciencias,  
\_\_\_\_\_ estudios sociales,  
\_\_\_\_\_ español,  
\_\_\_\_\_ educación física,  
\_\_\_\_\_ inglés
3. ¿Mas o menos cuánto tiempo pasas haciendo asignaciones todos los días? ¿A qué clase le dedicas más tiempo?
4. ¿Qué cosas nuevas has aprendido este año en la clase de inglés?
5. ¿Qué tiempo de estudio le dedicas a la clase de inglés en comparación con otras (español, matemáticas, ciencias, etc.)? ¿Por qué?
6. ¿Te gustó hacer el portafolio de la novela Charlotte's Web? ¿Por qué? ¿Qué cosas aprendiste?
7. En la entrevista anterior me dijiste que hablas el inglés en la escuela cuando juegas con tus amigos. ¿Cuáles son los juegos en los que hablas inglés? ¿Me podrías dar ejemplos de frases que usas en inglés en esos juegos?
8. ¿Cómo piensas que va a ser la clase de inglés en la escuela intermedia y en la escuela superior?
9. ¿Cuáles tu piensas son los usos que le vas a dar a la clase de inglés en tu futuro?
10. ¿Cómo tu piensas que vas a utilizar el inglés en la universidad?
11. ¿Te gustaría estudiar en los Estados Unidos? ¿Dónde? ¿Por qué?
12. En la última entrevista me dijiste que querías creador de videojuegos, ingeniero o contable, ¿todavía eso es así o has cambiado de profesión? ¿Cómo y dónde piensas que vas a utilizar el inglés en el futuro cuándo estés trabajando como creador de videojuegos, ingeniero o contable?
13. ¿Qué persona adulta o mayor admiras y respetas más? ¿A qué se dedica esta persona? ¿Habla en inglés? ¿Dónde?
14. ¿Qué excursiones hay planeadas en el colegio para este semestre?
15. ¿Qué planes tienes para verano?

## **Appendix F:**

### **Follow up Sociolinguistic Interview with Focal Parents**

#### **Focal A – Joshua’s Mother**

1. ¿Qué tan importante es para usted la clase de inglés en comparación con la clase de español?
2. ¿Le habla usted a su hijo sobre la importancia del inglés? ¿Qué le dice?
3. Basado en orden de importancia para usted, ¿en qué orden ubicarías las siguientes clases?  
\_\_\_\_\_ matemáticas,  
\_\_\_\_\_ ciencias,  
\_\_\_\_\_ estudios sociales,  
\_\_\_\_\_ español,  
\_\_\_\_\_ educación física,  
\_\_\_\_\_ inglés
4. ¿Cómo piensa usted que ha mejorado el dominio del inglés de su hijo desde agosto de 2011?
5. ¿Qué cosas nuevas usted ha visto en la clase de inglés de su hijo? ¿Las considera útiles para el desarrollo bilingüe de su hijo?
6. ¿Qué persona además de usted tiene más influencia sobre su hijo? ¿A qué se dedica esta persona?
7. ¿Cuáles usted considera son empleos buenos en los cuales se necesita saber inglés?
8. En la entrevista pasada usted dijo que: “los programas federales son en inglés así que siempre buscan contactar esa persona para que le ayude.” ¿Piensa usted que un empleo federal es bueno? ¿Por qué?
9. ¿Qué empleos de los programas federales usted considera son los mejores?
10. ¿Dónde en los empleos federales se utiliza más el inglés?
11. ¿Cuál usted considera son los mejores beneficios de los empleos federales?
12. ¿Le gustaría que su hijo se empleara en un empleo federal? ¿Cuál? ¿Por qué?
13. ¿Lee usted documentos en inglés aquí en su trabajo? ¿Qué clase de documentos?
14. ¿En qué partes de la isla usted piensa se utiliza más el inglés? ¿Por qué?
15. ¿Qué planes tiene para verano la familia?

### **Focal B – Aidan's Mother**

1. ¿Qué tan importante es para usted la clase de inglés en comparación con la clase de español?
2. ¿Le habla usted a su hijo sobre la importancia del inglés? ¿Qué le dice?
3. Basado en orden de importancia para usted, ¿en qué orden ubicarías las siguientes clases?  
\_\_\_\_\_ matemáticas,  
\_\_\_\_\_ ciencias,  
\_\_\_\_\_ estudios sociales,  
\_\_\_\_\_ español,  
\_\_\_\_\_ educación física,  
\_\_\_\_\_ inglés
4. ¿Cómo piensa usted que ha mejorado el dominio del inglés de su hijo desde agosto de 2011?
5. ¿Qué cosas nuevas usted ha visto en la clase de inglés de su hijo? ¿Las considera útiles para el desarrollo bilingüe de su hijo?
6. ¿Qué persona además de usted tiene más influencia sobre su hijo? ¿A qué se dedica esta persona?
7. ¿Cuáles usted considera son empleos buenos en los cuales se necesita saber inglés?
8. En la entrevista anterior usted dijo: “que el inglés que enseñan en PR es tan básico que ellos terminan no aprendiendo hablando.” ¿A qué se refiere usted con tan básico?
9. ¿Qué cosas usted piensa se necesitan para que la enseñanza del inglés no se tan básica?
10. En la entrevista pasada usted dijo: que el inglés “le abre puertas para un mejor trabajo o una oportunidad en Estados Unidos o aquí mismo? ¿A qué trabajos o oportunidades se refiere? ¿Cuáles oportunidades o trabajos en Puerto Rico y cuáles en Estados Unidos?
11. Usted también dijo: “porque a veces hay 2 personas quizás con la misma preparación en cuanto a lo que estudiaron, pero una habla inglés y la otra no.” ¿A qué tipo de preparación académica se refiere?
12. ¿Qué tipo de preparación académica piensa usted se necesita para hablar / saber inglés?
13. ¿En qué partes de la isla usted piensa se utiliza más el inglés? ¿Por qué?
14. ¿Qué planes tiene para verano la familia?

### **Focal C – Vincent's Mother**

1. ¿Qué tan importante es para usted la clase de inglés en comparación con la clase de español?
2. ¿Le habla usted a su hijo sobre la importancia del inglés? ¿Qué le dice?
3. Basado en orden de importancia para usted, ¿en qué orden ubicarías las siguientes clases?  
\_\_\_\_\_ matemáticas,  
\_\_\_\_\_ ciencias,  
\_\_\_\_\_ estudios sociales,  
\_\_\_\_\_ español,  
\_\_\_\_\_ educación física,  
\_\_\_\_\_ inglés
4. ¿Cómo piensa usted que ha mejorado el dominio del inglés de su hijo desde agosto de 2011?
5. ¿Qué cosas nuevas usted ha visto en la clase de inglés de su hijo? ¿Las considera útiles para el desarrollo bilingüe de su hijo?
6. ¿Qué persona además de usted tiene más influencia sobre su hijo? ¿A qué se dedica esta persona?
7. En la entrevista anterior usted dijo: “que en la escuela no le están enseñando los fundamentos.” (por eso no aprenden buen inglés) ¿Cómo que son los fundamentos del inglés, me puede decir un ejemplo?
8. ¿Qué cosas usted piensa se necesitan aplicar en el salón de inglés para que la enseñanza del inglés no sea tan básica y los estudiantes aprendan más?
9. ¿Cuáles usted considera son empleos buenos en los cuales se necesita saber inglés?
10. ¿Cuáles empleos usted piensa abren más puertas o brindan más oportunidades si se aprende inglés?
11. ¿Le gustaría que su hijo trabajara en los Estados Unidos? ¿En qué lugares?
12. ¿En qué área o campo laboral le gustaría que su hijo utilice el inglés?
13. ¿En qué partes de la isla usted piensa se utiliza más el inglés? ¿Por qué?
14. ¿Qué planes tiene para verano la familia?

### **Focal D – Jessica’s Mother**

1. ¿Qué tan importante es para usted la clase de inglés en comparación con la clase de español?
2. Basado en orden de importancia para usted, ¿en qué orden ubicarías las siguientes clases?  
\_\_\_\_\_ matemáticas,  
\_\_\_\_\_ ciencias,  
\_\_\_\_\_ estudios sociales,  
\_\_\_\_\_ español,  
\_\_\_\_\_ educación física,  
\_\_\_\_\_ inglés
3. ¿Le habla usted a su hijo sobre la importancia del inglés? ¿Qué le dice?
4. ¿Cómo piensa usted que ha mejorado el dominio del inglés de su hija desde agosto de 2011?
5. ¿Qué cosas nuevas usted ha visto en la clase de inglés de su hija? ¿Las considera útiles para el desarrollo bilingüe de su hija?
6. ¿Qué persona además de usted tiene más influencia sobre su hijo? ¿A qué se dedica esta persona?
7. En la entrevista anterior usted dijo: “ la calidad de la educación del colegio buena.” ¿A qué se refiere con calidad? ¿Algún ejemplo de calidad en el colegio?
8. En la entrevista anterior usted dijo: “ si ellos tienen conocimientos del inglés ellos van a tener un poquito mas de ventaja a otros niños.” ¿Qué tipo de ventajas? ¿Me puede dar un ejemplo?
9. ¿En qué clase de trabajos está ventaja de saber inglés le puede ayudar a sus hijos?
10. ¿Por qué se necesita saber inglés en Puerto Rico?
11. ¿En qué actividades habla su esposo inglés con sus amistades?
12. ¿Por qué es importante para usted que sus hijos se desenvuelvan en actividades deportivas y artísticas? ¿Cuál es la ventaja?
13. ¿Piensa que la enseñanza de inglés en el colegio les va a beneficiar en la universidad? ¿Por qué?
14. ¿Le gustaría que su hijo trabajara en los Estados Unidos? ¿En qué lugares?
15. ¿Cuáles usted considera son empleos buenos en los cuales se necesita saber inglés?
16. ¿En qué partes de la isla usted piensa se utiliza más el inglés? ¿Por qué?
17. ¿Qué planes tiene para verano la familia?

### **Focal E – Amanda’s Mother**

1. ¿Qué tan importante es para usted la clase de inglés en comparación con la clase de español?
2. Basado en orden de importancia para usted, ¿en qué orden ubicarías las siguientes clases?  
\_\_\_\_\_ matemáticas,  
\_\_\_\_\_ ciencias,  
\_\_\_\_\_ estudios sociales,  
\_\_\_\_\_ español,  
\_\_\_\_\_ educación física,  
\_\_\_\_\_ inglés
3. ¿Le habla usted a su hijo sobre la importancia del inglés? ¿Qué le dice?
4. ¿Cómo piensa usted que ha mejorado el dominio del inglés de su hija desde agosto de 2011?
5. ¿Qué cosas nuevas usted ha visto en la clase de inglés de su hija? ¿Las considera útiles para el desarrollo bilingüe de su hija?
6. ¿Qué persona además de usted tiene más influencia sobre su hijo? ¿A qué se dedica esta persona?
7. En la entrevista anterior usted dijo: “la escuela le ofrece una buena educación.” ¿Cómo definiría buena educación para su hija?
8. ¿Para qué es útil el inglés?
9. También dijo: “Le da (actividades extracurriculares) una ventaja, socialmente pueden tener relaciones con otro tipo de personas.” ¿A qué se refiere con ventajas? ¿Cuáles son ese otro tipo de personas? ¿Me podría dar un ejemplo?
10. En la entrevista anterior usted dijo: “eso (el inglés) le va a abrir puertas para que triunfe en su área laboral.” ¿A qué trabajos o oportunidades se refiere? ¿Qué área laboral en PR ?
11. ¿Le gustaría que su hijo trabajara en los Estados Unidos? ¿En qué lugares?
12. ¿Cuáles usted considera son empleos buenos en los cuales se necesita saber inglés?
13. ¿Qué actividades culturales frecuenta en el Viejo San Juan?
14. ¿En qué partes de la isla usted piensa se utiliza más el inglés? ¿Por qué?
15. ¿Qué planes tiene para verano la familia?

### **Focal G – Jason’s Father**

1. ¿Qué tan importante es para usted la clase de inglés en comparación con la clase de español?
2. Basado en orden de importancia para usted, ¿en qué orden ubicarías las siguientes clases?  
\_\_\_\_\_ matemáticas,  
\_\_\_\_\_ ciencias,  
\_\_\_\_\_ estudios sociales,  
\_\_\_\_\_ español,  
\_\_\_\_\_ educación física,  
\_\_\_\_\_ inglés
3. ¿Le habla usted a su hijo sobre la importancia del inglés? ¿Qué le dice?
4. ¿Cómo piensa usted que ha mejorado el dominio del inglés de su hijo desde agosto de 2011?
5. ¿Qué cosas nuevas usted ha visto en la clase de inglés de su hijo? ¿Las considera útiles para el desarrollo bilingüe de su hijo?
6. ¿Qué persona además de usted tiene más influencia sobre su hijo? ¿A qué se dedica esta persona?
7. En la entrevista anterior usted dijo: “a veces tienden a ser un poco estricto (el colegio) o mucha carga de trabajo.” ¿A que se refiere con estricto? ¿Me podría dar algún ejemplo?
8. Respecto a la carga de trabajo: ¿en qué clases les dan más asignaciones y trabajos a su hijo? ¿Piensa que la clase de inglés tienen una carga de trabajo grande?
9. ¿Por qué considera importante la enseñanza de inglés conversacional en los grados elementales?
10. ¿Cómo el conocer más de un idioma le abre muchas puertas a su hijo? ¿Dónde? ¿Algún ejemplo?
11. En la entrevista anterior usted dijo: “(el inglés) les va a crear oportunidades que si no conocieran inglés no las pudieran tener.” ¿A qué tipo de oportunidades se refiere? ¿Me podría dar ejemplos?
12. ¿Cuáles son las pocas compañías multinacionales estadounidenses en Puerto Rico que requieren el uso de inglés para trabajar?
13. ¿Le gustaría que su hijo trabajara en los Estados Unidos? ¿En qué lugares?
14. ¿Cuáles usted considera son empleos buenos en los cuales se necesita saber inglés?
15. ¿En qué partes de la isla usted piensa se utiliza más el inglés? ¿Por qué?
16. ¿Qué planes tiene para verano la familia?

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