

NEWCOMER ENGLISH LANGUAGE LEARNERS IN HIGH SCHOOL
CHORAL MUSIC EDUCATION: AN ETHNOGRAPHIC
CASE STUDY

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DEDICATION

To my family. With you, anything is possible.

NEWCOMER ENGLISH LANGUAGE LEARNERS IN HIGH SCHOOL CHORAL MUSIC
EDUCATION: AN ETHNOGRAPHIC CASE STUDY

by

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ABSTRACT

This five month long ethnographic case study seeks to add to the limited literature on Newcomers enrolled in choir (Carlow, 2006), by understanding the role a focused choral music education plays in their ability to listen, speak, read, and write in the English language. The study also seeks to contribute to the literature connecting language learning and choral music education. The purpose of the study was to understand Newcomer English language learners' (NELs) experiences of practice and performance in high school choir, as it relates to language learning and social belonging. Cultural Historical Activity Theory framed my study which allowed me to explore the activity system of NELs in a focused choral music education. Using purposive sampling, the study included four NELs enrolled in choir and was conducted at Desert City High School, located on the U.S.- Mexico border. Newcomer English learners are a fast-growing population in public schools (Short & Boyson, 2012). Newcomers face both social and academic challenges, as it has been determined that it takes three to five years to socially develop a new language (Cummins, 1984; Echevarria, Short, & Powers, 2006). This study revealed that NELs face extreme systemic challenges during the registration and scheduling process of coursework. Findings suggest that having a bilingual counselor is not sufficient to help NELs placed into the right courses, especially for elective coursework. Findings further suggest that choir provided an opportunity to develop social capital, something that assisted the NELs gain confidence in their ability to sing and speak in English. Through the actions of bonding, bridging, and linking, the NELs were able to build their self-esteem, self-confidence, and self-knowledge in order to perform tasks they had never thought they could achieve. Findings also suggest that performance preparation assisted in the language learning process for the NELs in the chorus by developing communicative competence in the forms of linguistic, discourse, and strategic. An important

finding is how the students used their Spanish phonology to understand and make meaning of the English phonology in preparation for their performances.

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

“We chose the song ‘Stand by Me’ because the lyrics represent how we feel about each other and our relationship with learning English” (Borris).

This study developed because of my passion for delivering quality music education for children of all ages regardless of socioeconomic status, culture, or native language. As a choral music educator, my work experience took me to geographically opposing school districts within the state of Texas. Moving from east Texas to far west Texas, I quickly realized that standards for choral music education within the same state, widely varied. In East Texas, music education is a standard part of the curriculum whereas in far west Texas access to music education, specifically choral music education begins as late as fifth or sixth grade (El Paso Independent School District Fine Arts, 2019; Socorro Independent School District Fine Arts, 2019; Ysleta Independent School District Fine Arts, 2019). Also, in far west Texas, there is an abundance of English Language Learners because of the proximity to the U.S. – Mexico border.

According to Garcia-Joslin et al. (2015), Hispanics represent 38.4% of the population in the state of Texas and has the largest amount of youth (ages 5-17) Spanish speakers in the entire United States. The student participants in my study are a population of English Language Learners called Newcomers. Newcomer English Language Learners are adolescent teenage students who are new to the United States and have been in U.S. schools for two years or less. Newcomer English Learners (NELs) are a fast-growing population in public schools (Short & Boyson, 2012; Garcia-Joslin et al., 2015; Lang, 2019). Upon entering the American school system, these students are required to learn English at a rapid pace in order to meet and surpass accountability standards. It is important to emphasize that NELs have a huge task to accomplish in a very short period of time.

Cummins (1984) posits that it takes 3-5 years to develop a new language socially, and 5-7 years to acquire academic language (Echevarria, Short, & Powers, 2006).

I refer to the students in my study as newcomers, however, two of my participants lived in Mexico full time, and cross the border each day to attend school. One of my participants lived in the United States during the school week and then traveled to Mexico on the weekend to live with his parents. People who cross the border to attend work or school are called *transfronterizx*¹. Although not all of my participants lived in the United States, they are still considered newcomers in the school district. Azteca ISD recognizes newcomers as English language learner students who have been in a U.S. school for two years or fewer. The school district does not inquire about immigration status or whether a student crosses the border to attend school. All that is required is that the student supply the school district with an address within the United States. Therefore, three of my participants are *transfronterizx* NELs.

Not only is choral music education a multimodal medium for expressing emotion but it also plays a cognitive and linguistic role in the integration of social and academic language learning (Bernstorff, 2013; Brandt, Gebrian, & Slevc, 2013; Lems, 2002; Lems, 2005). Language acquisition and development can be augmented through the enhancement of the meaningful properties found within a choral text in combination with melodic and harmonic components found within the vocal lines of choral music. Meaning is interpreted while studying choral music because the context of the lyric at the same time as musical components are deciphered as an educational tool.

¹ An “x” is placed at the end of the word to denote gender inclusivity, thus replacing the male “o” and female “a” to signify an inclusion of both genders in one word. It also includes other genders, such as trans people.

In this study, Newcomer English Learners (NELs) are exposed to the structure of high school choir, where they navigate musical concepts and English language use through daily rehearsal, choir concerts, and small group performances. The female participants in my study selected a song (for a small group performance) titled *Stand by Me* (King, Lieber, Stoller, 1960), a song (when broken down lyrically and melodically), represents their feelings of unity and support through their adolescent life journey. When working on musical repertoire, the NELs in this study work to phonetically break down and understand the sounds within each word and phrase. I explore the relationships among music education and the cognitive, phonological, and social aspects of language learning within a focused choral music education. I explore the role of high school choir in relation to NELs' ability to speak, listen, read, and write socially in English, as well as how their identities as emergent bilinguals develop throughout a semester in high school choir.

My study took place at Desert City High School, a public high school located on the U.S. – Mexico border. 98% of the students at Desert City High are Hispanic, with 247 who are classified as ELLs, and 45 who are classified as NELs. I explore NELs' language use in the high school choir through this ethnographic case study that I conducted for seventeen weeks, throughout the spring semester of 2017.

Statement of the Problem

NELs are required to take content classes in English as well as take and pass Texas state accountability tests, all while they are learning English. Cummins (1984) tells us that it takes between 5-7 years to master social and academic English, and yet the students in my study have only been studying the English language for approximately 6-24 months. Desert City High School utilized a language pull out program specialized for NELs. The course took place in addition to their regular content courses. The addition of extra reading and writing courses are placed into the

schedules of NELs at the expense of electives and/or fine arts (Major, 2010). Choral music education may have the potential to provide multimodal activities (Pramling & Wallerstedt, 2009) for students to use the four skills in English.

Accountability Standards

Newcomers are a vulnerable population because they are thrust into a new educational system and are required to meet state accountability standards in a period that scholars know is insufficient (Menken, 2008). State-mandated accountability testing requires a strong social and academic competence in the English language. On the U.S.-Mexico border, many of the students entering into the school system speak, read, and write in their first language, Spanish, but may have limited experience with English (Garza, 2007). Some may speak Indigenous languages as their first language, with Spanish as their second language, and English as their third. The quandary continues when NELs have only months to acquire a new language and are expected to meet accountability standards on these high stakes tests. It is unrealistic that NELs are expected to meet accountability on the high stakes tests in English and be held academically accountable if they do not².

NELs are placed into a new environment, in a new school, a new country, and are required to acquire a new language in a short period of time (8 months) before being required to take the State of Texas Assessments of Academic Readiness (STAAR) in English Language Arts 1, Biology, and Algebra while simultaneously passing their coursework (which is also in English). Although there are bilingual programs available for NELs, many school districts transition out of bilingual education by the 6th grade. This is the reality for NELs. Therefore, the requirement to take and pass the STAAR test is daunting, and can have an adverse effect on the identity

² If they are not expected to “meet” the standards then they are set up for failure.

construction of young adolescent students. In order to understand the context for this study, I begin by outlining the different types of bilingual education programs available in the state of Texas. I follow that by describing the kind of program that the NELs who are the focus of this study had at Desert City High School.

Bilingual education programs. According to the National Center for Education Statistics, the United States has an average population of 9% ELs and the state of Texas has an average population of 15% ELs (nces.ed.gov, 2015). According to school report cards issued by the Texas Education Agency, schools located in far west Texas have an average of 18% ELs. What this means is that there are almost double the number of ELs in far west Texas than the rest entire country. Would this require a shift in the way we educate our students? Is education in far west Texas different than other parts of the country or even within the state of Texas? From my experience as an educator in North Texas, the emphasis on music education and choral education was different in far west Texas. With a high number of ELs in far west Texas public schools, the necessity for high-quality bilingual education is a requirement; however, music education is viewed as less important.

The Texas Education Agency has recognized five different models for bilingual education. Emerging bilingual students in one of the Texas public schools can enroll in five different models for bilingual education. These models include:

1. Dual-Language Bilingual Ed.
2. Transitional or Early Exit Bilingual Education
3. Sheltered English (ESL) pull out.
4. Late-Exit Bilingual Ed.
5. Two-Way or Dual Language Immersion Bilingual Ed.

My study is located in a district that offers dual-language bilingual education, transitional bilingual education and sheltered English pull out (ESL) programs. The participants in my study were enrolled in the ESL program because they are NELs. That means they were coded as Limited English Proficient (LEP), based on their language admission scores. Students in the ESL program receive an academic label of LEP which, is a deficit view of language learning, because it implies a negative connotation suggesting inadequacy, which is not the case. LEP students are rated by the Texas English Language Proficiency Assessment System (TELPAS) and coded with “No rating.” This is how newcomers with 12 months or fewer in a U.S. school and with no previous TELPAS score, are categorized. TELPAS is a holistically graded assessment in listening, speaking and writing and a multiple-choice assessment in reading (Badgett, Harrell, Carman, & Lyles, 2012)

The school district states that all high school ESL programs are dedicated to increasing language acquisition and fluency through enriched academic content courses. In this district, enrichment means that the district has invested in online programs that assist the students in areas including reading, phonics, and fluency. Students use these programs on a weekly basis and have access in their classroom and at home. In this study, three of the student participants who have only been in the United States for seven months were coded with no rating and one of the student participants who had been in the United States for 19 months was coded by TELPAS as at the “beginning” level. As a teacher, it was essential for me to understand that I have NELs in my class whose language learning I need to support. As a researcher, I wanted to know more about the connections between language learning and choral music education, which is why I decided to pursue this study.

Positionality

Teaching choir in a public school on the U.S.-Mexico border has made me curious about NELs and their schooling experiences. As a choral music teacher, I am constantly having my students interpret meaning from their music. As a class, we deconstruct the lyrics to derive personal meaning from the content. Although I am not a fluent Spanish speaker, I have limited receptive (listening and reading) skills in Spanish, and my specialization in my doctoral study is in literacy/biliteracy. Every year I have had one or two NEL students in my choir, but I am curious as to why more NELs do not enroll in choir. I see NELs in my choir class every day, and this made me wonder how choir might contribute to their language learning. In order to best understand how NELs experience the process of language learning and identity development in the context of a choir, I utilized a case study (Merriam,1998) approach, enhanced with ethnographic methods.

Texas State Law

Texas state law requires that all high school students take the State of Texas Assessment of Academic Readiness (STAAR) in English, regardless of language ability. Grade promotion, retention, and high school graduation all depend on passing test scores. The United States Census Bureau (2010-2017) reported that in the state of Texas, 35.3% of families speak a language other than English. The neighboring U.S.- Mexico border states range from 35% in New Mexico, 27% in Arizona, and 44% in California. In the city where my study took place, in far west Texas, 70% of families speak a language other than English in the home. Many school districts in far west Texas are located on the U.S. – Mexico border and experience an abundance of students who move to U.S. schools each year. These students are typically native Spanish speakers who are thrust into the U.S. school system.

Newcomer schools. In some parts of the country, there are schools dedicated to newcomers (Bajaj, & Suresh, 2018). For example, in Oakland, California, there is a school dedicated to supporting newcomers with specialized programs in offering literacy development, social services, mental health and clinical services for a successful transition (Short & Boyson, 2012). In the state of Texas, there are schools explicitly dedicated to Newcomer students; however, they are located in Fort Worth and Houston, hundreds of miles away from the U.S. – Mexico border. What NELs are being required to do in Texas is almost academically impossible. If this were you, how would you feel?

Standard practice in choral music education. Why explore the language development of NELs in the context of the choir? Choral music utilizes text to deliver meaning and emotion through musical constructs. I wondered if it also assists in language learning (Brandt, Gebrian, & Slevc, 2013; Dege, & Schwarzer, 2011; Lems, 2005). Choral music requires personal and collective emotion in order to deliver a meaningful performance; therefore, the experiences leading up to a performance provide cognitive and phonological components that are part of the language learning process (Albers and Harste, 2007). A choral performer must understand the meaning behind the lyrical text as well as the phonetic pronunciation of the words that include syllabic stress incorporated in the musical phrase. In order to explore the process of language development of NELs in the choir, I explore the contribution of “common practice” within the choral classroom.

In the choir classroom. Common practice in a focused choral music education are lessons that incorporate listening, speaking, reading, and writing (the four skills) daily ³. Speaking and writing are productive skills and listening, and reading is receptive skills. Productive skills in the

³ While it is common, not all public schools use this same approach in focused choral music education.

choral music classroom include singing, composing, and writing a musical or textual analysis. Receptive skills in the choral music classroom include listening to music in English, sight reading⁴, and audiation⁵. When choral director introduces pieces in the repertoire, it is common to discuss the lyrical text, which includes demonstrating the correct phonetic pronunciation of each word as well as the meaning that is behind each phrase and lyrical passage. Activities include writing assignments in which the students write in their journals about the meaning of the music. Also, it is common for students make notes on their sheet music, or to print out lyric sheets and use them as tools to navigate the music. These activities involve listening, speaking, and reading, and writing.

For example, the song *Didn't My Lord Deliver Daniel* (Emerson, 1992) was passed out to the choir as one of their repertoire pieces. The choral director showed the students how to pronounce the words correctly and the phrase "Didn't my Lord deliver Daniel, then why not every man." The choir director then discussed the meaning behind the lyrical passage and discuss the sacred historical meaning behind the phrase. Through daily educational exercises and activities such as class discussions, small group or partner discussions and writing activities, Meaning is interpreted.

In choral music education, it is common for the teacher to provide exercises and activities that allow the student to deconstruct musical repertoire by writing analyses and explanatory essays based on textual interpretation. For example, when the choral director gives the choir the music for *Didn't My Lord Deliver Daniel*, (Emerson, 1992) the students would be required to write an

⁴ Sight-reading is the musical process of reading music that has never been seen by the musician before. Therefore, students are required to interpret and perform the notes and note values by reading them at first sight.

⁵ Audiation is the musical term for the ability to hear pitches and intervals internally.

essay discussing their understanding of what the lyrics meant and how it could apply in their daily lives (the productive skill of writing). Deconstructing the lyrical text permits the musician to develop a meaningful relationship between the text as well as the melodic, harmonic, and accompaniment portions found within the music.

Student identities evolve during the social and academic components of chorus (Dabback, 2018; Parker, 2018). High school is a time of enhanced identity development, because adolescence is a time of physical, emotional, and social transition. Social life is crucial in high school, and high school choir is very social (Borman, 2018). The choral classroom differs from the traditional classroom with tables and chairs set in a row with the teacher's desk in the front of the classroom. Rather, the choral classroom is an open space with large choral risers and a piano (instead of desk) in the front of the room. The choir room also has practice rooms, a wardrobe room, and the choral director's office.

How this Study Fits into Existing Research

There is a plethora of literature on instrumental music education (Abeles, 2018; Alsup, 2003; Olsson, 2018; Rawlings, 2018). There is also an abundance of literature on choral music education (Kenny, 2018; Krueger & Wilson, 2018; Nyquist & Nicholas, 2018). Extant literature also discusses NELs in the high school classroom and the need for culturally responsive teaching in a multicultural classroom environment along with a necessity for culturally sustaining pedagogy (Auslander, 2018; Hansen-Thomas & Chennapragada, 2018; Jaffe-Walter & Lee 2018). Also, there is significant literature on using music for language learning in Pre- Kindergarten settings (Anvari, Trainor, Woodside, Levy, 2002; Bernorff, 2013; Jeanneret & DeGraffenreid, 2018), as well as in adult education (Lems, 2001, 2005). However, there is very little literature published on NELs in choral music education (Carlow, 2006). This is the focus of this study.

Scholarly literature has previously outlined cognitive and phonological connections between music and second language learning, along with exploring the many sociocultural aspects of music as it can be part of enhancing literacy and language learning (Alater, Strait, O'Connell, Thompson, & Kraus, 2014; Anvari, Trainor, Woodside, & Levy, 2002; MacIntyre, Potter, & Burns, 2012). While the topics surrounding the cognitive, phonological, and social connections between music and language learning currently exist in the scholarly literature, this literature fails to represent the newcomer population in choral music education and is an area of research that requires more investigation.

Musical training involves the process of decoding musical notation and can assist in the auditory and memory development of the students (Tierny & Kraus, 2013; Standley, 2008; Rautenber, 2013; McMullen & Saffran, 2004; Kraus & Chandrasekaren, 2010). While this literature focuses on the cognitive and phonological aspects of language learning and music, the medium for instruction is through instrumental music, choral music, language learning for early childhood education, and adult language education; failing to address focused high school choral music education and language learning.

Scholars have noted that literacy can be improved by incorporating music into second language learning (Brand, 2002; Coyle & Gomez-Garcia, 2014; Legg, 2009; Seeman, 2008). While this research is significant, the focused population of these studies has been young elementary language learners and early childhood education. Although language-learning benefits have been outlined in the scholarly literature (Lems, 2005), the newcomer population requires further investigation within the realm of language learning and music education, specifically choral music education.

Gap in the Literature

Although there is an abundance of literature focusing on elementary language learning and acquisition for all preschool children (Anvari, Trainor, Woodside & Levy, 2002; Bernstorff, 2013; Dege & Schwarzer, 2011), elementary children (Cogo- Moreira, Brandao de Avila, Ploubidis & Mari, 2013; Corrigan & Trainor, 2011; Paquette & Rieg, 2008; Salmon, 2010), there is less scholarly research focusing on general high school students in music (Elpus & Abril, 2011; Legg, 2009; Tierney & Kraus, 2013). Newcomer students in music education are rarely discussed (Carlow, 2006; Herrera, Defio, Fernandez-Smit & Costa-Giomi, 2010). NELs in choral music education impelled further investigation based on the gap in the literature.

One of the only studies that explores the experiences of NELs in a high school choir in the United States was conducted by Carlow (2006). Carlow investigated a group of NELs' current and previous choral and musical experiences, with the goal of understanding the acculturation process of immigrant students. Her study focused on the perception of self and others among students participating in a high school focused choral music classroom. She also considered students' perception of focused choral music education and the socialization process within a high school choral music classroom. Carlow (2006) found that her Russian NEL (Irina) had a particularly difficult time acclimating to the American chorus. She stated that the choir director failed to select repertoire that would allow Irina to connect culturally or socially with her NELs. Ultimately, the NELs felt a sense of rejection and began to dislike choir.

Purpose Statement

In this study, I explore the NELs and their experience in high school choir located on the U.S. – Mexico border. NELs face many challenges that include having to learn English in a very short period of time (8 months), before being subjected to state-mandated testing. The purpose of

this research is to understand NELs experiences in choral practice and performance in high school choir, as it relates to language learning and social belonging. I hope to understand the role of choral music in the construction of identities (Gee, 2012) and the language use of NELs. Because the role of choral music education in the language education of NELs has been only been studied in limited ways, this study is exploratory, rather than confirmatory. Carlow's (2006) study on NELs in choir aimed to explore the perceptions of NELs based on their prior choral experience in their native countries. She examined the tensions the participants in her study felt, along with their feelings of social disconnection. Carlow's (2006) suggested that the choir director played a significant role in creating an environment lacking social belonging and cultural diversity. The findings of her study call for further investigation into the role of choral music education and NELs.

The site for my study was Desert City High School, a school in the Azteca Independent School District located approximately seven miles from the U.S. – Mexico border⁶. Of the 45 NELs in this school, 4 were enrolled in choir, with my help, which I discuss in Chapter 5. The NELs in this study had pull-out ESL classes with the ESL teacher five days a week, with each session lasting 94 minutes. They took choir as one of their arts requirements for 47 minutes each day. NELs' first interaction was with the assistant principal (administrator) who administers language proficiency tests. Their next step was an appointment with the counselor, who scheduled them into their classes for the semester. NELs interacted with the ESL teacher, the choir director, the counselor, and the principal. I conducted interviews with all of these adult participants.

The unit of analysis in this case study (Merriam, 1998) that incorporated ethnographic methods is the activity of NELs enrolled in the high school choir. I utilized a theoretical framework of Activity Theory which allowed me to see how activity is initiated through systemic, goal

⁶ All names are pseudonyms.

oriented endeavors, and how it is positioned within cultural or social surroundings. The components of the activity system are the subjects, tools, and objects. The unit of analysis is the mediated activity of NELs in choir.

The NELs in the choir, along with all the choristers, participated in daily rehearsals, two community concerts, and one Small Group/Solo Performance throughout seventeen weeks of the 2017 spring semester. The primary participants in this study were Karen, Alicia, Borris, and Robert. Karen was a 14-year-old girl who has been in the United States for 19 months. Alicia was a 14-year-old girl who had been attending school in the United States for seven months. Borris was a fifteen-year-old girl who had been attending school in the United States for seven months. Finally, Robert was a fifteen-year-old boy who had been attending school in the United States for seven months. I conducted interviews with all of them over the course of the semester. Secondary participants were the choral director, the ESL teacher, the school principal, and one (of three) high school counselors. I conducted participant observations that took place in the choir room, ESL room, and the DCHS theatre, where the choir concert took place. I also collected artifacts including lyric sheets and journal entries by each of the NELs.

The Significance of the Study

This study seeks to contribute in the field of music education and language learning, specifically in the area of choral music and language learning. The literature on NELs in music education is limited and in this study, I seek to build on Carlow's 2006 work, by exploring how language learning and identity development are part of choral music education. NELs require more than just language support, they need to develop social capital (Suarez-Orozco and Suarez Orozco 2001). Social capital is developed in an environment where a sense of belonging is fostered (Bartlett & Garcia, 2011). Langston (2011) suggests that social capital can be developed by

building trust within networks and communities. Finally, this study seeks to understand how the literacy and language practices found within a choral music education might contribute to the development of communicative competence (Savignon, 2018) in NELs.

Practical implications for the study include the suggestion that choral music education be made available to NELs. The findings of the study can be utilized for teacher and administrator professional development, showing how, through practice and performance, communicative competence can be enhanced. The connection between language learning and music may foster a bond between the ESL program and the music department, so that in the future, both educational venues can work together toward a common goal. Finally, this study provides support for the development of social belonging in choir, a benefit for not just NELs but for all students.

Organization of the Study

In Chapter One, I lay out the groundwork for the study by presenting the statement of the problem, which is that NELs are required to learn a new language in an extremely short period of time while coping with social challenges of being in a new environment. Then, I situate the study by explaining how my work fits into the existing literature, and discuss why this study matters. In Chapter Two, I outline the theoretical framework that underpins the study and I review of the literature on music and education, and music and language learning. In Chapter Three, I describe the methodology used to design and implement the study including the research questions, sampling and selection criteria, data collection and analysis and interpretation. In Chapter Four, I present a brief look at the historical context of the U.S.–Mexico border where I conducted the study. Chapter five presents my findings regarding the barriers to enter choir faced by NELs. In Chapter Six, I analyze the ways in which NELs develop social capital in the choral classroom, and in Chapter Seven, I analyze NELs language learning and use in the context of the chorus. I

conclude by summarizing my findings in Chapter Eight, and I discuss how these findings might be applied in educational settings, and what they might imply for future research and education.

CHAPTER 2. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK AND REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

The following chapter outlines the theoretical framework for my study, followed by a review of the literature on music education and language learning. To frame my study, I use the third generation of activity theory known as Cultural Historical Activity Theory (CHAT). I begin by providing an overview of the constructivist paradigm which led me to the CHAT framework that guides this study. Then I define and contrast the terms *activity* and *actions*, which are central to constructing behavior associated with the mind and social action. I follow that with an historical perspective of the three generations of Activity Theory, and why I have used CHAT to frame this study.

Constructivism in Education

A sociocultural approach to learning is reflected in the belief that knowledge is constructed through experience and social negotiation (Lincoln, Lynham & Guba, 2011) A constructivist paradigm suggests that personal experiences reflect behavior and knowledge development, through *activity* (Seeman, 2008), and *action* (Baumeister, & Bargh, 2014). Behavior and knowledge development are on a continuum which are reflected by fluid movement through the system of activity. An activity system comprises a collective form of behaviors (activity), and is the unit of analysis in the third generation of activity theory, CHAT.

Activity. Activity, is constructed by engaging in movements and communication directed towards a common objective or goal. Activity is a consistent group of actions where individuals are in pursuit of goal related movements and dialogue among individuals within the system. Engeström (2015) stated, “activities are realized by goal-directed actions, subordinated to conscious purposes. These are the typical objects of the cognitive psychology of skills and performances, whether they be motor or mental” (p. 85). For example, in the chorus classroom,

rehearsals and projects lead to performances. Activity is directed towards a common objective that is situated within a cultural or social context (Leont'ev, 1978).

Activity is constant in the choral music classroom (Bernstorff, 2013; Seeman, 2008). For example, the incorporation of the Kodaly method of instruction for teaching musical notation utilizes space, height, and depth to internalize pitch relativity (Hurwitz, Wolff, Bortnick, & Kokas 1975). The Kodaly method (explained further in the literature review) is an action based method of learning music that is a tool for choral musicians to use in order to interpret pitch and interval relativity. Understanding how the movements are utilized within the system are key to the transformation of learning and knowledge. Space, height, and depth are commonly used in the choral classroom to provide substance to pitch recognition and the concept of note value. Kinesthetic movement allows the body and mind to form a connection that is transformed to knowledge (Persellin, 1992). While activities are the continuing event, it is the actions that are fashioned where meaning transpires.

Actions. Goal-oriented actions are consciously produced processes implemented to meet the common outcome. Actions are dynamic and they are consciously produced movements that transcend emotion, interpretation, and feelings. They are integrated into a goal-oriented outcome.

Activity and action are foundational in CHAT because their cohesive bind supports the analysis of the behavioral process of mediation (Engeström, 2015). Mediated human activity within the social or cultural environment occurs over time allowing for me to examine the activity system as a whole, while understanding the relationship of each entity. Leont'ev states, "Correspondingly, actions are not special 'units' that are included in the structure of activity. Human activity does not exist except in the form of action or a chain of actions." (Leont'ev 1978, 64.) One action can be implemented with the purpose of multiple activities. Engestrom (1987)

states “one and the same action may accomplish various activities and may transfer from one activity to another” (p. 85). Actions are executed in relation to a conscious goal, purposed by a mediated activity. Examining the activity system through mediated human activity allowed me to analyze the development within each entity and the activity system as a whole.

Leont’ev (1978) situates the fundamental unit of analysis for AT as activity, actions, and operations. While activity and actions are conscious behaviors, operations are defined as unconscious behavior that transpires within the activity (Rybacki, 2009). Operations can be thought of a reactive behavior. Operations are developed through rules and division of labor within the activity system (Cole & Engeström, 1993). Rules established reflect daily routine and repetition that takes place during a choir rehearsal. Developing proper vocal technique is an operation that becomes an unconscious act that takes place within the activity of choir rehearsal and performance. For example, singing in a choir is an activity that requires the collaboration of singers and a choir director. The task of the choir is to accomplish a common goal, a successful performance. This activity is negotiated through the mediated actions of the singers and the director. The mediated actions describe what is required by each individual, in order to accomplish the task of a successful performance. Operations include, singing correct notes and rhythms while using correct vocal techniques to create a pure in tune sound. These operations are performed unconsciously (because of practice and preparation) in the context of the activity (choir rehearsal and performance). To further understand the frame of CHAT used for my study, I explore how CHAT grew out of other versions of Activity Theory.

History of Activity Theory

There are three generations of activity theory that triangulate the relationship between activity and action. Vygotsky (1978) developed the first generation of activity theory based on a stimulus

and response system centered on the concept of mediation. The system was triangulated by a model that represented the subject, object and mediating artifact. The unit of analysis for the first generation was individually motivated, which was the greatest limitation of the generation. Figure 2.1 represents Vygotsky's (1978) first generation of activity theory.

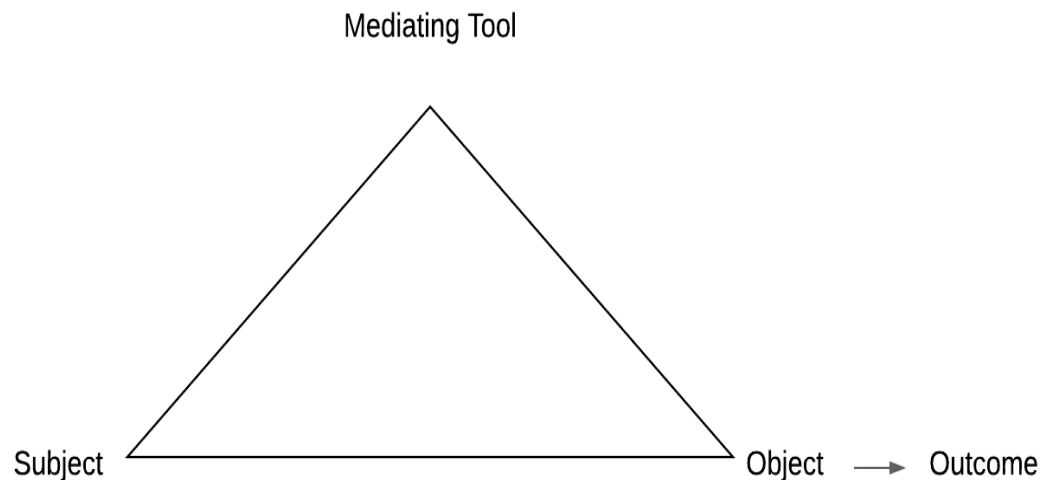


Figure 2.1 Activity Theory (Vygotsky, 1978)

The first-generation model (Vygotsky, 1978) represents the concept of a mediating factor (tool) to understand the outcome of activity between the subject and object. The first generation allows me to see a subject- object relationship; a cause and effect role between a mediating tool such as music or lyric sheets in the activity of an NEL (subject) in a high school choir rehearsal or performance (object). The outcome represents the desired objective or goal, which produced knowledge and communication. The unit of analysis in CHAT is mediated human activity, in the case of my study, it is the activity of the NELs in high school choir. Vygotsky (1982) formulated that culturally mediated human activity refers to the connection between consciousness and activity, or practice. Choral music education requires daily practice and rehearsal in preparation

for a concert or performance. Connections made by participating in an activity such as singing within a chorus are a part of a continuum of learning and are affected by the components within the environment such as the teacher, other choir members, choral repertoire, daily routine and performance.

Knowledge is produced through actions, interactions and relationships. Activity, objects, and movements produce and internalize concepts. Nonverbal communication through actions and independent activity can assist in the language learning process (Leont'ev, 1981). Establishing communicative relations with members of the social setting allow for collective learning and can affect the knowledge attained through action.

Vygotsky (1978) theorized that activity was based on psychological beliefs stemming from cultural and semiotic symbols that negotiate physical action. For example, a letter or email from one person to another can generate a reaction or action. The reaction could be in the form of an emotional feeling, and the action could result in a return response. Culture and personal background play a significant role in our medium for communication and interaction. For example, if a grandmother sends a handwritten letter to her granddaughter, and her granddaughter, in return, types and prints out a response letter on her computer to send to her grandmother, the medium for communication has shifted. Signs and symbols are found within communication mediums. Vygotsky (1978) states, “the most significant moment in the course of intellectual development, which gives birth to the purely human forms of practical and abstract intelligence, occurs when speech and practical activity, two previously completely independent lines of development, converge” (p. 24). In essence, when communication and activity merge, intellectual development is at its absolute. Language and music are media for communication, developed through practical and abstract methods of practice and activity.

Second generation: Activity theory. Building upon Vygotsky's theory of stimulus and response, Leont'ev developed the second generation building upon the division of labor to support the systematic organization of human activity⁷. As the second generation developed to include both the individual and organizational component, the institutional foundation (community) found within the environment supports the theory of agency. Agency allows individual human thoughts to act as a driving factor for action. Engeström (2015) stated "the concept of activity took the paradigm a major step forward in that it turned the focus on complex interrelations between the individual subject and his or her community" (p. XV). That is, activity moved beyond the mediating factor of a tool, to incorporate understanding the relationship of the subject with their community.

The activity system as a whole contributes to individual behavioral decisions to act and react to their social surroundings, activities and actors within the community. Leont'ev expanded on the first-generation AT by involving the concept of division of labor (Leont'ev, 1978), which involves the incorporation of individual activity and collective group activity. Building upon Vygotsky's theory of stimulus and response, Leont'ev included the notion of community, complete with rules and division of labor to support the systematic organization of human activity. The system as a whole contributes to the individual decisions to act and react to social surroundings, activities and actors within the community. This development incorporated social and cultural aspects into activity, therefore, constructing what is known as Cultural Historical Activity Theory (CHAT).

⁷ "Leont'ev never graphically expanded Vygotsky's original model into a model of a collective activity system" (Engeström, 2015, p. XV).

CHAT takes into account an individual's reaction to their social environment, relating action to a stimulus – response situation. For example, in order to interpret intervals in choral music, the choir director uses hand signs to represent different pitches. Leont'ev (1978) took into account that an individual's actions are a reaction to a collective activity. In a choral environment, the final goal is a music literacy displayed through a successful performance.

In this study, the collective activity is rehearsing as a choir and the ultimate objective is the performance itself. Each individual is a singer, however, collectively, each singer makes up the choir. The conditions of the environment are reflected in the behavioral response of the individual or group. For example, in the study of NELs in choir, Carlow (2006) found that the lack of cultural compassion the choir director had for the NEL, played a role in her desire to continue in the program. The goal of the second-generation activity theory is to understand the behavioral actions based on the activities performed, the actions are the response to the activities or the environment (Engeström, Miettinen, & Punamäki, 1999). The division of labor plays a significant role in the activity system, which includes social structures created by an entire community or organization, as well as the individual. CHAT incorporates social and cultural activity congruently with the community. In my study, I draw upon the frame of the third generation CHAT because it allows me to incorporate multiple activity system object-subject relationships, such as the NEL in choir rehearsal and NEL in a choir performance. In the following section, I introduce third generation CHAT.

Third generation: cultural historical activity theory. The fundamental concepts of CHAT are: 1) humans act collectively, learn by doing, and communicate in and via their actions; 2) humans make, employ, and adapt tools of all kinds to learn and communicate; and 3) community

is central to the process of making and interpreting meaning—and thus to all forms of learning, communicating, and acting” (Foot, 2014, p.3.). Drawing upon Vygotsky’s original element of mediating tools, 3rd generation CHAT incorporates the elements of subject, object, tools, rules, community, division of labor, and outcome, all of which form a matrix of activity to produce an outcome of knowledge and intellectual development. A matrix of activity is constructed among the elements within the CHAT model in which each part interacts and connects the subject. I employed CHAT as the framework for this study, in order to see how the activities of NELs in choir practice related to their learning and actions in their performances. Figure 2.2 represents the Cultural Historical Activity model for human activity.

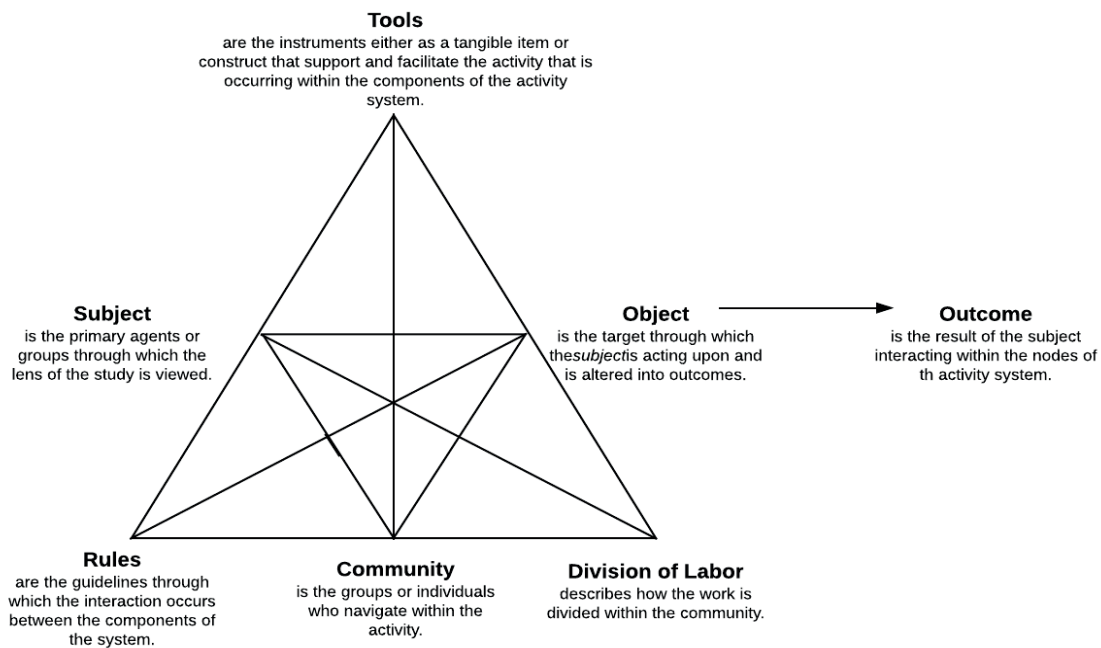


Figure 2.2 CHAT Model Representing Human Activity (Engeström, 1987, p. 78).

Figure 2.2 represents the activity model representing the seven elements and their connection between the subject and object which I explain below. Within each activity system, there are tools, a division of labor, and rules.

Subject. The primary element of the activity system is the subject. The subject(s) are individual or group participants whose actions are analyzed based on the elements within CHAT (van der Walt & Wolhuter, 2018). These perspectives are cultivated through cultural, historical, social and personal experiences, and actions. Subjects play an active role in maneuvering the multiple elements within the system and therefore occupy agency. Agency is manifested by experience based on the subject's knowledge and experience (Ogawa, Crain, Loomis, & Ball, 2008). The subjects in my study include the NELs, the choir director, ESL teacher, administrator, and counselor because these are the active participants who play a role in the way that NELs have previously experienced music and/or choral music played a role in their behavior patterns constructed within the choral classroom.

Object. The second element in CHAT is the Object. The Object is the intentional goal, in where the activity of the subject transfers into the outcome. The object is the overall experience where meaning is constructed by the individual, group or organization, through social and cultural experiences. The object is the environment that guides activity, structured by activity system. The object and the subject relationship. The choral director initially outlines the patterned arrangements that constitute a typical choral rehearsal and expectations for performance (Welch, 2007). During choir rehearsal, a patterned daily routine is outlined and expectations are set. The structure of the rehearsal is based on the elements within the system (subject, tools, rules, community, and division of labor). All of these congruently work together to transform activity into a meaning-making experience where knowledge is developed (Lee, 2011). Once the rules and regulations of the

classroom environment are established, the students assemble into their daily routine. Each student has a different experience that originates from their social and cultural ideology about their identity. The object is achieved through movements, gestures, posture, singing, and interactions with those surrounding them.

Community. The third element represents the structure of the activity; which is community. Community refers to the external factors that may compromise the environment acting as stimulus and, therefore, play a role in the response. Community can be a group or organization whose goals or objective have a common outcome (Foot, 2014). The community perform routines, practices, and social relationships that develop into norms through interaction among the subject-object within the activity system. Community reflects the social and cultural components that inform the environment. The dynamic component of community is constantly changing based on the other elements of the activity system. For example, during a choir performance, the type of audience fluctuates. For one performance, the community could include the choir, family members, teachers and other members of the school. Another performance may consist solely of the student body and teachers. Another performance may consist of only those members of the chorus. Some members may interact or communicate more frequently than others, an activity that is reflected by multiple variables including musical ability, language ability, cultural experiences and social responsiveness (Burnard & Younker, 2008).

Tools or tool mediation. The fourth element in CHAT represents the semiotic artifacts that produce meaning-making experiences and responses within the social environment; tools. Tools or tool mediation represents the artifacts used by the people within the activity system (Beatty, & Feldman, 2012). The tools play a significant role in the structure of the environment and can influence the community and environment. In the choral classroom, tools can include sheet

music, lyric sheets identifying musical and rhythmic notation, signs on the walls, motivating posters, pictures, and choral risers (Welch, 2007). Tools are tangible items that are used within the activity system that facilitate learning or communication among the subject or within the object (Engeström & Glaveaum, 2012). For example, when the students are practicing their sight reading, they receive a piece of music with notation on it and they then proceed to interpret the notes into a melodic or harmonic musical phrase. Another example of a tool are lyric sheets that the students used during the second half of their semester in choir. These lyric sheets did not have any musical notation on it, only words. The words were written in verse form and it was up to the students to interpret the words and make a meaningful performance based on the lyrics printed on the sheet.

Choral risers are a tool that play a large role in the actions and interactions among the members of the chorus. Sometimes the choral director positions the students on the risers based on their vocal range, however, sometimes the students have their free will to choose their position. Understanding how and why NELs position themselves on the riser; including whom they situate themselves besides, whether they stand on the top or the front row; are factors that contribute to identity development and therefore, can be explored through activity theory.

Division of labor. Division of labor refers to the structure of the environment; how the actors within the system respond, relate, conform, transform or remain static is based on the social divisions of responsibilities, duties and produced work. Responsibility and the delegation of assignments or tasks are based on a hierarchical structure negotiated based on power. The structure of the choral environment relies on a system of arrangement (Welch, 2007). The chorus is first divided up into level of musicianship (beginner/intermediate and advanced). The choir in my study was at the beginner/intermediate level. Then, the choir is separated into sections based on voice parts and vocal range. These voice parts reflect high, medium and low ranges. Alike voices

are placed together to form a section within the chorus. Different sections can decide to form a bond and work together, or they may decide that their section is superior to others within the chorus (Burnard & Younker, 2008). Within these sections, lies a section leader. The section leader acts as a leader, and is deemed by the choir director to be a more advanced musician.

Within the entire community of the chorus, it is common to appoint a chorus president. The president has separate social responsibilities and is expected to produce a socially inviting environment for the other members. How NELs respond to being appointed to one of these positions, or how they respond to others within the hierarchical structure can be explored through actions and interactions among the relationships in the chorus. There are many actions that can be explored through the activities within the choral environment by utilizing activity theory.

Rules. The sixth element of activity theory is the rules of structure that provide guidelines and organization to the structural environment. These rules form the constitution of the activity and provide structure and organization to the environment. Rules establish expectations and requirements in regard to class structure, and behavior. Rules offer a governing component for the activity system. The choral director situates the rules that govern the choral classroom. The way students enter into the choral classroom and place themselves on the risers is dependent on the structure and agency of the community members and the structural environment. Students singing posture, vocal tone, breath control and vocal phonation are developed by the rules and organization of the environment.

Outcome. The final element of CHAT is the outcome. The result of activity and interaction between the previous six elements: subject, object, community, tools, division of labor, and rules is the outcome. Through understanding the activity, actions, and interactions between the elements, the outcome is the result of the common goal or objective of the system (Hancock & Miller, 2018).

The outcome should reflect the knowledge or social development learned through the process of activity and interactions. The outcome is dependent on the transitioning activity within the system as a whole.

CHAT as a Framework

I selected Third generation CHAT to frame my study because it expands activity into multiple systems recognizing “human activity as situated and knowledge as dispersed and multilevel, occurring within culture, history, and material contexts” (Chinn, 2009, p. 645). In Chapter Four, I discuss the historical context of migrants in El Paso for this reason. Table 2.1 represents the five principles of CHAT along with the components that describe each principle and how they are applied in this study.

Table 2.1 Five Principles of CHAT

| Principle | Components | NELs in Choir |
|---------------------------------|--|--|
| Unit of Analysis | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Two systems of activity | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • NELs activity in practice and performance |
| Multivoicedness | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Viewpoints • Traditions • Interests • Social perspectives | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • NEL • Choir teacher • ESL teacher • Counselor |
| Historicity | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Change over time | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Communication • Interaction • Belonging |
| Contradiction | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Tension within the network system | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Community vs. division of labor vs. rules |
| Expansive Transformation | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Cycle or revolution that occurs over time | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Social Capital • Communicative competence |

The third generation of CHAT takes into account multiple activity systems interacting, in order to understand multiple perspectives within different systems. The first of the five principles of CHAT (Cole, 1988; Engeström, 1987) is the unit of analysis. In CHAT, the unit of analysis is two activity systems that interact with one another.

The second principle element in CHAT is multi-voicedness. Multi-voicedness allows various viewpoints, traditions, interests, and social perspectives to be taken into account while analysis of the activity system occurs (Roth & Lee, 2007b). Within the activity system of NELs in choir, each NEL portrays a perspective

The third principle element in CHAT is historicity. The changes that occur within the activity systems must be recognized as shaping over time based on the historical activities that occur (Foot, 2014). The slight transformations could be detected in communication, social behavior, and interactions within the community. The community consists of the choir, the school, and family and friends who live on both sides of the border.

The fourth principle element in CHAT is the role of contradictions. A CHAT system responds to systemic contradictions based on multiple perspectives within an interacting network. These elements experience contradictions that define change or growth in the subject-object connection (Amory, 2010). The structural tensions between the multiple activity systems create conflict, which, are explained by understanding the cause and effect of each contradiction. Contradictions are part of knowledge development, a process that occurs over time within the activity system.

The fifth principle in CHAT is expansive transformation, which is the cycle or revolution that occurs over time based on the seven principle elements of activity theory. CHAT allows researchers to recognize that multiple activity systems interact with one another (Engeström,

1987). The activity for each event varies and actions and communication are analyzed based on the activity system for both events (van der Walt & Wolhuter, 2018).

The unit of analysis in my study was the activity of NELs in choir. Through the activity of practice and performance, I am able to understand the relationship between the subject (NELs) and the object (choir rehearsals and choir performances). I also look at the role of the mediating factors such as tools (lyric sheets, sheet music), rules (daily course schedule, routine of the choir rehearsal: warm ups, sight-reading, repertoire rehearsal), community (DCHS choir, choir director, school), and division of labor (voice sections: soprano, alto, tenor, bass). Next, I present a review of the literature on language learning and music education.

A Review of the Literature

In the following section, I explore the literature on ELLs' cognitive, sociocultural and semiotic connection to choral music education categorically organized. Newcomer English Language learners are a subpopulation of ELLs who have been enrolled in a U.S. school for two years or less (Short & Boyson, 2012). First, I present background on NELs and their mastery of language and content because it is important to have an understanding of what NELs face. The literature review is organized by the following categories in relationship to music and language learning: neuroscience and psychology, music education, literacy and identity. Finally, I conclude with the status of literature on music education and ELLs. It is important to understand the scholarly research that explores the connections between music and language learning within these categories because it demonstrated the multifaceted forms of music and language, as well as identifying a gap in the literature in the realm of newcomers in choral music education.

The literature provided an in-depth exploration of the Kodaly method of instruction, which incorporates activity and movement through the adjustment of space, height and depth which is

important because I used activity theory and actor-network theory to frame my study and these interactions are foundational in forming relationships and social behavior within a choral music education. The concepts found within the literature provide support that when activity transpires, learning occurs. In the case of my study, language learning occurs through activity and relationships that develop through mediating factors including lyrics found within musical repertoire. I explore multiple components found within music education and provide background for continued funding for choral music education.

Newcomer students and the mastery of language and content. The fastest growing population of students in the United States is *English Language Learners* (ELLs). In 2009 there were over 5.3 million students who were identified as English Language Learners (Short & Boyson, 2012). A subpopulation of ELLs is called the *Newcomer* students. According to the U.S. Department of Education, the term newcomer refers to the “subset of ELLs who are currently enrolled in grades 6 through 12 who have attended an English-speaking school for fewer than two years” (Francis & Rivera, 2006, p.4). Newcomer English Language Learner’s (NELs) educational trajectory is affected by several factors including their degree of former schooling, native language literacy and age of arrival in U.S. schools (Francis & Rivera, 2006).

Cummins (1984) identifies two types of language proficiency. Cognitive Academic Language Proficiency (CALP) identifies a student’s ability to academically understand a second language. He identifies that this process can take between 5-7 years to cognitively acquire a second language. Basic Interpersonal Communication Skills (BICS) are the rudimentary skills required for listening and speaking, which can be acquired through social interaction with second language development. Cummins (1984) states that the BICS can be developed within a time period of two years. Newcomers are not provided five to seven years to achieve CALP or even enough time to

fully develop the social aspects defined in BICS. The consequences have a negative effect on the students' social and academic trajectory and contribute to the school's AYP. Allowing a newcomer to improve their social language through music can provide these students a pathway for academic success (Tarrant, North, & Hargreaves, 2002). The multimodal content found within music can help newcomer students explore their cultural heritage (Stokes, 1994) and support language development.

In 2001, the amendment of the No Child Left Behind Act, Title III, required ELLs to meet the same demanding academic content and student achievement standards that all students are expected to meet (Short & Boyson, 2012). As Short & Boyson (2012) discuss in the statistics recorded by the National Center for Education Statistics (NCES), the New York State Education Department (NYSED) and the Alliance for Excellent Education (AEE), 74% of ELLs performed below basic competence in reading and 72% scored below basic competence in mathematics. NYSED recorded the graduation rate for ELLs was only 40.3%. ELL students were dropping out of school at significantly high rates. AEE attributed several factors that contributed to the dropout rate. These factors include “weak academic literacy skills, being unprepared for high school level work and textbooks, and not being engaged in schooling” (Short & Boyson, 2012, p. 3). Adolescent newcomers are required to learn academic English while simultaneously learning core content in English, working twice as hard to acquire the English language and cognitively comprehend core content. When newcomer students fail to comply with social and academic accountability language standards, they fail to graduate or dropout of school entirely. When students experience this type of deficit their social and academic language development suffers.

Newcomer adolescent students are an extremely vulnerable subgroup of ELLs. While the newcomer population has limited English proficiency, they too are held to the same State

accountability standards as native English students (Short & Boyson, 2012). Armed only with introductory levels of English language literacy, these students are not equipped to perform at a secondary school level of education in English.

Research in the field of NELs within the context of a focused choral music education is important because of the time constraints faced by newcomer students and their ability to master language and content before graduation. Newcomers face a situation that is nearly impossible to achieve, that is, developing their language sufficiently to achieve social and cognitive language proficiency. I was curious about how being in choir might be a useful language practice for NELs.

Social and academic achievement through music. While academic accountability is a major issue, several issues encountered by newcomer students stem from their academic struggle. These issues include course failure, behavior problems, absences and dropout prior to graduation (Francis & Rivera, 2006). Without proper support systems in place to achieve success in their cognitive, phonological, social and communicative development in English, these students will spiral into a major academic decline. Newcomer adolescent students are placed into specialized self-contained English for Speakers of Other Language (ESOL) programs (Echevarria, Short & Powers, 2006). The curriculum in the program is designed to assist language learning and supplement the English Language Arts and other core content areas.

The problem is that it takes five to seven years to cognitively acquire academic language, newcomer students are required to complete the high school curriculum in English from the moment they arrive in the United States regardless of their ability to communicate in English. How can choral music assist newcomer ELLs second language acquisition and development by exploring meaning-making stories found in musical text. Students can make personal and cultural connections to their own lives by exploring musical text and phrasing. Medina (2002) further

explains that strengthening the social language can have a positive effect on cognitive and phonological aspects of second language learning. To further explore the cognitive and phonological aspects of second language learning and music, I begin by exploring the literature in the category of neuroscience and psychology.

Literature in the Field of Neuroscience and Psychology

The following section synthesizes the literature in the field of neuroscience. The manner in which music relates to the cognitive and phonological ways of communicating is explored through the cognitive development of language and music, multiple intelligences, cognitive connection between music and second language learning, decoding language through music, reading through musical training, memory development and language learning, and auditory training. I begin by exploring literature on the cognitive development of language and music.

Cognitive development of language and music. Cognitive development includes the ability to understand and communicate the concepts presented within language and music compositions (Tierney & Kraus, 2013; Standley, 2008). Understanding the meaning behind words and phrases allow for interpretation and communication (Kelly & Weelden, 2004; Narmour, 2000). Neurologists, psychologists and educational scholars in the field of literacy and music education explore literature within the theme of cognitive development. Music activates multiple intelligences and there is an active connection between music and second language learning through phonation, decoding, memory, reading development and auditory training. I explore these subthemes to determine the importance of cognitive development of second language learning through music.

Three studies correlating music and language with a focus on cognitive development used bilingual students as their population. Moreno, Friesen and Bialystok (2011) and Alater, Straight,

O'Connell, Thompson and Kraus (2014) explored pre-school children by assessing reading outcomes of bilingual children from low socioeconomic backgrounds. The results established that there was a significant effect of group music training on reading development in English over the course of their study.

The literature provides support, methodology and theoretical frameworks that support phonological and cognitive development of a language through music that is relevant to my research. While cognitive phonological development occurs for first language development, the literature also shows that music can assist in the phonological development of a second language (Coyle & Gomez- Garcia, 2014; Fonseca-Mora, Jara-Jimenez & Gómez-Dominguez, 2015).

Multiple intelligences and music education. Language development is crucial during the early years of life. Research has shown that the first four years of a child's life provides the foundation for the development of intelligence and language (Gardner, 2011). Gardner (2011) proposes the theory of multiple intelligences where musical talent emerges early in life. In this regard, Gardner argues that connecting music education with language development during early stages of child development is a factor that is beneficial for the stimulation of intelligence. Gardner hypothesizes that during early years of life the brain is constantly establishing connections that assist in the ability to acquire and connect conceptual knowledge such as music and language. Researchers have corroborated the claim that language development can be improved by using music education as an intervention (Coban, 2011; Mora, 2008; Paquette & Rieg, 2008; Scott, 2004).

The parallels of language development can be combined with music education as a tool for instruction. The use of sounds and syllables lead children to form words and patterns leading to

the formation of sentences. Songs and rhymes that are engaging develop sensory input to the ear and as a result, language that correlates with this sensory input is developed (Scott, 2004).

Coban (2011) used quantitative research methods to study the effects of a learning model on the multiple intelligence areas of students when applied in an elementary school music class in Istanbul, Turkey. Using the Multiple Intelligences Developmental Assessment Scale (MIDAS), Coban found that the use of multiple intelligence activities based on active learning are more effective and result in higher scores. Mora (2000) found the importance of combining multiple intelligences and capacities can enhance learning and “one of the main implications for teaching of this theory was that students should not only be taught to increase their verbal, spatial, and numerical intelligences, but also to nurture their musical, bodily-kinesthetic, interpersonal and intrapersonal intelligences” (p. 146). Using music in the language classroom draws on the multiple intelligences of children allowing the child to develop skills that incorporate their entire self. Newcomers are a vulnerable population because they are expected to perform on State Accountability tests at the same academic level as native English Speakers. It is important for research to be performed on the population of Newcomers within the context of a focused music course in order to determine the effects on the vulnerable population.

Connection between music and second language learning. Literature that explores the connection between language development and music were discovered in the field of neuroscience, and psychology. The literature that discusses the phonological development of language through music is predominantly found in psychology and psychology of music education literature. Literature with a focus on cognitive development of language and music was explored in the fields of music education, research in reading, English language teaching journal, the Library of science, neurology, and psychology.

Language and general music have many connections such as sentence and phrase structure, phonetic awareness and the production of sound (Cogo-Moreira et al., 2013; Corrigan & Trainor, 2011; Douglass & Willatts, 1994; Gromko, 2005; Herrera, Lorenzo, Defior, Fernandez-Smith, Costa-Giomi, 2010; Moritz, Yampolsky, Papadelis, Thompson & Wolf, 2012; Peynircioglu, Durgunoglu, Uney-Kusefoglu, 2002). The similarities between language and music act as a bridge between the two content areas phonetically and cognitively. There are many connections in music and language from a sentence and phrase structure (Li & Brand, 2009; Patel & Daniele, 2003), phonetic awareness (Thompson, Schellenberg, & Husain, 2004).), and the development of listening and speaking skills (Kraus & Chandrasekaran, 2010). Researchers found that these connections provided evidence that musical engagement enhances literacies for second language learning (Ludke, Ferreira & Overy, 2014). The literature also explored the meaning of language learning and the connection to instrumental music and choral music through the phonological decoding of language and music.

Phonetic development and decoding language through music. Phonics is the ability to identify and produce words that are made of a variety of sounds. Decoding is using the visual or syllabic cues within, to make meaning from each word or phrase. This includes rhyming, syllabic understanding, and the identification of smaller words within a word, i.e. Batman = bat/man (Mann, 1986). Language and music have many connections from a sentence and phrase structure, phonetic awareness and the production of sound (Dege & Schwarzer, 2011; Moritz, Yampolsky, Papadelis, Thompson & Wolf, 2012; Peynircioglu, Durgunoglu, & Uney-Kusefoglu, 2002). Tierney & Kraus (2013) identify and describe phonological awareness, speech-in-noise perception, auditory working memory, and the ability to learn sound patterns. Tierney & Kraus

(2013) were pioneers in exploring the relationship between music and phonological development, but they did not explore the demographics of their population.

Researchers have performed studies that focus on the relationship between music and the phonological development of language skills for elementary school children (Anvari, Trainor, Gromko, 2005; Dege & Schwarzer, 2011; Herrera, Lorenzo, Defior, Fernancez-Smith & Costa-Giomi, 2010; Peynircioglu, Dugunoglu & Uney-Kusefoglul, 2002) however there is very limited research focusing on a high school population in a choral music classroom.

Decoding commonalities between language and music. Decoding is an extension of phonological awareness and is described as the ability to analyze, convert and interpret symbolic messages through a process of communication and emotion (Rautenberg, 2013). Developing the skills to read and interpret musical concepts and literary works are paralleled throughout music and language development (Dunbar-Hall, 1991; Lamb & Gregory, 1993; McMullen & Saffran, 2004). Developing the skills to read and interpret musical concepts and literary works are paralleled throughout music and language development (Barwick, Valentine, West & Wilding, 1989; Cogo-Moreira et al., 2013; Douglas & Willatts, 1994; Dunbar-Hall, 1991; Lamb & Gregory, 1993; Rautenberg, 2013). The literature has identified commonalities in the decoding process of language and music (Anvari et al., 2002; Cutting & Rosner, 1974; Hansen & Bernstorff, 2002; Heller & Athanasulis, 2002; McMullen & Saffran, 2004; Patel, 2003; Stegemöller, Skoe, Nicol, Warrier & Kraus, 2008; Wong, Skoe, Russo, Dees & Kraus, 2007) . The parallels that occur in music, language development and the decoding process of language and music can be incorporated into lessons for Newcomer ELLs that may be able to assist second language learning.

Hansen & Bernstorff (2002) found parallels that are present in the decoding skills required for reading music and text. Hansen & Bernstorff (2002) provide information on how the "most

basic skills used in text reading or decoding (i.e., the breaking of the visual code of symbols into sounds) finds parallels in music reading" (Hansen & Bernstorf 2002, p. 17). Choral and vocal music requires the individual to read and interpret music symbols. Hansen & Bernstorf present a table that "provides definitions for comparative skill used in text reading, music-symbol reading, and music-text reading" (p. 21). The article specifically identifies similarities between musical comprehension and literacy including "phonological awareness, phonemic awareness, sight identification, orthographic awareness, system awareness and fluency" (p. 21). Decoding music has many commonalities with the ability for reading and decoding text.

Wong et al. (2007) examines "brainstem encoding of linguistic pitch" in musicians and non-musicians and hypothesizes that the significant effect is the explanation for a musician's ability to achieve a high level of cognitive language. The results reveal that there are positive effects of longitudinal musical practice on the ability to identify speech patterns and a correlation with the ability to decode language (Wong et al. 2007). The information provided in the article offered physiological evidence as to how musical training and experience benefit linguistic pitch pattern recognition in the brainstem. This piece of literature provided important quantitative methods to measure speech waves and patterns. The results were significant and offer more evidence that supports the neural benefits provided by music education.

The findings of Wong (2007) suggest that parallels between music and language learning found by Hansen & Bernstorf (2002) can be enhanced the longer children are exposed to music education. If they are exposed to music at an early age, their ability to develop language is enhanced, especially throughout time, thus, reiterating the importance of including music education from an early age; with more exposure, language learning can be enhanced. In essence,

the earlier the exposure to music education, the greater the ability for decoding, both in music and in language.

Decoding occurs when students can deconstruct sentences or musical phrases, which assists in language learning. Heller & Athanasulis (2002) results found that a specific age range can provide optimal success for the "expressive qualities" found in language and music. The results found that the students' ability to "categorize interpretive differences within spoken phrases and performed musical phrases increases between age 6 and 8, but that the growth in this ability begins to level off between ages 8 and 10" (Heller & Athanasulis, 2002 p. 21). The literature that discusses the importance of age on learning is important because the Newcomer students are categorized as 6th through 12th-grade students; therefore, they have passed the age of ultimate learning ability as stated by Heller & Athansulis (2002) and Hansen & Bernstorf (2002).

It would be important to identify methods for helping Newcomer students because these students have less educational opportunities than bilingual elementary students. Students from Kindergarten through fifth grade are offered bilingual education; however, once they enter into sixth grade, the opportunity for language assistance is limited. Newcomer students are immersed in the American school system and are offered limited language assistance through remedial and pullout programs. A focused choral education could offer language assistance if these students were provided the opportunity.

McMullen & Saffran (2004) explore the relationship between the sound structure in music and language, "both language and music are generated from the finite set of sounds (notes or phonemes), carved out of a larger possible set of sounds" (p. 291). McMullen & Saffran (2004) offer possible opportunities for further research to investigate the relationship between the grammatical structures found in music and language. The authors found that the learning process

for language and music learning by identifying similar rules about the structure and memory process for both domains, "detecting patterns of sound, words, or other units in the environment that underlying cue structure" (p.303). The ability to identify the structure of words and sentences is a quality that can be learned through choral music. Studying the layout of phrases within musical passages is an alternative method for language learning, which can be utilized by Newcomers.

Decoding is studied through interdisciplinary research. Stegemöller et al. (2008) found similarities and differences in the structure between speech and song. The spectral structure was analyzed according to amplitude (dB) and frequency (Hz). A sample of forty native English-speaking participants was categorized into non-musicians, novice musicians and professional musicians. The results showed that speech and song have "similar spectral structures, with the song having more energy present" (Stegemöller et al., 2008, p. 426). Findings reveal that musical experience influences speech. Stegemöller (2008) and McMullen & Saffran (2004) identify that the relationship between the prodigy of sound and language are related. Decoding music and language. Stegemöller (2008) supports the longitudinal benefits found by Wong (2007) by reiterating that the benefits of studying music assist in the language learning properties and decoding ability of language.

Reading development through musical training. Many researchers have also produced literature with a focus on reading and academic achievement through musical training (Barwick, Valentine, West & Wilding, 1989; Bhide, Power & Goswami, 2013; Cogo-Moreira, Brandeo de Avila, Ploubidis, & Mari, 2013; Corrigan & Trainer, 2011). The literature has a focus on adult education (Lems, 2001; Lems, 2005) and early childhood education (Slater et al., 2014; Moreno et al. 2011). Limited literature was discovered using high school ELLs and Newcomer adolescents.

Incorporating formal music training into Newcomer students' coursework not only facilitates the development and use of language skills but also enhances the development of creative and critical thinking. Participation in music education elevates students' ability to communicate. Lems (2005) and Santiago (2012) explore meaning-making personal connections through musical text, and the native language can assist in language development in adults while providing examples of incorporating music into language learning activities (Lems, 2001; Lems, 2005).

Elementary music is at the forefront of the literature on musical training and reading development. Slater et al. (2014) assessed reading outcomes of bilingual low socioeconomic children from Los Angeles, California, utilizing a random-assignment longitudinal study. The results established that there was a significant effect of music training on reading development in English over the one-year study. Children who received one year of music instruction maintained their age-normed reading levels, whereas a matched control group showed a decline in their performance (Slater et al., 2014, pg.7). The author determined that low socioeconomic communities face challenges that music programs cannot directly impact, however by engaging in cognitive, phonetic and auditory exercises found within a music program can enhance their communication skills and offset some of the negative implications found within this community.

The study is important because 24% of the population within a community that lies on the U.S Mexico border lies below the poverty line and this is almost double of the poverty-stricken population in the United States. The impact that music education can have on Newcomer ELLs ability to communicate lies in the hands of the educational system.

Moreno et al. (2011) investigated the effect of music training on the literacy development of four and five-year-old monolingual children. The results showed significant improvement in

rhyme awareness and “the ability to map unfamiliar symbols to known words” (Moreno et al., 2011 pg.170). The author states, “our interpretation is that when pre-literate children were trained on a note-to-sound mapping in music, they gained experience with the use of symbolic representation” (Moreno et al., 2011, p. 170).

Standley (2008) composed a meta-analysis of thirty studies that focused on music as an intervention for the development of reading skills. “The purpose of the study was to conduct a meta-analysis on experimental research assessing the effect of music activities on reading skills, specifically those measuring visual decoding ability, and to identify research-based implications for designing No Child Left Behind instructional programs facilitated by music” (Standley 2008, p. 20). The author searched for articles from the *Journal of Music Therapy*, *Music Therapy Perspectives*, *Journal of Research in Music Education*, Dissertation Abstracts, ERIC, Psychinfo, and FirstSearch. The results from the studies showed a “modest but significant overall effect size of $d=.32$ ” (p. 27). Also, the studies presented results that show a more significant effect of music intervention occurring in early childhood. The meta-analysis confirmed the abundance of literature on Early Childhood and elementary school-aged children. The lack of literature on ELLs and Newcomer adolescents is apparent therefore propelling my research to incorporate the under-researched population.

Memory development through music and language learning. Fonseca-Mora, Jara-Jimenez, and Gómez-Dominguez (2015) explore the effect musical training has on the working memory. This study is different from those performed measuring neurological waves (Wong et al., 2007; Tierney, Krizman, Skoe, Johnson, & Kraus, 2013) because the measurement was taken using questionnaires and a phonological training program. Findings show that students who

engaged in musical activities have a higher level of working memory and concurrently reading skills improved.

Neuroscientists Tierney and Kraus (2013) explore and review the five sub-skills required for reading acquisition. The authors identify and describe phonological awareness, speech-in-noise perception, auditory working memory and the ability to learn sound patterns. Tierney & Kraus (2013) presents a longitudinal study as evidence linking musical training as a method to enhance language abilities, "music training can provide an effective developmental, educational strategy for all children" (p. 224). The authors conclude by correlating music education as a method for giving individuals the "auditory-motor and cognitive skills they need to learn to read and succeed, both in school and later in life" (p. 228).

The authors discuss how reading acquisition and music "share a reliance on auditory neural synchrony" (p. 209). The authors correlate music education as a method for giving individuals the "auditory-motor and cognitive skills they need to learn to read and succeed, both in school and later in life" (p. 228). The mechanisms used to enhance memory are supported by incorporating music into language development (Tierney, Krizman, Skoe, Johnson & Kraus 2013; McMullan & Saffran, 2004). Categories such as memory development, phonological awareness, and cognitive development can be correlated between language and music are presented with literature support (Anvari, Trainor, Woodsde & Levy, 2002; Barwick, Valentine, West & Wilding, 1989; Bhide et al., 2013; Cogo-Moreira et al., 2013; Corrigan & Trainor, 2011; Douglas & Willatts, 1994; Francois & Schon, 2011). Research has shown that music can assist in memory and concentration. The concentration required for learning music can be applied to many other curriculum subjects including language learning.

Auditory training. Auditory⁸ training occurs in music and language instruction. Developing the skills required to practice and perform music require discipline and concentration (Chan et al., 1988; Chandrasekaren, 2010; Kraus. & Chandrasekaren, 2010; Jordan-DeCarbo, 1977; Shook, 2013; Tierney et al., 2013). In addition, the ability to audiate and understand pitch relevance in music requires auditory training. According to the literature, speech and language development can be improved through auditory training.

The literature compares the speaking and singing voice by speech level, common speech faults, pitch faults, quantity of sounds speech patterns, and speech and singing rates (Chandrasekaren et al., 2009; Forgeard, Winner, Norton & Schlaug, 2008; Magne, Schon & Bessen, 2006; Fujioka, Trainor, Ross, Kaligi & Pantev, 2005; Schon et al., 2004a; Schon et al., 2004b; Tallal & Gaab, 2006; Wong et al., 2007). McKinney (1994) also discusses the connection between phonation, breathing, and support, vocal registers, voice classification, articulation, and resonance. Developing the singing voice can affect the speaking voice and improve the nature of the sound and clarification of tone and timbre. Many factors can damage the voice ultimately affecting speech and the ability to communicate. McKinney (1982) identifies the "four common faults related to pitch: (1) speaking at too high a pitch level, (2) speaking at too low a pitch level, (3) speaking in too restricted a range, and (4) speaking in stereotyped pitch patterns" (p. 173). Developing the quality of speech can improve expressiveness and the ability to communicate. The production of sound through voiced and voiceless consonants and vowels affects the ability to communicate and express emotion. The literature supports using the auditory components of music to assist with language development in both the first and second language substantiating the work of Hansen & Bernsorf (2002) and Wong (2007).

⁸ Audiation is the ability to hear pitch relation inside your head without producing sound.

While the physical production of music and speech require the development of sound, the brain plays a role in the auditory process of music and language. Tierney et al. (2013) recorded auditory brainstem responses and determined the effect school-based music training has on the ability to synthesize speech presented in background noise. Research shows how the study of music can increase the ability to concentrate and focus attention (Wong et al., 2007; Tierney et al., 2013; Stegemöller et al., 2008).

The literature supporting auditory training and vocal development is important for my research. The literature shows that students from low socioeconomic communities can also benefit from music education providing proof that these programs should be implemented and become a part of the standard curriculum. The ability to concentrate is enhanced through music instruction, a characteristic that can be utilized in all academic settings (Wong, 2007; Tierney et al., 2013).

The literature examines different theories and educational approaches that combine music with language learning (Jordan-DeCarbo, 1997). The research connects theories and approaches by exploring the theories hypothesized by psychologists (Pestalozzi, Mursell, Brunner, Piaget, and Gagne) and master educators (Curwen, Jaques-Dalcroze, Suzuki, Kodaly, Orff). The research focuses on theories hypothesized by Robert Gagne "who traced the historical development of learning and merged two major gaps, the associationists and the cognitivists" (Jordan-DeCarbo, 1997 p. 35).

Jordan-DeCarbo (1997) conveys, "both language development and musical development deal with aural stimuli" (p. 35). Jordan-DeCarbo results find that the five basic stages of language development are connected to the process of learning music: listening, rote imitation, meaning and sentence structure, reading, and writing.

The physiological aspects of language acquisition can be augmented by participation in formal courses that include choral music and vocal training techniques. Offering students alternative methods for language learning can support their self-efficacy and confidence levels (Costa-Giomi, 2004) especially upon entering the American school system. Providing opportunities to develop cognitive language is especially necessary for newcomer students because they are not afforded the appropriate five to seven years that research has determined necessary for cognitive academic language.

Many researchers have made a neurological connection between the aspects of language learning and music education. The ability to decode language can be assisted when musical techniques such as singing or playing a musical phrase occur. The literature on cognitive development through music had an identified focus population of preschool children/ elementary children and adult education, yet lacking in an adolescent and newcomer population. There is room for further research utilizing adolescent and newcomer students. Next, I will explore the literature in the field of music education and literacy.

Literature on Music to enhance literacy and social language practice

I begin this section reviewing the literature on how music is used to enhance literacy. Next, I reviewed the literature on the music and the sociocultural aspects of language learning and the development of social language (Duncum, 2004; Jewitt, 2008; Leah, 2015; Seeman, 2008; Shaw, 2012; Wang, 2013). Music was a prominent pedagogical tool utilized in the ELL classroom. Early childhood education used singing, chanting and rhyming as ways to develop social language within a controlled classroom environment. I begin by reviewing the literature on music as a tool for literacy enhancement.

Music as a classroom tool for literacy enhancement. The use of language-enhancing activities performed through music in the classroom is a tool that is present throughout the literature. Incorporating music into second language learning has been shown to improve literacy (Legg, 2009; Moore, 2013). While the literature has primarily focused on the development of speech, music has increased the phonetic pronunciation skills (Lowe, 1998; Seeman, 2008). Introducing songs, rhythms, and chants in a casual singing environment are used to develop content knowledge and language skills. Songs are used to tell stories and comprehension of language use is internalized. The bodies of literature that explore using music as a tool for literacy development include education, music education, language learning, and early childhood education.

Early childhood education using music to enhance literacy. Literature focusing on early childhood education discusses the use of songs, chants and rhythmic activity to enhance literacy for young children. Music as a tool for literacy improvement is also incorporated into second language learning. Primary and secondary vocabulary is found to be developed through musical activities in a second language classroom (Lems, 2005; Legg, 2009; Paquette & Reig, 2008). Language skills including colors, months of the year, days of the week and compound words are enhanced through song and incorporated into daily classroom activities. Legg (2009) found that English students learned French by dividing sixty-two students into music and non-music groups to discover whether music can be a successful tool for second language learning. Paquette & Reig (2008) and Shunk (1999) found that music supports literacy development for ELLs; both studies focused on Early Childhood Education. Paquette also refers to Gardner's Theory of Intelligence and how he noted that "musical intelligence is the first intelligence to emerge in young learners," (Paquette, 2008). Paquette describes how young children are first introduced to concepts through

songs, rhythms, and chants. "When songs, chants, and rhymes are utilized, concepts about print become more meaningful, and conversations of print are learned in context," (Paquette, 2008).

The literature that focuses on Early Childhood and elementary years is the foundation for the effect that music can have on literacy development; however, Newcomers are typically adolescents who attend high school. The literacy tools that second language learners have access to in the elementary vary from those in high school because, in the State of Texas, every teacher is required to teach ELLs. It then becomes the responsibility of the teacher to incorporate successful tools for teaching content in their classroom. As the literature has shown the benefit of incorporating music into the Early Childhood and elementary classrooms, Newcomers would benefit from incorporating music into the learning of content, language, and literacy.

Secondary education using music to enhance literacy. Adolescents are in between child and adult learners. Given the scarcity of research on adolescents in this regard, it made sense to explore and include work in the aspect of language learning and music done with an adult population. Music has been used as a tool using child participants as well as adult participants (Legg, 2009; Lems, 2005; Li, 2009; Speh & Ahranjian, 2009). These studies found language connecting activities promote listening comprehension, oral pronunciation, writing activities, reading comprehension, and vocabulary building (Lems, 2005). Reading in the native language then translating to the second language is a common practice; however, results show that this practice is enhanced when adding a musical component (Legg, 2009; Li, 2009). Lems (1996) offers criteria for selecting songs to utilize in the ELL classroom based on the activities occurring during the lesson.

The aesthetic qualities found within music are utilized through language to express the emotion identified in the music. Newcomers' ability to connect with music on an aesthetic level can bridge the gap between emotion and the ability to describe feelings through words and phrases.

Music education and the enhancement of literacy through music. Literature in the field of music education promotes the use of music to improve literacy and language development. Choral music uses the Kodaly method for singing. Utilizing the Kodaly method for sight singing is a tool commonly used in the language classroom to assist in improving language learning (Hurwitz, Wolff, Bortnick & Kokas, 1975; Kelly, 1981; Wood, 1990). Incorporating pitch notation, rhythmic notation, clapping and tapping activities are shown to have a greater effect on language development than incorporating solely reading activities (Kelly, 1981; Wood, 1990). An alternate pedagogical approach in music is the Orff Schulwerk Method, created by Carl Orff. This method is an approach for learning music based on rhythm, movement, singing, improvisation, and playing. Mizener (2008) explored the Orff Schulwerk Method in the language classroom of young children. The results showed that by incorporating rhythmic musical activities in the classroom in addition to singing, helped the students develop language skills.

Music is also used as a tool to enhance literacy development and thinking skills (Elpus & Abril, 2011; Salmon, 2010; Wang, 2013). Music can stimulate curiosity and creativity by creating storylines in the minds of the learners. Music is interpreted by the individual and can be associated with moods, feelings, and memories (Salmon, 2010). “Through an examination for the music participation of the Chinese young girl, the study reveals what language skills are fostered, and in what ways these language skills are developed,” (Wang, 2013). Wang (2013) found that the child was able to hear the music and decipher emotional meaning from the melody of the music, which helped her decode the meaning of the lyrics.

The emphasis in the literature has been on primary language development. While this research is relevant to my focus of study, the population and method of musical instruction differ in that the focus of my research included a population of adolescent Newcomer ELLs participating in a focused choral music education curriculum. Next, I review the literature that focuses on music and language as a social practice.

Music and language as a social practice. Music provides both academic and social benefits to language learning. The motivational component that music provides can be substantial for ELLs. The research shows that ELLs participation in music ensembles is low; however, the literature shows that music is used to motivate and enhance learning in the community, the classroom and the home (Kotarba, Fackler and Nowotny, 2009; Carlow, 2006; MacIntyre, Potter and Burns, 2012; Leah 2015; Ortiz, 2004).

Music is a social practice and promotes language socialization through interaction. Interaction within the community is constructed by the social practices within that community. Music is transformed into games that are challenging yet entertaining, and participants expand their cognitive and phonological awareness as well as increasing their social skills, confidence, and self-esteem (Leah, 2015). Music has an effect on learning that enhances motivation to learn. Leah (2015) reflects on the impact that music has on the motivation to learn and stresses the importance of incorporating music as a social practice in the community, school, and home environment.

ELLs and music in the community. The characteristics of a community play a role in the learning environment for Newcomer ELLs. Cultural components of a particular community shape the ideology of adolescents. The social environment where learning can occur modulates depending on the surroundings. The literature shows how culture is studied through ethnographic

methods (Kotarba, Fackler and Nowotny, 2009). This ethnographic study explores Latino migration, spirituality, and culture experienced through Latino music that is "produced, performed, experienced, and celebrated in Houston, Texas: rock en Español, gay Latino dance music, and professional soccer supporters' music" (p. 310). Kotarba, Fackler, and Nowotny (2009) identify "Irwin's (1997) concept of scene as a useful framework for analyzing emerging cultural phenomena like Latino music. The scene is an inclusive concept that involves everyone related to a cultural phenomenon (e.g., districts, clubs, recording studios, and rehearsal rooms); and the products of this integration (e.g., advertisements, concerts, recordings, and critical reviews)" (p. 311). Understanding the scene is similar to understanding the setting or environment where the cultural occurrences and actions are taking place. The scene could include the cafeteria, the library, or band room. In the case of my research, the scene would be the chorus room. Within each scene, participants are drawn to participate for whatever particular reason. The reason behind the gravitation to the scene is the important factor to consider and can be addressed in further research.

ELLs and music in the school. Music is a social practice and therefore requires socialization within the discipline. There is only one study that looks at these issues of belonging and forming a positive academic and social ideology in English through chorus participation. Carlow (2006) performed an ethnographic case study that explored the tensions perceived between American high school choral programs and ELLs experiences with their choral music programs. Carlow (2006) verifies the importance of understanding the experiences of ELL students because they are transitioning to a new culture. Carlow found that her Russian adolescent participant (Irina) had an extremely difficult time acclimating to the discourse of the American chorus. The choral teacher failed to choose repertoire that would culturally or socially connect with Irina. The disconnection caused her to feel rejected and ultimately formulating a dislike for chorus. Carlow suggests music

educators utilizing multiple forms of assessment to provide ELL student's opportunities to engage in alternate conversations and verbal exchanges allowing them to feel "valued and welcome" (p. 75). Validating students' previous musical, educational and cultural backgrounds allows an ELL student to form a positive academic and social ideology. The participant in the study feels such a disconnection to the social setting of the chorus that her attitude towards the chorus is affected. This solidifies the importance of developing and maintaining a positive social environment for learning both language and music. Newcomer ELLs enter into an environment that is new and different. Enrolling in a choral music course includes entering into a social environment where the participants include the teacher and other chorus members. Creating an environment that embraces motivation and decreases anxiety assist in bridging social and cultural distinctions.

ELLs and music in the home. We are surrounded by music everywhere; in the home, school, religion, and special occasions. ELLs can also gain literacy understanding through the cultural heritage stemming from music (Ortiz, 2004). Ortiz (2004) explains "most of the first songs and chants I heard were in our native Dzehni of Acoma because that was what my mother and father and my grandparents mainly spoke" (p. 40). Children's first exposure to music originates within the family culture, many times in the mother's womb. When a mother or father sing or listen to music while pregnant, the fetus also inherits the aesthetic qualities that come with music. When children are young, the family culture provides children with their exposure to music. Cultural songs, prayers, and chants begin with the family first. When students can adapt meaning from the domestic experiences they can make connections with the concepts they are learning. Students learn from their own experiences as well as from others. In music class, it is important that we discuss the different cultures and music that we perform. "We coded music the dominant popular cultural fund of knowledge and discourse in the everyday lives of these youth, particularly because

music is tied to other subcategories, such as magazines and television, film, and news media. Music served as an activity, an identifier, a source of conversation, and as a dominant source of literacy practice” (Moje, 2004, p.61). Cultural background is a factor that is created and developed in the home and social environment. The acknowledgment of different cultural perspectives can occur through multicultural music including pop, jazz, classical, gospel and other styles. The cultural connection allows students and musicians to understand and connect with the music they are learning.

Having a motivating factor that gravitates students to a particular scene or classroom is an inviting factor that can allow Newcomer's to feel comfortable. If a student who is new to a particular community finds a classroom that is accepting that they are more likely to stay and participate (MacIntyre et al., 2012). Using music as a motivational tool in the classroom provides an aesthetically pleasing quality to the classroom lesson and provide a socially accepting milieu.

Students can make personal and cultural connections to their own lives by exploring musical text and phrasing (Medina, 2002). Medina (2002) further explains that strengthening social language can have a positive effect on cognitive and phonological aspects in second language learning. Choral music allows students to channel their inner emotions and connect with the other participants in a highly emotional domain (Juslin & Laukka, 2003). Merchant (2002) explains that newcomers are at risk because of the "critical juncture in their educational careers" (p. 274). Developing social language within a network of peers is a significant factor in newcomer students' ability to be successful in school (Lasso & Soto, 2005). Music, specifically choral music, is a social practice that incorporates language socialization through rehearsal and classroom activities.

Hymes (1972) states that competence is based on inferred knowledge and the ability to communicate based on the individuals' ability to determine the context of conceptual and

grammatical appropriateness in a given community context. Bagaric (2007) states that “a competent language user should possess not only knowledge about language but also the ability and skill to activate that knowledge in a communicative event” (p. 7). Developing social language can assist ELLs’ ability for communicative competence (Cummins, 1984).

Facilitating a newcomer's use of social language through music can provide these students with a pathway for academic success (Tarrant, North, & Hargreaves, 2002). By engaging in context regarding one's cultural heritage, newcomers become engaged because they are exploring identifiable content while increasing their language knowledge. Using this type of social language provides newcomer students with a context that is deeply rooted within. Identifying with other students because of cultural ties can have a powerful impact on developing communicative competence and social language. Understanding how the development of social language impacts communicative competence is key for my research.

Prosody in language and music. Music is a medium for enhanced communication, utilizing pitch, volume, tone, rhythm, syllabic stress and phrase suspension; concepts ultimately found in primary and secondary language development (Balkwill & Thompson, 1999; Chandrasekaren, Krishan & Grandour, 2009; Escoffier, Sheng & Schirmer, 2010; Moritz, Yampolsky, Papadelis, Thompson, Schellengerg, & Husain, 2004). Prosody may be effective in assisting first language development; a review of the literature demonstrates the need for further research on the specific topic of vocal music education as a tool for cognitive, phonological, social and academic second language development.

While literature is abundant with the focus on phonological development and reading and academic achievement through music, Douglas & Willatts, (1994) provide a broader perspective by examining the relationship between literacy skills and musical ability. The rhythmic ability

and reading comprehension of seven and eight-year-old students where it was determined that by using rhythmic components to assist students with reading difficulties was a successful pedagogy. Douglas & Willatts (1994) determined that the ability to produce and replicate rhythmic structures allows the student to decode the rhythmic structure found in language and therefore improved literacy skills. Incorporating rhythmic components such as musical notation would allow newcomer ELLs to structurally decode text within the English language.

Active engagement in musical activities affects literacy and language skills in a similar developmental approach demonstrated by Brand, Gebrian & Slevc (2012), Coban (2011), and Mizener (2008) and Speh & Ahramjian (2009). The synchronicities between music and foreign language learning involve motor skills movement and muscle memory. The focus on communication as the main connector between music and language skills has been determined through studies focusing on music-language activities (Bernstorff, 2013; Fronseca-Mora, Toscano-Fuentes, & Wermke, 2011; Speh & Ahramjian, 2009). Activity and engagement through interaction is key to language acquisition (Fronseca-Mora, Toscano-Fuentes, & Wermke, 2011) that is enhanced through the practice, preparation and performance of musical concepts such as melody, rhythm and sound reception (McMullen & Saffran, 2004; Hansen & Bernstorff, 2002).

The literature shows a focus on a population of early childhood students and instrumental music classrooms. Quantitative studies are limited because they emphasize students' abilities to perform and identify musical tasks; however, they are unable to connect the impact of language learning through the eyes of the participant. The quantitative studies provide numerical results whereas qualitative research would impact and represent the personal feelings towards socialization through language development and musical practice and performance.

Music education, literacy, and social practice in sum. There is an abundance of literature that outlines the advantages that instrumental music training has on language development and the promotion of literacy. Many school districts in the southwest region of Texas fail to provide their students with the opportunity for music education because of monetary limitations in the budget and accountability standards. In Texas, school districts are required to meet or exceed accountability standards, or they face the consequences and repercussions through AYP. According to the United States Census (2014), the far west region of Texas has a population of 23.4% falling beneath the poverty line. This statistic is contrasted with 17.2% of the whole State of Texas and 14.8% within the entire United States. This economically disadvantaged population in far west Texas not only struggles to compete with the rest of the State of Texas but the population of students who are English language learners is significantly higher than the rest of the State. All students including ELLs are expected to pass high stakes tests such as the State of Texas Assessments of Academic Readiness (STAAR) and End of Course (EOC) examinations even though language challenges are experienced. School districts, principals and teachers experience these challenges and deny fine arts and music courses and replace the students' schedule with multiple academic core and remedial courses. Newcomer students face the challenge of the academic curriculum in English and could benefit from choral music, however, while there is an abundance of literature that has been published on instrumental music and music utilized in the ELL classroom, there is no existing literature focusing on choral music and Newcomer students.

Enhancing literacy through music can develop social language skills by combining the sociocultural aspect found within music into the curriculum. Allowing students to channel their cultural heritage and explore the bond between language and culture provide a channel for

communication and language development. After reviewing the literature on music to enhance literacy and social practices, Next, I focus on literature that explored music and identity.

Literature on identity in music. The nature of my research questions directs me to explore the literature on music and identity. Using a lens of activity theory and actor-network theory, it is important to explore literature on social semiotics, multimodality, and multiliteracy in music because of mediation and actants involvement in the subject-object relationship between NELs and music. I conclude with a section on identity in music education with a focus on a study by Carlow (2004), the only other study of NELs in which I am aware about, in high school chorus. I begin by reviewing the literature on social semiotics.

Social Semiotics. McLuhan (1967) argues that media is an extension of our human senses that in themselves define every aspect of our existence. In the early 1950s and 1960s media included early technologies such as telephone, television, and radio that had significant effects on the social and political molding of the individual and society. Today, media is more sophisticated, especially considering social media with global communication, which is instantaneous. Music impacts all of the senses including the various sounds and messages that impact the senses and affect our social interaction and redefine our global community. In this regard, music is physical and emotional and provides a vision of the world that would not be possible without this composite media (Duncum, 2004; Persellin, 1992; Salmon, 2010; Miche, 2012). I explore the literature on social semiotics, which includes a focus on multimodality to enhance the learning process.

Multimodality, Multiliteracy, and Music

Kress (2009) introduces the theory of "Social Semiotics" as a form of multimodality. Semiotics provides a basis for multimodality because symbols represent a wealth of meaning that

can have a profound effect on the reader or student. Communication and self-expression through different modes are precedents within the socially and culturally produced meanings common to members within the community or society. Multimodality refers to the meaning-making process through integration of a variety of levels or modes including science, technology, culture, and the arts. Modes are complex and intertwined. "Multimodal communication is comprised of modes, forms within various sign systems that carry the meaning that a social collective recognizes and understands," (Albers & Harste, 2007). The literature discusses the importance of multimodality and multiliteracy within language learning and the development of a second language (Duncum, 2004; Choo, 2010). Multimodality is necessary to convey meaning in music and art education. The multimodal aspects incorporated into music and arts education are tools that can increase educational development. The role of a musical performer is to paint a vivid picture that embodies the meaning of the art form. The sense of smell and touch when combined with visual and auditory senses are enhanced.

Aesthetics are widely used in multimodality education because this is the component that impacts our senses, such as smelling, touching, listening, seeing and hearing and are affected by the components within music and art. The way we view music and art is based on the qualities of these senses possessed within these multimodal forms. These qualities can be any range of feelings or emotions that are stirred by our senses. The beauty that contextualizes an object is the basis for aesthetics. Albers & Harste (2007) found that "engagement with the arts can offer aesthetic experiences that are not only pleasing but can transform the very way we encounter our world," (Albers & Harste, 2007). Utilizing multiliteracy components allow newcomer adolescents to interpret the language deeper than a linear level. Multimodality develops expression and provides meaning-making opportunities, which assist in second language learning.

Semiotics for Meaning-Making in Music and Language

Music education literature outlines the role of semiotics in elementary, instrumental and choral music. Semiotics are commonly found in musical repertoire. Semiotics is the use of symbols and signs to communicate meaning. Symbols are used within all aspects of education. Metaphors for making meaning, semiotics are a valuable part of multimodal education.

The kinesthetic movement involves the incorporation of body movements that are applied to different aspects of education. Memory responds to kinesthetic movement (Bernstorff, 2013). Zoltan Kodaly (1882-1967) created a method known as the *Kodaly method*, which is used to convey the meaning of rhythmic symbols, movement, rhythmic sequence, musical notation, moveable-do, solfege, melodic sequence, and the pentatonic scale. The use of hand signs provides physical and visual movements that are especially significant because they allow children to experience height and depth regarding pitch relativity (Bernstorff, 2013; Barnes-Burroughs, Brown, & LoVetri, 2005). The Kodaly method is used for teaching music that embodies kinesthetic as its core. Physical activity creates a mind/body connection allowing for a multimodal experience. Kinesthetic movement within the Kodaly method can be useful for teaching Newcomer ELLs because the mind-body connection allows the students to feel movement within the music physically. The music is connected to the lyrical text, therefore, allowing the Newcomer ELL to form connections between the music and language within the choral song.

Commonly used in the elementary music classroom and the choral music classroom, the Kodaly method for sight singing offers semiotic activity which requires the students to experience visual and physical movements allowing them to relate pitch and interval differentiation that assists in the development of musical notation (Bernstorff, 2013). Dynamics, tempo, tone, melodic outline, harmonic chord progressions are concepts that help form meaning within the music. Students learn

these concepts and understand them completely so they can convey emotion (Blood & Zatorre, 2001; Dyndahl, 2008; Paquette & Rieg, 2008). These concepts allow the students to grow academically and acquire knowledge on how to interpret and understand music and art (Juslin, & Laukka, 2003; Trinick, 2012; Falthin, 2014). Emotion is developed through the multimodal process in music and aesthetics are enhanced when feelings are activated and produced (Slobada, 1991). Dyndhal (2008) refers to musical symbols as a representation of meaning; however, it is the responsibility of the musician to convey the meaning, which can ultimately be interpreted differently by different musicians. Persellin (1992), Pramling and Wallerstedt (2009) and Selfe (2010) research multimodality in the classroom through the inclusion of speech and sound. Persellin (1992) found kinesthetic as a means of improving memory. Rhythm recall increased when the participants matured in reading ability. Participants were taught using visual aids, auditory artifacts and kinesthetic approaches including the Kodaly method for sight singing. Pramling and Wallerstedt (2009) use multimodal activities found communication challenges that occur when listening to instrumental music. The challenges occurred when participants were asked to describe the sounds of a trumpet or violin. The study is similar to Heller and Athanasulis (2002) where the participants communicated through movement, the expressive qualities found in music.

Semiotics and multimodality are widely used in language and music classrooms. Multimodality provides musicians with a way to break down their musical repertoire and allow them to understand why and how the music represents meaning and emotion (Duncum, 2004; Paquette & Rieg, 2008). Multimodality is utilized to understand and interpret meaning. Paquette and Rieg (2008) found "when songs, chants, and rhymes are utilized, concepts about print become more meaningful and conversations of print are learned in context" (p. 230). Musical notation,

dynamic contrast, construction of sound through phonation and musical syntax are produced in the choral music classroom and used to manufacture multimodal music to assist in the second language learning of newcomer adolescents. While Paquette & Rieg (2008) used songs, chants and rhymes like Pramling and Wallerstedt (2009) and Selfe (2010), learning through kinesthetic movement like Persellin (1992) could enhance the learning even further.

Educational scholars discuss how symbolic representation assists in language learning. Symbolic representation is used in the form of objects or through an activity (Falthin, 2014). Kress (2009) found that interdisciplinary content areas have semiotics that explains meaning through sound and symbols. Signs and symbols offer a method of communication with the idea of a common understanding. Selfe (2010) found that music can be incorporated in the ELL classroom by composing songs and podcasts. The students use multimodal forms of expression to communicate by combining music and literacy. Choo (2010) explores how images, symbols, and signs function as a method for creating meaning within music. Choo (2010) found that by incorporating the visual and creative component into writing, strategies can assist in the language development for high school ELLs. Images are surpassing the written word as a transporter for developing meaning. Selfe (2010) and Choo (2010) are similar in their use of music to assist in a multimodal perspective for developing writing compositions; however, Selfe (2010) recognizes that incorporating such technology in the classroom requires the availability of equipment and teacher preparation to deliver a successful product. According to the United States Census (2014), the population in far west Texas has a high population of low socioeconomic families. Incorporating such multimodal technologies could allow second language development in adolescent newcomers, however, school districts in the southwest region of Texas struggle for

funding and with a large population of low socioeconomic communities, which poses an educational challenge.

Literacy scholars suggest that through the multimodal use of semiotics, primary and secondary language learning is enhanced. Literacy among content area is specific and must be taught and content comprehended by the students (Wilson, 2011). The layering or integration of modern technologies synthesizes social concepts and provides multimodal concepts that are learned through music education. Literature with a population of elementary students shows that students can be taught and guided to develop multimodal communication skills (Jewitt, 2008). A multimodal education embraces the theory of multiple intelligence and must be approached through physical, social, emotional and cognitive approaches (Scott, 2004; Jewitt, 2008; Salmon, 2010).

The literature that focuses on multimodal communication in the classroom is extremely relevant to my research because the focus of my research begins with ELLs incorporating music into their educational trajectory. The choral music classroom utilizes the Kodaly method for sight singing, and therefore kinesthetic and physical body movements are incorporated into daily lessons. Dynamics, melodic and rhythmic structure outline the lyrics found in choral music; therefore, in order to fully understand the text within choral music repertoire, the student must understand how the music supports the text. The literature on multimodality and semiotics found in music create a space for my research on ELLs social and academic language development through choral music education.

Identity in Choral Music Education

Literature discovered on identity in music education is focused on culture (Jung, 2011; Kruse, 1993; Shaw, 2012; Sutton, 2011; Waterman, 1998) and gender (Abramo, 2011; Freer, 2012;

McCarthy, 1999). The field of ethnomusicology studies culture and sociocultural aspects found in music. The focus on cultural differences and the effect social culture plays in the field of music education is at the forefront of the research found in ethnomusicology.

Literature is abundant in the field of ethnomusicology; however; there remains a gap in literature focusing on the identity of ELLs within the figured world of the high school chorus. Abril and Flowers (2007) studied a group of monolingual and bilingual sixth-grade students to explore the linguistic preference for the music in which they listen to. Students were given a variety of music to listen to and were required to respond to the version they preferred: English, Spanish or instrumental. Quantitative and Qualitative analysis determined there was no significant difference in preference; however, their ability to pay attention to music that was not in their native language was significantly lower. The students identified and were able to pay attention and did not become distracted when listening to music in their native language. The research by Abril and Flowers (2007) is important because it speaks to the environment of the classroom and the importance placed upon repertoire selection by the teacher. It is important to select a wide variety of choral repertoire in multiple languages to provide all students with the opportunity to explore different linguistic experiences.

In the formal education environment, the choral music classroom is different from the regular core classroom in many ways. There is evidence to support the observations that the choral classroom itself from a basic structural standpoint allows students to feel and act differently according to the position of educational equipment in the room (Stokes, 1994; Hudak, 1999). There are choral risers instead of desks; there is a piano at the front of the room instead of a teacher desk; there are music stands instead of chairs; the teacher is a conductor or director in addition to being titled a teacher. However, the environmental makeup of the classroom is not the only difference

in a choral classroom. Depending on the type of chorus rehearsing at any given time, gender makeup can also vary. A treble chorus consists of female singers performing two or three part treble compositions; a tenor-bass chorus consists of male singers performing two or three part bass and/or octave treble music, or and a mixed chorus consists of a combination of singers performing with four-part music ranging from treble clef to bass clef. The makeup of the classroom environment and members of the choral community varies in the choral environment; therefore, student identity can be affected within this structured space.

The structure of a choral classroom plays a role in agency, especially when dealing with gender. Palkki (2016) examined the experiences of transgender students enrolled in high school chorus. This ethnographic inquiry provided an avenue for the experiences regarding gender identity within the context of vocally produced music as described by three teenage transgender students. Importance was placed on hearing the voice of the participants and interpreting their stories through narrative inquiry. The study insisted that these stories were specific to the participants based on their personal history and experiences and do not generalize the entire population of transgender students. Each participant's story was different and described parental, peer, teacher and administrator support attitudes. Recommendations were made by each transgender student in order to improve choral music education. The study initiated an important dialogue regarding gender and identity issues within the choral classroom. The study was monumental in the field of transgender students in high school chorus, developing a dialogue about transgender issues in choral classrooms can significantly affect the identity and development of transgender students.

Learning is a social activity, and the incorporation of music within the education environment helps to invoke the creation of social identity. The choral environment facilitates the

creation of a musical identity (Hargreaves, Miell & MacDonald, 2002), which begins with the development and identification of a vocal range for each student. Rehearsing and performing choral music requires students to identify themselves within a vocal range initially. Their vocal range determines their positionality within the chorus. If their vocal range permits them to sing very high, they are placed as a soprano or tenor; likewise, if they sing very low, they are placed as an alto or a bass section. Confidence and comfort also play a significant role in students' positionality within the classroom environment. If students are uncomfortable singing high, they are more likely to choose to participate as an alto or a bass within the group. Determining their "voice" within the chorus also determines their structural position on the choral risers. The choral director determines where each section sits on the risers. Within those sections, the students choose their spot next to their counterparts on the risers. Placement within the sections and rows of the risers may differ based on identity factors and beliefs about their musical ability or confidence within the choral environment.

NELs identity is explored by Carlow (2004) in a phenomenological ethnographic case study focusing on the musical experiences of immigrant students enrolled in an American high school chorus. This researcher sought to narrate stories of students who were enrolled in English for Speakers of Other Languages (ESOL) class concurrently, in beginning high school chorus. Data collection included semi-structured and in-depth student and teacher interviews, choral and ESOL classroom observations, focus groups and journal entries. The main finding was that each participant experienced and viewed the American high school choral classroom differently based on their previous musical experiences and personal history. The stories for each participant were described through narrative inquiry and included a biographical sketch, previous musical experience, and perceptions of the chorus. Acculturation into an American choral classroom was

different for each participant, and the narrative describes the positive and/or negative experiences felt by peers or the choral director. These newcomer students came from multiple language backgrounds and different parts of the world. While the teacher utilized contextual knowledge to aid in instruction and developing musical technique, classroom norms varied based on native musical experiences. The participants were able to reflect on their acculturation process through the duration of the study allowing them to understand how their musical experiences were affected. Carlow (2004) outlines a critical aspect of music education, the acculturation of newcomer ESOL students. The study provides a significant body of literature to support the multiple realms of identity and agency of ELLs, specifically in the choral classroom. The study provides contextual knowledge gained by ELLs through choral music education. However, the focus on identity in the choral music classroom is especially relevant to my research. ELLs face acculturation on a daily basis, and the classroom environment can vary based on the educational content area. While Carlow (2004) and Palkki (2016) focused on choral music education, the concept of identity transformation through structure and agency has been used in other research including Lopez (2012) who studied immigrant students' identity and agency within the context of a community college civics course. Carlow's structural attempt in the study to understand how students musical experience in a choral classroom can be transposed into multiple different educational content classrooms.

Identities can affect a student's ability to learn within a specific environment. There is room in the literature for a study that focuses on the identity of newcomer ELLs within the figured world of the high school chorus. While we know that choral music education can assist ELLs in cognitive and phonological development, we also know that choral music education can enhance the sociocultural aspects of language learning. By understanding the identity transformation and

process in which newcomer ELLs think and experience choral music education, we can encourage participation in courses that promote creativity and multimodal communication such as choral music education.

Gaps in the Literature

Many scholars have explored this connections between music and second language learning (Ludke, Ferreira & Overy, 2013). These connections include sentence and phrase structure, phonetic awareness and the production of sound. The limits identified within the literature of the cognitive studies include the age level of the participants and the lack of focus on newcomer ELLs. The majority of the literature focuses on early childhood education; there is a gap in the literature where the focus is adolescent participants who are incorporating music into their educational trajectory for second language learning.

While the majority of literature heavily relates to the field of neurology and psychology, specifically in the cognitive, phonological and aural development of music and language (Anvari, Strait, O'Connell, Thompson & Kraus, 2002; Barwick, Valentine, West & Wilding, 1989; Bhide, Power & Goswami, 2013; Cogo-Moreira, Brandao de Avila, Ploubidis & Mari, 2013; Corrigan & Trainer 2011; Douglas & Willatts, 1994; Dunbar-Hall, 1991; Francois & Schon, 2011; Gromko, 2005; Lamb & Gregory, 1993; McMullen & Saffran, 2004;), I have identified gaps in the literature with respect to the social and academic language development of NELs. NELs are 6th through 12th-grade adolescent teenagers who face challenges of learning a new language, in a new country, with little support, and often leave their immediate family in their native country. These students are required to immediately develop their social and academic language even though research explains that social language development requires two years to develop and cognitive academic

language requires five to seven years. The literature shows us that early childhood education and elementary education provides language support through songs, rhymes, and chants.

The literature fails to explore NELs social and academic relationship between English language use and focused choral music education. We do not know what the potential of focused choral education is for language development in newcomers because only one qualitative studies (Carlow, 2004) studies on NELs in a focused choral class. It is essential to explore this marginalized population because ELLs and newcomers are the fastest growing population of students entering into the American school system (Huo, Dovidio, Jiménez, & Schildkraut, 2018). My research explored the social and academic language development of NELs within the educational environment of focused choral music education.

Summary

Activity theory frames the study because the I explore the mediating factor of the activity of NELs in high school choir. The review of the literature explored existing research in the fields of neuroscience and psychology, music education and language learning, semiotics found in choral music education, and identity in music education. Next, I discuss the methodology used for the ethnographic case study.

CHAPTER 3. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

The following chapter presents the research procedures and methodology used for my study, which focused on newcomer student experiences' in language learning and the development of social belonging during their time in a high school choir. My study is an ethnographic case study and while the two approaches (ethnography and the case study) share data collection methods (observation, interviewing, artifacts), the case study aspect allowed me to explore ideologies and epistemologies while the ethnographic aspect allowed me to understand processes of NELs activity in high school choir.

Research Questions

The overarching question that guided this research was “What role does a focused choral music education play in NELs ability to listen, speak, read and write in the English language?” With this question in mind, I also asked the following sub-questions: “How do NELs get involved in choral music?” and “How do NELs’ identities and sense of social belonging develop within the context of the high school choral classroom?” To answer these questions, I engaged on a study of the NELs in choir at Desert City High School, a school located on the U.S. – Mexico border.

Over the course of the spring semester 2017, I immersed myself in the culture of the high school choir so that I could understand the processes of identity and language development, sense of belonging and experiences of NELs. As an immigrant to the United States myself, I faced challenges adapting to the United States from Canada, even though I did not arrive at the time of high-stakes testing. I am different from the NELs in my study because I am white and I speak English as a first language. Music has been an emotional outlet that has helped to get me through

challenging times in my life. My passion for music education began at an early age and has continued throughout my life.

Ethnographic Case Study

A case study examines a person, place, event, or phenomenon in order to identify and analyze key themes that helped to elucidate key research questions (Merriam, 1998) as outlined above. I focused on the case of NELs in high school choir, with activity as the unit of analysis. Case studies can use qualitative, quantitative, or mixed methods approach, however, I selected an ethnographic approach, because I was interested the processual experiences of NELs in the choral classroom. My case of NELs focused on the phenomenon of the NELs in choir class because it was extremely rare for NELs to be enrolled in choir.

While ethnography and case studies have a lot in common, I chose the ethnographic case study as the central method for my research (Merriam, 1998) because I wanted to understand the processes of activity for NELs in choir. I utilized Merriam's process to design the research study which included the literature review, constructing a theoretical framework, identifying a research program, crafting and sharpening research questions, and by using purposive sampling (Yanzen, 2015) which I discuss later in the chapter. My study is an ethnographic case study because I am interested in exploring the processes of language use and learning, and social belonging. It is essential to understand that my study is not an ethnography because data collection occurred throughout only one semester, and that is too short of a period to become immersed in the context, a component required for ethnography (Creswell, 2003). Also, whereas I did conduct interviews with adult participants outside of the classroom environment, I only conducted observations in the classroom without immersing myself into the daily routine and family culture of the NELs; therefore, my study is not to be considered an ethnography.

The case of NELs in high school choir. Merriam (1998) defines a case as “an intensive, holistic description and analysis of a bounded phenomenon such as a program, an institution, a person, a process, or a social unit” (p. xiii). I focused on the case of the NELs in high school choir. I learned that it was uncommon in some schools for NELs to go into high school choir, and I ended up having to find a choir director who would recruit NELs into their choir.

Components of the case study. Merriam (1998) identifies a case study as a bounded system stating, “the case as a thing, a single entity, a unit around which there are boundaries” (p. 27). The bounded system allows for the phenomenon of NELs in high school choir to be explored as a unit (Hays, 2004). The NEL chorus members, choral director, ESL teacher, administration (principal/assistant principal), counselor, and the choir classroom at DCHS are a part of the bounded system in my case. I selected these boundaries because they comprised the entity that formed the phenomenon of NELs in high school choir. A case study allowed me to understand particular components like ideologies and epistemologies within a specific community (Lichtman, 2013). Each component played a social and cultural role in the development of the conditions and relationships within the case (Merriam, 1998). Other concrete components included the choir room itself, the practice rooms inside the choir room, the choral risers, the piano, the sheet music the singers used daily, the lyric sheets that were created by the students and, finally, the sound system which included microphones and speakers.

Adult participants included the choral director Mrs. Rossi, ESL teacher Mrs. Puentes, one high school counselor, and the principal. I wanted to understand how NELs became enrolled in high school choir; therefore, I was interested in the work of high school counselors. The high school counselors are the people responsible for enrolling NELs into their electives, so I talked to one about scheduling NELs for all courses including their electives. These adults had direct

contact with the NELs and played a role in the NELs' educational trajectory in the American school system, so I included these adult participants as peripheral components of the case of NELs in a high school choir.

Another main component of a case study are the observations (Emerson, Fretz & Shaw, 2011). I sought to collect rich data (Charmaz, 2006) by observing the students within the choral setting which allowed me to understand the experiences and processes of the NELs in the context of focused choral education. As an observer, I recorded the activities of the cultural community of NELs in the high school choir, during my observations, I sat in the front right corner of the choral classroom. As the choir moved around the room, I would move around the room with the primary participants, observing behaviors, interactions, and conversations that were occurring.

On a couple of occasions, the choir director came and talk to me about what was happening in the classroom. She would tell me what she thought about her choir and also about the NEL participants. During the second half of the semester, the choir split into small groups and would go into the practice rooms to rehearse. When this would happen, I would position myself in a spot where I could see into the practice room where the NELs were rehearsing. Sometimes I would go over to the practice room and ask them about what they were rehearsing. I moved around the room according to the positional status of the NELs. The students seemed to become used to seeing me in the class because as the study progressed everyone acted casualmannerly towards my presence. Moving around the room allowed me to gather detailed descriptions (Lichtman, 2013).

An ethnographic case study was the best approach to answer my questions, because my questions were about the processes of social belonging, and language learning and use in the world of this particular case.

Research Procedures

Merriam (1998) states that "the key philosophical assumption upon which all types of qualitative research are based in the view that reality is constructed by individuals interacting with their social worlds" (p.6). Yanzan (2015) agrees to state that "I conceive knowledge as being socially constructed and emerging from peoples' social practices; therefore, I conceptualize that reality as being generated and constructed by people and existing largely within people's minds" (p. 138). Epistemology refers to the ideological approach, which is constructed by the background knowledge of a phenomenon. My epistemology allows me to take a mentalist approach to social reality (Chomsky, 1957). The social practice that occurs in a high school choir provides a context for language learning and identity construction of NELs. Going forward with a mentalist approach allowed me to understand the processes of language learning and identity construction of NELs in high school choir.

Gaining access. When I began seeking a site for my study, I had to look at the big picture. There were a total of 20 high schools within three major school districts located in the southwest Texas city that lay on the U.S.-Mexico border. I have been a choral director in this city for the past 15 years and currently run a choral program at one of the high schools in the city. Over the past 15 years, I have made and maintained social and working relationships with other choral directors around the city. My relationships with the other high school choral directors allowed me to approach them to inquire about all of the high school choral programs and choral directors in the city. In order to gain access to these programs, I communicated with all of my choral director colleagues who taught in the school districts situated on the U.S.-Mexico border. I wanted to gain perspective on my selection criteria; therefore, I initiated a conversation with my colleagues. I

wanted to select a school that was the closest proximity to the border, so I selected high schools that were located within ten miles from the U.S.-Mexico border. I sent out an email to twelve choral directors requesting informal information about the number of NELs enrolled in their choir. Six choral directors responded that they did not have any NELs in their choir while three responded that they had only one student who met the criteria. Two of the choral directors said that they initially had one NEL in their choir at the beginning of the year, but that student was removed and placed into remedial reading courses. Finally, the choral director from DCHS responded that she would speak to the language class in which newcomers were required to be enrolled to recruit. The choir director contacted the ESL teacher in her school and went to visit the class to recruit students to join choir.

With a desire to reach out to the NELs, the choir director went into the ESL class and sang some “Selena” songs⁹ for the choir, and then discussed procedures for enrollment in choir (talk to counselors, schedule change). Four students out of 24 in the ESL class were interested in choir and with the assistance of the choral director and the ESL teacher, they each requested to have their schedules changed to allow for choir in their daily schedule for the spring semester. The counselor discouraged the students from changing their schedules, but ultimately obliged their requests.

Once I had gained access to the choir program, the choral director expressed excitement about the study because this was an opportunity to improve enrollment as well as an opportunity to reach a marginalized community of students who could have an opportunity to engage in a very

⁹ Selena was one of the most influential Mexican-American pop singers of all time. She was coined as the "Queen of Tejano" music and was known for her music, fashion and bringing music to the forefront in mainstream music Billboard charts. The president of her fan club tragically killed Selena; however, she remains relevant because of her contributions to music. She remains one of the most celebrated Mexican-American musicians of all times.

particular social and educational environment. In the next section, I address how I selected the components of the case study, which include the high school, the choir, and choir director and the NELs.

Research Site. The research site was selected based on the proximity of the school to the U.S.-Mexico border because of the possibility of a higher number of NELs attending the school. The closeness to the border meant that there would be students traveling across the border in order to attend school. People that travel across the border for work or school are called transfronterizx. I explain transfronterizx in further detail in chapter four. There is a high percentage of transfronterizx attending US schools because the schools are located close to the border and are easy for daily or weekly border crossing. I included transfronterizx in my study because many of these students are attending U.S. schools for different reasons which I further explore in Chapter Four. Sometimes NELs attend U.S. schools during the week and return to Mexico on the weekend or every other weekend. Other times NELs have moved to the U.S. permanently. It was not until I began talking to the NEL students that I was able to determine whether my NEL participants lived permanently in the United States or were transfronterizx.

Desert City High School. The research site I selected for the study was situated at Desert City High School, a public high school located close to the U.S.-Mexico border. Desert City High School is located in a school district and resides less than 6.7 miles from the U.S.-Mexico border. Desert City High School was composed of predominantly low socioeconomic multicultural students. There were 1,130 students enrolled at Desert City High School at the time data was collected which was from February through June of 2017. The school opened in 1969 and has a currently had a student population that includes 52.07% males and 47.93% females (Texas Education Agency, 2016). Desert City High School had a school population of 98.3% Hispanic

students where 88.9% were economically disadvantaged, and 16.6% were coded as ELs. 45 NELs were attending the DCHS. The makeup of DCHS matters because there are several NELs attending school there and travel to and from school to home each day.

Choral program. The choir had a successful program consistently performing well at contests and concerts around the city (<http://uilforms.com/results.asp>) for the past 11 years. The total enrollment in the choral program for the 2016 fall semester was 75 choristers. The choral program consisted of two choirs; beginning/intermediate choir and advanced choir. Both choruses had a combination of male and female singers using treble and bass voices. What made this case unusual is that of 75 choristers, 4 were NELs, as NELs are usually steered away from choir, which I explore further in chapter five.

The University Interscholastic League (UIL) Concert and Sight-Reading contest (CSRC) is a competition where the choir performs three repertoire selections for a panel of judges, and then sight-reads a piece of music without ever seeing or performing the piece before competition. The panel of judges provides a score (rating) based on the quality of the music that was performed. Judges scores are based on a distinguished level of criteria set by the Texas Music Adjudicators Association (TMAA). The sight-reading component of UIL displays knowledge in musical notation and pitch recognition. The concert portion of the UIL contest displays knowledge and understanding of the repertoire performed. Both of these components must be taught throughout the year. The meaning-making and language components required to achieve a superior rating at UIL CSRC require superior teaching. The components required to obtain a superior rating at UIL CSRC are obtained through meaning-making multimodal techniques that support newcomers with their language learning and the choral director and choir at Desert City High School are performing these activities daily. It was important to study a choral teacher who

had superior rating scores because the scores represent daily learning that was happening in the choral classroom. It is difficult to receive superior ratings at UIL CSRC, and when a choir receives these scores, it means that superior learning has been occurring throughout the year.

Choral director. The criteria for sample selection was to choose a choral director who ran a successful program according to the University Interscholastic League (UIL) Choral Concert and Sight Reading Contest (CCSR). I selected the choral director based on her many years of experience, all of which she has achieved choral success and high recognition in the field of choral music education. She had 22 years of choral teaching experience and had four NELs enrolled in the choir during the Spring 2017 semester. I looked at the success of the choral director based on her previous years of ratings from the UIL CCSR. Mrs. Rossi, the choral director at Desert City High School, has received Division 1 (Superior) ratings at UIL CCSR for the past 11 years. In order to achieve a Division 1 rating, the choir is judged and scored based on a rubric for repertoire and sight-reading based on the choir' tone, technique, and musicianship. The choir must demonstrate near-perfect intonation, highly developed musical lines, blended music tone within the choral sections, near flawless vocal technique and diction, rhythmic perfection, and artistic and energetic performance of the musical repertoire. The choirs directed by Mrs. Rossi consistently receive Division 1 ratings and, therefore, the choir director and the choir qualified under the criteria selected for the study.

Sampling and Selection Criteria

In my study, I used purposive sampling. Purposive sampling is a non-probability sample where the participants are selected based on the characteristics of the population. (Steinke, 2004). Different criteria were applied when selecting the research site and participants. I developed selection criteria for the research site, choral program, choral director, ESL teacher, high school

counselor, principal, and student participants. I had different selection criteria for each component, and they had to come together in one location which was a challenge in itself. The selection criteria for the site was that it needed to be a public high school that was located close to the border (within ten miles) and had a high percentage of NELs and transfronterizx students attending the school. The choral program had to be a successful program based on their University Interscholastic League concert and sight-reading contest results. These results would make it likely that quality learning was occurring. The choral director needed to have experience and successful results at the contest. The administration, counselor and ESL teacher were required to have previous experience as an administrator, counselor or educator. I wanted to have people with experience because they would be able to give me background based on their experiences. The student participants were to be coded as a NEL and enrolled in choir. With these criteria in place, I selected Desert City High School which is located 6.7 miles from the U.S.–Mexico border, which had a student body population of 1,130, 16.6% of which were ELL.

The choir program had a history of receiving top rankings at UIL Concert and Sight Reading Contest. There were 75 members in the choir program, making up two different choirs (beginning/advanced). The choir director had 22 years of choral experience and had a reputation for excellent scores. The principal, counselor and ESL teacher all had more than ten years of experience. There were 45 NELs enrolled in the school, and four of them were also enrolled in choir. Table 3.1 outlines the selection criteria and actual statistics for the research site, choral program, choral director, ESL teacher, high school counselor, principal, and the student participants.

Table 3.1 Selection Criteria

| Study Participants | Selection Criteria | Actual Statistics |
|--|---|--|
| Research Site | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Public high school • Proximity to border: 10 Miles from the U.S – Mexico Border • High percentage of NELs attending school • High percentage of transfronterizx | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Desert City High School • 6.7 Miles from U.S. Border bridge • 1,130 Students • 98.3% Hispanic • 88.9% Economically Disadvantaged • 16.6% ELLs |
| Choral Program | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Successfully performed at UIL Concert and Sight Reading Contest | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Division 1 ratings the past 11 years • 75 Members • 2 Choirs (Beginning and Advanced) |
| Choral Director | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Head of a successful choral program based on UIL Concert and Sight Reading Scores • Had 10 years or more of experience as a choral director | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Division 1 ratings at the high school level for the past 11 years • Choral director for 22 years |
| ESL Teacher School Counselor High School Principal Student Participants | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Experience as an ESL teacher • Experience as a high school counselor • Experience as a high school principal • Newcomer • Enrolled in ESL program • Enrolled in the school choir | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 28 years of experience • 12 years of counseling experience • 14 years as a principal • 45 Enrolled in the school • 4 Enrolled in choir |

Participant selection. I learned that NELs are discouraged from enrolling in electives like choir, and I further analyze that phenomenon in Chapter Five. To begin, I had to establish the parameters for my NEL selection. NELs had to be enrolled in the ESL course while concurrently enrolled in high school choir, because they were coded as Limited English Proficient and had to be placed in ESL class.

I decided to select a choral program that had three or more NELs enrolled. DCHS had four NELs enrolled in high school choir for the spring semester. My goal was to recruit five NELs enrolled in high school choir; however, I was only able to secure 4 NEL participants for my study.

I knew that Carlow (2004) had had 5 NELs in her study, and I had hoped to have the same number, in order to deal with potential attrition. When trying to identify a program that had enough participants, I was challenged because I could not find a program in the city that met the other selection criteria.

Study participants. The participants in this study included the four NELs enrolled in an ESL class and concurrently enrolled in high school choir, the choral director, the ESL teacher, one of the counselors, and the principal. I focused on the NELs and their activity in high school choir. The ESL teacher and the choral director were also included in the study in order to obtain the teachers' perspectives. It was useful to interview these adult participants because these are the adults that were in daily communication with NELs. I also conducted interviews with both the Principal and the Counselor, in order to gain perspective into the scheduling and graduation requirements for NELs.

Table 3.2 displays the demographics of the participants in my study, their age, whom they live with, their time in a U.S. school and how often they crossed the U.S–Mexico border. It is important to mention with whom they lived with and how often they crossed the border because these are important parts of their lives.

Table 3.2 Participants

| Participant | Age | Lives with | Time in US school | Travels Cross Border |
|----------------------------------|-------|---------------------------------|-------------------|--|
| Student: Robert | 15 | Grandmother, brother and sister | 7 months | Every 2 weeks |
| Student: Borris | 15 | Father and younger sister | 7 months | Every morning and every night during the school week |
| Student: Alicia | 14 | Mother, father 2 sisters | 7 months | Every morning and every night during the school week |
| Student: Karen | 14 | Mother | 19 Months | Some weekends |
| Choir Teacher: Mrs. Rossi | Adult | NA | NA | NA |
| ESL Teacher: Mrs. Puentes | Adult | NA | NA | NA |
| Principal | Adult | NA | NA | NA |
| Counselor | | | | |

The primary participants are the NEL students, and the secondary participants are the adult participants including the choral director, the ESL teacher, a counselor, and the principal.

Primary Participants

Robert. Robert is a 15-year-old boy who lives with his grandmother, brother, and sister in the United States. When the study began in February of 2017, he had been in the United States for a total of seven months. Robert said that he would go to Ciudad Juárez, Mexico on the weekends every two weeks or so. His parents live in Mexico, and when he would travel there, he would leave the United States on Friday after school and return Monday morning before school began for the day.

Borris. Borris is a 15-year-old girl who lived in Ciudad Juárez, Mexico but would travel across the border every day for school. When the study began, Borris had been attending school in the United States for seven months. She lives in Ciudad Juárez, Mexico with her father and a younger sister who also attended the same high school. Borris said that she would cross the border

from Mexico into the United States every morning before school and return to Mexico every afternoon once school let out for the day.

Alicia. Alicia is a 14-year-old girl who lives in Mexico but also traveled across the border every day to attend school. Alicia began attending a U.S. school in August, and when the study commenced, she had been attending school for seven months. Alicia lives in Ciudad Juárez, Mexico with her mom, dad, and two sisters.

Karen. Karen is a 14-year-old girl who lives in an apartment in the United States with her mom. Karen attended a different high school in the United States for a year before the study, so her time in a U.S. school totaled 19 months. Karen had been attending DCHS for only seven months when the study began. Karen said that she would cross the border to Ciudad Juárez, Mexico every two weeks or so, depending on her mother's schedule.

The participants native language was Spanish. Table 3.3 represents a language chart displaying their use of social language while providing a brief description of their language background.

Table 3.3 Language Background

| | Music | Books | Likes to Watch | Social Media |
|---------------|----------------------|------------------------|--|---------------------|
| Alicia | Ed Sheeran (English) | Spanish books | Movies in English and Spanish | WhatsApp |
| Borris | Bruno Mars (English) | Encyclopedia (Spanish) | Television English | Snapchat |
| Robert | Nirvana (English) | No | No | Facebook |
| Karen | Spanish music | English and Spanish | Movies and Television in English and Spanish | Facebook |

Alicia, Borris, and Robert listened to music in English while Karen stated that she enjoyed listening to music in Spanish. Karen also stated that she enjoyed reading books in both English and Spanish, while Alicia and Borris read books in Spanish. Robert said that he did not read books,

watch television, or watch movies. All of the participants used some forms of social media, however they stated that their communication was in Spanish.

Secondary participants. Mrs. Rossi is the choral director at DCHS. She has been a choral director for 22 years and has been at DCHS for the past ten years. Mrs. Puentes is the ESL teacher at DCHS. She has been teaching for 28 years and has been at DCHS for her entire career. The principal of DCHS had been an administrator for 14 years, although this was his first year at DCHS. The counselor had been a high school counselor for 12 years. All of the adult participants had experience with NELs, and although they were secondary participants, they were an important part of my study.

Data Collection

I collected data through observations, interviews, NEL journal entries, writing samples, and artifacts that included students' notes on musical repertoire and song lyric sheets. The tools used to collect data allowed me to understand the processes NELs experienced in high school choir throughout the spring semester. Using an Activity Theory and Actor-Network Theory lens, I was able to see how social actions and environmental networks connected to create relationships between language learning and music.

Data collection occurred over the course of one, 16-week semester and I observed the NELs for 31 hours. After obtaining IRB approval, I immediately went to the campus to discuss the study and hand out consent and assent forms to the parents and students. The forms were all turned in by February 2017, and I was able to begin my first participant observation. Student interviews were semi-structured based on Seidman's (2012) three-interview approach. The first interview focused on the background and life history of the students; the second interview focused

on the attitudes and perceptions about choral music and being in the choir, and the third interview was a reflection of the participants' time in the study.

With interest in the social aspects of language use, as well as social belonging (Bartlett, 2008) therefore, the focal students were asked to participate in writing monthly journal entries to explore their ideologies about music, choral music, and language learning. I wanted to observe the processes in the case, so observations occurred twice a week for the duration of the study. Table 3.3 outlines my research questions and the data source which assisted me in answering each question.

Table 3.3 Research Questions and Data Sources

| Research Question | Data Sources |
|--|---|
| What role does a focused choral music education play in NELs ability to listen, speak, read, and write socially in the English language? | Observations, student interviews, journal entries, artifact collection. Choral director, ESL teacher interviews |
| How do NELs become involved in choral music education? How do NELs understand their identities within a high school choral classroom? | Choral director and ESL teacher interviews, Informal open-ended semi-structured interviews with high school administration and high school counselor participants Observations, student interviews, choral director and ESL teacher interviews journal entries, artifact collection. |

Table 3.3 outlines my research questions and which data sources were needed to answer the questions. My primary question: “What role does a focused choral music education play in NELs ability to listen, speak, read, write socially in the English language?” was addressed through observations, student interviews, choral director and ESL teacher interviews, journal entries and artifact collection. My secondary question: “How do NELs become involved in choral music education?” would be addressed through choral director and ESL teacher interviews as well as informal open-ended semi-structured interviews with the administration and counselor. My third question: “How do NELs understand their identities within a high school choral classroom?” was addressed through observations, student interviews, choral director and ESL teacher interviews journal entries, artifact collection. Table 3.4 outlines the data sources for data collection along with the total time incurred or amount of data collected and by which participant the data was supplied.

Table 3.4 Data Collection

| Data Source | Total | Teachers | Students | Admin. | Counselor |
|------------------------|----------|--|---|----------------------------|----------------------------|
| Interviews | 26 Hours | 2 teachers 2 per teacher 8 hours | 4 students 4 per student 16 hours | 1 Principal 1 1 hour | 1 counselor 1 1 hour |
| Observation | 31 Hours | | | | |
| Journal Entries | 17 weeks | | | | |
| Instructional | 13 | | | | |
| Artifacts | 10 | | | | |
| Foundational | 2 | | | | |
| Artifacts | | | | | |
| Student Work | 7 | | | | |
| Artifacts | | | | | |

Table 3.4 outlines that there were 26 hours of interviews from two teachers, four students, one principal, and one counselor. There was a total of 31 hours of observations that occurred

throughout the time for the study over a 17-week time period. There were 13 journal entries collected by the four NELs. I collected ten instructional artifacts, two foundational artifacts and seven pieces of student work artifacts.

While the NEL students were at the forefront of my study, and while the ESL teacher and choral directors' perceptions are important, they remain secondary to the student NEL participants. The teachers participated in two open-ended interviews where they answered general questions about their life, teaching philosophy, classroom curriculum, the perception of newcomers, language learning and choral music.

Observations. Observations played a key role in understanding the behavior and interactions of the participants. Boellstorff (2012) states, "observation is built on the alignments between engaging in everyday activities, on the one hand, and recording and analyzing those activities, on the other" (p.69). Observations can captivate a "lived sense of the agency" (Emerson, Fretz & Shaw, p. 81, 2011) allowing for meaningful representation of the surrounding to occur. Attending the choir class and observing the behaviors and interactions of the students provide an opportunity to experience the occurrences within the natural setting of the classroom.

An important component of observations included taking descriptive field notes (Emerson, Fretz & Shaw, 2011). Field notes included a detailed description of the scene and surroundings and focused on how two activity systems (rehearsals and performances) interacted. Describing the scene "calls for concrete details rather than abstract generalizations, for sensory imagery rather than evaluative labels and for immediacy through details presented at close range" (p.58). Sketching and drawings were included in my data and field notes to describe the setting of the classroom and provide a snapshot of the environment and community members' engagement with each other.

Field notes included the dialogue occurring among the participants and other members of the community. I focused on the actions, interactions, and the ways their identities were constructed through conversation and interaction. "Characterization" (Emerson, Fretz & Shaw, p.69, 2011) of the participants describe the participants' dress, movements, traits and behaviors displayed by the participants concerning themselves and to others. "Episodes" (Emerson, Fretz & Shaw, 2011) describe activities or incidents that occur by providing a narrative picture of the events as they take place. Table 3.5 outlines the type of observations that took place over the course of the study while describing the actions and interactions that were to be the focus of the observation. The table also displays the amount of time for each observation.

Table 3.5 Observations

| Observation | Description | Duration |
|---|--|---|
| NEL students in the Choral classroom observation | Movement, Interactions, Dialogue, Episodes, Characterization, Classroom components: repertoire, furniture, musical equipment Student-student interactions Teacher-student interactions | 2X per week for 47 minutes Total: 35 26.6 Hours |
| NEL Students in Choral Concert Observation | Movement, Interactions, Dialogue, Episodes, Characterization, Classroom components: repertoire, furniture, musical equipment Student-student interactions Teacher-student interactions | 2 Concerts 1 Hour Concert Total 2 Hours |
| NEL students in ESL class | Movement, Interactions, Dialogue, Episodes, Characterization, Classroom components: repertoire, furniture, musical equipment Student-student interactions Teacher-student interactions | 3 Observations 1 Hour Each Total: 31 Hours |
| Total Observations | | 31 Hours |

I attended choral class twice a week for the duration of the Spring 2017 semester to observe the NELs. There were a total of 34 choral classroom observations and three ESL classroom observations. Each class period lasted for 47 minutes for a total of 26.6 hours of observation in the choral classroom and three hours of ESL classroom observations. I also attended a Pre-UIL

concert and Senior Farewell concert. The Concerts took place the last week in March, and the Senior Farewell concert took place the last week of school in June. The total amount of time for observations equaled to 31 hours of observation throughout the study.

Interviews. Interviews are an important component in qualitative research (Schensul, Schensul & LeCompte, 1999). The student interviews were open-ended semi-structured interviews to occur three times throughout the study. All interviews were audio recorded. Due to my status as an emergent Spanish speaker, I brought a translator to all student interviews. The translator was a classmate named Rachel, a 17-year-old girl in the choral class and I selected her because of her experience in other translation events, and because of her peer-relationship with the NELs. The translator attended all of the student interviews with me, and we casually sat together with the participant being interviewed. The translator signed a confidentiality form.

All interview conversations were recorded and transcribed. Any conversations outside the realm of a formal interview were recorded as field notes and used to understand the students' experiences. Student interviews took place in the piano lab or choral director's office, both of which were located off of the choral classroom. Table 3.6 lists the characteristics for each of the first, second and third interviews. The table also displays when the interviews took place and how long each interview was for the duration of the study.

Table 3.6 Student Interviews

| Data Source | Description | Duration |
|---|--|--|
| Student Interview #1 Open-ended Semi-structured (March 3-24, 2017) | Background and Life History | 1 Hour Each 4 Hours Total |
| Student Interview #2 Open-ended Semi-structured (April 25-May 5, 2017) | Focus on the attitudes and perceptions about music, language learning, identity construction, musical identity, repertoire, relationships in class, relationships out of class | 1 Hour Each 4 Hours Total |
| Interview #3 Open-ended Semi-structured (May 31st – June 2, 2017) | Reflection on time in study: language, music, identity | 1 Hour Each 4 Hours Total |
| Member Check Interviews Total Student Interviews | Review interview transcripts, follow up questions. | 1 Hour Each student 16 Hours total 4 Hours Per student 16 Hours Total |

Student interviews took place in March of 2017. The first interview focused on the background and life history of the student. Each interview lasted an hour for a total of 4 hours. The second student interview took place the last week of April 2017. The second interview focused on the attitudes and perceptions about music, language learning, identity construction, musical identity, repertoire, relationships in class, relationships out of class. Each interview lasted an hour for a total of four hours. The 3rd interview took place the last weeks of school and was a reflection of their time in the study with a focus on language, music and their identity. Each interview lasted an hour for a total of four hours. I performed member checks with all of the students to review their interview transcripts and address any follow-up questions that I had. Each member check interview lasted an hour for a total of four hours. The total amount of time I spent formally interviewing the students was 16 hours.

Open-ended interviews with the choral director were influenced by Seidman (2012), one counselor, and one principal provided insight into the administrative aspect concerning the

educational direction of NELs in the context of choral music education. It was important to collect the life-history and background information for these secondary participants, to establish background. I also asked about the choral director's teaching philosophy and approaches to curriculum. The choral director interviews occurred two times throughout the study, with the first interview focusing on life-history, including her attitudes about music, language learning, identity construction, musical identity, repertoire, relationships in class, and relationships out of class. The second interview was a reflection of the time in the study with a focus on the NEL participants. An important participant in the study was the ESL teacher, who supplied important information regarding each NEL participant, along with her observations about the NELs' language learning, identity construction, and social belonging. Table 3.7 describes the key interview elements for the choral director, the ESL teacher, the principal, and the counselor.

Table 3.7 Adult Interviews

| Adult Interview | Description | Duration |
|---|--|---|
| Interview #1 Open-ended April 2017 | Background and Life History | 2 hours each participant 4 hours total |
| | Focus on the attitudes and perceptions about music, language learning, identity construction, musical identity, repertoire, relationships in class, relationships out of class | 2 hours each participant 4 hours total |
| | Perception of choral music and Newcomer ELs | 1 hour each participant |
| Interview #2 Open-ended June 2017 | Reflection on time in study: language, music, identity | 1 hour |
| Member Check | Review interview transcripts, follow up questions. | 1 Hour |
| School Principal Open-ended Semi-structured April 2018 | Perception of focused choral music education in the trajectory of a newcomer EL student | |
| | Perception about the role of choral music education in the overall education of students within the community | |
| School Counselor Open-ended April 2018 | How they approach electives and their recommendations for scheduling electives for Newcomer EL students | |
| | Perception of focused choral music education in the trajectory of a Newcomer EL student | |
| | How to schedule NELs for graduation. | |
| | Perception about the role of choral music education in the overall education of students within the community | |

Each teacher interview lasted for two hours for a total of four hours and totaling 8 hours of teacher interviews. The interview with school counselor and principal consistent occurred a semester after the study had finished because I had follow-up questions regarding how NELs found their way to high school choir. In April of 2018, I interviewed the principal and talked about his perception of focused choral music education in the trajectory of a NELs, as well as his understanding of the role of choral music education in the overall education of students. In April of 2018, I also interviewed a high school counselor. I selected the counselor because she was the

only counselor out of the three that returned my email request. This interview focused on their approach electives and their recommendations for scheduling electives for NEL students, their perception of a focused choral music education in the trajectory of a NEL student, how to schedule NELs for graduation and their overview perception about the role of choral music education in the overall education of students within this particular community.

Artifacts. Artifact collection allowed for creative and cultural components to be used so I could understand the musical history, musical ideology, language learning and use of each participant. Robert printed out his own lyric sheet, and Karen printed out the lyric sheets for the song's they were performing. It was part of the class curriculum to make markings in the musical repertoire. Throughout the rehearsal process, the students were asked to write words and symbols using pencil and in color, to help them to interpret their parts and produce meaningful expression.

“According to a social semiotics framework, content area teachers select available designs on the basis of how those designs afford the expression of discipline-specific content and enable their students to reach discipline-specific goals,” (Wilson, 2011 pp. 436). That is, there are multiple ways to incorporate literacy into choral music education on a daily basis. Literacy development in choral music education is common due to the nature of the music, as it involves text. A common literacy event in the choral music classroom was to create a story based on the dynamic contract (loud and soft) according to the lyrical text. Literacy in choral music education also takes the form of making meaning from the musical lines within the composition. The way that each voice part intertwines with the others has meaning, and the student performers interpreted those meanings.

Artifacts were extremely helpful for teaching and understanding music literacy. In the music classroom, there were artifacts and semiotic tools to support the musical interpretation.

Students write on their music sheets every day during each rehearsal. Once the semester was well underway, I collected the lyric sheets and music from each participant and took pictures of them. This took place three times during the course of the study which highlighted the progression of language on each lyric sheet. Each lyric sheet was used as data. Interacting with the music was a process that unfolded over time; therefore, I asked the students if they found these markings were useful and in what way the lyric sheets assisted in their ability to learn the music and lyrical text. This collection and analysis of the writings incorporated into the music repertoire provided insight into the choral experience and language development of the singers.

Journal entries. Student participants kept journals and returned them to me monthly. Through journaling, I hoped to gain perspective into the thoughts and perceptions of the NELs. The students were provided an opportunity to think about what they wanted to write, rather than having to answer on the spot. The students were provided with a prompt each month where they responded in writing with as much or little text as desired. All prompts were provided in English and Spanish. The journals were written in English or Spanish, based on the preference of each participant. These journal entries were handwritten, and some were typed on a computer. I used Denzin & Lincoln's (2004) interpretive approach to journal writing.

The student participants described past and present musical influences, while describing different types of music they enjoy listening to and singing. By exploring the content of the music that the students listen to, I hoped to gain an understanding of their interests and experiences with music. Developing musical preferences outside of the family context are a part of identity development, especially among adolescents (Tarrant, North, & Hargreaves, 2002). I gained perspective on their families and cultural backgrounds by learning about the different styles and types of music they had been exposed to. Table 3.8 describes the artifacts that I collected

throughout the duration of the study as well as a description of the type of artifact that was collected and the reasoning for each component.

Table 3.8 Artifacts

| Artifacts | Description |
|--------------------------------|---|
| Instructional artifacts | ESL Lesson Plan, Achieve 3000 Worksheets Choral Handbook District Calendar Classroom Wall hangings: Classroom Rules, Calendar, CHOIR Mnemonic, Solfege Handsigns Sign, "Awards" Wall, Whiteboard |
| Foundational artifacts | School Mission Statement High School State of Texas Graduation Degree Plan |
| Student work artifacts | Sheet Music: Didn't My Lord Deliver Daniel, Only Hope, Just the Way You Are, sight reading exercises Lyric Sheet Music: Stand by Me, Let Her Go Lyric Sheet Phonemic Breakdown: Stand by Me, Let Her Go |
| Journal Entry 1 | 3 Total |
| Journal Entry 2 | 4 Total |
| Journal Entry 3 | 2 Total |
| Journal Entry 4 | 4 Total |

Instructional artifacts included the ESL lesson plan that the teacher showed me as well as the Achieve 3,000 Worksheets that the students were working on during their lesson. I also obtained a copy of the choral handbook and district calendar. I took pictures of the classroom walls which displayed the classroom rules, the monthly calendar, a CHOIR Mnemonic poster, the solfege hand signs, the awards wall, and the whiteboard. Foundational artifacts included the district/school mandated mission statements and State mandated high school graduation degree plans. I obtained student work artifacts which included the sheet music that they were working on, as well as sight reading exercises. I also took pictures of the lyric sheet music that the focal students printed out for one of their projects along with another copy of the lyric sheets with the phonemic breakdown markings made by the students. I collected copies of Journal entry 1-4 from the focal students totaling 13 journal entries.

Data Analysis

Data were coded and analyzed for themes and trends (Emerson, Fretz, & Shaw, 2011). Coding is the process of categorizing data line-by-line to gain perspective and form meaning. Constructing codes is essentially naming the data and interactively placing concepts into categories that can further be developed (Lincoln, & Guba, 1985). Open coding was the initial step in which I identified themes and issues (Charmez, 2006). It was important to remain open-minded while analyzing the text line-by-line and term-by-term. I created as many codes as possible during open coding because at this point it was uncertain which codes were significant. Identifying codes can provide the ethnographer with a deep understanding of significant characteristics within the social world of the participants. In vivo codes are codes that represent special terms presented by the participants that act as a symbolic marker of speech and meaning. Defining in vivo codes can allow for access into the inside track of the language used by a social organization (Charmez, 2006).

Focused coding was the second step in data analysis. During this process, I identified significant initial codes that form themes and patterns. The close comparison focuses researchers on the direction of the analysis by comparing codes to other codes as well as comparing codes to the data (Charmez, 2006). Theoretical coding was secondary to focused coding with the purpose of emerging theory. Thorough coding allowed me to learn from the data and develop a theoretical direction (Charmez, 2006).

Memoing provided additional information which contributed to the field notes upon further analysis regarding the surrounding, scene, dialogue, and interactions between the students. Memos are notes and ideas that were written on the side of the field notes to signify reflection and the analytic process that drives the theory. Writing memos was a method for analyzing codes

constructed in field notes. Memos reflected my ideas, formed comparisons, answered questions that arose to derive theory. Memoing was also a way for me to remain reflective about the data I was collecting, record questions, concerns, thoughts or ideas that arose during data collection and analysis. After each participant observation and interview that I conducted, I went back and wrote memos on my field notes that included my thoughts about the data that I had collected. I wrote a paragraph for each observation and each memo. I incorporated detailed descriptions about what had occurred. After each interview was transcribed, I read through them carefully and wrote memos reflecting my thoughts and adding details about the interview. I wrote memos about each participant and described their appearance and demeanor after each encounter whether it be an observation or interview. At the end of the study, I went back and reviewed my data and wrote more memos as I thought about what had transcribed throughout the course of the semester. I added details to my field notes with comments and reflections. These memos helped me to remember the details about what had transcribed during the time I was collecting the data.

Several rounds of coding occurred which began with hand coding. Initially, I coded the data line-by-line, and then I coded the data in larger paragraphs looking for themes and trends (Emerson, Fretz & Shaw, 2011). Subsequent rounds of coding utilized the computer program NVIVO which assisted in the identification and organization of themes and trends. Ethnography relies heavily on reflexivity so after each data source was collected, I reflected by writing memos in my research journal.

Languages

The interviews with the NELs were conducted in both English and Spanish. I asked the questions in English, and they were translated into Spanish by the student translator. The

interviews with the NELs were transcribed in Spanish and also translated into English by a professional bilingual transcriber.

Using an interpreter. I am a beginning Spanish speaker, so for the duration of my study I used an interpreter when communicating with my NEL participants. While my status as a beginning Spanish learner provided a methodological challenge during my responses to questions on the spot during interviews, I was able to go back and review responses after transcripts were transcribed.

I am not alone in the use of an interpreter for research, in fact, translators and interpreters provide these services in abundance (Squire, 2008). According to Squire (2008), "when researcher's need written documents translated from one language to another, such as interview transcriptions or primary and secondary sources, they employ a translator. If researchers require translation services to conduct an interview or focus group, they employ an interpreter" (p.2). In my case, I employed both a translator and an interpreter. The translator I employed held a bachelor's degree in linguistics and was fluent in English and Spanish. He transcribed all of the audio recordings for all of the NEL interviews. The interpreter I used during my interviews session was a high school student who signed an informed consent document. She was an ELL student who knew the NELs in choir and had a previous relationship of interpreting for Mrs. Rossi, the choral director.

Conceptual equivalence must be addressed as a methodological challenge when using a translator or interpreter. Conceptual equivalence refers to the change of terms or phrases that occur when transferring from one language to another (Jandt, 2003). If the translation is of poor quality, then a change of meaning can occur (Gee, 1990). The quality of the translator and interpreter can

play a role in the trustworthiness of the research study; therefore, proper employment of the translator and interpreter is essential.

Positionality

I am a middle class, white female who grew up in a small town in Ontario, Canada. Growing up, I learned English and French. While I am fluent in English, I would not consider myself to be fluent in the French language. My love for music began at an early age. I began studying music at the age of five and continued my study of music through high school and into university where I studied to become a choral director. My interest in the topic of ways to support NELs' language learning through music education grew from my personal experiences teaching choral music in the Texas public school system. As an immigrant myself, I know the feeling of attending school in a new country. Everything is new including the city, the people, the climate and the culture. Moving from Canada to Texas was extremely emotional and a really big change for me at the age of 18 years old. I attended high school in Canada, and when I moved to the United States, I went immediately into my first year of university, majoring in music education.

After attending college, I began my teaching career in North Texas where music education was implemented in the daily routine in the elementary through the high school curriculum. In North Texas, the population of English Learners (ELs) in a local Plano high school is 3.1% which is a significant difference from the 18% of ELs in far west Texas (TEA, 2016-2017). The Plano ISD has a national reputation for providing high-quality music education based on their UIL Concert and Sight Reading Scores (www.texasmusicforms.com). Upon moving to far west Texas I learned that music courses in the district where my study took place, began in the 5th grade with the only option for a focused music course being band or orchestra class with no opportunity for participating in a choir. The curriculum is supported by information disseminated by the district

Fine Arts Department website as stated by the Director and Music Instructional Specialists. What I noticed was that the school districts in far west Texas have a higher population of ELs because the city lies on the border of the United States and Mexico and it made me wonder why music was not emphasized as a part of the curriculum. When I first began teaching in far west Texas, I noticed that music education was not as readily available to students in all grade levels which then made me curious about the connection between music and language learning. This was the beginning of my journey of investigation, and I had to transition myself from teacher to researcher.

The least adult role. When I began my study, I was a PhD student, however, I was also a full-time choral director in the Texas public school system. As a teacher with 17 years of experience, I had to remove myself from the role of teacher and into the role of researcher. It was crucial that the student participants did not feel there was a power issue and while I couldn't eliminate it, I could soften that perception. I introduced myself as Lisa. Every time I visited the school I had come from work, so I was dressed in my work clothes, however, I always removed my teacher badge so that it would not be a factor. I gave them high fives and smiled every time I greeted them. I reminded them when we had an interview of how appreciative I was of their participation and that I would do my very best understand their language learning and identity development process while representing their voices.

I attempted to inhabit the least adult role (Randall, 2012). I followed Mandell's three principles, to minimize the social difference between adults and children, value children's social worlds as being as important as those of adults, and try to find shared meaning with children through social activities such as play" (Randall, 2012, p. 19). It was my goal to gain the trust and confidence of the student and adult participants. It was my goal for all participants to feel comfortable, unpressured, and free to speak and explain their experiences during data collection.

Ethical considerations

Providing a safe and ethical environment for data collection was essential (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005). All participants were well informed of the parameters of the study. Informed consent, parental informed consent, and student assent were obtained prior to data collection (Creswell, 2003).

Anonymity. My study took place in a large city located on the U.S.-Mexico border. Both cities on either side of the border are well known for their history of migration and border crossing. Protecting participants' anonymity is a key part of qualitative research (Flick, 2009; Lichtman, 2013). I used pseudonyms for everyone and every place in the study. I told each NEL participant that they would be allowed to select their pseudonym and it could be any name they wanted to choose. During each of the NELs first interview, they solidified their pseudonyms and I used their pseudonym when writing about each of the NELs. When the study began, I asked the choral director to select her pseudonym, she carefully thought about it and decided to choose her pseudonym based on a personal reference. After I had finished my data collection I realized that the ESL teacher had not selected a pseudonym. I selected the name "Puentes" because it translates to mean "bridge", which is the role the ESL teacher played in the lives of the NEL students. She acted as a bridge between the host community and the sending community.

Trustworthiness

Qualitative research relies on trustworthiness to validate findings and minimize researcher bias (Guba, 1981). There four categories that authenticate trustworthiness include credibility, transferability, dependability, and conformability. Utilizing multiple data sources assists in validating trustworthiness through triangulation and member checks. In order "to reduce the likelihood of misinterpretation, various procedures are employed, two of the most common

being the redundancy of data gathering and procedural challenges to explanations” (Stake, p. 453, 2005). Stake (2005) reiterates the importance of member checks, “the author has some responsibility for the validity of the readers’ interpretation” (p. 453). It was important for the participants to clarify meaning and solidify the perception of the story. I discuss how I ensured trustworthiness by detailing how I applied credibility.

Credibility

To ensure trustworthiness I depended on credibility (Guba, 1981). Credibility pertaining to the research methods for data collection were established in the ethnographic case study procedure. While data collection took place over the course of a semester, the entire study took place over the course of a 6-month period. During this time, establishing a relationship with my participants was a key component in developing credibility. I established a bond between myself and the participants by maintaining a relaxed atmosphere whenever the conversation between us occurred. Continued communication occurred through interviews, emails, Facebook and text messages. Prolonged contact allowed me to build a relationship with my participants with my goal of meeting and maintaining trustworthiness. Engaging with my participants during observations, interviews, artifacts, and journal entries provided triangulation through data sources (Flick, 2009; Golafshani, 2003). Multiple observations along with writing field notes and memos, allowed me to establish norms and procedures within the choral classroom and allowed for triangulation of the data which illuminated the experiences of NELs in high school choir. Trustworthiness included the verification of data for accuracy and intent.

Member checks. Member checks were an integral part of maintaining trustworthiness (Carlson, 2010; Merriam, 2002). On the spot member checks occurred during interviews and observations. I would ask the participants to confirm their thoughts, motives, and conversations

during interviews. While acting as an observer, I would sometimes talk to the participants and ask them to explain to me what was occurring, which allowed me to incorporate meaning in the context of the NEL. When the study was over, and the interview transcripts were completed, I asked each participant to read through their transcript and if they wanted to add any more information. Throughout the duration of the study, I was in contact with Mrs. Rossi through a phone conversation and Mrs. Puentes through email. If I had any follow-up questions, I would address the teachers, and they would respond. If I had questions about the students, I would ask the teachers if I could speak to them on the phone.

I went back to visit the students in the Fall of 2017 and asked them some follow up questions that I had about their background, family, and experiences in choral music education. I learned that only two of the four participants had continued in choir although one more expressed her interest. She told me that she could not be placed into choir for the upcoming year because the counselors told her that she must enroll in both English level 2 and English level 3 at the same time in order to graduate in time. I also asked each of the participants to read through their interview transcripts to ensure the information recorded was accurate. I initiated member checks with both the choral director and ESL teacher where I asked them follow-up questions and to ensure that all of my information recorded was accurate. The teachers also read through their interview transcripts and were asked to provide any follow-up information. I asked them what they were up to now and how their course schedules had changed from the previous year. Member checks secured credibility and ensured trustworthiness by minimizing researcher bias (Brit et al. 2016).

Confirmability. Triangulation of data sources allowed for minimization of researcher bias. My positionality as choral director in the public-school system were addressed so that my

stance on the importance of quality education for all students was at the forefront for my reasons for undertaking this study. Displaying the shortcomings of my study, being that I collected data for one semester and because of that I could not gain an understanding of the complete educational trajectory of the NEL students displays confirmability. Bringing this to the forefront of secures confirmability and supports the ultimate goal of trustworthiness.

Summary

The study conducted was an ethnographic case study, with the purpose of coming to understand of the role of the high school choir in the language learning process and social belonging of NELs. Data collection included observations, interviews, journal entries, and artifact collection. Through purposive sampling, I identified the DCHS choir as my research site. The case in my study was NELs in high school choir because it was an unusual phenomenon. My participants included 4 NELs, two teachers, one principal, and one counselor, as a part of the bounded system of the case. Trustworthiness was established through credibility and confirmability. Member checks were an integral part of my data collection and promoted trustworthiness. In the next chapter, I briefly discuss the historical context of region where this study was conducted, the U.S.–Mexico border.

CHAPTER 4: HISTORICAL CONTEXT OF THE U.S. - MEXICO BORDER

In order to situate this study and the participants, I explore the migration history of this fluid border region, particularly at the El Paso/Ciudad Juárez region. A fluctuating boundary line, combined with economic hardship and violence are essential factors that have shaped the lives of the NELs in this study.

I begin with a presentation of the demographic and geographical characteristics of the region followed by a discussion of the fluctuating border. Then, I discuss the economic downfall, and the extreme violence perpetrated on residents of Ciudad Juárez by the cartels. I examine the time period beginning in 2008 moving into 2012 in particular, a time that led to many Mexican residents relocating, with and without authorization, to the El Paso side of the border (Gonzalez-Esteban & Lopez-Rico, 2016). Finally, I conclude by discussing transfronterizx children attending schools in the United States and parental motivation for sending their children to study in El Paso, Texas.

Demographic and Geographical Context

The Rio Grande River flows on the border of the United States and Mexico and separates El Paso Texas and Ciudad Juárez (Martinez, 2018). The cities of El Paso and Ciudad Juárez are the second most frequently crossed border cities linking the United States and Mexico¹⁰. El Paso, Texas lies on the U.S. side of the border and is adjacent to Ciudad Juárez, Mexico. The two cities officially received the title of “sister cities” in March 2018 (Perez, 2018). Geographical data including population, land size and population per square mile, for the cities of El Paso, Texas and,

¹⁰ The most frequently crossed transnational border between U.S. and Mexico is the San Diego-Tijuana international bridge. The El Paso – Juarez international bridge is the second most frequently crossed, daily (Herzog, 2018)

Ciudad Juárez are represented to compare the two cities. Table 4.1 presents demographic and geographical data for the cities of El Paso and Ciudad Juárez including population, population per square mile, and the size of the land mass in each city.

Table 4.1 Geographical Characteristic Data

| Category | El Paso | Ciudad Juárez |
|-----------------------|----------------|---------------|
| Country | United States | Mexico |
| State | Texas | Chihuahua |
| Population | 649,121 | 1,398,400 |
| Population per sq. mi | 790.6 | 10,653 |
| Land Size | 256.35 sq. Mi. | 124 sq. mi |

El Paso Population. (2010). Retrieved 2019-02-05, from <https://www.census.gov/quickfacts/fact/table/elpasocitytexas,US/PST045218>
 INEGI (2017). *Población total, municipio de Juárez, Chihuahua*

I retrieved data for El Paso from the World Population Review, with demographic information from the 2010 United States Census report¹¹. *Information* on Ciudad Juárez was retrieved from the Instituto Nacional de Estadística Geografía e Informática, México (2017). El Paso is double the land size of Ciudad Juárez, and, Ciudad Juárez has over ten times as many people living in it per square mile. The population of Ciudad Juárez lives in a significantly more compact environment than the population of El Paso.

Both El Paso and Ciudad Juárez are home to a mountainous desert terrain with temperatures reaching over 100 degrees Fahrenheit during the summer months. In order to understand the NEL students at Desert City High School and gain insight into their identities,

¹¹ The last official U.S. Census Report was in 2010. The projected population estimate (V2017) for 2017 is reported to be 683,587 (V2017 refers to as the vintage year 2010-2017). The next official report will be released in 2020.

which includes the border crossing and migration¹². It is important to understand the history behind this shifting transnational border between El Paso and Ciudad Juárez, because it provides insight into the long generational history of border crossing activity and reasoning for cross-border schooling.

History of a Shifting Border

El Paso and Ciudad Juárez have a history of border crossing and migration stemming back through generations of treaties, including the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo in 1848 and the Chamizal Convention of 1963. This region is a place where millions of people have crossed back and forth daily and have done so for hundreds of years. In 1853, with the signing of the Gadsden Purchase, the United States bought land that is known today as southern Arizona and southwestern New Mexico. With the movement of the border location, migration became transnational, which includes the back and forth pattern of migration between a sending country like Mexico and the receiving country, the United States (Rouse, 1991).

Transmigration is defined by Schiller, Basch, & Blanc-Szanton (1992) as “the processes by which immigrants build social fields that link together their country of origin and their country of settlement” (p. 1). This means that transmigrants develop personal, social, economic and political relationships that span borders. This level of integration has been made possible by advances in technology and electronic communication, as well as fast and inexpensive transportation. These relationships connect the two unions simultaneously. Transmigrants reflect on two societies and mold them together, and with that fluid identities develop based on the society of origin and the host society (Schiller, Basch, & Blanc-Szanton, 1992).

¹² “Border crossing” occurs daily, weekly, monthly; whereas “migration” is a permanent movement.

Transmigrants can link both identities and inhibit a "complex web of social relations" (p. 11). Transmigration leads to multiple nationalities compounded into a "single social and economic system" (p. 19) allowing the emergence of fluid identities that form a diverse identity. In the process, many transmigrants develop transnational identities and transnational relationships (Poole & Negi, 2008 p.244). Some, those who cross the border on a daily or weekly basis, are called transfronterizx (de la Piedra & Araujo, 2012a; de la Piedra & Araujo, 2012b; de la Piedra, Araujo, Esquinca, 2018; Zentella, 2009).

Transfronterizx students, whom I describe in more depth later in this chapter, bring with them knowledge and relationships from their native communities; their abilities to communicate through print, phone, computer, or social media; and in turn create new identities and relationships based on participation in a combination of multiple communities and cultures (Portes, 1996). Ciudad Juárez and El Paso Texas represent two "societies of origins and settlement" (Basch, Glick, Shiller, Szanton, & Blanc, 1994, p.32) that have been experiencing transmigration and have been integral to building the U.S. economy since at least the 1800s.

The Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo

The Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo was signed in 1848 and marked the end of the Mexican-American War, creating a boundary that recognizes the Rio Grande as one part of the border between the United States and Mexico (San Miguel & Valencia, 1998). The United States paid Mexico \$15 million for this land, which comprises the majority of California, New Mexico, Arizona, Nevada, Utah, Wyoming, and Colorado (Reich, 2018). In 1853, the U.S. Ambassador to Mexico, James Gadsden, signed a treaty with war-torn and financially depleted Mexico for 10 million dollars. This treaty provided the United States 30,000 square miles of Arizona and southwestern New Mexico (Griswold del Castillo, 1990). The land acquired by the Gadsden

Purchase allowed for U.S. economic growth through transnational railways such as the Southern Pacific Railroad (Gonzalez & Fernandez, 2003). While the border had been established as the Rio Grande River, further border shifting has taken place over time. As Carlos Velez-Ibanez (1996) has so famously stated, Mexican border residents did not cross the border—rather, the border crossed them. While large sections of land became part of the United States in 1848 and later in 1853, one small piece of land on the border remained under dispute, and that was the Chamizal.

The Chamizal

A colossal flood occurred in 1864 that altered the position of the Rio Grande making the Chamizal tract (land formerly belonging to Mexico) to shift into U.S. territory, causing the dispute. With the shifting of the land, both countries created a human-made waterway passage at a horseshoe of the river, moving the land onto the U.S. side of the river. This change created a 385-acre section of land known as Cordova Island. The Chamizal dispute had been prolonged for almost 100 years and was finally resolved in 1963 when U.S. President Lyndon B. Johnson and the Mexican president Adolfo López Mateos signed a treaty awarding 366 acres of the Chamizal tract and 71 acres of Cordova Island back to Mexico (Long, 2012). Today, a memorial park and cultural center reside on the once disputed land. The park represents the peaceful settlement of the boundary, while providing historical and cultural education (O’Boyle & Williams, 2017).

As the WWII erupted, the United States sought out Mexican workers to assist in agricultural needs. People from rural Mexico were sought out for employment by U.S. agribusiness, and negotiations for the Bracero Program began. The agreement focused on agribusiness providing bracero workers with decent living conditions and a minimum wage in exchange for farm work.

The Bracero Program

With so many U.S. citizens fighting WWII in Europe and Asia, and the United States did not have enough workers to take in the crops. The Bracero Program was negotiated between the United States and the Mexican government, to make up for a lack of agricultural workers in the United States during World War II (Calavita, 1992). The agreement was intended to guarantee food, shelter, sanitation, and a minimum wage of thirty cents per hour of work¹³ (Cohen, 2011). However, the bracero program was a failure of human rights. Dozens of workers argued that their wages were frequently withheld and that they were held hostage by their employers, and were unable to leave the country, because their documents were seized. The workers became subjects of enslavement, forced to live in horrifically filthy conditions, and they were left without access to medical care (Godoy, 2009). The Bracero program was terminated in 1965 because U.S. government officials deemed it to be a form of slavery.

When the program ended, the economic focus of this part of the border changed from that of agriculture to the industry of manufacturing and distribution. Assembly plants were built on the Mexican side of the border, and distribution plants were built on the U.S. side (McAdams, 2009). The manufacturing and distribution plants were designed to complement each other, and this relation was coined the "twin plant program." The governments of Mexican and the United States signed on to the Border Industrialization Program in 1965, when the Bracero Program ended. This program allowed U.S. businesses to build assembly plants just across the border in Ciudad Juárez

¹³ Minimum wage in the United States between 1942-1965 (the year of the initiation of the program to the year the program was terminated) was \$0.25 - \$1.25 per hour. Data retrieved from the U.S. Department of labor. Retrieved on 2-28-19 from <https://www.dol.gov/whd/minwage/chart.htm>

and other parts of the border, using inexpensive Mexican labor, along with materials from the United States, with reduced duties.

The manufacturing companies in Mexico are called *maquiladoras*, and they have become the central foundation for the economy for the Mexican state of Chihuahua. *Maquiladoras* seemed to be a way for both countries to benefit economically, albeit, asymmetrically.

The Maquiladora

The *maquiladora* industry grew from 4,000 employees in the 1960's to over 130,000 employees in the 1980's. Today, they employ more than a million people (Wolff, 2018). *Maquiladoras*, known, as *maquilas* for short, are factories where goods such as electronics and automobile parts are assembled, produced, and exported on a duty-free basis, particularly into the United States (Fujii-Gambero & Cervantes-Martinez, 2017). People working in the *maquilas* were and continue to be paid meager wages and required to work long hours without benefits (Maldonado-Macias, del Rocio Camacho-Alamilla, Garcia-Alcaarez, Hernandez-Arellano, 2017).

The *maquila* owners focused on employing young women to work at the *maquilas*, because women were thought to have more attention to detail, and the young women were thought to have more stamina than older women. *Maquila* workers are subject to abhorrent working conditions, such as poorly ventilated and run-down facilities, exposure to dangerous vapors and dust-born chemicals. Many of the *maquila* workers are from central and southern Mexico migrated to Ciudad Juárez with the intention of crossing the border into the United States (Medrano López & Ahumada Tello, 2018). However, many of those who tried to enter the United States were denied entry. Unable to cross due to being unauthorized, many of them end up remaining in Ciudad Juárez.

Gender and value in the *maquilas*. With the passage of the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) in 1994, even more women migrated to the *maquilas* in Ciudad Juárez in

search of work (Bacon, 2004). The Organization of American States' Inter-American Commission on Human Rights reports that a maquila worker is viewed as valuable labor by the owners of the maquilas. However, that labor is valued differently when it is embodied in men than in women. Female maquila workers are deemed to be of declining value and worth over time (Cutler, 2017). Employers complain that the quality and speed of women's work decreases over time, because of the conditions of the maquilas and the long hours, both of which contribute to their exhaustion. Female employees are viewed as being easily replaceable (Barlean, 2018). Men, however, are viewed as timeless, trainable, and intelligent and therefore, their employment is more protected. The value of the male worker does not depreciate in the eyes of management, because men are seen as stronger and smarter than women (Charles, 2011). Because women are viewed as inferior, their work lives are seen as expendable by the maquila managers. This was the context for the femicides that rocked the city, beginning in 1993.

Femicides. The term femicide comes from the Spanish term, *femicidios*, and describes the mass murder of women based on gender (Canas & Gilmer, 2009). In 2005, it was reported that over 800 women were found murdered, in Ciudad Juárez, with more than 3,000 missing. Most of the murdered women were mutilated and showed signs of torture and sexual abuse. All of them fit a profile of being young (between the age of 15-22), with long dark hair, and importantly, all of them were maquila workers in Ciudad Juárez (Encarnación, 2018). Many women working in the maquilas were murdered on their way home from work at the maquilas (Moffatt, 2006). Although the maquilas seemed to provide a superficial opportunity for both countries to prosper, the maquilas have been deadly for many women. Authorities still do not know the reasons behind the femicides. While most of the murdered women are classified as victims of unsolved crimes in which the assailant is unnamed, Olivera (2006) and others argue that the femicides are directly

connected to organized crime by the drug cartels. Along with the femicides, trafficking in women has sadly become big business in the region. Human trafficking, along with drug trafficking, has led to the next development along the border: Violence related to drug cartels.

Extreme Violence Erupting in Ciudad Juárez

In 2010, 3,075 murders in Ciudad Juárez were reported (Morales, Prieto, & Bejarano, 2014). The number of murders was higher that year than in declared war zones in Afghanistan (Flanigan, 2012; Molloy, 2013), giving Ciudad Juárez the unenviable title of most dangerous city in the world at that time. Rios (2013) reports that the number of people migrating from Ciudad Juárez to the United States because of their fear of extortion and other drug-related violence increased dramatically between 2010-2013.

The violent struggle for control by the cartels invaded Ciudad Juárez, in part because of its location on the U.S. border (Campbell, 2011). The United States is the largest consumer of drugs in the world (Bagley, 2012) and competition among the cartels led them to wage war against one another to define territory. The Juarez Cartel has been fighting the Sinaloa Cartel for control of the city, and they used the Barrio Azteca gang from El Paso, Texas, as reinforcements (Rosen & Martinez, 2015; Torres-Preciado, Polanco-Gaytán, Tinoco-Zermeño, 2017).

While extreme violence saw a decline from 2013-2017, the violence and turmoil from the Mexican drug cartels has seen a rise in 2018 going into 2019. The drug cartels Sinaloa, La Línea (aka the Juarez Cartel), and the newest cartel, Jalisco New Generation, are fighting for power over territory to smuggle drugs (Jones, 2018). It is common knowledge that many murders throughout Mexico go unreported (Androff, & Tavassoli, 2012).

In order to survive, and to avoid their youth being forced to join the cartels, low-income families began to flee Ciudad Juárez to El Paso between 2008- 2010 (Arceo-Gomez & Campos

Vazquez, 2018). The cartels sought out children and teenagers to become affiliated with their organizations, usually recruited from the lower income neighborhoods. The wealthy were able to migrate to the United States because their financial status gave them the opportunity to apply for investor visas in the United States. In 2016, with the poor and rich already gone, it was the middle-class business owners who were next to migrate (de Hoyos Navarro, Gutierrez-Fierros & Vicente, 2016). From 2006 to 2011 alone, Ciudad Juárez experienced a mass exodus of 230,000 residents, with 124,000 moving to El Paso, primarily due to the brutal cartel activities (Morales, Morales, Menchaca & Sebastian, 2013). They were migrating because of violence and economic turmoil (Cabral, Mollick & Saucedo, 2017; Gutierrez- Romero & Oviedo, 2017). While in search of a better life, fleeing violence, and economic strife, many families and businesses sought to migrate into the United States. The next section describes the search for a better and safer life, made by many of those immigrants.

Unauthorized Border Crossing: In Search of a Better Life

In 1976, Congress enacted another iteration of the 1965 Immigration and Nationality Act, which restricted the number of visas that could be granted to migrants from each country on a yearly basis. Generations of Mexican families had worked on both sides of the border through the Bracero Program and later through the Twin Plant Programs, but when visas became more limited, this became more difficult. As the violence and economic struggles grew, migration was the only escape.

With the implementation of Operation Hold the Line in 1993, border crossers were pushed out of urban areas and into the desert (Álvarez, & Urbina, 2018). The national plan was to use the danger of crossing the desert as a deterrent (De, 2015). As will become clear in the section that follows, that policy did not work.

Harassment on the border. In the early 1990s, the police and U.S. Border Patrol were viewed in a negative light by residents in El Paso's El Segundo Barrio¹⁴. Residents from El Segundo Barrio many of whom were unauthorized in the United States felt that their immigration status took precedence over their safety in the eyes of the police. This stressful environment was intensified by the frequency of crime including burglary, theft, and assault. When community members would seek assistance from police or Border Patrol, they were scrutinized continuously about their immigration status before they were able to report a crime. El Segundo Barrio is the oldest neighborhood in El Paso and has been the main port of entry into the United States. Nicknamed "The Other Ellis Island" (Romo, 2013), El Segundo Barrio was, and still is home to one of the lowest socioeconomic communities in the entire country, and many residents there are thought to be undocumented (Cornejo, 2011).

Under siege by criminals, the police, and Border Patrol, the residents of Segundo Barrio were isolated and unprotected. In 1992, Bowie High School¹⁵ students and faculty members reported that they were subject to daily harassment by Border Patrol agents, and students, teachers, and administrators filed a lawsuit against the Border Patrol for harassment based on race (Edwards, 2018). The plaintiffs claimed that they were illegally targeted and harassed because they were of Hispanic descent. The landmark case of *Murillo vs. Musegades* (U.S. District Court for the Western District of Texas – 809 F. Supp. 487, December 4, 1992) went to the Supreme Court in 1992, and the courts decided that it was illegal to stop, search, frisk, question, or detain a person based solely on race, gender or religion. This was an important civil right ruling.

¹⁴ Residents of El Paso's El Segundo Barrio were and are primarily Mexican Americans and often first-generation migrants from Mexico.

¹⁵ is located in the Segundo Barrio, approximately 20 feet from the U.S.–Mexico border, on the U.S. side, The name of the high school is not a pseudonym because it is named in the lawsuit.

Border Policy

In 1993, Silvestre Reyes became the Chief Patrolling Agent for the El Paso sector of the Border Patrol¹⁶. At this time, the height of undocumented immigration to the United States there were over 10,000 illegal entries a day on the southern border. Reyes wanted to change the public persona of the Border Patrol while gaining control of unauthorized immigration (Nasser, 2018). NAFTA was drafted in 1992 and spearheaded was by the Clinton administration in early 1993¹⁷, making the border open for capital and goods to flow freely. People were another story.

From apprehension to deterrence. In, 1993, Reyes gathered 400 Border Patrol agents and had them create a human wall by placing each agent 100 yards apart stretching over 20 miles of the border. When the sun rose in the early morning, the border was illuminated with floodlights, courtesy of the U.S. Border Patrol, which highlighted the hundreds of people crossing the border for work that day (Soto & Martinez, 2018). Many of these people were crawling through the scarce water of the Rio Grande River and climbing through holes in the border fence. When confronted by the Border Patrol agents, the migrants turned around and left. The next day, when the sun came up, the migrants returned. However, the Border Patrol agents were still there, denying entry. Mexican nationals who had been crossing the border daily for work for many years congregated on the Mexican side of the border and began to argue with the Border Patrol agents. They held protest signs and yelled that their children would go hungry because their parents cannot find work. They protested that many would suffer if the blockade continues. While these testaments regarding

¹⁶. The southern border is divided into many different sectors. (<https://www.cbp.gov/border-security/along-us-borders/border-patrol-sectors>)

¹⁷ NAFTA will be replaced by the United States – Mexico – Canada Agreement (USMCA). USMCA has been signed by all three country's presidents; however, it has yet to be passed by the legislative branches of each country. That means NAFTA remains in place until the USMCA is passed by Congress in each nation.

undocumented Mexican migrants remained, public support for the Border Patrol in El Paso increased (Cornelius, 2001). Border Patrol agents became inundated by working as physical patrols on the border and therefore, the Segundo Barrio experienced a reduction in crime and the community that was initially being harassed by the Border Patrol noted a decrease in harassment.

Reyes found national recognition with Operation Blockade/Hold the Line, with news about the blockade quickly traveling to California. The belief was that the extreme environment of the desert would make it more difficult to move through these regions (Bean et al., 1994). Movement across the border would be slowed because of treacherous terrain and the belief was that people would be more reluctant to make the trip. Congress thought of this as using geography as an ally against immigration (DeLeon, 2015).

Death in the desert. As border policy continued to drive undocumented immigration out of cities and into the depths of the desert, the economy continued to struggle on both sides of the border (Macias-Rojas, 2018). U.S. farms still depended on labor from Mexican farmworkers, and the Mexican laborers still needed work. Undocumented immigrants would cross along the southern border between Sonora, Mexico into Arizona, via 250 miles of treacherous desert land known as "The Devil's Highway." It is thus named because of the thousands of deaths that occur there when the temperatures rise to over 120 degrees Fahrenheit. There is no water found on the route (Magaña, 2008). Death was nearly inevitable, as it is impossible for anyone to bring enough water on this journey (Anderson & Gerber, 2008). The Devils Highway is covered in crosses that signify gravesites for the thousands of men, women, and children who attempted to cross the border seeking an opportunity for a better life in the United States (Scharf, 2006). The U.S. government knew of this desert tragedy because they stated that one of the indicators for measuring the effectiveness of Operation Hold the Line was the number of deaths of immigrants (Urrea, 2005).

In 1994, the U.S. Customs and Border Protection agency banded together with the Mexican Undersecretary of Population and Migration and Religious Affairs to develop Operation Desert Safeguard. This program increased the presence of U.S. Border Patrol agents from less than 300 agents in 1994 to more than 1,500 agents in the year 2000. It became the Border Patrol agents' responsibility to patrol the west desert corridor with the initiative to decrease the number of migrant deaths (Burquez & Martinez-Yrizar, 1997). The agents and activist groups such as "No More Deaths/No Más Muertes" provided food, water, and assistance to those attempting to cross through the treacherous terrain as a gesture of humanity. It's worth mentioning that members of that group may be facing prison time for their humanitarian work in 2019 (<https://www.npr.org/2019/02/28/699010462/no-more-deaths-volunteers-face-possible-prison-time-for-aiding-migrants>).

Border Crossing Between Ciudad Juárez and El Paso

From 2009-2011, the two central motivations for border crossing between the cities of Ciudad Juárez and El Paso were fleeing violence and economic hardship (Zervoyianni, 2012). In 2009, the minimum wage in Mexico was the equivalent to \$4.70 per day, and the unemployment rate fluctuated between 6.42% 5.38%. Seeking employment in the United States offered economic survival for many Mexican families living on the border (Stevenson, 2011).

In 2009, a time of turmoil and violence in Ciudad Juárez, Mexico's GDP fell 6.5%, and businesses in Ciudad Juárez experienced an extreme economic downturn. Although Mexican President Felipe Calderon blamed the collapsed economy on "external" factors (Cypher, 2010), a key mover in the economic life of Ciudad Juárez was cartel violence. Emmott (2009) reported that the cartel would show up weekly or monthly demanding payments from business owners and if these payments were not made, people would be murdered. Guerrero (2009) made clear that it was

not only businesses that the cartels were targeting for extortion; city officials and the police were also targeted.

Obtaining a visa. Before 2009, it was mostly laborers who migrated without documents in the region, and when the violence in Ciudad Juárez hit its zenith (2009-2010), business owners and government officials began to migrate as well. More middle-class people migrated as a result of the violence (Trevizo & Lopez, 2018). In 2005 there were 437 investor visas granted to people from Mexico and, 21,290 total investor visas granted by the United States; whereas in 2010 there were over 45,222 investors visas granted to people from Mexico and 213,268 from people in the entire world (U.S. Department of State, Bureau of Consular Affairs. Retrieved from <https://travel.state.gov/content/travel/en/legal/visa-law0/visa-statistics/annual-reports/report-of-the-visa-office-2005.html>, 2-3-19). It is estimated that between 2007 and 2011 more than 10,000 Mexican business owners closed their doors and migrated to the United States, to avoid extortion and murder (Rosenblum, Kandel, Seelke, Wassem, 2012). Economically, Mexico was faced with chaos, primarily due to the cartel wars for territorial rights and drug smuggling. Internal factors were more of a factor in this migration out of Mexico than external factors.

Students in my study. What does this history of violence and tumult mean for the participants in my study? The young people in this study are adolescents who are transnational. Transnational is the larger term; transfronterix is a subcategory. What defines them is that they cross the border either daily or weekly. De la Piedra, Araujo, and Esquinca (2018) explain that there is significant literature focusing on transnational students in higher education, a population called "international" students (Soong, 2015; Robertson, 2013; Wallace, 2016). International students are from a wealthy upper-class population who can afford to pay for expensive international education. These students are different from the transnational students who cross the

border to attend high school in El Paso. Transnationalism still exists, but these folks are a particular subgroup (de la Piedra & Araujo, 2012a).

Transfronterizx. While some people move permanently to a new country, others cross the border in both directions daily or weekly in order to attend school or work. These are called *transfronterizx*¹⁸. In the case of my study, these transfronterizx students have back-and-forth lives and they essentially live on both sides of the border (de la Piedra, Araujo, & Esquinca, 2018). Transfronterizx translates to mean, “border crosser” (Zentella, 2009). A transfronterizx navigates in the borderland community (Fránquiz & Ortiz, 2017), utilizing two languages to communicate among family, friends, and educators in both cultures. Transfronterizx students are in a dichotomy referred to as “*nepantla*,” which means “in between two states” (Anzaldúa, 1999). While these students may have crossed back and forth their whole lives, the concept of a transfronterizx differs from the original definition of a transnational. The difference is transfronterizx “physically cross the bridge” (p. 21). Transfronterizx students live and study within short proximity to the border and *ni de aqui, ni de allá* [neither from here nor there] and they are borders and fronteras” (Relaño Pastor, 2007, p. 275). Transfronterizx students’ geographical proximity provides them with access to both countries social, cultural, economic, and political offerings.

Transfronterizx students often feel judged or condemned for crossing (Bejarano, 2010). As de la Piedra, Araujo and Esquinca (2018) point out, the name of the city “El Paso” suggests a place of temporary residency and transition. They reference how the name of the city roughly translates to “passing through”. If the name represents a city where no one wants to stay and make their home, which makes it a cynical view of the city. This cynical view provides outsiders with a

¹⁸ An “x” is placed at the end of the word to denote gender inclusivity, thus replacing the male “o” and female “a” to signify an inclusion of all genders in one word.

misconstrued opinion about the borderland, damaging the perception of transfronterizx, thus affecting identity and literacy development.

The educational controversy. For many families who live in Ciudad Juárez, living close to the city of El Paso is a kind of succor. El Paso is continuously ranked one of the safest cities in the United States, and for parents in Ciudad Juárez, El Paso is a nearby place where they can send their children to school, and where their children can be safe (Gonzalez & Collingwood & El-Khatib, 2017; Rosas, 2017). The educational controversy lies with funding for U.S. public schools, which is paid for through U.S. property taxes, as well as from other sources.

Undocumented students have the right to attend school in the United States. In 1982, the Supreme Court ruled that school districts cannot ask students or parents about immigration status and cannot deny enrollment based on residency status (*Plyler vs. Doe*, 457 U.S. 202, 1982). The Supreme Court ruled that it was discriminatory for school districts to require documentation or inquire about residency status (Soltero, 2006), and it specified that school districts cannot demand social security numbers, inquire about immigration status, or require proof of immigration status from students or parents (Office of Superintendent of Public Instruction). While Texas state officials argued that undocumented immigrants were not in the jurisdiction to receive free public education, the four out of the five Supreme Court judges thought otherwise, stating that all children, regardless of residency status, have the right to free public-school education.

Education law states that no child can be denied the right to an education. In Texas, children attending school can also qualify for free or reduced lunch based on family income, and that includes undocumented students, as well. Students and parents do not have to supply social security numbers to apply for free or reduced lunch, as they can leave the question blank. For Mexican parents, keeping their children safe in a U.S. school, along with the bonus of their children

learning English makes sending their children to school in El Paso an understandable choice, even though they are not contributing monetarily for their children's education.

Time to transfer. The timeline for the cartel violence discussed above is significant to my study because in 2017 my student participants were 14-15 years old. This means that in 2009, when Ciudad Juárez, Mexico was experiencing extreme violence and economic downfall, my student participants were 6-7 years of age. When the violence was increasing through the following years, their families opted to send them to school in the United States rather than keep them in Mexico full time.

In my initial IRB proposal, I intended on including questions about participants' life growing up in Mexico and their experiences crossing the border; however, the IRB denied my request and clarified that I was not permitted to ask any questions about participants' lives in Mexico. Tell us why they said this. Was it about trauma? I am certain that social and psychological trauma play roles in the identity of NELs, even though I was unable to ask them about it directly.

Mexican parents make an educational decision. Conflicted opinions arise concerning Mexican children are being sent by their parents to school in the United States, without paying the taxes to fund public school education (Tessman & Koyama, 2017). Many people in the United States, who pay taxes towards education, see this as depletion of resources, taking funds from within the school (teachers, books, etc.) away from their children and going towards those who do not pay taxes in the United States (Tessman, 2018). However, for these Mexican parents, sending their children to an American school may be a strategy for escaping the threat of daily violence. Along with providing them with a sense of security, students can learn English, which provides them with knowledge and status (Lusk, Staudt & Moya, 2012).

In Mexico, learning English well is typically the purview of those who can afford to attend expensive international schools (Suárez-Orozco, Motti-Stefanidi, Marks, & Katsiaficas, 2018) In the southern region of Mexico, the lower-middle class may have an opportunity to learn English through employment in hospitality, this class of people in northern Mexico learned through tourism or migration to the United States (Ullman, 2015). Ullman (2015) states,

the colonial notion that culture and intellect come from foreign language has a long history among educated people in Mexico, given that in 1919, just nine years after the beginning of the second Mexican Revolution, all Mexican textbooks were written by US authors, and were published in the USA (p. 240).

While learning English in Mexico is reserve for middle-upper class residents, people who live close to the border have the opportunity to cross the border into the United States to be educated in public schools and learn English for free. As chaos and violence erupted in Ciudad Juárez, more parents opted to send their children to the United States to become educated. The stress parents experienced in relation to violence has increased the number of students coming from Mexico to the United States for school, and therefore, has played a role in the growing population of ELs and NELs in El Paso.

EL students attending U.S. schools. With many families and businesses migrating to El Paso, there has been an increase in the number of English Language Learners in the educational system of El Paso. Torres and Martinez (2011) studied students who transferred from Mexican to U.S. schools by gathering data on the number of students enrolled in Limited English Proficiency (LEP) programs. Table 4.4 displays the growing amount of ELs throughout the State of Texas, and more specifically Azteca ISD and Desert City HS..

Table 4. 4 English Learners in High School

| Year | Campus (Desert City HS) | District (Azteca ISD) | State (Texas) |
|-----------------------|------------------------------------|----------------------------------|--------------------------|
| 2009-2010 | 11.8% | 23.8% | 16.9% |
| 2012-2013 | 13.0% | 22.9% | 17.1% |
| 2016-2017 | 21.6% | 25.5% | 18.9% |
| Total increase | 9.8% | 1.7% | 2% |

With the number of ELs¹⁹ increasing yearly, it is imperative to continue to develop educational instruction to assist their language development. The number of ELs in the State of Texas and Azteca ISD increased by approximately 2% from 2009-2017. However, it is important to highlight that the number of ELs at Desert City High School increased by approximately 10% between 2009-2017.

With an increase in the EL population, the district hired more ESL teachers over the past five years. The district reports that certified ESL teachers on each campus, along with resources, are provided. The ESL student-teacher ratio is 22:1. More teachers are added based on the population of NELs in each school. Desert City High School currently has one ESL teacher who teaches two different classes of NEL students, with a total of 45 NEL students enrolled. These resources include computers, an online English education program, instructional materials, and a course pacing guide, along with professional development for all ESL teachers.

Summary

Mexico and the United States are geographically and culturally connected. Both countries share a long history that continues to evolve based on multifactorial issues including economics

¹⁹ Although I am providing information on ELs, my focus participants are NELs, which is a subset of ELs. It is important to note that with an increase of ELs, there is also an increase of NELs.

and migration. Crossing back and forth across the border has been going on for generations for the families in this region (Martinez, 2000). While it has been going on for generations, border crossing and migration have become more difficult since migrants were pushed into the desert. In this chapter, I discussed the history behind the fluctuating boundary of the U.S.-Mexico border followed by the economic destruction experienced in Mexico. I then described how violence from the cartels in Ciudad Juárez forced many to migrate in fear of their livelihood and their lives. With the movement in migration to the United States, I described the controversy surrounding Mexican parents sending their children to school in the United States (transfronterizx). Newcomer children must deal with leaving their home country and being placed into an environment where they must form new relationships with other students and teachers while learning a new language and new educational content, often alone without their families. The newcomers in this study have lived with violence and economic turmoil, and their parents, to protect them, have sent them to school in the United States. They cross the border seeking protection and safety, while at the same time, their home and families reside in Ciudad Juárez, which remains a place of great peril. For these NELs the journey is challenging and perilous both physically and psychologically. In chapter five, I discuss the barriers that NELS face concerning enrolling in the high school chorus.

CHAPTER 5. NEL BARRIERS TO ENTERING CHORUS

In the United States, there are options for the type of schools that children can attend; public, private, and charter. In the public-school system, programs explicitly created for the newcomer population are being developed and fostered at a growing rate (Lang, 2019). Many social and psychological factors play a role in the transition to a new educational system (Short, 2002), and newcomer programs can offer many benefits to newly arrived students. Those benefits include flexible scheduling, targeted literacy development, and content-area instruction to fill educational gaps. They may also include extended instructional time, transitional assistance, as well as social and psychological services (Short & Boyson, 2012). However, Short (2012) has identified some barriers that newcomers face that can inhibit their success and lead to dropping out. Often, NELs struggle to earn enough credits for graduation and they frequently experience negative emotions in relation to standardized testing in English. They may be dealing with family separation and posttraumatic stress, as a result of leaving a place of trauma to attend school in the United States (Hopkins, Martinez-Wenzl, Aldana, & Gándara, 2013).

While newcomer programs offer services within the context of a public school, some schools are designated strictly for newcomers. Newcomer schools follow guidelines that offer accelerated English instruction, providing individual attention within a family-like environment (Williams & Butler, 2003). These schools employ bilingual administrators and teachers trained to support the newcomer population. One of the downfalls of a strictly newcomer school is limited interaction with peers from the host country.

While newcomer programs typically do not have all of these services, they do allow newcomers the possibility of engaging with multicultural peers. They also offer them opportunity to not only become bilingual but bicultural, because they are living and navigating between two

countries (de la Piedra, Araujo, Esquinca, 2018, p. 46). Next, I discuss the newcomer program at Desert City High School.

Desert City High School

Desert City High School (DCHS) opened in 1969 and is located approximately five miles from the US-Mexico International Bridge, and less than a half of a mile from the Rio Grande River. DCHS was the smallest high school out of six other high schools in Azteca ISD. DCHS serves grades 9-12 and is a Title 1 school, which means that it receives federal financial assistance for low-income families, in order to better meet state academic requirements. Title 1 funding pays the salaries of additional faculty and supports new programs. Table 5.1 outlines the demographics of Desert High School students.

Table 5.1 Student Population at Desert City High School

| Student Breakdown | Desert City High School Campus |
|-----------------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| Student Population | 1,130 |
| Ethnicity (Hispanic) | 98 % |
| ELs | 22 % |
| Economically Disadvantaged | 88 % |
| Newcomers | 4 % |

In 2017 DCHS had a population of students of which 1,130 students, with approximately 1,100 Hispanic students. 88% of the students in the school were coded as economically disadvantaged, and 22% of the student population were coded as English Language Learners. 45 students met the criteria to be called newcomers.

When I walked into the entrance of the school, I saw a large display case which housed all of the highest awards honored to DCHS (Field notes, February 22, 2017). Among these awards was an electric guitar signed by the members of the band Foreigner. This guitar was given to the members of the DCHS Choir as prize for winning a choral contest. The contest was open to all choirs in the city, and the prize was an opportunity to perform with Foreigner on stage during their concert when they traveled to the border city. The DCHS Chorus won the contest, performed on stage with Foreigner, and was presented with a signed guitar, which is displayed in the large glass trophy case at the school entrance.

The ESL program at DCHS. The halls of the school were bustling daily with high school students going to and from class. The ESL classroom was located on the second level of the school (Field notes, March 3, 2017). Mrs. Puentes, the ESL teacher, greeted the students in the hallway as they entered the room, a small classroom with four rows of desks, five desks in each row. The teacher's desk was positioned in the back corner of the classroom, and the students faced a large portable whiteboard where the teacher directed her lesson. Mrs. Puentes used an INFOCUS projector to deliver her lessons, directing questions to particular students and reminding them to respond in English. If they did not understand the question, she repeated the question in Spanish, received a Spanish response from the student, and then Mrs. Puentes would translate back the response into English for the student to repeat. The students worked on a district-mandated literacy program called Achieve 3000, and class met for two periods every day, so Mrs. Puentes saw the students for seventy-seven minutes a day, five days a week.

NELs in choir. There were 35 students enrolled at the beginning of the semester in the beginning/intermediate choir class. The NEL students in the choir were Karen, Robert, Alicia, and Borris. Except for Karen, all of the NELs had attended school in the United States for seven

months when the study began. Karen had been living in the United States and attending school here for nineteen months, the longest of all the NELs. The year prior, she had attended a different high school, so this was her first year at DCHS. Robert's family decided to send him and his brother to El Paso to live with their grandmother, to school in the United States. Alicia lived in Mexico with her family during the study, and she got up at 5 A.M. to get ready for school so that she could cross the international bridge each day. Alicia had been in Mrs. Rossi's piano class, but this was her first time in choir. Borris lived in Mexico with her dad and sister, and like Alicia, she rose early and crossed the border with her sister to attend DCHS. While this was her first time in choir, Borris was involved in other school activities, such as sports and piano.

Getting Registered at Desert High

Imagine you are a 14-year old who has moved in with her uncle in the United States, leaving your family behind. You have arrived at a new school with your uncle, who speaks some English. First you meet the assistant principal to set up a time to take the IOWA and the IDEA, tests that assess your ability to listen, speak, read, and write in English. Your next stop is to visit the school counselor, who assesses your *boleta* (the transcript from Mexico), to determine which courses you will take. Up to this point, these two school officials are the only known adults in your new environment. Imagine yourself in this process.

That registration is what Heath (1982) defines as a literacy event, "occasion in which a piece of writing is integral to the nature of the participants' interactions and their interpretive processes" (p. 93). Communication surrounding the event as well as the rules of engagement and interaction also define a literacy event (Baynham, 1993). The event of registration is the initial barrier to NELs enrolling in choir. If students have not completed any *secundaria* credits (high school in Mexico), they are coded as 9th graders.

The Role of the School Counselor

The role of the school counselor is to help foster academic achievement in the students by scheduling them in their coursework, help them with developmental needs, foster career readiness, and develop social skills according to national and state-mandated standards. In order to become a school counselor in Texas, one must obtain a Master's degree in school counseling and have two years of prior teaching experience. Williams & Butler (2003) remind us that newcomers face many challenges upon arrival, including inadequate social support, racial discrimination, and taking into account new learning styles in the host country.

Newcomers also face language barriers, educational gaps, economic hardship, fear of deportation, lack of acceptance, and separation from their families (Bringham & Campbell, 2003). Garcia-Joslin et al. (2015) write that a counselor must employ "an understanding of the cultural context of social-emotional, behavioral, and/or academic concerns" (p. 217), when working with NELs during the registration process. While this would be ideal, many times it is not the case.

Aldana and Martinez (2018) conducted a study in California in which they found that counselors had different levels of expertise concerning their knowledge about serving newcomers, especially when it came to reading and interpreting transcripts.

Williams & Butler (2003) state that "counselors are usually the first major contact person that newly arrived immigrant students encounter. Therefore, counselors should be well positioned to inform students of available services that can assist them in transitioning into American public high schools" (p. 15). School counselors have a significant advisory role in the process of newcomer registration. It is important to understand how newcomer registration is supposed to happen, and that is what I call the "idealized" process of high school registration. As I will make clear in this chapter, there is a difference between the ideal and reality.

The “idealized” process of high school registration. Registration is supposed to follow a specific process, but it often does not. Sometimes NELs arrive with enough credits to be entered as sophomores, but usually, they are registered as freshmen and take regular high school coursework, even though they do not speak English yet.

The counselors then identify which credits the NEL needs for graduation. Credits are awarded in half value or whole value. A half a credit value is granted for one semester of work and a whole credit value equals two full semesters of work. Those requirements include 26 credits in total, which must consist of English language arts credits, mathematics credits, science credits, social study credits, a physical education (P.E.) credit (to include $\frac{1}{2}$ health), language other than English credits, a fine arts credit, elective credits, and a speech credit (TEA, 2017). Table 5.2 breaks down the credits by course and amount required for graduation in the state of Texas.

Table 5.2 Texas High School Course Requirements

| Course | Class | Amount of credits required for graduation |
|-----------------------------|--|---|
| English Language Arts | English 1 English 2 English 3 English 4 | 4 |
| Mathematics | Algebra 1 Algebra 2 Geometry Any additional course | 4 |
| Science | Biology Chemistry Physics Any additional course | 4 |
| Social Studies | U.S. History U.S. Government (0.5 credit) Economics (0.5 credit) World History World Geography | 4 |
| Physical Education | One Credit (0.5 must be in health) | 1 |
| Language other than English | Two credits in the same language | 2 |
| Fine Arts | One Credit | 1 |
| Electives | 5.5 Credits | 5.5 |
| Speech | 0.5 Credit from either Communication application Professional application | 0.5 |
| Total | | 26 Credits |

NELs are enrolled in ESL classes and ELA 1 at the same time. Along with completion of their coursework, students are expected to pass the following End of Course (EOC) STAAR tests: English Language Arts (ELA): English 1, English 2; Mathematics: Algebra 1; Science: Biology; and Social Studies: U.S. History. Table 5.3 outlines the End of Course STAAR requirements for graduation.

Table 5.3 End of Course (EOC) STAAR Required for Graduation

| Course | EOC Test | Grade test is taken |
|------------------------------|------------------------|--------------------------------|
| English Language Arts | English 1 English 2 | Freshman (9) Sophomore (10) |
| Mathematics | Algebra 1 | Freshman (9) |
| Science | Biology | Sophomore (10) |
| Social Studies | U.S. History | Junior (11) |

All courses and STAAR tests are traditionally completed within the four-years of high school.

Scheduling and registration at Desert City High School. To understand how NELs began the scheduling and registration process, I focused on the initial enrollment process for the NEL students attending DCHS. During this process, family members usually attend the initial meeting with the assistant principal and the counselors. At DCHS, the registration process of NELs occurs in Spanish. Table 5.4 displays the initial testing process upon arrival at the school.

Table 5.4 Contact with Administration to Determine Placement

| Administrator | Action taken | Purpose | Placement |
|--|-----------------------|---|-----------------------------|
| Meet with Assistant Principal and take tests | IDEA Proficiency test | Listening/speaking | Score < 40 % = LEP |
| | IOWA | Reading/writing | Score > 40 % = no placement |
| Meet with counselor | Assess <i>boleta</i> | Determine credits earned/credits needed | Freshman or sophomore |

The assistant principal schedules the NEL to take two placement tests. The IDEA Proficiency Test (IPT) is an online assessment that measures listening and speaking, and the IOWA assessment measures reading and writing. A student who scores at the 40th percentile or below is coded as Limited English Proficient (LEP). These students are then required to enroll in the ESL course.

After the student has been coded as LEP, they are sent to the counselor, who reviews their transcripts. The counselor assesses each transcript and places the students into courses so that by the end of the year they will qualify to be coded as a sophomore (10th grade). While I mentioned earlier that some counselors have trouble reading transcripts from other countries, the counselors at DCHS were able to read the *boletas*.

Core credits and STAAR testing. NEL students enroll in the following core classes: ESL, ELA 1, Algebra 1, Social Studies 1, Biology 1. In April of the year they enroll, they are required to take the ELA 1 and Algebra 1 STAAR. Students who fail the STAAR test are provided with multiple opportunities to retake and pass the test. But in order to graduate from high school, they must pass the test. It is offered three times a year, in spring, summer, and winter. If students pass the STAAR test but fail the class, they must retake the course to earn enough credits to graduate.

The requirements for ELA 1 are twofold; that is, they must pass the course to gain credit and pass the STAAR for ELA 1. If students pass the ELA 1 but fail the STAAR, they earn the credit, but still need to pass the STAAR to graduate. With their parent/guardian's permission, they can go on to ELA 2, so they remain on a 4-year high school trajectory. It is also possible to make up the credits by attending summer school. If they choose to go on to the ELA 2 without passing the ELA 1 STAAR, they have to take and pass both ELA 1 STAAR and ELA 2 STAAR in the same year. If a student failed ELA 1 and ELA 1 STAAR, they could (with parents' permission) take ELA 1 and ELA 2 simultaneously the following year, in order to remain on a 4-year high school trajectory. This is not the desired path, but it is possible.

In my study, all four NELs passed the ELA 1 course; but Borris was the only one who passed the ELA 1 STAAR. Robert, Karen, and Alicia failed the ELA 1 STAAR and had to retake it until they passed. The following year, they enrolled in the ELA 2 course, but were still required to pass the ELA 1 STAAR and ELA 2 STAAR. When Borris entered DCHS, she entered as a sophomore but was required to take ELA 1, so she was technically a year behind with her course requirements. Since Borris passed her ELA 1 course and her ELA 1 EOC STAAR, she moved on to ELA 2. She opted (with her parents' permission) to take ELA 2 and ELA 3 simultaneously to catch up to her

classmates and remain on a four-year high school trajectory. There is no EOC STAAR test for ELA 3, only coursework, so the only English STAAR she would have to take is for ELA 2.

Daily school routine. DCHS students take eight classes each day. The NELs are initially in their core classes, along with physical education, speech, and one other elective credit. Once the core credits have been scheduled, the counselors look at their previous (if any) fine arts credits to schedule their elective courses.

When NELs start school, they are immediately behind their peers, because native students are accustomed to the coursework and they have been preparing for standardized testing. In fact, standardized testing in Texas begins in the 3rd grade. Besides learning core content, such as math, science, social studies, and ESL, NELs are also required to take and pass the algebra STAAR and ELA 1 STAAR test their first year. This is difficult to do. And as their time in high school goes on, the challenges increase exponentially.

English Language Arts and the STAAR: A Conundrum

The rules that are driven by standardized testing and graduation requirements put NELs in the absurd position of taking ELA 1 and ELA 2 simultaneously. This is extremely problematic. To compare the curriculum between ESL, ELA 1 and ELA 2, I display table 5.4 to represent the main elements of ELA that are taught in the first three months of ESL 1, ELA 1 and ELA 2. ESL 1 incorporates basic concepts of language including pronouns, tense, and basic components of a story. ELA 1 and 2 focusses on elements of writing, including annotation, literary elements, and essay writing.

Table 5.4 Curriculum and Assignments Comparing ESL 1, ELA level 1, and 2

| ESL 1 | ELA 1 | ELA 2 |
|--|---|--|
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Subject Pronouns • Present Continuous Tense • Possessive Adjectives • Adjectives • Possessive Nouns • Prepositions of Location • Characterization • Components of a Story • Identifying the main Idea of a passage • Identifying Theme • Making Applications | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Annotate • Visual cells/sentence stem • Elements of fiction • Characterization • Fiction vs. non-fiction • Body Biography • Figurative language • Essay framework • Inference notes | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Annotate • Review Literary elements • Levels of questions • Title/paraphrase/connotation /attitude/shift/title/theme • Characterization • Elements of nonfiction • Persuasive vs. expository • Essay framework • Writing introductions • Writing conclusions • Writing body paragraphs • Organizational patterns: Compare/contrast and cause & effect |

Now, imagine being a NEL and taking ESL and ELA 1 at the same time. The ESL class began the semester focusing on basic elements of language, pronouns, tense, adjectives, and other parts of speech. Whereas, ELA 1 focuses heavily on annotation, identifying concepts within literature, and types of essay structures. ELA 2 has a heavier weight on literary analysis and essay writing. Taking two levels of English at the same time is educationally absurd, because level 1 is a prerequisite for level 2. However, this was the schedule that was created for Borris. She was

enrolled in ELA 2 and ELA 3 at the same time and was very stressed about getting through the semester successfully and passing the ELA 2 STAAR (Borris, personal communication, November 2017).

Systemic Challenges for NELs

Short and Boyson (2012) state that it is essential for newcomers to be afforded an opportunity for literacy development in the content areas, extended time for assignments, connection to social services, and diagnostic monitoring of their data. These are key forms of support that allow them to be successful in school. The requirement of having to earn four credits of English in four years is the greatest challenge for NELs at Desert City High School. They must do all of this while maintaining passing grades in all of their other credit courses.

The barriers for NELs at DCHS are systemic. These NELs are fourteen or fifteen-year-old students who had attended U.S. schools for two years or fewer, and yet, they were required to take and pass the ELA 1 and ELA 2 courses, as well as the STAAR test within the first two years of school. Although some online resources were available to them, they only had access to them during school hours. The counselors routinely enrolled NELs in speech class during their first year at DCHS. Speech class requires a high level of English proficiency, specifically in speaking and listening, and they took this course with native English speaking 9th graders. I was curious as to why the counselors did this, and I explore their reasoning in the next section.

Taking speech, the first year of school. The challenge of learning English and graduating from high school in four years was compounded by the challenges that all teenagers face, such as fitting in, socializing with other students, and understanding and grappling with their own teenage identities (Jaffe-Walter & Lee, 2018; Oikonomidoy, 2016). Texas State graduations requirements determine that all students be required to take a speech course and, therefore, newcomers were

placed into speech without fully understanding what the class entails. The counselor told me that in Azteca ISD it was standard practice to enroll all freshmen into speech in their first year.

Counselor Discretion

Although the state requires one ½ credit in speech and one ½ credit in health, it is not a requirement to take these courses during the first year. It was merely something the counselors did. It was not just NELs that were enrolled in speech their first year; the counselor was adamant that all freshmen students must be enrolled in speech class during their first year in high school. For non-ESL students, enrolling in speech class during the first year should not be problematic. However, the syllabus for speech class requires a basic understanding of English. Of course, first-semester NELs need time to develop this.

Speech class requires rigorous work that students must write and present by speaking in English. All four language skills are necessary in speech class, both the productive ones (speaking and writing) and the receptive ones (listening and reading). The problem lies therein. How can NELs be expected to complete these assignments at a high school level in English, when they are absolute beginners in English? Figure 5.3 explains the pacing calendar for speech.

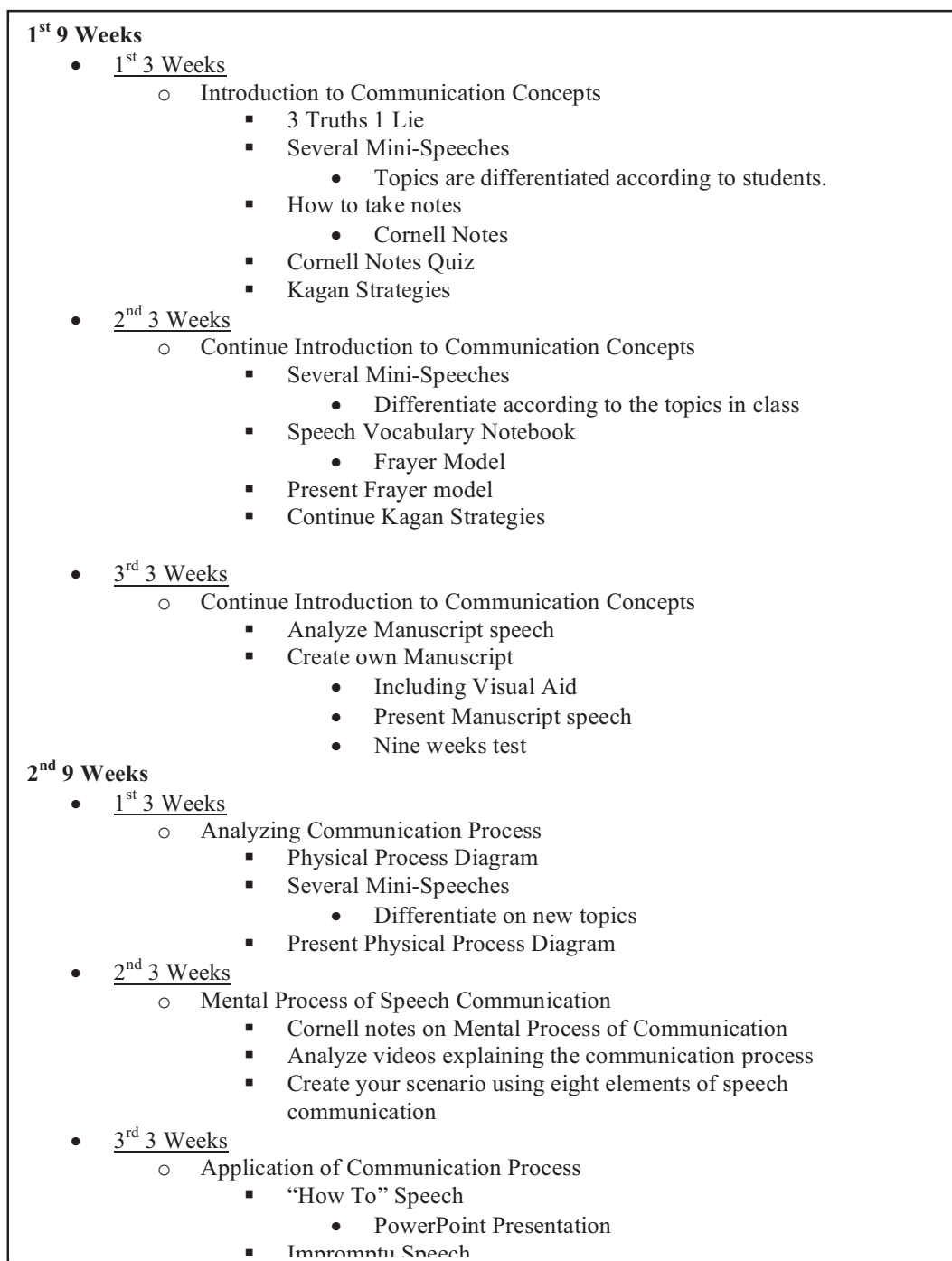


Figure 5.3 Pacing Calendar for Speech Class

Figure 5.3 presents assignments for speech class, and the first one is writing an giving "mini-speeches." While this may be fine for a native English speaker, creating and performing a mini-speech during the first three weeks of school in a new language is nearly impossible. The

pacing calendar presents different models for speeches that are to be developed and performed. Within the first six weeks, the students are required to create and present speeches in front of the class, and by the sixth week of school, they must analyze a manuscript and create their own manuscript.

How can they be expected to analyze and create a manuscript within six weeks of learning a language, when Cummins (1988) and others make it clear that can take years to develop that type of language? It is absurd. By placing NELs in speech during their first year of studying in English, they are set up to fail and/or drop out. For NELs, the first weeks and months of school at DCHS present social, emotional, and academic challenges that are beyond most people's ken.

The NELs were doing their best to navigate a new educational system in a new language. Mrs. Puentes told me:

They just want to be able to survive, and they want to survive the moment, the week, you know, that month, just survive. They just want to survive. They would accept whatever schedule is given to them because they do not understand. Newcomers do not understand when they are asked 'do you want speech'? They did not understand the implications, and they were not ready for the class (Mrs. Puentes, personal communication, April 5, 2017).

When analyzing this quote, one word stood out: survive. These four students were told to leave their homes, fleeing the violence and economic turmoil in Ciudad Juárez, and then they came to the United States and were placed in a class where they were asked to complete unfamiliar assignments in a new language without any emotional, social, or academic support.

Schedule Intervention

If counselors want to help NELs succeed, they need to educate themselves about the requirements of the courses that they put into the students' schedules, especially during that first semester. Choir, which involves more guided language use than speech does, might be a productive approach. Mrs. Puentes, the ESL teacher said she knew the coursework required for speech was inappropriate in their first year, and she considered that the counselors misinformed about coursework expectations when it came to NELs. Indeed, it would benefit the NELs if the counselor and ESL teacher could work together in the future when registering NELs. The ESL teacher could assist by interpreting the state regulations for the NELs and helping them make informed decisions about their schedules.

Transition. When the newcomers attend their first few weeks of school, they are in a period of intense adjustment. NELs may not be living with their parents; sometimes they were living with extended family members, whom they may not have known well. Often, they are deeply homesick, and do not get to see their families for extended periods of time. Others have to find their way to school on their own, crossing international borders alone each day. These NELs are transfronterizx students, and they are fleeing extreme violence caused by drug cartels and drug wars. While a school with a newcomer program has the potential for NELs to interact with native English speakers, the program at DCHS is limited in terms of counselor knowledge and awareness of coursework options for them, as well as in terms of offering counseling and other social supports. It is clear that counselors' bilingualism is not enough.

Need for social networks. Ream (2018) stated that Mexican-American students might face underachievement in part, because of their unstable social networks. Therefore, the development of a dynamic social networks of support, such as ESL teachers, content area teachers who know

how to work with ESL learners, counselors, and peers are crucial to their social stability and academic success. It is almost as if the social currency they arrived with is not accepted in the United States. They had social capital in Mexico, but they have to start over in the new country. Having the feeling that their culture and native language are appreciated by teachers, counselors, administrators, and their peers is crucial to their developing sense of belonging (Yosso, 2005). Their relationship with the ESL teacher is critical, because this is the first link they encounter with an adult who makes them feel understood. For these transfronterizx NELs, their ESL teacher was the sole anchor to their new school and community. NELs need to interact with teachers, counselors, administrators, and peers who have some degree of cultural competence.

Cultural Competence

Cultural competence is the ability to provide services based on a profound understanding of cultural, social, linguistic, and educational needs of a person, in this case, transfronterizx NELs (Munger, Murray, Richardson, & Claussen, 2018). The cultural competence of the adult participants, specifically, the counselor and the ESL teacher, play a profound role in the process of registration and the educational trajectory of the NELs. For these NELs, their ESL teacher Mrs. Puentes was more than a teacher. She was a mentor and a person the NELs could come to for clarification and advice on social, cultural, and educational matters. Cultural brokering is the act of mediating and negotiation between two members of from different cultural backgrounds. Furthermore, a cultural broker act as a bridge or link to negotiate and resolve conflict (Jezewski, 1990). Cultural brokering during registration and scheduling affected the type of elective courses they were able to take. To further understand what the counselors needed to know about what the NELs had on their *boletas*, I provide a brief description of the public education system the NELs came from in Mexico.

Education in Mexico. Educación Básica is a free, compulsory public education system for children ranging from pre-kindergarten to 9th grade. Secundaria is education that is similar to 7, 8, and 9th grades in the United States and while it is technically compulsory, there are no consequences for not attending. Educación Media Superior is comparable to the 10th -12th grades in the United States, and is optional. As in the United States, there are more schooling options for students in urban areas than there are in rural ones. In rural areas of Mexico, there are also bilingual programs that support bilingual education, with Spanish and Indigenous languages (Hamel, 2008; Hamel, & Francis, 2006).

There are different types of secundarias in Mexico, and they include academic programs (secundaria general), technical programs (i.e., secundaria técnica), and distance learning (i.e., telesecundaria) (Schmelkes, 2003). Telesecundaria services an education for students in rural parts of Mexico. The students visit a facility that occupies a television set and satellite that project lessons during the hours of 8 A.M – 2 P.M, and 2 P.M. – 8 P.M on Monday through Friday, and 8 A.M – 3 P.M on Saturday (Wolff, de Moura Castro, Navarro, & García, 2002). Students who attend secundaria general or telesecundaria are able to attend upper level education. Students who attend secundaria técnica can attend non-academic programs that emphasize vocational or commercial training (Guichard, 2005).

The curriculum for the secundaria general and telesecundaria include Spanish, mathematics, science (7th-grade biology, 8th-grade physics, 9th-grade chemistry), the geography of Mexico and world geography, history, civics and ethics, foreign language, physical education, technology, and art (music, dance, theatre, and visual arts). The curriculum for secundaria técnica is a non-academic track that includes vocational, combined with vocational training. The curriculum for telesecundaria is an academic self-paced model where lessons are presented via videotape and

grade is done through correspondence. Curriculum also includes lessons on values and self-care (Gertler, Patrinos, & Rubio-Codina, 2006) Telesecundaria contains a rigorous curriculum that is prepared by teachers and delivered to the students via teaching assistants. There is a library of the curriculum that can be viewed via by videotape (Shapiro, & Trevino, 2004).

If students can afford to continue their education past the 9th grade, they will attend preparatoria. Preparatoria is equivalent to grade 10th -12th (high school). There are many different models of preparatoria and the cost for a semester of education is approximately the equivalent of \$4,500 (Attanasio, Meghir, & Santiago, 2011) 5.4 outlines secondary school education offered in Mexico.

Table 5.4 Description of Secondary Education in Mexico

| Type of school | Secundarias (academic), Técnica (Technical), Telesecundaria (Distant learning) | Preparatoria |
|-----------------------|--|--|
| Curriculum | Spanish Mathematics Science Geography World Geography History Civics and Ethics Foreign language Physical education Technology Art Técnica – Vocational Telesecundaria – self- paced, correspondence | State mandated requirements by the Secretaria de educación pública <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • General Propedéutico • Tecnológico • Profesional Técnico al Bachiller • Técnicos Equivalentes al Bachillerato |
| Grade level | 7,8,9 | 10,11,12 |
| Attendance | Compulsory | Not mandatory |
| Cost | A fee of 200-500 pesos, used for what is called útiles (i.e., uniforms and materials). | Tuition (typically \$4,500) |

Unfortunately, due to the cost of tuition, many Mexican students remain unable to continue their schooling and must enter the workforce. Some decide to cross the border into the United States to attend school. Understanding a little about the Mexican educational system provides insight into the educational background of the students transferring to the United States.

De la Piedra, Araujo and Esquinca (2018) argue that "transnational students bring unique assets to educational settings such as engagement of people in language and literacy practices that span national boundaries" (p. 153). Counselors and educators can tap into NELs funds of knowledge (Moll, Amanti, Neff, and Gonzalez, 1992) to enhance learning and promote a successful transition.

Smith, Jiménez, and Martinez-Leon (2003) agree that the U.S. educational system can be strengthened if educators embrace the literacy practices of NELs. They continue by stating, "educators can expand their understanding of reading and writing, and how to teach them, by considering the literacy practices of other countries" (p. 772). If educators could utilize funds of knowledge and literacy practices that incorporate a focus on cultural arts, it would strengthen the education of the NEL. Lems (2005) employs the notion that while ELLs may not have the tools to express their cultural and linguistic funds of knowledge, they are still able to express their emotions through the creative component found within music.

De la Piedra, Araujo and Esquinca (2018) describes how a teacher in their study utilized the prior knowledge of the transfronterizx students to bridge a network of caring, thus creating an environment of comfort and safety for students. Transfronterizx NELs are able to contextualize their discourse between their home and school, between one country and the other. They are then able to use flexible literacy practices allowing learning to become enhanced. In my study, one significant teacher who understands the transfronterizx NEL is Mrs. Puentes, the ESL teacher. She served as a guiding light for the NELs, in part, because she once was a NEL herself.

Elective options. NELs and their parents/guardians were provided a list of elective options, but they were only offered the title of the course. There were no written descriptions or summaries of the courses, just oral descriptions by the counselor, whom it turned out, was not familiar with course content. When it came to choosing elective courses, the counselor looked for prior fine arts

coursework on the *boleta*. If it was the school counselor that was doing the scheduling, then it seems that it should be their responsibility to learn about the coursework and objectives of each required course and elective course.

When a family member accompanies a new student to the registration meeting, cultural brokering is likely to occur. Cultural brokering happens during a meeting where one person reduces cultural conflict by acting as a mediator. The term began as a method of translation (Harris & Sherwood, 1978), but more recently Valdez (2002) has called this phenomenon being a family interpreter. When NELs register for school, accompanied by a family member, even though the discussion is happening in Spanish, there are assumptions about the U.S. educational system that administrators and counselors make that are likely to not be shared by the NEL and their family member. Mrs. Puentes suggested that the family involvement in course selection weighed heavily during the registration process, noting:

A lot of these kids, they were not doing the talking themselves. They come in with relatives. They came in with their parents, with their *tia*, with their grandmother. Sometimes they come with two or three adults so it's a group, and when they are selecting classes, the kids are not making the choice. Somebody else, the adult, who is bringing them or guiding them or taking them through the registration process, is the one who is making decisions

(Mrs. Puentes, personal communication, April 5, 2017).

I did not have the opportunity to witness this process because my study did not begin until the second semester, but Mrs. Puentes and the counselor agreed that when NELs come in for registration, many times the adult present decided which courses they would take.

The NELs and their family members bargain knowledge during registration, especially when they are unfamiliar with the process of registration, graduation requirements, and accountability testing. They rely heavily on the knowledge of the counselor during this time, which, as Aldana and Martinez (2018) state, can vary, depending on the counselor's understanding of elective course components. The literacy event of scheduling and registration can be further defined by the ideological model which attends to activities and events "and their associated ideologies as they take shape within particular social, political, and, historical contexts" (Orellana, Reynolds, Dorner, & Meza, 2003). The events that occur during the cultural brokering process within registration and schedules are affected by social and political ideologies of the people in attendance.

During scheduling and registration, conversations within the literacy event are what Orellana, Reynolds, Dorner, & Meza, (2003) call "paraphrasing as a literacy practice." The activity of paraphrasing during the event allowed people to interject opinions. The authors state:

paraphrasing is shaped by the nature of participants' relationships; their cultural beliefs; task operations and demands (the activity itself, including the necessary tools to accomplish the task); the scripts of conduct (i.e., the forms of participation); and the purposes or goals that participants bring to the situation (p. 20).

While cultural brokering during scheduling and registration was a negotiation of sorts, the counselor told me that there were times when the negotiation could become strained. Because the ESL teacher knew more about coursework content and language development, it would have made sense for her to either be present during registration, or to train the counselors.

The Elective Process and It's Limitations

It should be noted that being bilingual was not a requirement, to become a high school counselor in Azteca ISD. In order to be considered for a counseling position in the district, one must have a master's degree in any subject, a Texas School Counselor Certification two years of full-time teaching experience, knowledge of educational programs, and a demonstrated ability to work with students, parents, and school personnel. When administrators evaluate a counselor candidate, they assume that knowledge about the school and its programs will happen on the job. It appears that this does not always happen. When I spoke with the counselor about NEL schedules, she said:

If they have any fine arts credits at all, they usually arrive with 0.5 of a fine art credit. We look at what type, of course, they took in their home country and pair them up for the second part of the credit. If they took [visual] art back in their home country, then we place them in art. Usually, they come from Mexico with art or dance credits. In the 12 years, I have been a counselor at this school, I have never seen them come with a choir credit. We only put them in choir if they specifically ask to be placed into the choir.

(Counselor, personal communication, April 2018).

Fine arts courses in Mexico include a variety of fine arts. Many times, a fine arts course includes a rounded arts education where two months is spent on visual arts, two months on music, two months on dance, etc. It is disheartening to find that after 12 years of being a high school counselor, she had never seen anyone come in with a choir credit.

If students, parents, or guardians are not familiar with the U.S. educational system, and often they are not, they would not know to request enrollment in chorus. This is what has been happening for NELs at DCHS. NELs usually come with a half credit of general fine arts which as

often described as art, and the counselor interprets that as a visual art class, and consequently places them in visual arts to fill the whole credit. Counselors interpret fine arts to mean visual art only, and that it detrimental to NELs.

DCHS electives. DCHS offered a variety of fine arts courses including band, choir, orchestra, guitar, piano, folklórico, general dance, theatre, and visual art. When NELs register, the counselor looks at their *boletas* for any type of fine arts credit. She told me that sometimes they come with a credit that denotes dance on the *boleta*, and it is possible that *baile folklórico* could lead to their being enrolled in dance, to complete the fine arts component.

Nelson, Bustamante, Sawyer & Sloan (2014) conducted a study on the cultural competence of high school counselors and found that cultural competence required an action plan and was not something that was continuously reflected upon. The researchers found that counselors had to be reminded to recognize the strengths of their students in order to properly place them into the right classes. When NELs come to the school, the counselors end up curating their course selection. The students can not know what to ask for, as they are not told what is available and what is required. Nelson, Bustamante, Sawyer & Sloan (2014) believe that "school counselors are well positioned to use a strengths-based assessment process and culturally sensitive action plan to improve the organizational cultural competence of their school environments" (p. 230). The school counselors have the power to shape the environment of the school by developing sensitivity towards cultural competence and the courses that were offered throughout.

Difficulty locating NELs in choir. After speaking with 20 high school choir directors in the city, I had a difficult time locating NEL participants who were enrolled in the chorus. When I first approached Mrs. Rossi at DCHS about the possibility of doing this study, she told me that she did not have any NELs in her chorus at that time. This study inspired her to recruit potential chorus

members in the ESL class, and the four NELs who participated in chorus did so because of the ESL teacher and the chorus teacher. The NELs made this decision against the advice of the counselor. They were only enrolled in choir with the help of the ESL teacher and the choir teacher. I wonder about the "working knowledge of the curriculum structure" that the counselors had about chorus class.

I began to wonder whether this was the case in other parts of the country. The main reason NELs are not placed in music classes is that their credits are used instead on remedial core classes such as English and mathematics (Elpus & Abril, 2011; Lorah, Sanders, and Morrison, 2014).

Elpus and Abril (2011) created a national demographic profile of students enrolled in high school music ensembles, and they found a national decline in music ensemble enrollment since the 2001. This decrease in music ensemble enrollment corresponds with NCLB and the institution of a battery of standardized tests for students across the country. Elpus and Abril (2011) also found that students from higher socioeconomic backgrounds were more likely to be enrolled in music ensembles. Furthermore, they found that students whose native language was English were twice as likely to participate in a music ensemble than those students whose native language was Spanish.

Lorah, Sanders, and Morrison (2014) also investigated the status of the music ensemble participation. Their study incorporated a data set of more than 15,000 students from all over the nation, and they found that only 13 % of NELs participated in a music ensemble. Their work echoes what Elpus and Abril (2011) found, which was that the socioeconomic status between ELLs and non- ELLs was also a factor in music ensemble participation. NELs with higher SES were more likely to participate in a music ensemble than those with lower SES. Also, their findings align with Elpus and Abril's (2011), confirming the underrepresentation of ELs and NELs in high school music ensembles. The findings of Lorah, Sanders, and Morrison (2014) and Elpus and

Abril, 2011 were consistent with what I found, as well. The national demographic profile was of high school students who were enrolled in band, choir, or orchestra. Elpus and Abril, 2011 stated “the ability to request and schedule a music class, often requires a working knowledge of the curriculum structure and a certain institutional perseverance that may not be familiar to or comfortable for families unfamiliar with the U.S. educational system” (p. 240). Across the country, as well as DCHS, NELs and their cultural brokers arrive without knowledge of the U.S. system of public education, and unfortunately, counselors who are neither culturally competent nor aware of the curriculum make decisions for them.

Barriers to Continuing in Chorus. As is the case nationally, I found that NELs at DCHS were not being enrolled in chorus (Elpus & Abril, 2011; Lorah, Sanders, and Morrison, 2014). Mrs. Rossi gently reminded the NELs that because of the deal they had made with the counselor for this year, and they would have to enroll in health at some point next year (Field notes, April 12, 2017). During a follow-up conversation with the NELs (November 2017), I asked them to give me a follow up about their schedule. Karen told me that she was still in the choir class. Alicia said to me that she was in piano but could not be in choir because the counselors told her it would not fit into her schedule. When I asked Boris if she was in chorus this year, she frowned and told me no. She said that the counselors would not let her join chorus; she had to take health so that she could graduate on time. Robert told me that he was not in the chorus anymore, and that he wanted to be in sports this year. He said that he was happy to have had the opportunity to have been in the chorus.

Robert told me that he had had an uncomfortable experience with his brother because his brother made fun of him for being in choir. Gender inequality when it comes to sports and music are present in the literature (Koza, 1993/1994b; Trollinger, 1993/1994). Sports are viewed as being

more masculine than choir, causing many boys to feel pressure from their family and friends to avoid it (Hawkins, 2011).

Activity System of NELs in Choir

Activity theory helped me to understand the relationship between the components of the activity system including the subject, object, rules, and division of labor. Counselors and NELs were a part of the community where their activity during registration affects the outcome of the subject: the NEL. The counselor was a member of the DCHS community and interacted with the NEL to schedule, core classes, elective classes. The NEL was the subject who was being scheduled. The counselor was the central mediator and interpreter during scheduling so they were involved in the structure of activity. The scheduling process required the counselors to follow a set of rules that are part of the infrastructure in AT. Figure 5.2 outlines the activity system of NELs in high school chorus.

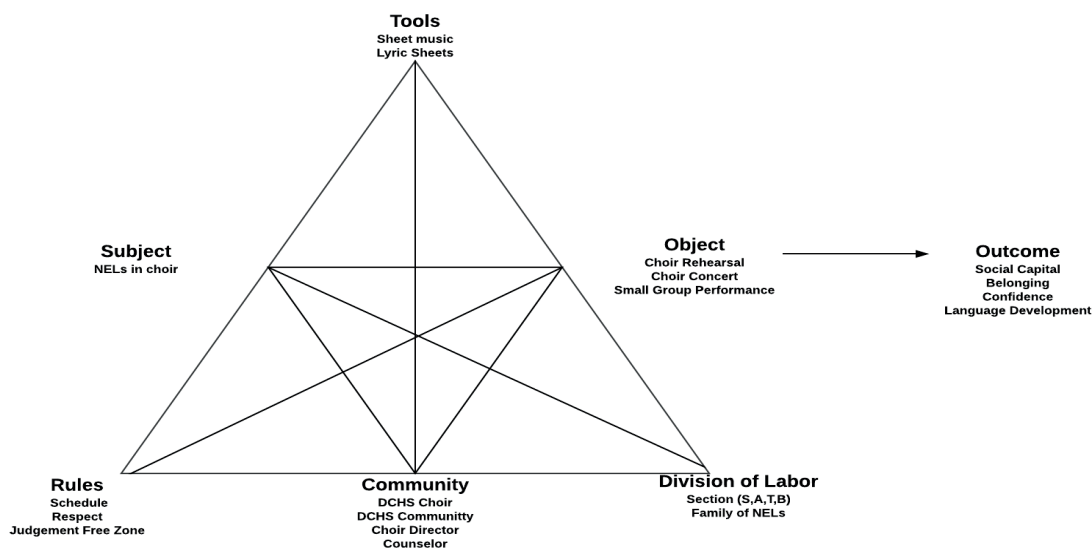


Figure 5.2 NELs in High School Chorus: Activity System

In the activity system, the schedule of the NELs was bound by the rules for graduation set by the state of Texas. By this, I mean that the NEL is required to take certain number of courses and pass the corresponding STAAR tests before they can graduate. Also, the school must take responsibility to ensure each student passed the STAAR test. The activity involved in scheduling elective coursework was driven by the counselor's interpretation of each elective. This entity played a significant role in the activity system both socially and academically because, the schedule determined the NELs pathway through the school, as NEL makes their way from one class to another. The NELs were affected social because, each day as they walked through the halls of DCHS, the NELs encountered other members of the DCHS community who were also on their pathway to their classes. Every day, the students traveled the same route and come into contact with one another whether it be verbal or non-verbal contact. The NELs were affected academically because their schedule determines the core and elective coursework, which, if the elective is assigned by the counselor, suggests bias.

Contradiction between Subject, Community, and Rules

Many times, the decision or class choice was not made by the student but was made by an aunt, uncle, brother, or another family member just because the newcomer is overwhelmed and looking for familial support. This may be the case when individual family members speak more English than others so they may feel more comfortable speaking on behalf of the student. Other times, individual family members may have more experience with formal education, either in the United States or Mexico. Figure 5.5 represents the activity system where the contradiction between the subject, rules, and division of labor affected the outcome of the scheduling process.

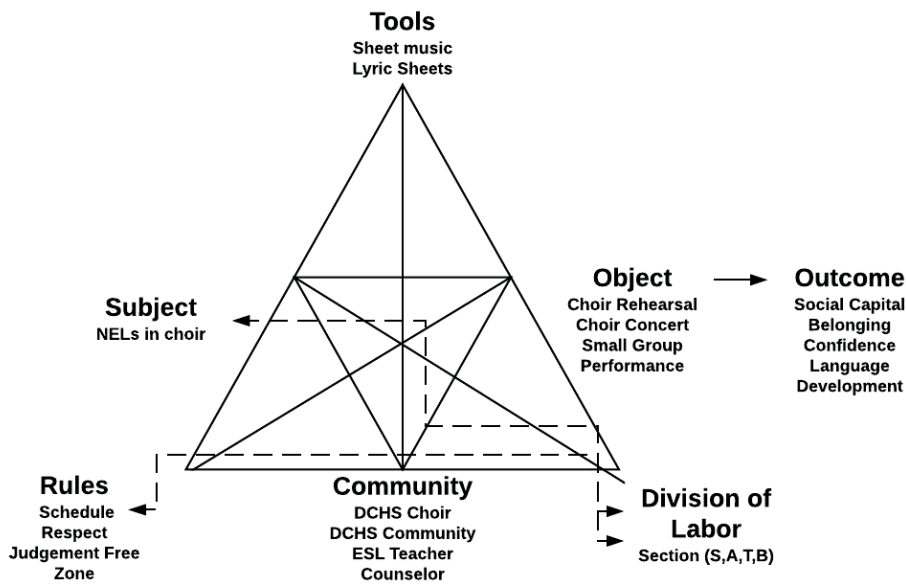


Figure 5.5 Contradiction of Subject, Rules, and Division of Labor

A contradiction occurred when a new entity was introduced to the activity system (Lincoln, Lynham, & Guba, 2011). When the new entity was introduced to the system, a change in the rules and the division of labor occurred. Here, the new entity that was introduced was cultural brokering by family members. The contradiction occurred when the family members took over the decisions regarding the type of elective to take. Cultural brokering affected the outcome of the NELs schedule. The rules then contradict with the division of labor because the NELs were no longer determining the courses to select. In sum, cultural brokering was a contradiction creating tension within the activity system. The tension caused the autonomy of the subject (NEL) to become becomes null, and the decision of elective choice was then determined by an outside source.

I learned that NEL students do not typically have much agency in their registration process. Course selection varied based on who is advocating for the NEL in the meeting. Based on prior

course content knowledge, the group comes to a consensus on which courses the NEL should enroll. Unfortunately, there is a quagmire. Choosing a course of study can be difficult because you do not know what you have not previously explored. At the same time, the adults involved (parents, guardians, family members, counselor) may or may not have the knowledge and information about what the student should take. If part of the counseling process is about the individual and another part is about state requirements, how is the individual component represented? The counselor needed to find out about the student. There should be an interview process or conversation about their background. Unfortunately, this does not exist. The counselors were overwhelmed with scheduling all of the students in a short period, so they did not put as much time or thought into the process.

Whatever the case may be, the student received a schedule, which was to be followed their first day of class. If a student as placed into the wrong course, it was up to them to go back and visit the counselors for a schedule change.

Alicia was placed in general English, rather than the ESL class with Mrs. Puentes. The very first day, the teacher asked Alicia to read out loud. She did know what the teacher was asking, and she burst into tears. The teacher focused on another student so that Alicia could regain her composure, but the trauma had already occurred. The English teacher got Alicia to the counselor for a schedule change. For students who do not yet speak English, it is difficult for them to realize that they were in the wrong class, let alone to know what to do when that happens.

Scheduling is a complex process. It is imperative that counselors realize that the transition to a new environment is an extremely traumatic and challenging time for NELs and their course selection should be specialized with great care.

Summary

The systemic obstacles to gaining access to choir stem from the "effort to facilitate student learning in the core areas of literacy and numeracy" (Lorah, Sanders, & Morrison, 2014, p.240) deeming music to a "second-dose" (p. 240) course. That means that NEL's schedules are severely limited in terms of electives. What Lorah, Sanders, and Morrison mean when they talk about a second dose course is that elective courses are considered secondary to core courses such as math, English, science, and social studies. It is incredibly uncommon for NELs to be placed in choral studies, both at DCHS and nationally.

Furthermore, scheduling and cultural brokering can act as barriers preventing newcomers from participating in choral music classes. The challenges for NELs are daunting. In the next chapter, I explore the role of the chorus in the development of social capital among the four NELs who found their way to choir.

CHAPTER 6. DEVELOPING SOCIAL CAPITAL IN HIGH SCHOOL CHOIR

In this chapter, I explore the aspects of developing social capital, in relation to the specific activities of bonding, bridging, and linking (Arriaza & Rocha, 2016; Patulny & Lind Haase Svendsen, 2007) that I saw among the NELs I studied. I recognize that this is a special way of discussing the development of social capital, so I begin this chapter with a discussion of Bourdieu's concept of social capital, and then move to an explanation of this more recent approach. But first, I must offer a reminder that the NELs in this study came to Desert City High from an environment of violence and economic turmoil. Karen, Borris, Robert, and Alicia were fourteen to fifteen years old at the time of this study. Karen had been in the United States for 19 months, and Borris, Robert, and Alicia had been in the United States for mere seven months.

It is important to remember that many times transfronterizx youth come to the United States without their immediate family and stay with extended family while going to school. While that is not necessarily the case for NELs across the country, it is the situation for the NELs in this study. When transfronterizx students come to the United States, they leave behind their established support system of family, friends, and community members. This is a dire situation for anyone who migrates, but it is especially harsh for young people to be so untethered to their support systems.

Karen, Borris, Robert, and Alicia are transfronterizx students, as well as NELs. While the literature on transfronterizx students is emerging (de la Piedra, Araujo, Esquinca, & Delgado Gaitan, 2018), much is known about the support that NELs need, in order to support their transition to U.S. schooling (Lucido, & Leo, 2015). When NELs arrive, they are expected to navigate their new environment alone. Suarez-Orozco, Pimentel, and Martin (2009) state that "successful adaptations among immigrant students appear to be linked to the quality of relationships that they

forge in their school settings” (p. 717). The relationships they form with teachers, peers, and even administrators can have a powerful effect on them. Through the activities of bonding, bridging, and linking, in choir, quality relationships among the NELs and the community can be formed.

While friendship with peers are important, connecting with supportive adults are equally important. Suarez-Orozco, Pimentel, and Martin (2009) note that "in addition, connections with teachers, counselors, coaches, and other supportive adults in the school are important in the academic and social adaptation of adolescents and appear to be particularly important to immigrant adolescents" (p. 717). Connections with adults who can guide and assist in their transition to the new environment can begin by establishing culturally relevant practices that assist the social and emotional needs of immigrant students. Initially, school staff must understand that immigrant students often experience anxiety and stress, stemming from cultural and language barriers (Birman, 2002). Many times, this stress is accompanied by pressure to choose between cultures or to become more "American," accompanied with mixed feelings regarding cultural and social alienation (Ladson-Billings, 1995). All of these emotions are accompanied by a loss of support from the home country, compounded by the necessity to learn a new language at a rapid pace (Suárez-Orozco & Suárez-Orozco, 2001). They may also be deeply homesick, missing their families and friends. Because of this accumulated stress, NELs need peer and adult support.

Social-emotional development can be developed in the context of school programs that support social-emotional skills. That support includes:

- (1) being in an environment where it is safe to express emotion;
- (2) having teachers who are emotionally responsive and model empathy;
- (3) having clear expectations and limits;
- (4) separating emotions from actions;

- (5) encouraging and reinforcing social skills such as greeting others and taking turns; and
- (6) creating opportunities for children to solve problems.

(Center for the Study of Social Policy, n.d.).

Programs that assist students in social and emotional well-being help them learn to formally and informally interact with others, including how to respond to bullying. In 2015, the U.S. Department of Education published guidelines for counteracting the bullying of newcomers. They suggested educating teachers and students on celebrating people from diverse cultural, linguistic, racial, and ethnic backgrounds. It is reported that NELs who have interactions and support from adults and peers in their community are more likely to have a positive outlook (Smith, 2018). This work encourages students to communicate effectively and respectfully, and for teachers and students to understand that bullying will not be tolerated in school. The social and emotional needs of NELs are as important as addressing academic challenges.

In this chapter, I suggest that the NEL students in my study, who have historically experienced such social and economic turmoil, need to develop social capital. I discuss how choir is an environment for social belonging, trust, social networks, and connections, and the development of norms and values. All of this is supported with data from the choir rehearsals and three choir performances. Choir rehearsal is the daily routine that leads to performance; therefore, these two data sources are discussed throughout this chapter. I begin by defining social capital, and then show examples from my data about how chorus class helps to develop them.

Social Capital

The term “*social capital*” was a concept developed by Bourdieu (Bourdieu, 1985; Bourdieu, & Passeron, 1990; Coleman, 1988) and is defined as “the aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to possession of durable network of more or less

institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance or recognition” (Bourdieu, 1995, p. 248). Resources refer to the relationships, interactions, and exchanges that occur within a social community or group (the network). These social networks are comprised of “two elements: first, the social relationship itself that allows individuals to claim access to resources possessed by their associates, and second, the amount and quality of those resources” (Portes, 1998). Bourdieu (1986) reiterates that it is not the quantity of membership within the community but quality of the relationships among members within the community.

Bourdieu on social capital. Bourdieu viewed society as a construct driven by power and status. With this lens, he perceived society to consist of cultural, economic, linguistic, and social capital. Cultural capital is institutionalized during early childhood and incorporates the habitus; dispositions imbedded over time. Economic capital consists of possessions that can modify, providing status within a community. Linguistic capital is embodied in an individual’s presentation of language. It refers to their ability to communicate through language stemming from their social and cultural upbringing (Bourdieu, 1977).

Social capital consists of networks and group membership (Bourdieu 1986). Bourdieu viewed social capital as a way to increase power and status, that is, membership in a group is utilized to propel power and status. Social capital resources are obtained by individuals who possess “more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition” (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992, p. 119). That is, social capital is propelled by the level of investment in social group membership. Bourdieu asserts, that it is social exchanges involve “capital and profit in all their forms” (Bourdieu, 1986, p. 241) and therefore catapult power and status towards prominence in society. Bourdieu (1985) suggested that social capital is based on mutual cognition and recognition in terms of obtaining symbolic capital. Symbolic capital

represents how the outside community recognizes and views the organization, therefore developing social capital increases the value of the group. Cultural capital is established through the early years of life and is a part of one's upbringing. Economic capital is established by the modification of an individual's properties. Finally, social capital is developed through membership in organizations, and propels one towards power and status within society (Bourdieu, 1986).

Valenzuela (1999) takes up Bourdieu's concept of social capital by understanding the development of social capital as neither a single entity nor the attributes of individuality, but rather, she argues that "social capital is defined by its function in a group or network structures" (p. 27). That is, social capital is determined by the relationships of individuals within a community of people. Social capital is not intrinsic within a social network; however, it comes to be when interaction and communication are combined with the tools or resources found within a social network. Positive social acts, such as earning good grades, being allowed to perform in concerts, praise from a teacher or peer, all promote social capital because they are valued as social opportunities or resources (Valenzuela, 1999).

Bartlett and Garcia (2011) expand upon Bourdieu's idea of social capital, arguing that "the social ties that connect students (peer social capital) and the relationships developed with adults at the school or other educational support organizations, which are also known as institutional agents" (p. 189). The ties that group together a social network are in place through norms and values. NELs can flourish when relationships with peers and teachers within the community are encouraged. These connections are formed through school organizations including clubs, athletic teams, or musical groups. While this view on social capital suggests that social capital is the foundation for power and status with the community, other scholars have a distinctive

viewpoint suggesting that it is the individual that develops social capital (Coleman, 1988; Langston, 2011; Putman, 2000; Woolcock, 2001).

Agency in social capital. Coleman (1988) refers to individuals within a social network as actors. He posits that social capital consists of structure facilitated by the actors. That is, actors develop social capital through the norms and values within the network. While it is the individual who develops social capital, it is built through an entire network of relationships (Field, 2016). Suarez-Orozco and Suarez Orozco (2001) argue that the "acculturation process in which cultural practices are first learned in childhood are a part of socially shared repertoires that make the flow of life predictable. Social flow changes in dramatic ways following immigration," (p. 73). That is, how individuals experience life growing up are represented in their social identities. These identities shift after immigration. The NELs in my study would have experienced cultural practices at home or at school in their native countries, but experienced a shift when they attended DCHS.

Social capital in the music classroom is developed through the connections formed among individuals (relationships with peers, teachers, community members) and system networks (community, school) that "provide access to resources and forms of support that facilitate the accomplishment of goals" (Bartlett & Garcia, 2011 p. 189). Connections between members of the chorus include those between the teacher and student and among the students themselves. Supporting each other with that choral network is an important factor because without support, the network will not thrive. Without the support of a social network, even those who are academically strong may not be successful. With the high demands placed on students to be successful on state-mandated tests, it is essential for NELs to develop social capital.

The activity of the choir rehearsal leads to the objective of a performance, which results in recognition. Within the choral organization, a sense of belonging and pride is fostered through a public display of success, that is, successful performances. Through the activities of practice and performance, I provide examples of how a sense of belonging and pride is fostered through recognition, within the social network of the high school choir.

Building relationships among students is part of what creates a supportive culture within the chorus. Adderley, Kennedy, and Bertz (2003) say "one could even venture to say that the social climate of these surroundings contributes to the solidification of these unions" (p. 201). That is, the perceptions shared by the people within the environment determine whether a supportive culture is in place. The culture and environment developed in the choral classroom plays a significant role in forming relationships by supporting a sense of belonging. Practice and performance are collective activities that require all members to work together to obtain an ultimate goal, that is, a quality product that can be presented to the community. Gibson et al. (2004) state that economically marginalized youth academically and socially improve when they experience a sense of belonging. While relationships with teachers and the community as a whole are important, it is those relationships with peers that significantly enhance their chance for academic success.

More recent literature (Coleman, 1988; Putman, 2000; Woolcock, 2001; Stone, 2003) suggests a more recent approach to the development of social capital, positing that social capital is developed through bonding, bridging, and linking among the members of the choral network. Bonding are the strong ties between individuals who are extremely close and know each other well such as close family and friends. Bridging, is forming a relationship with people from similar identities including teachers, colleagues, or acquaintances. these individuals have similar status and power, they may come from different social groups. Linking references relationships with

others who are at a different level of the hierarchical scale. These would include organizations or institutions such as government agencies, companies, school systems, or in this case, the classroom and the audiences who attend the performances. These actions solidify ties within a network system, benefiting the members of the group. First, he suggests the importance of networks and communications. These networks include the relationships with the members of the organization who solidify norms and values as their core component. In choir, this includes the choir director and the students in the choir. Reciprocity and obligations are another indicator of social capital because they are the foundation of trust. For example, in choir, the members make a commitment to practice and perform. That is, as a part of their membership, everyone must commit to daily rehearsal. When performance time arrived, it was understood that everyone must show up on time and perform to their best ability. Mrs. Rossi told the students:

Everyone must show up to the concert. If we rehearse every day with a full choir, and on performance day half of the choir decides not to show up, then those people have let down the entire choir (Field notes, March 24, 2017).

Trust is critical because social interaction is solidified by the goodwill of two parties (Dietz, 2000). Members must trust that everyone will do their part during practice and performance. The success of the choir depends on trust. Langston (2011) considers norms and values as an indicator of social capital because they signal the acceptable behaviors shared by the organization. When all of these indicators are in place, Langston argues that social capital can be developed. Next, I explore how social capital was developed within the community choir that Langston studied.

Social Capital in a Community Choir

Langston (2011) examined the development of social capital in the Milton Community Choir located in Tasmania. Through analyzing the narratives of chorus members, Langston (2011)

posits that social capital is developed through bonding, bridging, and linking. In this study, he identified the presence of participation and interaction, trust, shared norms and values, reciprocity and obligations, and learning. Langston concluded that choirs are a strong resource that can benefit an entire community. The community benefits by developing a sense of pride in their choir, asking them to perform for a multitude of events throughout the year. Choir members feel an inherent obligation to perform for their community, because they have solidified their obligation to the organization. While his findings are based on that of a community organization, he calls for the importance of further research in other types of choral organizations, and I take up that call. I suggest that social capital is developed in similar ways in the Desert City High School choir.

Developing social capital. Developing social capital is determined by the value of the resources within the social network. The resources in the choral network are found within the activities of practice and performance, such as vocal warm-ups directed by the teacher, sight reading exercises which utilize note reading and solfege²⁰, and working on vocal technique as a group or in smaller sections. These resources are valuable because they are the tools used practice that lead to a successful performance.

Lin (2017) suggests that social capital is developed through network resources such as bonding, access to bridging, and the quality of relationships on all levels, or linking. Building network resources includes having contacts outside one's group. Relationships within the network and outside the network are on a micro and macro level of sociological theory. In the micro level, the relationships are between the members within the organization. The macro level is the entire community as a whole. Developing strong ties allow the individuals within the organization to

²⁰ Solfege is the method in music education to teach pitch. Solfege incorporates hand signs to correlate with different pitches (Do, re, mi, fa, sol, la, ti.). There are seven different names to represent seven different pitches in a major scale.

function cohesively (Granovetter, 1973). The strength of a tie culminates over time through “emotional intensity, intimacy (mutual confiding), and the reciprocal services which characterize the tie” (Granovetter, 1973, p. 1361). Through practice and performance, choristers must submit emotionally, creating an intimate bond that can only be between the members. Developing this bond strengthens the tie. Creating a cohesive link between the micro and macro requires the organization to develop connections both inside and outside the organization, which is done through bonding, bridging, and linking. I show through my data, that within the choral organization at DCHS, the members perform activities through practice and performance to strengthen these ties. To develop the concept of social capital within the construct of the DCHS choir, I explore the development of social capital through three actions: bonding, bridging, and linking (Langston, 2011; Patulny & Lind Haase Svendsen, 2007).

Practice and Performance

I show examples from my data that bonding, bridging, and linking occurred during the activities of practice and performance. First, I explain the activities, and then I break up the actions into the categories of bonding, bridging, and linking. The choir rehearsed every day for 47 minutes. The daily routine was consistent and included the activities of vocal warm-ups, audiation, sight-reading, and music repertoire rehearsal. All of these activities were in preparation for their performances. During the semester, the chorus was working toward three major performances: A Spring Concert, Small Group/Solo Performance, and the Senior Farewell Ceremony performance. Table 6.1 outlines the type of performance, date of performance, place where the performance took place, the audience permitted to attend the performance, and the music performed at each performance.

Table 6.1 Description of performances

| Performance | Date (2017) | Place | Audience | Music performed |
|--------------------------|-------------|-----------------------|---|--|
| Spring Concert | April 6 | DCHS Stage in Theatre | Open to public | 1. Did not My Lord Deliver Daniel 2. Just the Way You Are 3. Only Hope |
| Small Group/Solo | May 23 & 24 | DCHS Choir room | DCHS Chorus | 1. Stand by Me 2. Let Her Go |
| Senior Farewell Ceremony | June 6 | DCHS Gymnasium | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Senior class • DCHS student body • DCHS community | 1. Good Riddance |

The spring concert and Senior Farewell Ceremony were performances where the choir performed as a whole choir. Mrs. Rossi selected the repertoire for these concerts and the students selected the songs they sang in the Small Group/Solo Performances Karen, Borris, and Alicia selected *Stand by Me* (King, Lieber, Stoller, 1960). Robert elected to perform a solo and the song he selected was called *Let Her Go* (Rosenberg, 2011). Now that I have outlined the context for the semester, I explore examples of bonding, bridging, and linking through practice and performance.

Bonding

Bonding refers to relationships between people who are alike in their identities such as family, or friends who share a similar cultural background. Bonding is a link that connects people or relationships. The choir is made up of a mix of girls and boys, all of whom are beginning singers. The members of the choir are separated into sections based on their vocal range (soprano, alto, tenor, and bass). Langston (2011) suggests that bonding in chorus includes participation between the chorus and the director, supported by the development of trust within the organization.

Mrs. Rossi reiterated to the choir that they are just like a team and that they must treat each other like a family. She said that when it is time to perform in front of an audience, they must have complete faith in each other that they will deliver their very best performance.

From the beginning, it was stated on the wall of the choir room the importance of working together as a team. The choir director decorated the room with posters and pictures promoted positivity (Field notes, February 17, 2017). The acronym CHOIR, as shown in Figure 6.1, was transformed into meaningful motivation and enhanced an environment that promoted social belonging.

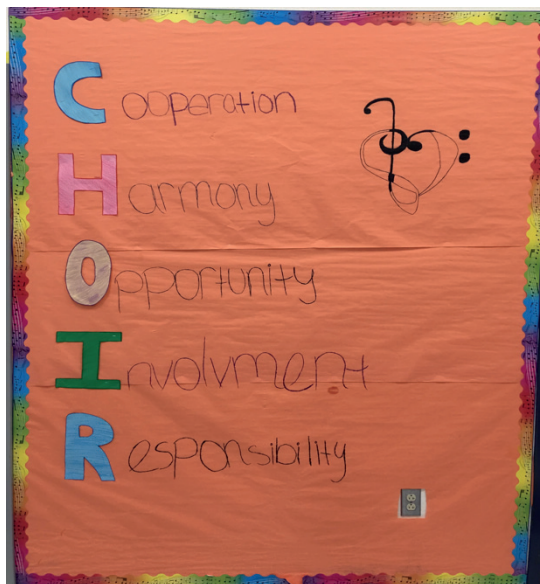


Figure 6.1 Acronym for Motivation in the classroom

The components of the mnemonic acronym are C (cooperation), H (harmony), O (opportunity), I (Involvement), and R (Responsibility). These five ideas represent the type of environment that is expected from the members of the choral community. They reflect motivation and social belonging. According to Bourdieu (1986), “the network of relationships is the product of investment strategies” (p. 52). In this case, the choir is reminded of their responsibility to be invested in the choir organization.

Interactions through participation. The students volunteered to join and participate in chorus after Mrs. Rossi visited the ESL class, by singing a Selena to them. However, it was not that simple because they were encouraged by their counselor not to enroll in chorus. After Mrs. Rossi sang for the class, Mrs. Puentes, the ESL teacher, passed around a sign-up sheet, so Mrs. Rossi could take it to the counselor for a schedule change. As I described earlier, it was very difficult to locate NELs in high school chorus, and because of this, Mrs. Rossi approached Mrs. Puentes' ESL class to recruit participants into chorus. Mrs. Puentes explained:

It was not until Ms. Rossi came and explained and was trying to recruit kids that she explained the program and that they saw them in action at one of the pep rallies. That is when they started having some interest in it

(Mrs. Puentes, Personal Communication, April 5, 2017).

It seems that the ESL students were not really aware of chorus until they saw them perform publically, and until Mrs. Rossi personally recruited them. Mrs. Puentes told me that the ESL students first saw a choir performance at a pep rally at the beginning of the year, which is a school event to get students excited about school spirit. Exhilarating the crowd at the pep rally is exciting for many students because they become motivated to support their school. When Mrs. Rossi came to the ESL classroom to specifically recruit these students, she told them that the choir performed at school events such as the pep rally. Mrs. Rossi asked the class, "Did you see the choir perform at the pep rally? These are some of the performances that the choir accomplishes" (Mrs. Puentes, personal communication, April 5, 2017). The entire NEL class (24 students) was presented with a brief explanation, and four NELs volunteered to participate in chorus. It is the voluntary participation that made this an example of authentic participation. (Langston, 2011). Voluntary participation in chorus can simply occur because of the love of singing. A member does not have

to be an extraordinary singer, just a willing participant. Langston (2011) noted that one of his participants, participated in choir because it gave him a sense of belonging. The sense of belonging to something greater than himself motivated him to join, participate, and interact as part of the group.

Voluntary participation is only the beginning stage of developing social capital. Once the NELs joining chorus, they began interacting with other members of the choir, especially within their voice sections, in the unfamiliar environment of the choral classroom. It is their interactions within the members of the new environment where social capital begins to be developed. Once the Robert, Alicia, Karen, and Borris were enrolled in chorus, they began the process of practice, preparation, and performance, which are the components involved in the social activity of the chorus. Interactions for bonding created a sense of unity within the choir. Because Mrs. Rossi created an environment of inclusion, she requested that the members of the choir treat each other like family. Interaction occurred between the NELs, other choristers, and with Mrs. Rossi. All of these interactions occurred during practice and performance.

Courtesy and respect for one another was a component that Mrs. Rossi requested of the members of the choir. Although interaction among NELs and other choristers was minimal, there was a bond forming among them. Small gestures upon greeting one another is an example of bonding.

As the choir began their warm-ups, the choir interacted as a whole with the choir director. Mrs. Rossi told everyone to get up and stand in a circle. Karen, Borris, and Alicia stood next to each other. Another soprano stood on either side of Karen and Alicia. They did not talk to one another, but they gestured with a small wave and head nod
(Field notes, March 10, 2017).

Their waves and head nods were greetings, and signs of courtesy. Although it was a simple gesture, it showed an openness to possible communication in the future. If they had ignored each other, and not even acknowledged their existence, further communication would be less likely. Lopez & Bartlett (2014) stated that “language learners can choose under what conditions they will interact with members of the target language community and that the language learner’s access to the target language community is a function of the learners’ motivation” (p. 5). This means that the students who join a performance-based elective such as choir interact in a different way than a non-performance class, such as visual art. In order to perform for an audience, the student must put themselves on display. There must be some motivation that is intrinsic. The reason for being motivated can be different for everyone and must come from within the individual, when an environment of safety and social belonging is created (Parker, 2010).

Bartlett and Garcia (2011) found that "students wanted more opportunities to develop their English at school, especially since they often lacked such opportunities at home" (p. 208). Barlett and Garcia (2011) are talking about a Newcomer School, where there aren’t L1 English speakers to interact with. They were in a different situation. However, it is often the case that NELs in a program still don’t have much contact with L1 speakers, because of their schedules and cliques. While the NELs’ initial motivation to join chorus might have come from their will to improve their communication in English, their motivation was shaped by Mrs. Rossi. However, once they were in the choir, they were able to interact with other members of the choir forming a bond with others outside of ESL.

As the choir class progressed, I observed a pattern of interactions among the NELs in chorus class. While the majority of interactions were among the four of them, occasionally they

interacted with the teacher and other members of the chorus, as well. Interactions among the NELs were mostly in Spanish.

Each day when the students entered into the choral classroom, Robert, Alicia, Borris, and Karen always went to the same corner in the back of the chorus classroom. Other students had a spot that they had designated as their own, as well. The NELs would enter together, proceed to their corner, place their backpacks down and wait for Mrs. Rossi to begin.

Membership

Langston (2011) argues that membership in organizations with a similar network design also assists in the development of social capital. When students are members of another organization that has similar norms and values, it is beneficial for the student. For example, Borris is a member of the swim team at school. Robert plays basketball on his own, and although he doesn't currently play for the school, it is something he wanted to do. Alicia is in piano class, so she is surrounded by musicians in a class other than choir. Belonging to multiple networks is important because it solidifies social interaction in different settings. Langston (2011) states that:

involvement with other groups facilitates the maintenance of active links, helps to maintain a big picture view of community opinions, and attitudes, and facilitates good social interaction, and networking (p. 173).

Karen, Alicia, and Borris played piano in Mrs. Rossi's piano class, and Borris was involved in sports. Robert said that he played basketball, but also stated that he wasn't on an actual team. When they were in their ESL class, I noted that Robert was sitting close to Karen, Alicia, and Borris, but he did not interact with anyone except Mrs. Puentes. He was quiet. The girls however, interacted with each other.

When I visited the ESL class, I noticed that they sat near each other but not next to each other. Mrs. Rossi had asked the class to read the passage on the board and discuss the meaning with each other. They had two minutes to discuss. Even though the girls were not sitting next to each other, they leaned over and began talking to each other. There was another student sitting between them, and they included that student in their conversation, but most of the conversation was between Karen and Borris. The conversation was partly in English, but also in Spanish (Field Notes, April 5, 2017).

This is an example of bonding because the NELs were negotiating meaning among one another. I am not sure about their relationship with the student sitting in the middle, but Karen and Borris communicated with each other with ease. In the ESL class, the seats were placed in rows; however, in chorus, standing was on the risers based on their voice part. This suggests that the girls felt comfortable with each other and were more willing to stand (or sit) next to or near each other daily.

Interactions among the choir. The choir is separated into voice parts, distinguishing the harmonic musical line that is to be sung. Within each section of the chorus (soprano, alto, tenor, bass), the members of the sections participated in interactions where connections were formed. For example, while the teacher worked with the boy's section (tenor and basses), connections were being made within the bass section and among the other section members. The section would work together with the teacher to develop proper vocal technique. While the other students would sit on the risers talking quietly, the boys worked with Mrs. Rossi at the piano.

Robert and Andrew stood next to each other while working in sectionals, even when they were not told to do so. They did not talk often, and when they did their interaction was brief. Sometimes Robert would look confused, and he would learn in and look over at Andrews music. Andrew would point in his music and show Robert the spot where they were singing.

The next day, the tenor section and bass section were instructed to go up to the piano to work with Mrs. Rossi. As the boys made their way to the piano, Robert and Andrew stood next to each other. No words were exchanged between the two boys, but at one point Robert stopped singing. It appeared that he was lost and did not know where the rest of the boys were in the song. Andrew noticed and leaned over to Robert's music sheet and pointed to the part in the music where they were singing. Robert smiled and nodded. I noted that Every time the boys were called to the piano, they stood next to each other. I noted that Robert and Andrew stood next to each other on the risers for rehearsal and at the concert (Field Notes, March 10, 2017).

This is an example of the bond being strengthened between Robert and Andrew over time. Granovetter (1973) suggested that strong ties are built over time through intimacy. The boys were isolated in front of the piano, with the girls sitting on the risers staring at them. Their vulnerability was on display in this social setting, and therefore the connection between the boys intensified. They relied on the fact that they would not be singled out, that their section would be able to form a bond creating a sense of strength.

Mrs. Rossi explained that she allowed the students to choose where they wanted to stand on the risers, as long as they were standing with their respected voice parts. They stood next to each other by choice. A connection was formed, if a minimal one, between the two boys was based on being in the tenor section, and in entire chorus itself (Coffin, 2004). Their bond strengthened the section and the connection allowed Robert to develop a minimal, mostly nonverbal relationship with Andrew. (Putnam, 1995). Once initial interactions were established within the section and within the chorus as a whole, trust among the members and the chorus as a whole can begin.

Trust. Trust is a mutual form of confidence and belief that people can be depended upon to maintain expectations. Trust is earned through participation and interaction, and it is an indicator of social capital (Langston, 2011). Trust is developed in chorus through the development of team bonding. Mrs. Rossi explained that in order to execute a successful performance, they had to bond together as a team. Self-enforcement of norms, which includes the routine of the choir rehearsal, were developed through the trust that each individual will act appropriately. When the members of the chorus feel like they belong to the group, each member is important; they develop a sense of trust in one another and as the chorus as a whole. Developing a sense of trust can begin by developing trust with the choral director, then developing a circle with other individuals, and eventually, the circle gradually widens to the chorus as a whole.

Developing trust in the choir director. Singing in a chorus is a group effort. The members of the chorus must develop trust in each other and the director. They must trust that the director will teach them the right notes and rhythms but also how to create a pleasant tone, one that they can be proud of during a performance. An example of developing trust in the choral director occurred when I observed the girls rehearsing for a Small Group/Solo Performance. Alicia, Borris, and Karen rehearsed their song at the front of the class, Mrs. Rossi helped them by giving them advice on how to improve their performance. She offered some words of advice pertaining to their singing technique such as vowel production and forward placement of the tone. Other advice pertained to lyric placement and which word would land on each beat of the song.

All of the other students were in practice rooms, so the only people in the room were me, Mrs. Rossi, Borris, Karen, and Alicia. When the girls went up for their turn, they took three microphones off of the three microphone stands and turned their backs to the audience, as if they were going to sing to the wall. The students practiced (with their backs

facing the wall) with the choir director for the duration of their turn, which lasted for the next ten minutes (Field notes, May 5, 2017).

I thought it was very strange that the girls sang facing the wall. Mrs. Rossi did not correct them, she let them sing to the wall. They were nervous, so maybe this was Mrs. Rossi's way of allowing them to feel comfortable for their first time singing with the microphones. This was an example of bonding between Mrs. Rossi and the girls. Mrs. Rossi allowing the girls to stand the way they wanted to, made the girls feel comfortable. The action of bonding meant that a connection was made between close members of the group, and Mrs. Rossi was attempting to bond with the girls by allowing them to stand backwards. Mrs. Rossi wanted the girls to feel like they could trust her, and when she did not tell them to turn around, the girls were able to begin the process of learning to trust Mrs. Rossi.

To my surprise, the next time I observed the class, they attempted to do the same thing, singing to the wall. Mrs. Rossi coaxed them to turn around. On this day, there were a couple of other choir members lingering around the room.

The rehearsal looked like this:

One girl sat at the piano and others were stood in a corner. The other students did not seem to be paying attention to Alicia, Borris, and Karen. As the girls faced the wall, Mrs. Rossi explained to them that this was a safe environment, a judgment-free zone, that no one would laugh or make fun of them for any reason. The girls turned around and began to practice. As their fifteen-minute practice period passed, they became more comfortable. Karen started the rehearsal with her one hand around her stomach and the other holding the microphone. She held the microphone away from her mouth at first, but as time progressed she would slowly pull the microphone closer to her mouth. Her hand was

hugging her stomach and remained there through the first run through of their song. The second run through, Karen placed her hand by her side instead of over her stomach. She placed the microphone closer to her mouth and as the song progressed the girls looked to each other for support (Field notes, May 10, 2017).

It was very interesting to see the girls' emotions change within a matter of moments. Their initial fear was softened by the teacher's explanation of the safe environment. Not fully convinced at first, the girls eventually turned around. Karen tended to hold her hand over her stomach when she was nervous as I seen on other occasions. Their nervous laughter remained throughout their practice time, but eventually they turned around and sang into the microphone. It was a process for them to develop trust in each other as a small group of singers, and to develop trust in Mrs. Rossi. That trust, among the girls and with the choral director, is the beginning of building social capital.

Developing trust in each other. In chorus, there is an interdependence that occurs among the members and sections of the chorus. When you are involved in chorus, you sing your part and others sing their part, and there is cooperation and an attempt to create a whole out of the voice parts. For example, some people are good at locating the initial pitch while other people follow along after that first pitch has been correctly sung. Other times, issues of phrasing are key, and someone in your voice section might establish the correct phrase for the others to follow. When there is one strong (or brave) person in each section to take the initiative to project their voice, then others in the section and chorus follow suit. Early on in the semester, Alicia followed along in her music while the class began to sing. She turned to Karen and Karen pointed onto Alicia's sheet music, showing her where they are. Alicia began to sing (Field notes, February 28, 2017). She reached out to her friend for help and in turn, Karen found the spot for her so she could continue

singing. When one person participates, the others in the chorus develop a trust in their ability and then participate and interact once that person feels secure in their ability. Langston (2011) asserts that trust comes in conjunction with commitment to the individuals in the choir. Although Alicia was not singing, she was attempting to form the words, giving off the perception that she is trying to do a good job.

Developing trust in your section. Trust within your vocal section is something that is developed. Each section had a section leader, someone appointed by the director to be a leader in her absence or during sectional rehearsals. Trust within the section was developed when the singers would sing the notes together at the correct time. Trust was developed for the chorus as a whole entity when the director complimented them on having the correct phrasing and dynamics.

During rehearsal, Mrs. Rossi said "one more thing you need to add in this phrase is dynamics. Can you crescendo as the phrase begins and then decrescendo when the phrase ends, like this" and she demonstrated the action of crescendo through the phrase by singing it for the class. Karen began to sing with tall open mouth, eyebrows raised as she sang. Mrs. Rossi began the phrase one more time and conducted the chorus to enter. As everyone entered and began singing, Mrs. Rossi's conducting grew bigger as the phrase grew gradually louder. When the phrase became softer, her movements became smaller, instructing the chorus to sing softer. Mrs. Rossi praised the choir on their demonstration of phrase and dynamics by saying "great job on that dynamic phrasing choir, great job"

(Field notes, March 2, 2017).

The praise given by Mrs. Rossi prompted the choir to smile and giggle as they finished the phrase. The praise and positive feedback played a role in the morale of the choir, developing an environment for positivity and respect which are "rules" found within the activity system.

Each section would work autonomously at times on their vocal line. Each section had a different part so each section would be responsible for learning their part. If one section did not learn their part correctly, it would affect the entire chorus. Each section was responsible for their part.

Mrs. Rossi said:

We cannot work on making music with this song until everyone learns their part. If you do not learn your part, you are not only letting down yourself, but you are letting down your section, the entire choir and me. Even Borris told me “I think that all of us have to find a balance so that we sing well for the concert” (Field notes, March 24, 2017).

As time passed, the NELs became more aware of their surroundings, including their relationships with each other, other chorus members and Mrs. Rossi. Slowly, trust was being established, and bonding was happening. Both trust and bonding facilitate the development of social capital (Sirianni and Friedland, 1995).

In chorus, there is an interdependence that occurs among the members and sections of the chorus. When you are involved in chorus, you sing your part and others sing their part, and there is cooperation and an attempt to create a whole out of the voice parts. For example, some people are good at locating the initial pitch while other people follow along after that first pitch has been correctly sung. Other times, issues of phrasing are key, and someone in your voice section might establish the correct phrase for the others to follow. When there is one strong (or brave) person in each section to take the initiative to project their voice, then others in the section and chorus follow suit. Early on in the semester, Alicia followed along in her music while the class began to sing. She turned to Karen and Karen pointed onto Alicia’s sheet music, showing her where they are. Alicia began to sing (Field notes, February 28, 2017). She reached out to her friend for help and

in turn, Karen found the spot for her so she could continue singing. When one person participates, the others in the chorus develop a trust in their ability and then participate and interact. This happens once that person feels secure in their ability. Langston (2011) asserts that trust comes in conjunction with commitment to the individuals in the choir. Although Alicia was not singing, she was attempting to form the words, giving off the perception that she is trying to do a good job.

Trust is an indicator of social capital that was slowly being developed over the course of the semester in high school chorus. Bonding begins with participation and interaction; once membership was solidified and the chorus procedures and relationships were formed, trust began to develop. The next category involved in the development of social capital was *bridging*.

Bridging

Bridging is the act of seeking relationships within a group with common ground. That group might be acquaintances, colleagues, classmates, or teachers (Putnam, 2000; Woolcock, 2001). Bridging social capital “can extend the opportunities of groups by providing, through the horizontal links to other organizations, access to other resources and opportunities” (Langston, 2011). Bridging means that connections were formed outside the network, but on a horizontal playing field. An example of this would be performing a concert for family and friends within the DCHS community. Horizontal linking refers to relationships that occur on an equal level (same grade, same ability, the same level of education). When you *bridge* something, the action is between one entity and another. The choir practiced daily in preparation for their spring concert. Daily practice activities required the choristers to work together so they could perform for an audience of family and friends in their spring concert.

Even though this class contained different grade levels of students, all of them were beginning singers. When I observed the class on April 6, 2017, Mrs. Rossi had the choir standing

in a circle. She told the students they were going to warm up by singing a five-note pattern. She said to the students:

Your voices work together, and you all blend differently depending on the person who was standing next to you. I want to remind everyone that a choral classroom is a safe place and when a mistake is made, or a sound that seems funny is produced, no one is allowed to laugh at another student with malice (Field notes, April 6, 2017).

As rehearsal continued, Mrs. Rossi continued to enforce the rules of respect and provide guidance on how to make the choir rehearsal and environment a judgment-free zone.

Mrs. Rossi began to have small sections of kids sing different patterns while everyone listened. At one point, one of the girls' voices slightly cracked and she made a face and laughed, the class laughed too. Mrs. Rossi reminded the class that the choral classroom was the place to make mistakes (Field notes, April 6, 2017).

This is an example of bridging because they were preparing to perform for their community, a network that consists of more than just choir students. Their voices had to blend together in order for them to sound like a unified choir. They had to work together without judging the other's if they made a mistake. Their daily activities in choir prepared them get on stage and perform a beautiful concert. The outcome of the concert would solidify a connection with their family and friends because the reaction to the performance created a sense of pride.

Recognition is determined to support social capital (Bourdieu, 1986). The spring concert was an example of the choir forming a connection to a network of family and friends. The first performance was a spring concert and it took place in the DCHS theatre. The risers were set up on the stage, and the chorus was instructed to wear their formal performance attire, which consisted of a floor-length all-black choir dress (girls) or a black tuxedo (boys) that was assigned to each

student, checked out to them at the beginning of the year. The entire DCHS community which included students, faculty, staff, family, and friends, were invited to attend, including the choir from the middle school. Approximately 200 people attended the performance that night.

During the performance, I noticed Alicia and Borris standing on the back row of the risers²¹. While Borris looked like she was singing out, Alicia looked as if she was very scared. It seemed as though Borris was singing out loudly because of her posture, deep breaths, and the way she shaped her mouth. Although I could not hear her individually (I was sitting halfway back in the theatre), based on her body language and vocal technique, it seemed that way. She was opening her mouth really wide while taking deep breaths after every phrase while standing with tall posture, shoulders back.

On the contrary, Alicia did not look like she was singing out very loudly. Her shoulders were slumped, and it looked like she was barely opening her mouth to sing
(Field notes, April 4, 2017).

Later that week, I asked Alicia if any of her family came to the concert and she said that her mother and sisters attended. She said that at first, she did not see them in the audience and she felt very nervous, however, once she spotted them she felt happy. In her journal, she wrote:

After the concert, I felt very happy and happy because my sisters and my mother were present and everyone was proud of me. I liked it a lot because I had never felt like this. I had never been presenting anything at a concert. For the first time, I felt very good afterward. I felt surer of how I was achieving more goals and objectives

(Alicia, Journal #3, translated into English, June 2, 2017).

²¹ Robert was standing on the back row in his tenor section. Karen did not attend the concert because she said she could not get transportation home after the concert.

Alicia said that she had “never felt like this” before. This was her first choir concert performance, and her emotional connection to her family was displayed by her excitement in their presence. She told me that she felt nervous but when her mother arrived that she was so happy that she was there, watching her perform (Alicia, personal communication, April 25, 2017). This concert was the first performance for Alicia.

The concert lasted for about an hour. After the high school chorus performed, Mrs. Rossi thanked the audience for coming, and everyone applauded once more before the lights turned on in the theatre and everyone got up out of their seat to congratulate the chorus members.

Connecting to the community is another indicator of the development of social capital (Falk and Kilpatrick, 1999). Performances assist in forming a temporary relationship between the performer and the audience members. The relationship can be further developed if the audience member enjoys the performance and wants to attend future performances. This was an example of a relationship being formed beyond the realm of the choral network. It extended to family and friends, and is an example of bridging. Bridging is important because it lessens the gap between power and status by providing mutual respect for one another that can be supported by outside networks, creating connections and gaining support from family and friends. Preparing for the spring concert was the choir’s way of developing that bridge between the choir and the community. While the action of bridging is between the choir and other outside networks, the connection must start from within core of the organization.

Networks and connections. Developing networks and creating connections between the choral community and other networks, is an indicator of social capital being developed (Putnam, 2000). Networks in the choral community can be defined through the relationships formed within the chorus. Here, I introduce examples of networks and connections that indicate the development

of social capital. I show how networks and connections are formed through the activities of practice and performance.

The second performance was the Small Group/Solo Performance. Mrs. Rossi introduced the chorus project, Small Group/Solo Performance. The chorus was instructed to form small groups and select a song they wanted to perform for the class at the end of May. Initially, all four NELs wanted to perform a group. However, after having a day to think about it, Robert decided that he wanted to do a solo. The project was presented on a Friday, and Robert initially said that he was going to perform with the girls, but after the weekend had passed, he returned on Monday and told the girls he wanted to do a solo. The NEL girls choose to form a small group with each other.

The small group/solo assignment played a major role in developing these growing relationships. The small group project required the students to select song to perform that represented their identities. The students were allowed to choose the students in their group. The assignment allowed for more personal instruction from Mrs. Rossi, because the chorus was broken up into small groups. The assignment also required the small groups to work closely together to develop and create a performance from scratch.

The girls selected the song *Stand by Me* (King, Lieber, & Stoller, 1960). They said Karen chose it, but they all liked the song, so decided it would be the one. The girls said that they had heard the original by Ben E. King, however, as per the advice of Mrs. Rossi, they wanted to incorporate Spanish and English words into their performance, they selected the version by Prince Royce, who is a Latin Superstar. *Stand by Me* (King, Lieber, & Stoller, 1960) was Prince Royce's breakout single peaking at number one on the Billboard HOT 100 Latin Tropical Airplay chart. Prince Royce's version incorporates verses rotating in both English and Spanish. Selecting their

song was important because it represented their connection to a bilingual community. Karen explained that their song choice was purposeful because of their support for each other. During our last interview, Karen told me that this was her favorite song that she got to sing in choir. I asked her:

L: What was your favorite song that you sang this semester?

K: *Stand by Me* (laughs).

L: Yeah? Can you tell me about it?

K: That was the first song I sang in front of an audience, with my friends and also it was in English and Spanish. Like, my friends and I identified with it.

L: What was the song about?

K: It's sort of about love, and when I sang it with my friends I felt good because we identified with the song and it talked about love, and we have a very good friendship

(Karen, personal communication, translated into English, May 30, 2017).

Karen stressed that the girls had a developed good friendship. Borris confirmed Karen's statement.

I also asked Borris if she knew what the song meant. She said:

Yes, that is why we chose it. We knew that by sticking together we could do anything. We support each other always, and we are friends.

(Borris, personal communication, translated into English, November 6, 2017).

They felt empowered by each other and, their friendship meant something to them. The title of the song embodied their feelings about each other and their peer relationship.

I noticed the girls sitting closely together, leaning on each other, arms linked together. When it was their turn to perform, they looked at each other and went up to the front to sing. Although Alicia looked nervous, she seemed a little more confident than she had in the last performance. Unlike her posture at the spring concert which was slumped over, this time, her

posture was straighter. Her spine was straight; her shoulders were back, head and neck held high. Even though she was singing into a microphone, her voice was projecting to the audience which means that she was using her breath and diaphragm for strength to project her voice; something that does not occur when a singer is nervous or shy. After the performance was over, I asked Alicia how she felt. She told me one of the main reasons she was able to perform in front of her class was because of her friendship with the girls. She said that the support of her friends allowed her to get through the performance. When I asked Borris how she felt about her performance she told me, "Since I was with my friends, they help me to feel confident" (Borris, personal communication, May 30, 2017).

The NELs were bridging a connection between themselves and the rest of the choir. Their connection was strong, but they wanted the choir to see who they were and what they could do. Putnam (2000) notes the importance of value within a social network. When the girls selected and performed a song that represented their bond with each other, it made them vulnerable. Gaining acceptance from the other members of the network was crucial. Even though the members of the choir had their own small group of friends, this project was a bridge, because everyone supported each other through their performance by cheering and clapping.

Adderley, Kennedy, and Bertz (2003) found in their study about experiences with choral music among 8-9-year olds, that students said things like, "I got to spend time with my friends, see all of my friends" (p.200). Chorus allowed them the opportunity to form a "tight group of friends" (p.200). Borris and Karen told me that they felt very close to each other, which is why they selected the song *Stand by Me* (King, Lieber, & Stoller, 1960). Borris told me that Karen thought of the song, but as soon as they heard it they knew they had to select it, because it represented their relationship. Karen wrote in her journal about her friendship:

I thought I would be wrong to sing or something, and I was scared and embarrassed because we sang in English and I had never done anything like it. But with my friends, I felt very safe because we support each other. Singing in front of the whole class was an unforgettable experience, and I have never done anything like it. It feels great when you are singing in front of many people, at the end of my song, my friends and I felt good

(Karen, Journal #4, May 30, 2017).

This group of close friends performed their Small Group Performance together. The journey through the practice and preparation for the Small Group Performances could be considered bonding because of the closeness of the friendships that the girls developed. However, the act of bridging occurred during the actual performance. As the audience watched the girls perform, they were cheering and clapping. Some, were even singing along. This is considered bridging because even though the connection was among peers in the chorus, the relationship between performer and audience member was being developed. The audience was made up of choristers from different cultural and socioeconomic backgrounds than that of the NELs, which is why I consider this performance a kind of bridging (Wilson, 2004). The response of the audience, regardless of the quality of the performance, was affirmed and recognized as success, allowing the performers to feel a sense of belonging and pride within themselves.

The networks between student performers and community members included the DCHS chorus, DCHS teachers and students, DCHS community members, and family members that create a horizontal bridge where there is respect. This is a horizontal bridge because the reaction to the performance from the audience was respectful and warm. The audience was quiet during the spring concert, as is proper concert etiquette, but during the Small Group/Solo Performances, the audience sang along and cheered. No one sneered or showed disrespect to the performers on the

stage. Bourdieu states that “the reproduction of social capital presupposes an unceasing effort of sociability, a continuous series of exchanges in which recognition is endlessly affirmed and reaffirmed” (p. 52). Performance opportunities involved in a course such as chorus provide for this bridge of network and connections.

The third performance was the Senior Farewell Ceremony performance were open to the entire school and community. There were approximately 1,000 people attending the Senior Farewell Ceremony that day. The seniors sat on chairs that lined the floor in the middle of the gymnasium facing the stage where there was a table filled with trophies and awards. A big movie screen was hanging from the ceiling at the front of the stage where the senior movie was projected. To the right side of the stage were the risers where the choir was seated. On either side were stadium bleacher style seating. The left side of the gymnasium stadium bleachers was designated for family and friends. It was filled. The right side was designated for the student body, and it too was filled. During the assembly, the chorus performed a song that was dedicated to the senior class. The chorus had been preparing for this performance for two months.

On June 2, 2017, at approximately 2:00 p.m., an announcement came over the P.A. system instructing the teachers to allow the chorus to proceed to the gymnasium for the assembly. I sat in the gym waiting for their arrival. The NELs were excited to perform for the event, and their excitement showed when they arrived. They were cheerful, smiling, walking with a pep in their step.

When the NELs arrived, there were several people already in the gymnasium preparing for the ceremony. A handful of choristers were already on the risers waiting patiently. Borris led the other NELs into the auditorium. The four NELs walked in confidently as if they were ready to perform. They had smiles on their face, and they walked in as if they were on a mission to perform.

heading straight to the risers at front of the gymnasium. As they passed by me, they smiled and said, "Hi miss." They did not greet anyone else until they got to the risers and then they said hello to some of the other students who made it there before them. Once again, the three girls sat together on the risers waiting for the performance to begin.

Mrs. Puentes told me that when she asked the NELs about their experience performing for the Senior Farewell Ceremony they responded with excitement. Mrs. Puentes explained:

They loved it. They were so emotional, and they said, "Oh it was just so beautiful. I want to be there. I want be there!" Karen mentioned it, and Borris too. Borris told me that seeing the whole senior class, one last time in their cap and gowns, and singing for them was incredibly emotional and special

(Mrs. Puentes, personal communication, June 7, 2017).

Borris and Karen told me how much they loved performing at the Senior Farewell Ceremony.

This emotional experience allowed the girls to foreshadow their future in high school. They were able to see what was ahead after their challenging journey through learning English, taking courses, and passing STAAR tests, all while transitioning to their new environment.

Karen said:

Just seeing the whole senior class, one last time in their cap and gowns, and they have this little film that they put together, where the seniors bring in a baby picture and their high school picture so you can see both. It was something very special

(Karen, personal communication, translated into English, June 1, 2017).

Seeing the senior class in their caps and gowns might have given Karen her a glimpse of what it would be like when she graduates from high school. Comparing the baby pictures to the high school pictures might have been a way for her to reflect on her own educational journey.

The Senior Farewell Ceremony has become an event that is cherished by the community. This event formed a network of communication for the entire community (Langston, 2011), because the people in attendance included the senior class in their caps and gowns, their families, and the entire student body of DCHS. Even the song selection *Good Riddance* (Armstrong, Dirnt, & Cool, 1997), was well thought out by the choral director as a memorable song to perform as a final send-off for the senior class.

The ritual of performing at this ceremony gave the chorus a feeling of power and status. In this case, the choir was performing for the seniors in the school. Bourdieu (1986) states that:

the existence of a network of connections is not a natural given, or even a social given, constituted once and for all by an initial act of institution, represented in the case of the family group...which is the characteristic of social formation (p. 53)

The meaning of the event is based on the celebration of students meeting a significant milestone in their lives. These are the oldest students in the school and they are regarded as being at the top of the student body hierarchy. The event was extremely important because the tradition of the concert had deep roots in the school. The choir stood with excellent posture on the risers with straight backs, hands to their sides, heads held high. During the ceremony, their posture never wavered. they remained tall and looked confident. When Karen was nervous, she tended to put her hand on her stomach, which I have noted before. However, this time she stood with both her hands to her side, her shoulders were back, and her neck was straight, and her head was held high. They were singing on risers at the front of the gymnasium in front of everyone; this was an important event. Their performance received applause along with cheers from the senior class, a class consisting of the oldest most experienced students in the school.

Receiving applause and cheers from the seniors might have given the NELs a feeling of acceptance and status. High school status has to do with popularity (Eckert, 1989), as does one's year in school (Best, 2007). The Senior Farewell Ceremony was a celebration of the successes gained throughout high school and was something everyone looked forward to.

Langston (2011) states that "feeling valued or appreciated by the community one belongs to and valuing/appreciating others in the community are social indicators common in the community choir" (p. 174). It is common for an audience to applaud after a performance; however, after this particular performance, the audience cheered. During other parts of the ceremony, certain sections would cheer. Other times single audience members would call out names, as if they were heckling the presenter. Applause and cheers were not predictable, but seemed to be based on the quality of the choral performance.

Bridging social capital occurs when relationships are formed through networks and connections within the community, school, and friends. The relationships with the community and school were formed through performances at the spring concert and Senior Farewell Ceremony. Relationships between friends were developed through practice, preparation, and performance. The final form of social capital that I discuss is *linking*.

Linking

Linking is the vertical connection created between organizations and institutions (Langston, 2011). Social capital is developed through *linking* by recognizing reciprocity and obligations, understanding the norms and values of the group, and the action of learning. Falk (2000) states "Just as social capital grows through interaction, interactions between people facilitate learning and the use of skills and knowledge, and promotes active and sustainable learning" (p. 2). Linking is suggested to be a vertical relationship between organizations and

institutions. I suggest that the relationship between the individual and the choral network as a whole represents linking. This is demonstrated through the categories in this section.

Reciprocity and obligations. Reciprocity refers to the give and take, back and forth relationship created within a community or organization (Langston, 2011). Reciprocity occurs when there are necessary obligations, and are an indicator of the development of social capital. Reciprocity is the cycle of give and take, in response to the activities in practice and performance. Obligations in chorus include what is commonly known as the 3 P's: practice, participation, and performance. These obligations require the chorus to work together and act as a single entity. When you join chorus, one of the expectations is that all chorus members will perform. The relationships developed by the previous indicators of social capital (participation and interaction, trust, networks, and connections) lead to this reciprocity. Mrs. Rossi told the choir that daily participation in rehearsal is imperative in order to achieve their goal.

She explained that if the whole chorus works together and is present every day, and then they will be successful. She explained that even if one voice was missing, the sound of the chorus would change. She told the chorus that every voice is important and they must work together as a whole to achieve an end goal (the performance) where they could feel proud (Field notes, March 22, 2017).

When someone decides to join chorus, they are committing to attending every rehearsal, giving 100% of their attention and effort, and performing to the best of their abilities. Parker (2010) reminds us that "though students are required to take several arts credits during their four years, they have many choices within the performing and visual arts"²². As a result, students who enroll in the chorus are choosing to participate.

²² Chorus is a more social activity than visual art.

As I discussed in Chapter Five, the NELs' situation was far more complicated than what Parker suggested because their participation and membership in chorus were met by challenges during scheduling and registration. The NELs had to be recruited into chorus because of the systemic barriers they faced that put them in speech classes in their first year. They were ignoring adult advice by enrolling in chorus, and it seems that by doing so, they came to develop social belonging in the chorus.

In a performance-based class such a chorus, it is imperative that each member trust that the other members be present for the 3 P's. The presence of trust fosters confidence that the expectation for practice and performance is displayed, which is required for reciprocity (Putnam, 2000). When reciprocity and obligation are in place within the chorus, the social capital can develop. Practice, preparation, and performance are the cornerstones of reciprocity and obligation.

Norms and values. Norms and values represent “acceptable behavior and attitudes, and acceptance and sharing of common norms of action and values” (Langston, 2011, p. 167). Mrs. Rossi outlined the norms and values of high school chorus by discussing her expectations on the first day of class and reminding students of them throughout the semester.

Mrs. Rossi gave the students a handbook that outlined the rehearsal and performance expectations. The handbook was in English, and the NELs received it and had it signed by both the students and their parents. One main expectation was that the students attend the spring concert performance. It was stressed to the students that attendance was mandatory unless an emergency arose and a student could not attend

(Field notes, February 17, 2017).

One issue that arose was that the handbook was written in English. The NELs signed and returned the signature page, but I doubt they understood the contents of the document or that it was

explained to them. Mrs. Rossi was adamant on the procedures for practice and performance and she reinforced them constantly. The NELs could have asked Mrs. Rossi for explanation, but as far as I know, they did not. The concert performance was stressed to be an event that was to be held in high esteem, and therefore everyone was required to attend. Shared norms and values lead to a cohesive union among the chorus members (Coleman, 1998).

Rules. Mrs. Rossi set a standard of maintaining a judgment-free zone in the chorus classroom. It was a learning environment where everyone was welcomed.

The class was structured and followed the same routine every day. The students entered, the teacher called role, and then rehearsal began. The chorus proceeded to perform a set of warm-up exercises; followed by sight reading and repertoire

(Field notes, March 10th, 2017).

The routine along with the rules set the norms and values for choral class. The rules and content objectives were posted in front of the classroom (Figure 6.2).

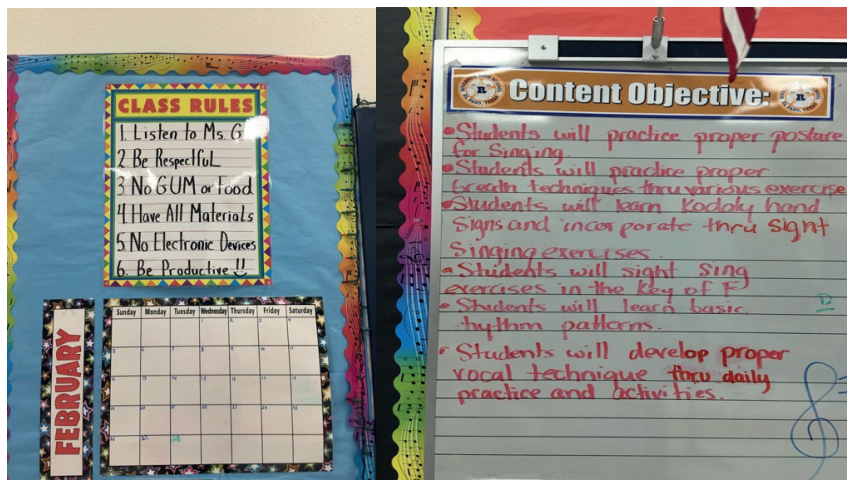


Figure 6.2 Choir Rules and Content Objectives

The rules of the choral classroom are different from the rules of a math or English class. These rules focus on productivity and respect in the choral classroom. Being respectful means that the

students have high regard for Mrs. Rossi and the other members of the chorus, because they were courteous and considerate about their feelings.

Following the rules in the DCHS choral classroom is a requirement for membership. The students came into class and greeted me every day. Even other students in the class got used to my presence and would greet me and strike up conversation. The students were never out of hand, class disruptions rarely occurred. The biggest disruption Mrs. Rossi would have to redirect was students talking too loudly while she was working with a group at the piano. Mrs. Rossi did tell me that at the beginning of the year she was adamant that if the students did not want to be there to learn and sing that they were free to change their schedule to another class. She said that four students had schedule changes at the beginning of this year but that most everyone remained in chorus.

It was common for Mrs. Rossi to reiterate that everyone is learning and it is deplorable and unacceptable to laugh or mock another singer.

I never observed anyone mocking another singer, but Mrs. Rossi explained to me that she made it clear to the students to refrain from this negative behavior. Karen told me that chorus is different from any of her other classes in this aspect and that the environment allowed her to feel more accepted to be herself (Field notes, May 5, 2017).

Linking is demonstrated here by the relationship between the individual and the organization. Values instilled by Mrs. Rossi demanded an expectation for an environment free of judgement. Members were encouraged to be positive about their performances when speaking about them in public. Also, members were expected to always participate to the best of their best ability. The individuals in the choral network had been groomed to follow a routine. A trust between members

had been solidified. Karen recognized that this network was different than others because of the quality of the organization.

Karen said:

I feel happier and more confident because I could be myself when I'm in choir. Sometimes I'm embarrassed to speak English because I feel people do not understand me, but it's different in choir. I feel more confident, and I speak in English
(Karen, personal communication, translated into English, May 5, 2017).

Although I did not hear Karen speak in English, I did hear her sing in English. Karen always seemed excited to sing, she projected her voice, opened her mouth wide and lots of sound came out. Her facial expressions were exaggerated. It was exciting to watch Karen sing because she always seemed to put emotion and feeling into her singing.

Karen was enrolled in other courses with native English speakers such as biology, social studies, and mathematics. Borris was also enrolled in the same classes as Karen because they were both sophomores. Karen told me that in her other classes she sat next to Borris and they would frequently work together. While this was Karen's second year in the United States, it was her first year at DCHS, and she was reluctant to reach out to other students.

The organization was bound by content objectives stipulated by the overall curriculum. The objective for choir was to become musically literate and to develop vocal technique through the activities of practice and performance. The objectives of the organization were a component of linking, because each individual was required to adhere to the process of warm-ups, sight-reading, and the development of the musical repertoire.

Content objectives. The content objectives in the chorus classroom included using Kodaly solfege hand signs, correct posture, rhythmic and pitch notation, and the development of proper vocal technique. For example, each day as a component of their warm up routine, Mrs. Rossi would play a pattern on the piano, and the students had to respond using their solfege names and hand signs.

Today the chorus was working on audiation. Mrs. Rossi played three notes on the piano. She said to the class "what three notes did I play?" The class did not respond so she played it again. Karen raised her hand and said "Do-re-do." "Yes!" exclaimed Mrs. Rossi (Field notes, March 3, 2017).

When they responded, they had to sing the pattern back while simultaneously using the identified hand sign. Karen understood what they heard and were able to speak in musical code. They demonstrated their understanding and were able to initiate answering a question in front of the class.

According to Adderley, Kennedy, and Bertz (2003), there are psychological benefits to performing with a group that include personal growth, the development of self-esteem, self-confidence, and self-knowledge. To further explore how the girls were making meaning through content knowledge learned by reinforcement of norms and values, I am reminded about one of my observations from a day in which the chorus had a test.

The teacher was at the piano, and the students were on the risers with a pencil and paper. The teacher played a four-note pattern on the piano and then asked the class what it was. Alicia and Karen looked at each other while another student answered "do-re-do". The teacher corrected the student and said, "no, it is do-re-ti-do."

Now it was quiz time. She asked the class to move to their own space; they had to sit alone. Robert, Alicia, and Karen go to the second row of the risers, and Mrs. Rossi asked them to stagger themselves on the risers. She told them to number their paper one through five and to make sure their name was on the top of the paper.

When Karen would look at her, Alicia smiled back at her. The test and activity were performed in English; Mrs. Rossi spoke English the entire time and gave the oral test in English (Field notes, March 24, 2017).

Alicia displayed a growing sense of self-esteem, self-confidence, and self-knowledge during the test, when she correctly decoded and answered the audiation question. Adhering to the norms and values expected in chorus formed cohesion and bonding, and through this process, social capital began to be developed. By following these norms and values, a sense of support, unity and belonging are formed. Langston (2011) references adhering to norms and values in his study by explaining that a negative reception from the audience after a performance, even if the performance was indeed subpar, would be unkind. It is a value for the audience to reciprocate with a positive response. Audience support was displayed by the choir during the Small Group/Solo Performances. No matter what, the audience responded positively. When the norms and values are in place, the final indicator of linking in social capital, *learning*, can take place.

Learning. When all of the previous indicators of social capital are in place, the final indicator, *learning*, occurs (Schuller and Field, 1998). Learning (language and musical literacy) occurred in DCHS chorus, which contributes to the development of social capital. The students followed the same routine every day and I noticed improvement in their ability to follow the routine.

After warm-ups, it was time for sight-reading. When the study began in February I observed Alicia struggle to keep up with the others. Alicia was not even singing during the sight-reading exercises. She just stared at her paper. Her hand was up as if she was attempting, but she did not phonate and she was not getting any of the hand signs correct. A girl standing to her left leaned over and pointed to where they were in the music. Alicia was clearly lost. However, two months later, she demonstrated mastery of this skill.

The chorus was doing their warm up activity using their solfege and Alicia did almost every hand sign correctly. She missed a few on the descending scale, but it was much improved from the last time. When it was time for sight-reading, the teacher asked everyone to come get a sight-reading exercise. Alicia jumped off the risers and went right to the piano to pick up her sight-reading paper. She went back to her spot and when the exercise began, I observed her hand signing the notes correctly. She followed along with the music and she was singing each note. I also noticed that she was using height differentiation between the high notes and the low notes (Field notes, April 19, 2017).

When Alicia first started off the semester she was getting lost in her music and having to look to her friends for help. Here, Alicia knew exactly what to do. She was able to interpret the notes while using the correct handsigns, and singing. She even demonstrated height differentiation, which displayed much higher-level thinking and level of understanding than a beginning chorister. During Alicia's last interview, she told me:

At first, I didn't know how to do the do-re-mi thing, but now I learned them. It's sort of like a way for us to communicate with each other but in musical form, and that's something I didn't know before

(Alicia, personal communication, translated into English, May 30, 2017).

Alicia recognized that using solfege was a code for communicating musically. She learned the hand signs and intervals through daily repetition and it was clear that she was improving her level of musical literacy.

When I first began observing, Mrs. Rossi constantly reminded the chorus to use tall vowels. On February 28, 2017, I wrote in my field notes that Mrs. Rossi told the students to place their hands on their face when singing so that they could produce taller vowels. She modeled the action and then told the students again to place their hands on their cheeks. Two weeks later (March 10, 2017), I wrote in my field notes that the girls placed their hands on their cheeks without reminders, so they could produce tall vowels. Mrs. Rossi said she was happy to see them do this, and that their tall vowels sounded beautiful. Mrs. Rossi told the students, “Good news everyone, it is stronger and getting better every day” (Field notes, February 28, 2017). She was referring to their overall vocal production and vocal technique.

She praised them for their hard work. When she said this, the students smiled and their shoulders went back as if they were happy and grateful for the praise. The students worked on audiation and sight reading every day as a norm.

Mrs. Rossi told Robert “What I’ve heard is great improvement in your range. Your pitch is getting better. You’re getting up into your falsetto. A lot of good things are happening” (Field notes, April 6, 2017).

I also noticed as the semester progressed that the students were using their solfege hand signs more frequently. They were able to incorporate visual height recognition according to each pitch, which requires practice.

Language growth. Mrs. Puentes noticed that language learning and growth by the NELs in chorus throughout the course of the semester. For Alicia, midway throughout the semester, she

noticed growth in their core content knowledge, language, and association with peers. Mrs. Puentes noted that she had seen growth in comparison to those NELs not enrolled in chorus in terms of speaking, listening, reading and writing (Mrs. Puentes, personal communication, April 5, 2017). Chorus was the only difference between these four students and the others in her ESL class. The other students were enrolled in art and dance class. It is important to remember that this was not an experiment between the NELs in choir and the ones not enrolled in choir. Also, there is no data to support this claim, it is only the ESL teacher's opinion. Furthermore, not all the NELs in choir did as well as others.

At the end of the semester, I had my final interview with Mrs. Puentes. She exclaimed that she could not believe that Robert had performed a solo in front of the chorus because he had always seemed so quiet and shy. She told me that Alicia had been more active in her class, asking questions in English, asking how to say things in English. These were actions Alicia had never displayed up until this point. She told me that she noticed growth in Karen and Borris as well but also noted that they began the semester with more knowledge than Robert and Alicia.

Acknowledging progress. In their final interview, Borris, Karen, and Alicia described how they had learned how to pronounce words, understand meaning, and singing techniques. They also learned how to sight read music. Borris told me about her progress throughout the semester, especially about her ability to pronounce new words and practice her English, as well as to read music and sight read:

I've felt very good this semester. I've felt more confident pronouncing words, and before, I couldn't fit in to the group. Now I have sort of more confidence. I am more comfortable talking to them and asking them how to pronounce certain words, and yeah, I've gained more confidence all semester

(Borris, personal communication, translated into English, May 30, 2017).

Borris explained how she felt more confident practicing English with her friends outside the class, she would encourage her Spanish speaking friends to speak English. She discussed how her ability to read the music made her feel happy, her struggle with English and musical literacy diminished during her semester in chorus. When I spoke with Karen she said something similar:

When I go out with my friends, almost all of them only speak Spanish, and sometimes we talk in English among ourselves and since we are all learning. We don't correct each other or anything. I mean we help each other pronounce English correctly and how to say things. And yeah, I feel very comfortable when I'm with my friends because I practice English with them, and that's good.

(Karen, personal communication, translated into English, May 30, 2017).

Like Borris, Karen also stated that she was using her English with other friends. Alicia was less vocal than the other girls, however, this was the norm throughout the semester with her. She said how much she liked being in choir and that she felt very good about her experience (Alicia, personal communication, translated into English, May 30, 2017).

Schuller and Field (1998) state that when learning is occurring in the environment, social capital can be developed. Borris, Karen and Alicia all discussed their how their experiences during the semester initialed a learning experience socially and musically. During audiation exercises, Karen and Alicia were able to correctly answer the audiation drills because of daily practice and understanding (Falk and Balatti, 2004).

Mrs. Puentes noticed an improvement in the NELs' ability to pronounce, contributing their confidence in chorus. The students were guided by their choral director, Mrs. Rossi, whose

constant encouragement motivated them to achieve things they had never done before. The activity practiced in chorus (language and musical literacy) provided a medium for growth and, in the opinion of Mrs. Puentes, learning occurred at a higher rate for the chorus NELs than for the other NELs. I did not look at this in any systematic way, but it's something that could be researched in the future. Langston (2011) states that the learning that took place in his chorus depended on the development of social capital. That may have been the case in this chorus, as well.

Summary

In this chapter, I describe how social capital is developed in chorus by forming new relationships, and fostering social belonging. Choir provided an opportunity to develop social capital, something that assisted the NELs gain confidence in their ability to sing and speak in English. Through the actions of bonding, bridging and linking, the NELs were able to build their self-esteem, self-confidence, and self-knowledge in order to perform tasks they had never thought they could achieve. *Bonding* is a link that connects the relationships, the participation, interaction and trust that is developed between the members. Bonding in chorus includes participation and interaction that require support by developing trust in the members. Bridging is the act of developing relationships with other organizations or the community, which can be initiated through performances. Linking is the vertical connection between organizations that can be represented in language learning (ESL + Chorus). The previous sections have shown that chorus provided an environment where participation and interaction are solidified through trust based on practice techniques and performance attendance. Networks and connections with the community and school were developed. Reciprocity and obligations were met because all of the chorus members were trained to observe the 3 P's. Mrs. Rossi created and reinforced the norms and values required for respect developing an environment conducive for learning. In chapter seven, I

analyze the language learning and use by the NELs in chorus to understand how NELs develop their communicative competence in English.

CHAPTER 7: LANGUAGE LEARNING AND USE IN CHORAL MUSIC

The goal of my study was to understand what role a focused choral music education plays in terms of NELs ability to listen, speak, read, and write in English. I begin by discussing Gee's ideas about Discourse/discourse (2012), which frame this analysis, and then I discuss the music used for each performance, to contextualize how the NELs interpreted the meaning of the music throughout the course of the semester. Then, I show how the NELs developed communicative competence through the activities of concert preparation and performance. I follow that with an analysis of the NELs translation as a social activity. Then, I analyze translanguaging in the choir rehearsal, and the use of Spanish phonology to interpret English phonology. Finally, I analyze the markings the NELs made on their lyric sheets for the Small Group/Solo Performance preparation.

Discourse and discourse

Gee (2012) explains that Discourse (capital D) is used to explore language within a social group based on ideologies, behaviors, and culture specific to that particular group. Discourse refers to an individual's way of communicating, combined with their behavior within certain social activities. Discourse is reflected in identity. For example, the Discourse of a nurse is different from the Discourse of a police officer. In school, the Discourse of a first grader would differ from the Discourse of a high school student. For Gee, the term discourse (little d) refers to how individuals use language based on their environment and lived experiences. For example, the Discourse a teacher would use to give a lecture in front of a class filled with students would be different than the discourse language they would use when providing one-on-one instruction to a single student. The Discourse in a lecture setting would be more formal, whereas the discourse with a single student would be more casual.

I used Gee's sociocultural perspective to examine the Discourse (capital D), and discourse (little d) practices (Gee, 2012) utilized by the NEL students enrolled in the chorus. I focus on two performance preparation categories: concert repertoire preparation and Small Group/Solo Presentation preparation. I explore the language and literacy practices utilized in chorus and I consider how these practices impact NELs development of communicative competence through the activity of choir.

Goals and Music for the Semester

Performance is situated on creative expression. The objectives of the DCHS choir are grounded on the Music Texas Essential Knowledge and Skills (TEKS) 117.310 3(c): creative expression as a foundation. The TEKS state:

The student demonstrates musical artistry by singing or playing an instrument individually and in groups. The student performs music in a variety of genres at an appropriate level of difficulty. The student develops cognitive and psychomotor skills (TEKS, Music, Level 1, 117.310).

Teaching the students to perform different musical styles individually and in groups helps them develop cognitive and psychomotor skills. During the course of the semester, there were a total of three performances, two of which were done as an entire choir (i.e., the Spring Concert and Senior Farewell Ceremony performance), and one Small Group/Solo Performance²³.

For the concert performance component, the choir performed together as a whole entity. I selected data that referenced preparation for the Spring Concert performance which took place in April, and the Senior Farewell Ceremony performance which took place in June. For the spring

²³ Karen, Alicia, and Borris performed as a group and Robert performed as a soloist. The assignment was titled Small Group/Solo Performance.

concert, the choir performed the selections: *Didn't my Lord Deliver Daniel* (Emerson, 1992), *Only Hope* (Foreman, 1999), and *Just the Way You Are* (Mars, Lawrence, Levine, Walton, & Cain, 2010). For the Small Group/Solo Presentations, the selections were: *Let Her Go* (Rosenberg, 2011) and *Stand by Me* (King, Lieber, & Stoller, 1960). During the Senior Farewell Ceremony performance, the choir performed the selection: *Good Riddance* (Armstrong, Dirnt, & Cool, 1997). I used the NELs preparation for the Small Group/Solo Performance because a component of the assignment allowed the students to choose a song that represented their group and this performance allowed me to understand their identities. For this assignment, the three NEL girls formed a group and prepared the song *Stand by Me* (King, Lieber, & Stoller, 1960). Robert performed a solo with the song *Let Her Go* (Rosenberg, 2011)

Concert songs. When I arrived for my first observation, the chorus was preparing for their Spring Concert and Senior Farewell Ceremony performance. Mrs. Rossi told me that both her beginning chorus (with the NELs) and her advanced chorus would be performing the songs together at the Spring Concert and Senior Farewell Ceremony. They would work as separate choirs during their scheduled class time but would have one rehearsal right before each performance. They did this so that both of the choirs could rehearse together to see how things sounded with everyone present.

The music for the choral performances was selected by Mrs. Rossi and consisted of a combination of traditional choral music and pop choral music. I focus in particular on how the NELs worked on *Didn't My Lord Deliver Daniel* (Emerson, 1992) which was arranged for Soprano, Alto, and Bass (SAB) voicing. Mrs. Rossi chose that song because of the percussive articulation, beautiful harmonic chords, dynamic contrast, and explosive ending. She said it would

be a great closer for a concert because it ended on a sforzando²⁴ with a crescendo²⁵ ending with a fortissimo²⁶. The lyrics to this song are below, in Figure 7.1

Didn't My Lord Deliver Daniel

Didn't my Lord Deliver Daniel
Deliver Daniel, deliver Daniel?
Didn't my Lord deliver Daniel,
Then why not every man?
He delivered Daniel
From the lion's den,
And Jonah from the belly of the whale,
And the Hebrew children
From the fiery furnace,
Then why not every man?

Didn't my Lord deliver Daniel,
Deliver Daniel, deliver Daniel?
Didn't my Lord deliver Daniel,
Then why not every man?
I set my foot
On the gospel ship,
And the ship began to sail,
And it landed me over on Canaan's shore
And I'll never come back again.

Figure 7.1. Lyrics for Didn't My Lord Deliver Daniel

Didn't My Lord Deliver Daniel (Emerson, 1992) is an African American spiritual that represents how enslaved Black people of Christian faith believed that they would be saved from their suffering through God's grace (Norman, 2010). The meaning of the song conveys hope for a liberated future. The text references the release from slavery landing them on the shore of the promised land (Canaan's shore). The percussive articulation and dynamic contrast with an

²⁴ A sforzando is an articulation on a note causing the note to be accented; then the volume is pulled way back to soft. Denoted in musical notation as *sfs*.

²⁵, Crescendo means to get louder gradually. Denoted in musical notation as <.

²⁶ Fortissimo means very loud. Denoted in musical notation as *ff*.

explosive ending displays the emotion in the lyric. The song was exciting to hear, which is one of the reasons that Mrs. Rossi selected it as her finale for the spring concert.

The song Mrs. Rossi chose for the chorus to sing for the Senior Farewell Ceremony performance was called *Good Riddance* (Armstrong, Dirnt, & Cool, 1997). The arrangement for the song is SATB; however, the first two lines of each verse are sung in unison. Figure 7.2 represents the lyrics for the song are as follows:

Good Riddance

Another turning point, a fork stuck in the road
Time grabs you by the wrist, directs you where to go.
So make the best of this test and don't ask why.
It's not a question, but a lesson learned in time.
It's something unpredictable, but in the end it's right.
I hope you had the time of your life.

So take the photographs, and still-frames in your mind
Hang them on a shelf in good health and good time
Tattoos of memories and dead skin on trial
For what it's worth, it was worth all the while
It's something unpredictable, but in the end it's right
I hope you had the time of your life

It's something unpredictable, but in the end is right
I hope you had the time of your life
It's something unpredictable, but in the end is right
I hope you had the time of your life

Figure 7.2 Lyrics: Good Riddance

When I observed the choral class receiving new music, the first activity was for the students to listen to a recording of another choir singing this arrangement of the song. Throughout the chapter, I use excerpts from each song. The lyrics for the Small Group/Solo Performance are displayed in the second half of the chapter because that is where I dive more deeply into the NELs' language development in that particular performance.

In the next section, I present data that shows how the NELs used their reading, writing, and speaking skills simultaneously to develop communicative competence, while preparing the music for both the performances with the chorus as a whole, and their Small Group/Solo Performance. These activities occurred throughout daily rehearsals and contributed to the development their communicative competence.

Communicative Competence

Communicative competence is the ability to use and apply the grammatical structure to communicate and interpret meaning within a sentence or phrase. Chomsky (1965) initially stated that communicative competence was based on linguistic competence and performance, as a way to determine the growth of knowledge. However, Hymes (1966) expanded that idea by stating that communicative competence involved the application of grammatical structure to negotiate meaning. Later, a communicative competence model was developed to include linguistic competence, sociolinguistic competence, discourse competence, and strategic competence (Canale, 1983; Canale and Swain; 1980 and Widdowson 1983). The four components of communicative competence are interwoven through social interaction and communication.

Linguistic competence. Linguistic competence is the ability to convey a message accurately using the rules of the language system. I understand it to include the rules of phonology, syntax, morphology, semantics, and pragmatics. These rules are enacted through the four skills of speaking, listening, reading, and writing. Speaking and writing require the interlocutor to produce meaningful utterances and written texts. Listening and reading require the interlocutor to receive meaning from utterances and from written texts. Hence, speaking and writing are productive skills, and listening and reading are receptive skills. Most languages involve all four skills, however, there are exceptions. American Sign Language and other forms of sign do not have written forms.

Dead languages, such as Latin, no longer have spoken forms. And finally, there are Indigenous languages in the United States that no longer have spoken forms or that have limited written forms.

Listening is a receptive skill that requires a connection between the ear and brain to be activated (Ross & Cress, 2006). Listening requires the reception of input in a language and then having the ability and knowledge to understand or make meaning of that language. It is essential for NELs to have meaningful language input, stemming from a variety of content areas in order to develop their listening skills (Krashen, 1982). Obilisteanu (2009) states that “as students develop their receptive skills, greater amounts of input become meaningful to them and the greater the chance they have of learning the language” (p. 65). As a learner is exposed to more language or opportunities to explore language, their language learning increases.

Productive communication means that a message or meaning is made or sent to another who receives the message. Speaking requires physical phonation and articulation that connects the brain to the patterns produced by the diaphragm, vocal cords, and mouth, whereas writing is transferred from the brain to the hands. Actively practicing both receptive and productive language skills in a meaningful context is key to developing both social and academic language. The message sent/message received and productive/receptive skills are most meaningful when the four language skills are used together (Savignon, 2018).

Mrs. Puentes, the ESL teacher, reflected on this group of NELs, saying:

There was growth in their language, growth in understanding the words, growth in their decoding of the words to pronounce them correctly. I had an interaction with Robert where I started writing down the phonetic pronunciation of the words, I wrote in English word the way it would sound in Spanish, but when he said the phrase, he said it in English. He looked at me and said "*asi se dice?*" (that's the way you say it?). I told him, yes

(Personal communication, Mrs. Puentes, June 7, 2017).

While Mrs. Puentes said that she was writing down the phonetic pronunciation, she was not really writing with the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA). Rather, she did this:

When I looked at Robert's lyric sheet, I saw markings in pencil. They were on the side of the page and looked like this:

the = da
passenger = passenjer
her = ger
you're = llur
you've = lluv

In the body of the lyrics, she had drawn a line from the English word to her word. Other examples were:

light = lait
empty = empti.

(Field notes, May 5, 2017)

The markings she provided for Robert were transcribed to help him sound out the word. He would practice using this lyric every day. Using Spanish phonetics to describe English pronunciation provided him a guideline of how to pronounce each word. What Mrs. Puentes did was similar to what Kalmar (2001) wrote about among migrants in southern Illinois, who created their own hybrid dictionary. The migrants in Kalmar's study created words and phrases to help them speak English, using Spanish orthography.

Rate of speech. One factor that presented a pronunciation challenge for the NELs was the speed of the phrases in the music. They mentioned how difficult it was to keep up with the others when singing because they could not seem to pronounce the words fast enough. Karen reflected on her time in the choir, and she said:

Being in the choir helped me to pronounce English better, and that's why I joined, to see if it would help me with my English. I feel it has helped me a lot because I can pronounce

English better, since it's hard to say the words fast when you're learning English. With music, I have learned to say them faster

(Karen, personal communication, May 5, 2017).

Karen, Borris, and Robert noted that in the past, they had experienced difficulty speaking English rapidly. The music pushed them into speaking and singing at a faster rate, which may have an impact on their speaking in English.

On February 28, the choir finished their warm-up, and Mrs. Rossi told the class to get the music for *Didn't My Lord Deliver Daniel* (Emerson, 1992) out.

As the class came down off the risers and headed to the piano where the music laid, Mrs. Rossi told Borris, Alicia, Karen, and Alicia to go with Paola (a peer in their class who would commonly help them with translations). Paola had helped them slowly speak through the words in the song in the past. They went into the practice room and came out 15 minutes later when the bell was about to ring. Mrs. Rossi asked the NELs how it went, and they nodded their head and smiled. Borris said, "It went good miss"

(Field notes, February 28, 2017).

I did not go in to the practice room with them because the practice room was extremely tiny. This was my second day observing and it would have been extremely crowded and awkward.

Paola was a student in the class who was introduced to me by Mrs. Rossi as her translator. Paola was a senior at DCHS and was also in Mrs. Rossi's piano class. Paola was fluent in both English and Spanish, and because she was on a peer level with the NELs, Mrs. Rossi said that she communicated well with them. Sadly, Paola did not get recognition for her advanced linguistic skills. Orellana (2001) writes that children are an asset to their family and friends by contributing to their life at home through bridging language and culture. She says, "looking at children as actors

and agents in their households, schools, and communities; we may see aspects of the immigrant experience that are invisible when we focus on adults as key players and look mostly toward the future" (p. 367). Paola was an agent, yet her ability to apply these skills went unrecognized. It was interesting that there were awards surrounding the school and choir room for winning choir competitions, yet there were no awards for Paola and her advanced linguistic skills.

Mrs. Rossi also said that when she had a lot of information to communicate with the NELs, then Paola would translate for her in real time. That is, while Mrs. Rossi was talking, Paola whispered the translation to the girls. After that, the girls then relayed the message to Robert. Paola was in the same section as the NEL girls, and it would have been disruptive for her to get up and walk over to Robert. Instead, they played telephone to get the translation to him.

The next time I observed the class I noticed that the NELs did not separate from the rest of the chorus. When it was time to work on their music, Mrs. Rossi guided the choir as a whole. She gave them feedback on their consonants and vowel production of the words in the song.

Mrs. Rossi, told the class that they needed to pronounce the first consonant more forcefully using the tip of their tongue to their teeth. She said "girls, the word 'didn't' needs a stronger force on the initial 'd' sound. Like this, 'D'". Mrs. Rossi demonstrated the sound production and the girls responded back to her, copying her sound (Field notes, March 2, 2017).

There were two d's in didn't, and the second d was barely pronounced, as the n takes over. They were not articulating both of the d's, yet, they were heading straight for the n. Mrs. Rossi stressed the importance of articulating all of the consonants in the word. As they practiced this, I observed progress. Although parts singing is different from speaking (e.g., tall vowels help a chorus to blend, but are not appropriate in everyday speech), this is a case (e.g., initial consonant articulation), where the two styles overlap.

As the rehearsals passed, I noticed the NELs kept up with the rest of the class when it came to singing the words in rhythm. *Didn't My Lord Deliver Daniel* (Emerson, 1992) was a fast song. Repetition, beginning from breaking down each word slowly in a small group, and continuing repetition with the chorus as a whole, assisted the NELs in learning to pronounce and memorize the words of the songs.

Mrs. Rossi helped the students learn to speak the words in the song *Didn't My Lord Deliver Daniel* (Emerson, 1992) by having them read each phrase. Karen reflected on how Mrs. Rossi had helped her along the way:

I have learned everything I know so far because of her. This was my first year, and I like how she teaches, and she sometimes helped us pronounce the words; if we are wrong, she helped us and corrected us. It's something new, and we were always used to the same songs, but when she gave us another one, my friends and I would start practicing, and we asked if we were pronouncing the words correctly, stuff like that

(Karen, personal communication, May 5, 2017).

Karen had been in the United States the longest, nineteen months. She was slightly more advanced than Alicia and Robert but not as advanced as Borris. When Karen said, "we always used the same songs" she was referring to the repetition and routine of rehearsal. Preparing for a concert requires repetition, and that was why Mrs. Rossi would select only a few songs to prepare for the concert. If there were too many songs, then the chorus would not be able to prepare them to a polished level for performance. Working with the same songs every day gave the chorus an opportunity to really dive in deep and polish the songs and prepare them to their very best ability for performance.

Mrs. Rossi went through each word to make sure they were saying the words correctly. She would slowly say the words "he delivered Daniel to the lion's den, and Jonah to the belly of

the whale”. She would not only say the phrase slowly, but she would say the phrase in the rhythm of the music. She would say it slowly and then gradually speed up to the written tempo in the music. This allowed them to slowly speed up their pace of the phrase. It also allowed them to develop accuracy in their pronunciation.

Once they were able to speak the words, the meaning of the words became important. Mrs. Rossi told the choir that the best way for them to communicate meaning when performing was to derive personal emotion.

When they talked about the song *Didn't My Lord Deliver Daniel* (Emerson, 1992), Mrs. Rossi told the class that they needed to channel angry energy. The choir began to sing, and she stopped them abruptly and said "no! You don't have enough force behind your sound; you sound tired or sad. You need to be angry!" They began the song again. Mrs. Rossi told them "more, more energy, more anger, more consonants!" She was telling this to them as they were singing, and their tone became stronger, their consonants became more distinct. They had a determined look on their face with their eyebrows pushed forward. As Mrs. Rossi was instructing them "more, more," they began to lean forward, as if they were becoming slightly combative (Field notes, March 15, 2017).

Although they were told before to channel their anger towards their singing, it was not until Mrs. Rossi taunted them, that they were able to produce a stronger, more forceful tone. When they were finished, Mrs. Rossi cheered. There was excitement in the air. Borris, Karen, Alicia, and Robert were smiling as the class ended.

Linguistic competence was displayed through the four skills. The students worked on exercises to practice phonation. Robert wrote a translation on his lyric sheet to help him remember

how to speak the words. Finally, the NELs listened to Mrs. Rossi and Paola speak through the phrases, then attempting the phrase themselves.

Sociolinguistic competence. Sociolinguistic competence refers to the mastery of cultural and social rules that govern language. For example, knowing formal and informal speech, the ability to be polite, knowledge of how to address different people, and being able to understand and respond to contextual meanings. I did not have any examples of sociolinguistic competence in my data, however, I suspect that there were examples of this that I did not get to observe.

Discursive competence. Discursive competence refers to the ability to create cohesive and coherent utterances and written texts. Being able to connect ideas and produce fluent communication beyond the word level is discursive competence. Communicating orally with fluency requires being able to pronounce words, phrases, sentences, and paragraphs intelligibly, along with using stress correctly, both at the word and the sentence level. Discursive competence has to do with prosody, or suprasegmentals. Suprasegmentals are elements of oral language that focus on stress (i.e., the emphasis given to syllables, words, or phrases), intonation (i.e., variation of pitch in language as it relates to emotion and attitude), and juncture (i.e., the movement between consecutive sounds).

In preparation for the Senior Farewell Ceremony, the students worked on a song called *Good Riddance* (Armstrong, Dirnt, & Cool, 1997). After hearing the song for the first time, Mrs. Rossi instructed the students to speak the phrases of the lyrics. She said, "speak the phrase, emphasize these words: turning, fork, time, directs, best, test, question, lesson, something, in, hope, time, life." Figure 7.4 shows the first verse and the words that were accented are bolded.

Another **turning** point, a **fork** stuck in the road
Time **grabs** you by the wrist, **directs** you where to go.
So make the **best** of this **test** and don't ask why.
It's not a **question**, but a **lesson** learned in time.
It's **something** unpredictable, but **in** the end, it's right.
I **hope** you had the **time** of your **life**.

Figure 7.4 Accents in the phrasing for a verse (Good Riddance)

Mrs. Rossi reiterated the importance of the beginning consonants in each word. Final consonant clusters such as **best** and **direct** are often difficult for Spanish speakers learning English, because that formation is unusual in Spanish (Amaro, Campos-Dintrans, & Rothman, 2018). That is, it tends to be vowel consonant vowel in Spanish like the word *casa*. Of course, there are exceptions, as in *flor*, however, typically the consonant clusters are at the beginning of a word in Spanish and not at the end (Keffala, Barlow, & Rose, 2018). What happens is that some people may only pronounce the first consonant, so instead of **best**, they will say **bes**. The vocal exercise that Mrs. Rossi was doing with the choir gave Robert, Alicia, Karen, and Borris an opportunity to work on the final consonant cluster formation through the practice of their musical repertoire.

Another example of discursive competence occurred when Mrs. Rossi worked with the boy's section at the piano. All of the boys stood in a row in front of the piano. Mrs. Rossi sang the first sing of the song. She then told them to sing together. As she played their part on the piano, the tenors began to sing.

Then she has them sing it individually. She pointed to each boy when it was their turn.

When it was Robert's turn she said each word slowly and had him repeat them back to her.

He did. They then did the entire phrase. Robert repeated back the phrase. When all of the

boys had a turn, they sang it all together (Field notes, February 28, 2017).

Mrs. Rossi worked on sentence-level stress first by breaking down each word for Robert. Once Robert displayed competence in his ability to pronounce each word, she moved on to the phrase as a whole. She stressed the rise and fall of the phrase. She made sure each one of the boys was able to demonstrate the sentence level stress before she moved on. This was an example of Robert practicing stress, intonation, and juncture, or suprasegmentals.

Suprasegmentals. Suprasegmentals are elements of speech that have to do with the pronunciation of syllables, words, and sentence-level utterances. Intonation refers to the rise and fall in pitch at the syllabic or sentence-level stress, especially as it relates to expressing emotion or attitude. Hahn (2004) says that "primary stress is realized in speech by combining a detectable change in pitch with increased vowel duration and increased intensity" (p. 201). That is, when a word is stressed, the sound of the pitch increases when the word is spoken. In choral music, the ability to pronounce words correctly is important, as is word and sentence-level stress, along with producing the proper note at the proper time (i.e., rhythm).

When I observed the choir, I noticed Mrs. Rossi going over each word to the song *Didn't My Lord Deliver Daniel* (Emerson, 1992). She moved her right arm up and forward to represent the rise and fall of the intonation and to help students recognize the syllable stress. For the word "didn't" she moved her arm upwards and forwards for the stress of "did" and then she moved it backward for the "n't." It was as she was conducting in a pattern that represented syllabic stress and intonation (Field notes, February 17, 2017).

Trofimovich and Baker (2006) found that "as a stress-timed language, English has a rhythm characterized by alteration in the degree of stress, with stressed syllables significantly longer than undressed ones and most vowels in unstressed syllables reducing to a schwa" (p. 11). The stress timing in choral music is assisted by the rhythmic dimension.

Prosody is represented in the rise and fall of the pitch within a word, which Mrs. Rossi emphasized in her conducting patterns.

Mrs. Rossi was conducting in a pattern that would accent syllabic stress, moving motions up and forward to represent the accent. Sometimes she would conduct a downbeat to represent the focused accent of a word (Field notes, March 22, 2017).

Learning the musical lyrics in English assisted the NELs in their language learning by focusing on syllabic stress and intonation within a word. For example, Borris noticed that the way music is written, it provides clues on syllabic stress. She said:

I've learned to read notes, but I didn't know how to before. It made it easier for me because I've learned, when you separate the words, it means that the space lasts longer. For example, if there is a line, it means it's going to last that long, and I didn't know that (Borris, personal communication, translated into English, April 27, 2017).

Borris was referring to the notes in the music having a line separating a word, for example, the word Daniel in *Didn't My Lord Deliver Daniel* (Emerson, 1992) was represented by a half note²⁷ for the "da" and a quarter note for the "niel." Where the lyric is written, there was a line separating the two syllables: Da-----niel. When speaking, the syllabic stress came on the first part of the word Daniel. Lems (2002) states, "students can discover through songs the natural stretching and compacting of the stream of English speech" (p.7). Mrs. Rossi taught the stretch in each word to Robert when she showed him how to say each word one by one and then put it into song version. Sometimes syllabic stress for emerging bilinguals can have repercussions because altering syllabic stress can alter meaning. Choral music requires correct intonation, rhythm and syllabic stress placement for each word; therefore, it is taught as a part of learning musical repertoire.

²⁷. A half note receives two beats values and a quarter note receives one beat value.

Singing versus speaking: stress and the vowel. It is important to mention that pronunciation in singing is not always the same as in speaking. When the chorus was instructed to sing with tall vowels (a part of vocal technique), the sound of the vowel changes. For example, Mrs. Rossi told the chorus to sing the word "Daniel" as "dAH-niel." She told them to sound "British" when they sang, the tall vowel sound allowed for the soft palate in the back of the mouth to rise, thus producing a more spacious pure tone. If the soft palate is low, then the sound produced was nasal and less desirable to the ear. In choral music education, the proper vocal technique requires as much space as possible between the soft palate and back of the tongue, which was achieved by creating a "tall vowel" sound. Mrs. Rossi would teach the word "Lord" to sound like lAHd. Although this pronunciation is not ideal when speaking, the word was being taught (although they may sound British) and their language learning benefits. Adjusting vowel sounds to create a taller sound does not completely change the word; it simply alters the vowel. Teaching the word itself is an important concept to be acknowledged. Karen recognized that Mrs. Rossi would teach them the pronunciation of the words. Karen wrote in her journal:

Mrs. Rossi always helped us with the words we could not pronounce and gave us tips to improve singing (Karen Journal #4, May 30, 2017).

Mrs. Rossi would teach the lyrics by demonstrating the singing pronunciation of the words.

She told the class "say why nOHt EhvEE mAHn." After she taught the words, she would then say to them, "What does this mean?" She did this while she was pointing to the sentence "why not every man." One of the students in the class raised their hand and said, "It means that everyone has the opportunity to be saved by God." Alicia, Borris, Karen, and Robert looked at the student as they were answering the question and Borris nodded.

I was unsure whether Alicia, Karen, Robert, and Borris really understood because there was no concise way of checking comprehension (Field notes, February 17, 2017).

I acknowledge that pronunciation is different when singing versus speaking; however, the breakdown of the word is important stress, prosody and intonation. There are parallels between everyday speech and choral music in this regard. It was vowel height that is different and should be recognized. You don't want to say "I LAAAHVE you" in everyday speech.

The next example of discursive competency pertains to suprasegmentals; sentence-level stress.

I looked at my copy of Robert's lyric sheet. Mrs. Rossi has underlined the word 'light' in the first sentence, the word 'sun' in the second sentence, and the word 'love' in the third sentence. She then told him to emphasize the word 'any' and 'that' in the next section (Field notes, April 28, 2017).

While this context does belong to music, it can also be interpreted for conveying meaning in speech. There was a connection here, without any change (as there is for tall vowels). For example, in the first sentence, she wanted Robert to accent the word lightly. The sentence was this: "well you only need the light when its burning low" (Rosenberg, 2011). The second sentence was this: "only miss the sun when it starts to snow." The third sentence was: "only know you love her when you let her go." This reference was about sentence-level stress, which has some relationship to phrasing in music. The rise and fall of a phrase showed a dynamic in the music, that is, a crescendo to the climax of the phrase and a decrescendo²⁸ to the end of the phrase. The distribution of stress relies on the rhythmic pattern and meaningful text (Selkirk, 1995). Using the lyrics above, the phrase would crescendo towards the word "light: and decrescendo towards the word "low".

²⁸ Decrescendo is a musical term meaning to gradually get softer. It is represented with the symbol >.

I observed Robert rehearsing his song with the microphone. When the music was playing, he was restricted in his rate of speech by the rhythm of the music and had to really focus on getting the right words accented at the right spot. Robert stood at the microphone attached to the sound system. Mrs. Rossi started the music. Robert was struggling to keep up with the recording. He was lyrically behind the music. Mrs. Rossi stopped the recording. She went over to him and spoke the first line of the song in rhythm. She told him to repeat it back, he did, but not correctly. She told him he was missing the downbeat and showed him on his lyric sheet which word (light) needed to come on the downbeat. Then they tried it again. They got through a couple of lines, and Mrs. Rossi put the music back on. She sang with him the first time. She stopped the music after the first verse. She said, "now, your turn." She put the music to the beginning of the song and played it again. This time, Robert was much better. He was definitely improving (Field notes, May 10, 2017).

With the recording guiding him, it forced Robert to concentrate on sentence-level stress. Robert showed improvement by the end of the class period. Robert went from not being able to produce the sounds within the rhythmic structure to being able to do it.

Syllabic stress in the lyrics. Repertoire rehearsal consisted of practicing the notes, rhythms, and dynamics of the music. It also involved learning word-level and sentence-level stress, along with articulation, vowel production, and vocal technique. And finally, repertoire rehearsal meant learning to blend and balance the voices in the chorus.

During choir rehearsal, early in the semester (February), the students received a new piece of music repertoire called *Didn't my Lord Deliver Daniel* (Emerson, 1992). Once each student had received their sheet music, Mrs. Rossi played the song on the CD player. Starting at the beginning

of the song, Mrs. Rossi began taught the words in rhythm. She had the chorus speak the lyrics in rhythm, by listening to her and then repeating the lyrics with her, in speech, before they sang.

Each student had a piece of music for *Didn't My Lord Deliver Daniel* (Emerson, 1992).

Mrs. Rossi began at the beginning and spoke each phrase using the rhythm written in the music, and the chorus repeated each phrase back. She said, "Didn't my Lord deliver DANiel, deliver DANiel, deliver DANiel" Mrs. Rossi stressed the word "DIIdn't" and "DANiel." Mrs. Rossi then asked the students if they understood which words to stress.

Borris stared at the paper while Alicia leaned over to see, she pointed at the words on the music for Alicia to see. Alicia found the corresponding part in her own music and attempted to follow along (Field notes, February 17, 2017).

The stress was found on the first syllable of DANiel and DIIdn't. Mrs. Rossi asked once again for the choir to clearly articulate the initial d. Figure 7.3 is a copy of the first page of the song. It shows how the words move with the eighth notes and dotted quarter notes.

The first syllable DAN was longer (dotted quarter note) and the second syllable was an eighth note, which was short and received less stress in this case. Also, DAN appeared on the first count of measure, which meant that it receives more stress.

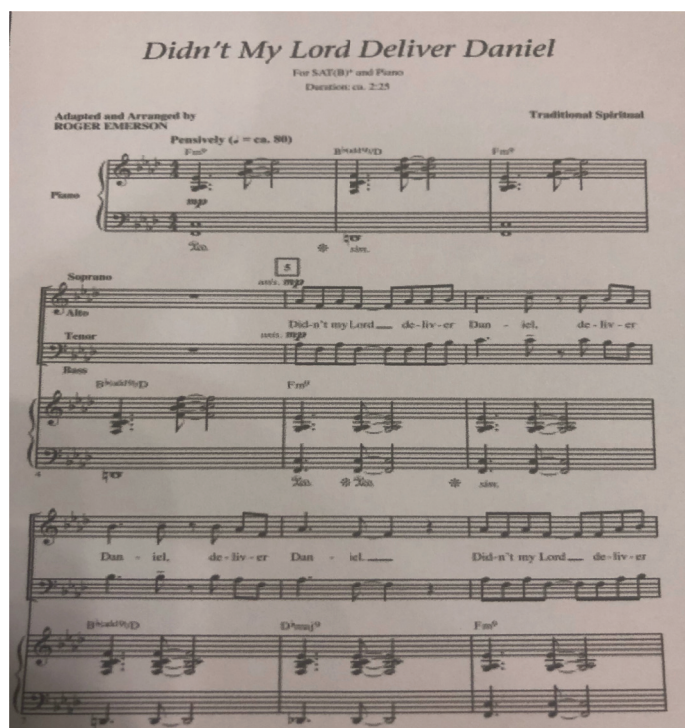


Figure 7.3 “Didn’t My Lord Deliver Daniel” (Emerson, 1992) music sheet.

Borris said one of the first things she would do when she received a new piece of music was to scan the lyrics to see if there were any new words or phrases. She told me:

When she (Mrs. Rossi) gave me a new song, the first thing I did was read the lyrics to see if it was going to be a difficult song to sing or to pronounce [the lyrics]; if that was not the case, I felt encouraged because it was easier for me, but when it was difficult I tried my best to pronounce everything correctly (Borris, personal communication, April 5, 2017).

Borris learned how to scan the lyrics and identify words or phrases that were difficult for her to pronounce, or that were new to her. In this section, I discussed data related to discursive competence. In the next section, I discuss strategic competence.

Strategic competence. Strategic competence is the ability to interpret and reproduce the meaning of a sentence. Strategic competence is, more specifically, the ability paraphrase when one does not know a word or phrase, compensating for things one does not know in a social context.

Strategic competence refers to an individual's ability to persevere through a collapse in communication. (Celce-Murcia, Dörnyei & Thurrell, 1995). When a communication breakdown occurs, a person's strategic competence allows them to restore communication, using strategies to clarify, gain information, or "work around" something one does not know. I recalled my conversation with Mrs. Puentes when explained how much she thought Alicia had flourished and her willingness to ask questions about communicating in English. Mrs. Puentes said:

As the semester progressed, I noticed that Alicia would ask me for little things and wanted to know how to say them in English. This occurred more rapidly during the second semester than it did in the previous one. She wanted to learn how to say, "may I leave my bag here." She would say to me "Miss, may I ____ bag ____ *como se dice esto*?" pointing to her bag and the chair. I told her, "May I leave my bag here?"

(Mrs. Puentes, personal communication, June 7, 2017).

This is an example of strategic competence. Alicia needed to find out how to say something that was a part of everyday social language. She did it by substituting the words she did not know with gestures. She followed this by asking, "How do you say this?" in Spanish. She was able to communicate what she needed to say by using gestures to stand in for vocabulary she did not know. Developing communicative competence is processual. As I made clear in this section, there were some components of communicative competence that I did not see the NELs developing (e.g., sociolinguistic competence). However, I was not conducting observations every day, and I observed examples of other components of communicative competence at play. Having the opportunity to explore language use through music is an avenue to develop communicative competence, especially linguistic competence (i.e., pronunciation) and discursive competence, (i.e., sentence-level stress). This data suggests that the activities in choir rehearsal, and the

action and participation in the concert performances and Small Group/Solo Performance contributed to the development of communicative competence among the NELs.

Translation as a Social Activity

Borris used her cell phone to look up new words, Googling English-Spanish translation and then putting in the English word to get the Spanish translation.

Borris had her phone out and was putting in words. I heard her say "furnace." She punched in some letters on to her phone and said: "ah, horno, significa horno"

(Field notes, February 17, 2017).

Of course, this approach is limited, as words have different meanings in different contexts, and pop songs in particular often employ idioms. However, these were the tools Borris had at her disposal. I also observed Borris pointing to the words in the song, asking Karen, "¿que significa esta palabra?" (what does this word mean). In one instance, Karen told her "ballena" (whale). She nodded and said "oh, ok." This was an example of community translation (O'Hagan, 2011). They were utilizing public resources to interpret the meaning of the words in the song, which included telephones, and reliance on other learners and more advanced bilinguals. While they are cooperative and helping each other to make meaning, there are drawbacks to community translation. That is, sometimes meanings can be misinterpreted. This can be related to the interpretation of meaning, especially when texting. The intention of a text message can be misinterpreted because of the lack of prosody and intonation leaving meaning up to the reader. While the intentions of the girls were honest, it would be beneficial to triangulate their information in order to clarify meaning.

Borris recalled her preparation for the spring concert and how she felt after the concert, and stated:

After the concert, I thought it was really cool, and I feel like I've learned a lot; for example, I didn't know how to pronounce some of the words, and I didn't know some others, so I feel being in choir is helping me a lot (Borris, personal communication, May 30, 2017). She told me that she had to look up the words gospel and furnace. She also said that she had to practice the songs slowly on her own while gradually picking up the pace. I observed Borris working on the word "unpredictable" from the song *Good Riddance* (Armstrong, Dirnt, & Cool, 1997). She would say the word over and over. Then she would place her hands on her face and say the word again as if she was mimicking the singing pronunciation.

The singing pronunciation required a taller vowel sound than when speaking the word. The singing pronunciation was represented phonetically "uhn-prih- DIH-k-tah-buhl." I also observed her looking up the words on her phone when I first attended the class.

After class, I asked her to point to the words she was looking up, and she showed me in her music the words "belly," "whale," "fiery," "gospel" and "furnace" from *Didn't my Lord Deliver Daniel* (Emerson, 1992) (Field notes, February 24, 2017).

The opportunity to focus on pronunciation practice at the sentence level and to start slowly and build up speed was something the NELS did in preparing the concert music. This was the kind of practice I do not think they had in any of their other classes. Because NELs had to learn so much language and content all at the same time, chorus was one of the few times in their high school careers when they were able to zero in on pronunciation, in a context in which they also understood the meaning of the text. Just listening to and speaking through the lyrics was not sufficient. The students in the chorus were encouraged to read through and understand the meaning of the lyrics. One of the assignments Mrs. Rossi gave to the students was to write a paragraph

about the meaning of their song. Each student showed their paragraph to Mrs. Rossi and received a completion grade. Mrs. Rossi said:

I asked the students how they interpreted the meaning of the song. They said that they thought it was about how sometimes good things happen, and sometimes bad things happen. Borris told me "I think it means that in life, things go your way, and sometimes they don't. It is all a part of life" (Field notes, March 10, 2017).

This is a very minimal understanding of the spiritual lyric, and I did not observe the discussion going any deeper than this. I was not there to observe every rehearsal, so perhaps a more in-depth discussion happened at another time. I am not sure if they understood that those bad things included slavery. If Mrs. Rossi had been versed in culturally sustaining pedagogy (Paris and Alim, 2014), there could have been deeper discussion regarding the meaning and context of the song, beyond the literal words. Mrs. Rossi, however, insisted that when they sang the song, they needed to channel their anger and determination into the music.

Once the students had listened to the pronunciation and had practiced saying the phrases with proper stress and intonation and channeled their anger into the song, and their posture and tone became more aggressive.

Translanguaging in Choir Rehearsal

Translanguaging is a high-level linguistic skill that requires finding the syntactic overlaps in two languages and having the sentences make sense grammatically in both languages. Translanguaging occurs in bilingual communities as a way to structurally communicate and “make sense of their bilingual worlds” (García, 2009, p. 45). Translanguaging is using all of the linguistic repertoires available to you to communicate and it is what people in bilingual communities do (García, Johnson, Seltzer, & Valdés, 2017). Garcia suggests that rather than seeing bilingualism as

there being two codes that exist in different parts of our brains, there is one repository with multiple repertoires. One of her key ideas is that previously, scholars had looked at translanguaging through a monolingual mindset, rather than a bilingual or multilingual one (García, & Lin, 2017). On the contrary, translanguaging privileges a bilingual view.

Flores & García (2014) suggest that translanguaging is pedagogically beneficial, in part because the practice increases content knowledge. One example of translanguaging is when a group of students have a discussion about a topic in Spanish and then they write a paper on the topic in English (Velasco & García, 2009). Translanguaging is a language practice that involves communicating through the use of all the linguistic resources at one's disposal (García, Johnson, Seltzer, K., & Valdés, 2017).

An example of translanguaging that I observed was when the choir began their Small Group/Solo Presentation project. Robert, Borris, Karen, and Alicia initially worked in a group to plan which song they were going to perform. I say initially because Robert ended up leaving the group to perform a solo and the girls formed their own group. When I arrived a few days later, the girls had a lyric sheet with them that they had printed out. I asked them to show me the sheet and explain to me what they were going to do. Borris showed me the lyric sheet that Karen had brought. It was the wrong version. It was the lyrics as written by Ben E. King. She said they were going to do one verse in English and the other in Spanish. They had written the translation to the second verse on to the lyric sheet beside the English version.

The next day, they brought a new lyric sheet, and it was the Prince Royce version. Prince Royce is a 29-year-old bilingual singer who was born in the Dominican Republic to working class parents. He took choir classes in elementary school. He was a popular role model of a transnational youth. After comparing the two, the girls had written in the same Spanish lyrics as Prince Royce.

They played the karaoke version of the song on their phone. As the music started, they began to sing the first verse of the song – in English. They were singing all together, but the rhythms and pitches were messy. When it came to the second verse, they began to sing in Spanish. They were singing words at different times, and the phrases were not ending together (Field notes, May 3, 2017).

They used the traditional karaoke version for the entire rehearsal. It was not until the second time I observed them, that they used the Prince Royce version.

Once they were finished, Mrs. Rossi came over and asked to see their lyric sheet. They gave the lyric sheet to her, and she said "ok, you need to sing the Spanish part like this," demonstrating the first line of the verse. They did this for the rest of the verse. I asked Mrs. Rossi why the second verse was so difficult for them, she replied, they knew the song in English, not Spanish, so they had to fit a different amount of words into the same musical line, which was a challenge (Field notes, May 12, 2017).

The Prince Royce version is not a translation of the English. Rather, the Spanish is poetically written and is incorporated into the English.

They sang the Prince Royce version of the song.

Mrs. Rossi: “Y aunque las montañas”

Girls: “Y aunque las montañas”

Mrs. Rossi: o el cielo caiga

Girls: o el cielo caiga

Mrs. Rossi: no voy a preocuparme

Girls: no voy a preocuparme

Mrs. Rossi: por que se,

Girls: por que se,

Mrs. Rossi: que tu estas junto a mi

Girls: que tu estas junto a mi

Mrs. Rossi sang very slowly, and the girls repeated her very slowly. They did the entire passage twice. The second time was much better. Mrs. Rossi turned on the karaoke recording of the song (using the Prince Royce version), and the girls sang through the first verse and the chorus. They were very close to being together rhythmically. By this time, the class was almost over, so they stopped. I saw improvement within the time frame of their rehearsal (Field notes, May 12, 2017).

Their prior knowledge of the song worked both with them and against them. They roughly knew the song because it was repetitive, but they had to work on the part that was translated into Spanish. I saw this as an example of translanguaging, because Borris is using two repertoires of language to demonstrate what they were singing in class. The two repertoires were Spanish and English and the girls interchanged languages throughout the song. They were speaking about rhythms and musical terms in English, but then continued singing in both English and Spanish, depending on the verse.

Another example of translanguaging came from a conversation that I had with Borris about something she did in class. I observed the students singing in class, and often, they would place their hands on their cheeks. This particular day, Borris and some of the other students placed their hands on her cheeks without any direction from Mrs. Rossi.

After Mrs. Rossi dismissed them at the end of class, I asked Borris about the action of placing hands on her face.

I asked Borris “why do you put your hands on your face when you sing?” Borris said in Spanish “*necesitamos subir y bajar nuestras vocales, no separarlas*,” (we need to have our vowels up and down, not spread apart). She said (in English) “like this.”

Then she showed me what a spread apart vowel would look like using her hands. She put her hands up to her lips and made a horizontal gesture with her hands as to describe a spread vowel.

She said, “you have to sing this way” (creating a vertical line going up and down in the air in front of her lips), “not this way” (creating a horizontal line going from side to side in the air in front of her lips) (Field notes, March 10, 2017).

This was an example of Borris understanding the concept of choral vowel formation. She articulated it using Spanish and English (i.e., translanguaging) along with using gestures, and demonstration. Borris communicated in both Spanish and English, and through gesture. This was also an example of Borris learning content and being able to explain what she had learned, using all of the linguistic resources at her disposal. Another linguistic tool that the NELs employed was the use of Spanish phonology to decode English phonology.

Using Spanish Phonology to Decode English Phonology

Using Spanish phonology to navigate English phonology refers to the NELs utilization of their prior language knowledge to describe English pronunciation. During repertoire rehearsal, I observed the NELs using their knowledge of Spanish phonology to decode English phonology which I will explore in depth, below.

Kalmar (2001) wrote about a group of Mexican immigrants working in Cobden, Illinois who decided to create a dictionary of how English words sounded to them, using Spanish orthography. Focusing on the strategies and the reasoning behind their notation, Kalmar (2001) found that by using their own universal hybrid alphabet, they were able to describe English pronunciation using Spanish phonetics. Kalmar (2001) wrote:

The alphabet that works for all languages is the one that lets each letter take many sounds. Every single letter represents sounds in many languages, which, to save the appearances, are treated as if they were all one and the same sound although in fact – etically or emically – they are not. Each letter thus comes to stand for a socially constructed ‘meta-sound.’ A “generic phoneme” (p. 115).

Using an alphabet of letters, words and phrases can be deconstructed and recreated to make meaning for the language learner. An example from Kalmar (2001) was when Raúl and Alfredo interpreted the song *Lucille* (Browning & Bynum, 1977). The lyric in English is “you picked a fine time to leave me Luicille”. Raúl wrote “yo picti fay yaiyo tu live mi luci” and Alfredo wrote “llu pict fany tam to limi lusio” (p. 8). Both men used their knowledge of Spanish phonology to notate an approximation of the pronunciation of the English lyrics. Both are different, yet both employ a combination of vowels and consonants to be read with Spanish phonology, in order to represent English pronunciation.

Robert deconstructed the words on his lyric sheet and reconstructed them using letters that form similar sounds in Spanish, to create meaning and understanding for himself, of the words in English. Robert wrote the word “llur” for the word “you’re. He consistently used “ll” on his lyric sheets to help him remember how to say the “y” sound. Also, he wrote the letter “y” to represent his Spanish “j” so that every time the word “you” occurred in the lyric, he related it to his Spanish “j” and ultimately pronounced it with an English “y”. This is an example of his using his knowledge of Spanish pronunciation to interpret the sound of an English “y”.

To further explore the language use of the NELs, I describe how the NELs navigated their lyric sheets in preparation for their Small Group/Solo Performances. The Small Group/Solo Performance was an assignment that Mrs. Rossi created that involved interaction, independent

work, and introduced a different social component. Instead of working together as an entire choir, the choir would break off into smaller groups to represent their identities through the song they selected.

Small Group/Solo Performance Preparation

After the spring concert performance, preparation began on their Small Group/Solo Performance project. Mrs. Rossi explained to the students that they were going to form a small group with other members of the class. She told them that they could be in a group of as small as three but no larger than five. She did not give them the option of doing a solo, but Robert raised his hand and said, “Miss, can I sing by myself?” and Mrs. Rossi said, “Yes.”

The assignment. One of the assignment requirements was to print out the lyrics to the song of their choice and learn to sing the song. This is more complicated than it may initially seem. The difficulty came in selecting a song and then identifying which arrangement to use. For homework, the students were required to find and print (or write out in longhand) lyrics to their song. Each group received guidance from Mrs. Rossi 2-3 times per week for ten minutes at a time. When the groups were not working directly with Mrs. Rossi, they were in practice rooms, working to put their song together. In the following section, I analyze Robert’s process first and then Borris, Alicia and Karen’s group second. Robert sang the song *Let Her Go* (Rosenberg, 2011) and the girls sang the song *Stand by Me*. I begin by analyzing Robert’s music selection, the song *Let Her Go*.

Let Her Go

The song that Robert selected to sing for his small group (solo) performance was called *Let Her Go* (Rosenberg, 2011). He used a song that had been recorded by the group Passenger. Mike Rosenberg is the British singer/songwriter for a four-piece band known as Passenger, and when the band decided to go their separate ways, Rosenberg decided to keep the moniker of Passenger

for his solo career. In 2012, he wrote the song, called *Let Her Go* (Rosenberg, 2011), which became popular all over the world including in Britain, the Netherlands, New Zealand, Australia, Germany, Finland, Denmark, Switzerland, Sweden, and the United States. The song references a loss, a loss of something that was taken for granted. While the artist references that loss as a female companion, I wonder if this meaning could also be a metaphor for migration. Robert did tell me that he had experienced a similar loss of companionship. He told me that he liked the meaning of the song because he related it to experiences with past relationships. Robert wanted to show the class that he could sing and perform a song in English. According to Mrs. Puentes, Robert had told her that one of the major things he was worried about was his ability to pronounce the words correctly in front of the class.

Pronouncing the lyrics. Some Spanish speakers say learning English is like learning two languages because there is one written version of English and there is another one that is the spoken version. Because English has competing rules for pronunciation and spelling that come from the varied languages that are its roots, both pronunciation and spelling in English pose significant hurdles for many learners (Hudson, 2013).

For example, English utilizes several letters that can be silent in some words (r, l, b, h, k, n, p, s, t & w). Also, the letter ‘s’ can be pronounced in multiple ways, (/s/ or /z/). The letter ‘t’ can be pronounced in five different ways. Furthermore, in the English language, there are 19 vowel sounds produced with only five vowel letters and 25 consonant sounds (McKinney, 1994). Syllabic stress and intonation when producing English words are also problematic. If the syllabic stress is incorrect the meaning of the word may change. For example, record as a noun (I keep a record of what I have learned) and record as a verb (Could I record our conversation?) are instances in English in which stress signals different meanings. Robert practiced the pronunciation of each

word and phrase from his lyric sheet that he had brought to class. Figure 7.5 displays the original lyric sheet and Roberts lyric sheet with his own markings.

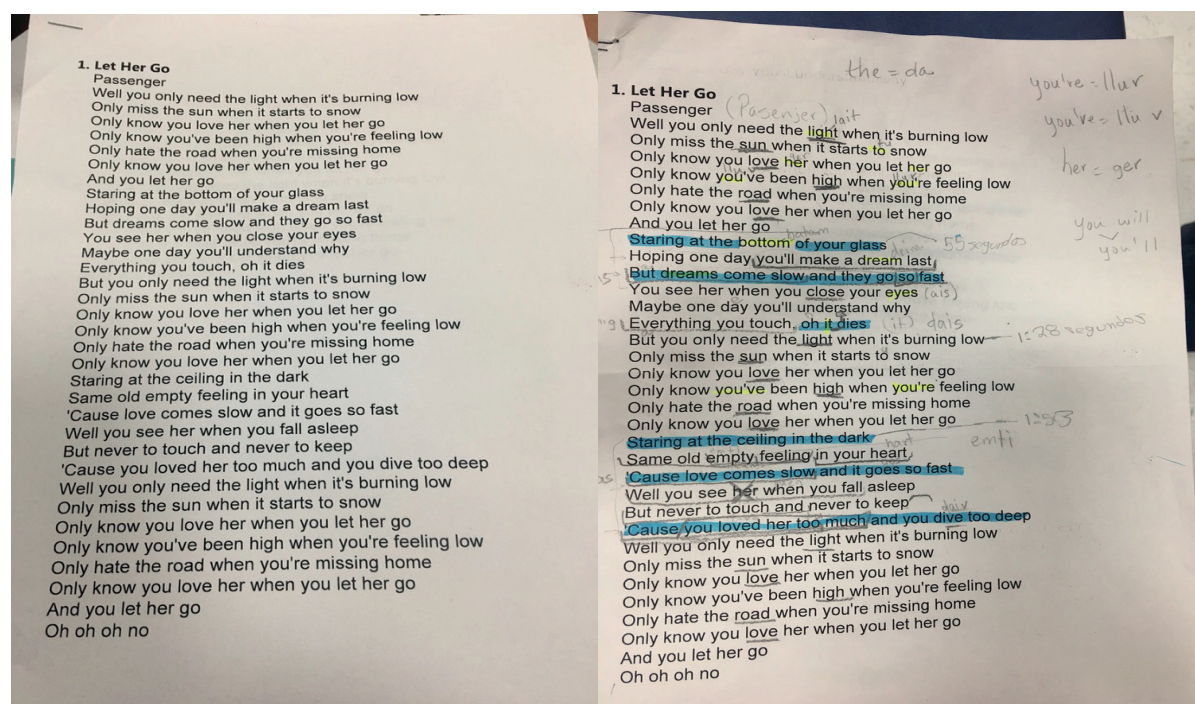


Figure 7.5 Robert's Lyric Sheet for Let Her Go

All of the parts that Robert highlighted were to come within the time frame of one beat. Mrs. Rossi had underlined the words that needed to land on the first beat of the phrase. I noticed that many words were marked up with Robert's writing. Table 7.1 displays the words in English, the Spanish translation, Robert was the one who wrote in the phonetic translation.

Table 7.1 Lyric Sheet Phonetic Translation

| Original lyric | Robert's marking |
|-----------------------|-------------------------|
| Passenger | Passenjer |
| Her | Ger |
| The | Da |
| To | Tu |
| Day | Dey |
| You're | Ll'ur |
| Bottom | Batam |
| Dream | Drim |
| Empty | Empty |
| Heart | Hart |
| Eyes | Ais |
| Dies | Dais |
| Dive | Daiv |

Robert was doing what the people in Kalmar's study were doing: using Spanish phonology to represent English phonology. In essence, Robert was using a hybrid alphabet, and he was using all of the linguistic tools available to him to pronounce English. This operated as a kind of dictionary for the pronunciation of English for him.

A hybrid alphabet is formed when the "sound pattern of two different languages are structurally incommensurate and therefore what is impossible in pure theory becomes possible in practice only by fudging the application of the code's basic ground rule: one letter, one sound" (Kalmar, 2001, p. 84). The sound created by a letter in one language can be transferred to a second language with the purpose of phonetic understanding representing a family of sounds. The creation of a hybrid alphabet is linguistically complicated. Kalmar states that creating hybrid phoneme is comparative to creating a code, a pattern of sounds. The immigrants in Kalmar's study created glossaries that were passed around to each other and used to interpret English. The immigrants carried notebooks and expanded their glossary of terms and phrases as the book moved from one person to another.

Robert worked on his lyric sheet with his ESL teacher Mrs. Puentes. They went through the sheet word for word. In the glossary created by Robert and his teacher, the first-word "passenger" was phonetically written by Robert as *Passenjer*, the Spanish translation being *pasajero* (Field notes, May 10, 2017).

The "j" represented the voiced consonant allowing Robert to understand that the "g" in the English term is represented as a voiced "j" sound. This type of translation is called a hybrid phoneme, where particular sounds from each language are combined to represent a recognizable sound. The hybrid phoneme resides in a "family of sounds some of whose members belong to one kinship structure" (p.84) such as "j" and "g." The hybrid phoneme refers to two letters receiving the same sound, and here these both create a lingual, palatal "juh" sound formed in the front of the mouth, where the tongue and the hard palate meet.

He created a similar representation for the English word "you've" replacing the English "y" with the Spanish "ll" which when pronounced in Spanish, sounds like the English "y." An initial hybrid occurs when Robert crossed out the "h" and puts "g" to represent the English word "her." The initial letter "g" in Spanish is an unvoiced sound similar to the English "h." Robert wrote the word "da" to represent the English word "the" this is known as t-d flapping. Flapping is common intervocalically in American English (e.g., butter is pronounced budder), whereas it is not a part of Received Pronunciation, in which the "t" in butter is articulated. In American English, the "d" sound is used when the letter "t" is surrounded by vowels, i.e., in the middle of a word. That is not what Robert did here, as he replaced the "t" with a "d" at the beginning of a word. However, this worked well for him as a singer, because the "d" was simpler for him to say than the "th".

Practice and exchange of vowels. Kalmar (2001) found that the people in his study were "sight-reading" (p. 50) one another's glossaries. The people in the community gathered to share

their notebooks with each other. These notebooks included words and phrases that had been transcribed with their individual interpretation. Kalmar (2001) stated that this was the first time he had heard them reading words out loud, words that they had never seen before. They took issue with published dictionaries, because they did not explain how to pronounce each word in ways that were accessible to them. That made them useless. When the immigrants got together in the basement of the local grocery store for their regular meetings, they added words to their collective glossary.

Mrs. Puentes taught Robert to do something similar with his lyric sheet, and he decoded the English words based on his knowledge of Spanish phonology. Together, they created a code and made connections between the letters in English to the sounds in Spanish. Robert and the ESL teacher met regularly to review his lyric sheet. Kalmar states "writing something down the way it sounds, whether in your own language or someone else's, is not a simple mechanical operation" (p. 37). Robert did this with the help of his ESL teacher, and it worked.

The next set of words represent the choice of using a vowel exchange (Kalmar, 2001). The schwa is an unstressed vowel sound. These represented what each word would sound like if written in Spanish. Robert notated the word "day" as "dey" utilizing the schwa "ey." He used "ll", for the word you've and you're, which is close to an English "yuh" sound. Robert wrote the word "batam" to symbolize the word "bottom". This schwa translated the sound of the "o" to that of an "a", similar to what he did with the English word "heart" translated to "hart."

A diphthong occurs when two vowel sounds occur within one syllable (McKinney, 1994). Robert identified the diphthong sounds in English (eyes, dies, dive) and used two Spanish vowels (ai) for the English "eyes", which meant "a-i-s" was his notation. This notation of the diphthong allowed him to identify the complex double vowel sound in each word visually. Robert coded his

lyric sheet carefully, and this allowed him to use his knowledge of Spanish to create his own approximation of these English words.

During my observations on May 15, I noticed that Robert was able to say the lyrics more easily. He had clearly been practicing because his phrases were more fluent

Robert whispered the words in rhythm while waiting for his turn to see Mrs. Rossi. Once it was his turn, he went up to the front and took the microphone off the microphone stand. Mrs. Rossi started the music, and Robert began to sing. This time was holding the microphone closer to his mouth and singing with more confidence

(Field notes, May 12, 2017).

During my interview with Mrs. Puentes, she told me that Robert had come in several days in a row before school to work with her on the vocabulary and pronunciation, in his song in preparation for his performance. During those sessions, Mrs. Puentes had him speak the words and then she would have him gradually speed up. After they finished, Robert told her that it felt good to pronounce things correctly. I am hopeful that Robert's feelings of accomplishment in English pronunciation impacted his identity as an emergent bilingual.

When I observed the chorus on May 3, 2017, Robert had the opportunity to work with Mrs. Rossi on his song.

Mrs. Rossi began by speaking each word and having him repeat them to her. She focused on the word "well" by saying it is "well" with a short e sound, not "will" with an "ih" sound, lengthen the "e" sound to "eh." She then focused on the word "you." She had worked on the word "you" before when working with the chorus as a whole, but this was the first time working independently with Robert. She said to him, "say you, not "j, j, j, j, no ju – pero, "yuh," you, let her go." Mrs. Rossi went through the entire first verse like this with Robert.

She told him to go home and practice a lot every day. The session lasted for approximately 15 minutes (Field notes, May 3rd, 2017).

Mrs. Rossi worked with him on vowels and y is sometimes a vowel. Y and J have a sound correspondence in Spanish. That is, J can be pronounced like a y sound. Yo hablo espanol can be pronounced as y or as j. However, when he was singing the words "you," he maintained the j sound. While the j sound became less prominent, it still remained, even during his performance.

The “j” sound is a voiced consonant requiring vocal fold vibration known as an affricate. An affricate is "a consonant formed when compressed air is exploded through the narrow aperture of a fricative instead of the normal mouth opening used for a plosive" (McKinney, 1994, p. 145). However, the letter Y in Spanish can be pronounced as y or as j. The voiced sound of a "j" is used when a native Spanish speaker attempts to pronounce a "y" sound in English.

Practice of pronunciation. Robert’s hard work in pronunciation showed him that he could persevere in a social setting without ridicule or negativity. His preparation for the performance gave him confidence that he could sing in front of the choir, ultimately gaining their acknowledgment and respect.

Norton (2000) states:

It is through language that a person negotiates a sense of self within and across different sites and different points in time, and it is through language that a person gains access to, or is denied access to powerful social networks (p. 5)

That is, it is through language and communication, especially in another language, that people develop confidence in themselves. Language is learned and developed through time and access to social networks.

When working with Robert, Mrs. Puentes told me that she would have him read each phrase back to her five times. She told me that he was very cooperative and that each time she would correct him, she felt as if he was eager to learn. Once he had pronounced each word correctly, they would work on the entire phrase. She told me that he would read the phrases and at first, they were very fragmented and mispronounced because he was reading word by word. He practiced outside of school every day, and he came back to show her that he had improved.

Kalmar (2001) refers to a Freirean ESL classroom where the student decodes their work based on their social or cultural experiences. Kalmar explains that Freirean ESL teachers use the concept of oppression by creating lessons simulating a struggle by developing problematic situations. He further explains the relationship between teacher and student referring to the student as a possession of the teacher. He states:

For example, many of them say something like “I swear I learn more from my students than they learn from me...” Nevertheless, they continue to refer to themselves as teachers, not as students, and they continue to refer to those from whom they learn so much as “my students” not as “my teachers” – even though, as Freire puts it, educators “cannot treat the oppressed as their possession” (p. 68).

The student teacher relationship is a back and forth, give and take style of connection. The relationship between Mrs. Puentes or Mrs. Rossi was not a possessive relationship. The two teachers did not have to work with Robert; they chose to work with him. They worked after school and after hours so that Robert would be able to put on a great performance. Mrs. Puentes and Mrs. Rossi were proud of their students and continued to work with Robert outside of class. Mrs. Puentes and Mrs. Rossi both took pride in working with Robert, especially after the performance came to fruition.

Robert sang a song in English. He had a choice of what to sing, and the only stipulation was that the song had to have personal meaning. Out of the four participants in my study, Robert spoke the least out of the NELs. Yet he selected a song where there were many words that had to be sung in a short melodic phrase, which is difficult to do, even for native English speakers. Robert surprised and delighted everyone with his performance including myself, the girls, the choir. Mrs. Puentes and Mrs. Rossi especially impressed and proud of him. It was an uplifting experience for all of us. In the following section, I analyze the girls' choice for their Small Group/Solo Presentation.

Stand by Me

The girls chose the song *Stand by Me* (King, Lieber, & Stoller, 1960), but there was some confusion for them about the version they wanted to sing. They were motivated to sing this song because it was popularized by Prince Royce, a 29-year-old bilingual singer who was born in the Dominican Republic, and it was translanguage. They admired Prince Royce, who embodied transnational identities, and who was born to working-class parents New York. They also liked that the song was in both English and Spanish, and that it was about loyalty and friendship.

Karen volunteered to print out the lyrics from home, and brought them to class the next day. When she arrived the next day with the printout, she had printed out the Ben E. King version of the song, by mistake. Borris said she would find the other version and print it out, which she did. Figure 7.6 displays the original lyric printed out for the girls' Small Group/Solo Performance.

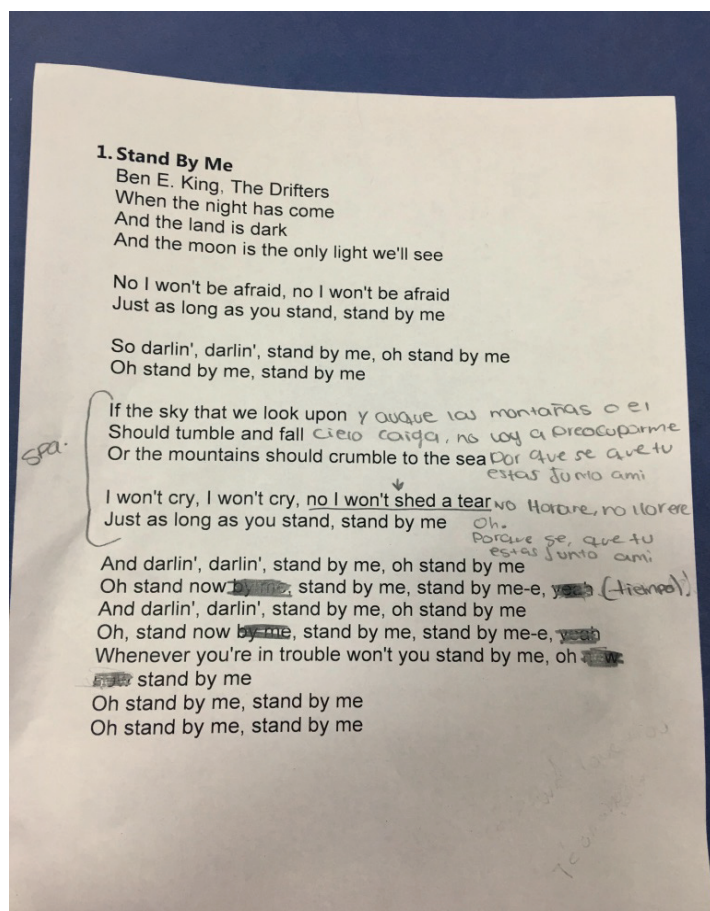


Figure 7.6 Borris, Karen, and Alicia's Original Lyric Sheet

Due to the fact that all they had to work at the beginning was the original lyrics written by Ben E. King, they decided to translate the second verse into Spanish. The version by Prince Royce used different text that fit the melody beautifully. Unfortunately, the girls did not choose to do it this way. But their written translation was a language exercise that helped them take the English words and translate them into Spanish. They approached this task using the grammar-translation method.

The girls spoke the second verse slowly word for word and then wrote the translation beside the English words. After they wrote down the translation, they took out Borris' phone and played the song by Prince Royce and compared their translation. They sang with the recording and nodded as the second verse finished. They were able to start their practice with the Ben E. King lyric sheet, but they were optimistic about continuing working with

the Prince Royce lyric sheet that Borris would bring the next day. I also need to note that Prince Royce's version uses a different text (Field notes, May 3, 2017).

When I asked the girls why they wanted to sing this song in both languages they told me that they wanted to challenge themselves by singing and performing in English.

The girls began to learn the song. Mrs. Rossi said the English words for them, and they then repeated it back to her. Mrs. Rossi said, "when the night" and the girls repeated it back to her "when the night." Mrs. Rossi said, "has come," and the girls repeated back to her "has come." Mrs. Rossi continued the first verse like this with the girls. She made corrections on their vowels by telling them to make them taller and rounder, the girls, obliged.

The teacher initially asked the girls to sing the entire first verse in Spanish and the second in English but the girls wanted to do the first verse in English and the second verse in Spanish because in the Prince Royce version of the song, he began in English (Field notes, May 3, 2017).

The next rehearsal I observed, I noticed that the girls had a different lyric sheet. I asked where the new sheet came from and Borris raised her hand and said, "I brought it." Figure 7.7 shows their updated lyric sheet.

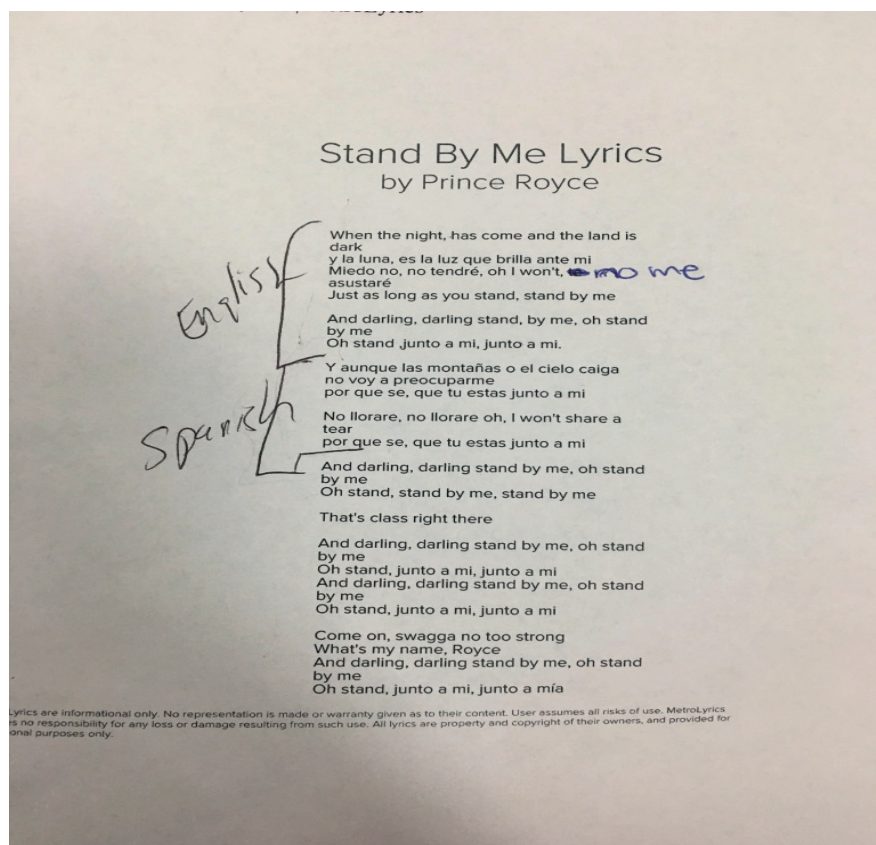


Figure 7.7 Borris, Karen, and Alicia's Updated Lyric Sheet

The lyric sheet displayed the words as written by Prince Royce, in both Spanish and English; however, the girls chose to sing the entire first verse in English, so they followed the English text from their first lyric sheet by Ben E King. With the guidance of Mrs. Rossi, the girls chose to sing the chorus portion of the song in English. As rehearsals continued for the Small Group/Solo Presentation (Field notes, May 10, 2017), the girls were struggling with the Spanish words fitting into the melodic and rhythmic formation of the song. The girls created a learner version of their translation which seemed to be an odd decision on their part. Prince Royce's lyrics fit rhythmically.

I wonder if they did this because they had originally decided at the beginning that they would do one whole verse in English and the second in Spanish. Neither Mrs. Rossi nor Mrs.

Puentes gave them advice about this, and I had a feeling it was because they were not familiar with the Prince Royce version of the song. Their identities played a role in their song selection, and ultimately improved their communicative competence through the process of practice and performance. In the final section, I explore the connection between language learning and identities.

Language Learning and Identities

Language is central to identities, and is a dynamic component affected by the social, cultural and educational environment within the school. Gee (2011) describes the role of language regarding social languages or registers. He states, "social languages stem from the fact that any time we act or speak, we must accomplish two things: (1) we must make clear who we are; and (2) we must make clear what we are doing" (p. 87). That is, when an individual sends a message they must make be clear in their deliver in order to be properly interpreted. The girls were making a statement by choosing to sing in both English and Spanish within the same song. They wanted to represent both languages because that is essentially who they are; emergent bilinguals. They wanted to prove something to the class because everyone in the class knows that they are predominantly Spanish speakers, so they purposefully made it a point to sing in both languages because it reflected who they were.

Chorus provided a field for language use through singing. Karen and Borris both said that their experience in chorus allowed them to use their English skills in a different way than their other classes. The comfortable environment provided in the choir gave them the confidence to practice and use English with their friends outside of the chorus. Borris said:

I try talking in English to my friends who speak English and Spanish so that they can help me speak more so I can feel confident talking to them and to be able to keep practicing English. I gained more confidence, and it helped me a lot with my English (Borris, personal communication, May 20, 2017).

Practice and preparation provided a space for language learning through choral music performance preparation. Gee says, "meaning is something we negotiate and contest over socially" (p. 24). Their girls' choice to perform together, the selection of their song, the lyrical meaning of their song was a representation of their Discourse and was intended to deliver a message regarding their cultural and linguistic identities. Garcia (2009) discusses language used to "discursively construct identity and solidarity" (p.82), and the girls selected their song to reflect their identities as chorus members, emergent bilinguals, and high school students.

Garcia also states that "language use influences the identity formation of the group, while at the same time, the identities of the group influences patterns of attitudes and language uses" (p. 83). That is, the Discourse of a social group is reflected in the languages used by the individuals, but also by the behavior and actions reflected in the language use of the social group. The version of the song that the girls selected was a bilingual version. Identities are produced not only by how one views oneself, but also by one's social group memberships. The NEL girls wanted to sing in both English and Spanish because they wanted to challenge themselves to sing in English in front of the class. Robert also wanted to challenge himself by singing in English in front of the class.

Mrs. Puentes contacted me in September 2018 through email and told me that she had recently run in to Robert and they had an entire conversation in English. She said that Robert stopped by her room and the two of them stood in her doorway to talk.

He came to say 'hello,' but he came in speaking ENGLISH! Yes, English!! He stopped by my room, and we had a conversation about our summers and it was all in ENGLISH, even though his accent was evident, it did not seem to bother him. He seemed more confident and secure. During our conversation, he stumbled with a word, he said it in Spanish, I translated, and he repeated it in English

(Personal communication, Mrs. Puentes, September 3rd, 2018).

Robert, Borris, Karen, and Alicia experienced a lot during practice and preparation for their Small Group/Solo Performance. When things became challenging, or the nerves kicked in during their performances, they knew that they could count on each other just like the song says, “No, I won’t be afraid, just as long as you stand by me.

Summary

In this chapter, I showed how the concert and performance preparation assisted in the language learning process for the NELs in the chorus by developing communicative competence in the forms of linguistic, sociolinguistic, discourse, and strategic. Using a lens of (D)iscourse, it was clear that the girls' song selection for their Small Group/Solo Presentation was a representation of their identities based on their social and cultural background. Selecting a song that translates into both English and Spanish allowed them to improve their four language skills while at the same time representing their relationship with each other and their confidence that was developed throughout the semester in the chorus. Robert, on the other hand, showed how his (d)iscourse allowed him to understand the pronunciation of the language, giving him the ability to use his new language in other venues. An important finding is how the students used their Spanish phonology to understand and make meaning of the English phonology in preparation for their performances.

CHAPTER 8. DISCUSSION

The purpose of this study was to explore the experiences of NELs choral practice and performance in high school choir, as it related to their language learning and social belonging. Some of the challenges the NELs experienced included the simple act of being able to enroll in chorus. The scheduling process begins with the counselor and even if counselors are bilingual, this is not enough to properly serve NELs. NELs require services beyond language instruction that include social amenities to help them with their transition to a new school. Counselors should be versed in the needs of newcomers because they are one of the first points of contact at their new school. The participants in my study were seeking education in a safe city, free of violence and economic peril. In this chapter, I discuss the limitations of the study and summarize my findings in relation to my initial research questions. I also use this chapter to reflect on my time as a researcher, and to explore the implications of my research for both the academic literature and its practical application.

Limitations

As I have made clear throughout this dissertation, I had a difficult time locating NELs enrolled in the chorus. I convinced Mrs. Rossi, the high school choir director, to recruit some of the NELs to join the chorus. Mrs. Rossi agreed and consequently, four NELs enrolled in the study. This is a limitation because I initiated the process of NELs being in choir instead of it occurring naturally. If NELs were enrolled in choir at another campus, the outcome may or may not be the same. Also, I was aware of Mrs. Rossi's excellent choral program because she was a friend and colleague. Sometimes she would try to include me in the class conversation, so I had to make my boundary as a researcher clear.

Another limitation was my personal experience as a choral director. I have been a musician all of my life and many times I took for granted my knowledge about music and the choral classroom. I would find myself skimming over essential details relating to music without providing enough explanation, description or definition. At times I struggled, having to remind myself that my role here is not that of a teacher, but that of a researcher.

Thirdly, this study was conducted while I was working as a choral director at another high school in the same city. My principal allowed me to take time from work travel and collect the necessary data. I observed and collected data from NELs in chorus twice a week for 17 weeks. I also observed these NEL students and collected data based on two of their concerts and a class performance. I observed and collected data of the NELs in their ESL classroom. When I set up the interviews with the NELs, we had to find time during school to conduct the interviews because they could not stay after school or come into school on the weekends for various reasons.

The final limitation was the language barrier between the NELs and myself. As I am a beginning Spanish speaker, I had to rely on an interpreter and translator. During each interview, I spoke English, and the NELs spoke Spanish while the interpreter translated each question. I felt that if I had a stronger foundation in the Spanish language, I would have been able to ask more follow-up questions based on the answers that the NELs provided during the interview process.

The Research Questions: Summary and Discussion

In this section, I present my research questions and summarize the findings. When I began this research project, my initial inquiry pertained to NELs language development in the high school chorus. However, as the study progressed, the sub-questions became equally as important. Due to the challenge I encountered locating NELs in the chorus, I first address the research question: *How*

do NELs get involved in chorus? I discuss the findings concerning the numerous systemic barriers faced by NELs upon registration and scheduling classes.

Before the study took place, I polled 20 high school choir directors all over the city. Not one choral director said they had more than two NELs in their chorus. The choral director from DCHS agreed to go to the ESL class to recruit students, and initially, she did not have any NELs in her chorus. But after recruiting in the ESL classes, she was able to find four willing participants, and she was able to change their schedules, so that they could be officially enrolled.

When NELs first come to register for school, they are met language testing. Their scores on this test were their first exposure to defeat in their new school, and that initial placement test lead to a year filled with STAAR testing, which took place in English. The NELs faced challenges from the very beginning. The first thing they had to do when registering for school was take a language placement test. When they scored below the 40th percentile, they were coded as Limited English Proficient, which became their first negative experience in their new environment. Then, they went to the counselor who would proceed to assess their *boleta*. As the counselor reviewed their *boleta*, they placed them in courses that would get them on track for graduation. However, sometimes they were forced to take ELA 1 and ELA 2 simultaneously, which simply does not make sense. Alicia, was initially placed into the wrong ELA class and had a traumatic experience the first day of school when the teacher asked her to read aloud.

Scheduling of NELs must be done with care because they are different than other students in the school, in that, many of them have left their families or support system in their native country and are navigating the new system on their own. They have left a place of peril in search of an education in a safer city than Ciudad Juárez. Counselors should be cautious to ensure the NEL is

comfortable with their schedule. They should also provide them with services beyond language assistance, such as enrollment in an organization that could help foster a sense of belonging.

The counselor at DCHS selected courses so that, by the end of their first year, they would have enough full credits to be deemed sophomores. The requirement is for high school students to complete one full credit of an elective, and the choices included, art, dance, piano, band, orchestra, and choir. If a NEL has a half credit, the counselors were instructed by the administration to see if they could complete that credit by enrolling them in a "like" course. In the adjacent city of Ciudad Juárez, a chorus elective was rarely offered in a public school. The counselor told me that in her twelve years as a counselor, she had never seen a *boleta* from Juárez with choir as an elective.

Another conundrum that I uncovered was the persistence for all 9th grade students to enroll in speech class. The counselors said that 9th graders always take speech class their first semester and health class in their second semester. It seemed preposterous to me that an NEL be enrolled in ESL, ELA 1, and speech at the same time. Moreover, the curriculum for speech required the students to present a mini-speech in front of the class, in English, within the first three weeks of school. While I could not find any written district policy for this requirement, the counselor assured me that it was in fact, district policy.

NELs were faced with having to take the STAAR test within months of their initial exposure to English. If they did not pass, which many do not, they would have to retake the test until they passed. Karen, Alicia, and Robert all failed the ELA 1 STAAR test. Keeping in mind that this was already Karen's second year in a U.S. high school, she is now considered to be extremely behind. As the years pass, the amount of STAAR test culminate as well as the course content. Soon they will have to take the Biology and Social Studies STAAR, all while trying to

pass course content that is increasingly more difficult. All of these academic challenges are compounded, so having some success and relief found in choir must be reassuring.

Another finding of this study was that counselors' knowledge about elective courses was limited. The counselors try to match as many courses as they can from the *boleta*. That is, if the student was enrolled in a fine arts course in Mexico, the counselor interpreted that as art, and enrolled them in their "like" elective so they could earn the second half of the required credit.

When I completed the study, I spoke with Mrs. Puentes, and she was so thrilled with the progress of NELs in the chorus that she told me she was going to go to the counselor and administration and recommend that they encourage NELs to enroll in the chorus elective their first year in choir, in place of speech

ESL Teacher as Anchor. Mrs. Puentes played a significant role in the development of the NELs at DCHS. She had the students in her classroom for seventy-seven minutes of language instruction each day. Robert viewed her as someone he admired (Personal communication, Robert, April 28th, 2017). Mrs. Puentes told me that Robert invited her to come to see him perform. He even asked her if he could use her closet in the back of the room to change into his tuxedo before the concert. Mrs. Puentes welcomed him to do this and even helped to straighten his bow tie.

Mrs. Puentes said that she loved to see the students' progress throughout the year.

When they come, they really want to embrace not only the culture, but the language. It is just so different from where they are from

(Mrs. Puentes, personal communication, April 5, 2017).

Based on her 28 years of experience, she explained that her students entered her classroom with emotions ranging from excitement to fear and anxiety, thinking about what they would

experience in the upcoming year at a new school. Borris said they also experienced extreme stress and pressure regarding the STAAR test. Karen told me she was so nervous about the test that she did not want to come to school, and Borris told me that she wanted to throw up before her test. Wood, Hart, Little & Phillips (2016) state “standardized tests of reading comprehension are designed to measure proficiency in reading comprehension, but other unintended situational conditions may impact test performance” (p. 234). Many students experience test anxiety regarding content comprehension, the length of the test, and the amount of time for completion (Cassidy, 2004; Foreman & Petscher, 2010). Mrs. Puentes explained that NELs

...carry a lot of baggage, a lot of stuff, like any other student, but because they are not truly from here, they do not feel like they are in here, so it is tough for them to feel welcome (Mrs. Puentes, personal communication, April 5, 2017).

When Mrs. Puentes mentioned the word baggage, she clarified that she was referring to the students’ past experiences with extreme violence in Ciudad Juárez. She then said, "it is hard for them to feel welcome." This means that they are not accepted by their peers or teachers.

When the NELs arrived at DCHS, Mrs. Puentes noted that they knew they were different from the other students in the school. The other students talked about them behind their backs. The other students spoke English, went to middle school or elementary school together, were born in the United States, had established roots in the community. Skotnes & Benmayor (2017) discuss race as a cultural construction, noting that how NELs identify racially and culturally can play a significant role in how they view themselves in their new community. The NELs at DCHS wanted to feel like they were part of the DCHS community and Mrs. Puentes provided a bridge between the two worlds and gave the NELs a sense of community within the school, playing a significant role in the NELs’ sense of belonging.

Creating a Welcoming Environment. One of the first things I noticed when I entered the ESL classroom was the beautiful smell of flowers. Mrs. Puentes explained that she always had air fresheners in her classroom because she felt it was welcoming to the students. The routine of the ESL classroom had been established in the NELs first semester, and the NELs went to their seats and took out their notebooks as soon as they arrived. During one of my observations, they were working on the difference between a summary and critique. Mrs. Puentes was animated and she put great stress on essential words during the lesson. Upon completing the lesson, she told them, "Look at me. Do not read what you wrote. You can do this. Look up at me and reflect." Mrs. Rossi was attempting to get the students to look up from their work and think about the question. The students looked at her and thought about the question, and eventually raised their hands to answer. Throughout the year, Mrs. Puentes took pictures of her students, including their performances at the choir concert, and she created a collage that she gave to them at the end of the year.

Referring to Borris, Karen, Alicia, and Robert, she said:

At the end of the semester, I did a little collage of those pictures from their choir concert, and I gave it to them. At the top, I put Desert City High School Choir 2017. You should have seen him [Robert] with that picture. He would just stare, and stare, and stare. Robert said, "Thank you," and stared and stared at the collage

(Mrs. Puentes, personal communication, June 6, 2017).

The collage was a symbol of their relationship with Mrs. Puentes, as well as a record of their accomplishments throughout the year. Also, it is a visual reminder of how their relationships had transformed throughout the course of the year. Mrs. Puentes attended their choir concert, and was an anchor in the storm that these NELs weathered in their first year at a new school. Mrs. Puentes

was in tune with her students and engaged in their lives, which promoted achievement and success. (de Souza, 2017).

Choral Music as a Resource. Lems (2005) emphasizes the importance of music in language learning, especially in terms of listening comprehension, pronunciation, and vocabulary building. She also sees it as important in the development of reading comprehension and writing, expanding and building vocabulary, and combining culture. She states that "improving listening comprehension is probably the primary use of music in the ELL classroom; there are innumerable ways to organize the activity to ensure success" (p. 16). Lems (2005) suggests deconstructing the lyrics from the students' song sheets, and having the them reconstruct them back into the correct order. She suggests that students should listen to the song two times, depending on the level of difficulty, and then perform the activity of deconstructing and reconstructing the structure. This activity can improve listening comprehension.

Lems (2005) notes that repetition in a song is a tool that can enhance learning. When students can recognize song structure, they have developed the ability to describe and define the organizational components of the song and the lyric. Lems (2005) discussed using song sheets, which I refer to as lyric sheets, to assist the written component of language learning. Lems (2005) suggests that chanting song lyrics can promote oral fluency and pronunciation (p.17), and says that music promotes positive attitudes and affect in the classroom, which are essential components of learning.

Abril (2003) discusses importance of chants and songs in language learning. He restated the importance of music for ELLs, Abril (2003) stated noting that music has the potential to "reinforce learning in other subjects, especially language arts, [and] is particularly beneficial to English Language Learners" (p. 39). Similar to what I learned in this study, Abril (2003) found

that music was not a requirement in secondary education, and that most Hispanic students are required to take remedial classes or ESL in place of electives. “As a result,” Abril notes, “many of these children never take band, chorus or orchestra, or general music class. This is unfortunate, for involvement in music can enrich lives and deepen understanding” (p. 40). Music can enrich the lives of ELLs socially, culturally, and linguistically, unfortunately, the NELs at DCHS are not being enrolled in music courses.

The following section focuses on the research question: *What role does a focused choral music education play in NELs’ ability to listen, speak, read and write, in the English language?*

A key finding of this study was that NELs showed evidence of developing communicative competence through the activities of practice and performance in choir.

Development of communicative competence. Through practice and performance within the context of high school choir, NELs were able to build their level of communicative competence. Participating in chorus allowed the NELs to focus on sentence-level stress of the lyrical text during their performance preparation.

I understand linguistic competence to include the rules of phonology, syntax, morphology, semantics, and pragmatics. The choir used lyric sheets in preparation for their Small Group/Solo Presentation. On his lyric sheet, Robert used the “ll” to interpret a “y” for the words “you’ve” and “you’re” and “empti” to interpret “empty”. Rate of speech was another component that the NELs found challenging. They found that by breaking down the lyrics to understand the sentence-level stress, they were able to increase their speed and match the other students in the class. Activities in choir repertoire rehearsal gave the NELs an opportunity to work on techniques to improve their phonation and articulation.

Discursive competence was developed through activities that assisted in the pronunciation of words, sentences, and phrases. Mrs. Rossi worked with the choir on initial and final consonants found within the phrases of the lyrics to *Good Riddance* (Armstrong, Dirnt, & Cool, 1997). She also worked with vocal sections at the piano to ensure word stress was accurate within the phrase of the lyrics. These activities were focused on suprasegmentals, intonation, and juncture. Although singing is different than speaking in regard to word and vowel stress, there are parallels. The main difference is in the variation of the height of the vowel.

Strategic competence was developed when the students used communication strategies that included gestures. Alicia would ask a question and point to what she was inquiring about. For example, when she was trying to ask "may I leave my bag here." She said "Miss, may I ___ bag ___ *como se dice esto?*" and pointed to the chair. Her gesture was a strategy that allowed her to communicate her question.

Robert used a kind of hybrid alphabet of Spanish phonology to describe English phonology. They did this on their lyric sheets, and they practiced it, using sentence-level stress. He made markings on his lyric sheet that gave him a Spanish representation of how each word should sound in English. He did this by interpreting vowels and consonants including "Ger" to represent "Her", and "Daiv" for "Dive". Making these markings allowed Robert to quickly reference his Spanish phonology in order to understand the English phonology. Like the migrants in Kalmar's (2001) study, Robert deconstructed the words by letter, and in turn was able to interpret and pronounce each word in his song.

The third research question was: *How do NELs' identities develop within the context of the high school choral classroom?* This was a minimal component in my study because I was not able to spend enough time with my participants. One finding that should be noted was the

translanguaging practice that occurred during the NEL's Small Group/Solo Presentation preparation. The girls selected a song that was originally all in English. They opted to do the version by Prince Royce, a popular transnational youth. They navigated between the two repertoires of Spanish and English, while preparing their song during rehearsal. They selected the song because they felt that the song represented their friendship and journey through the process of language learning.

Building social capital in choir. Developing social capital through the actions of bonding, bridging, and linking allowed the NELs to build self-esteem and gain confidence in their ability to use the English language.

Chorus offers the NELs an environment that allowed them to increase their sense of belonging and they became part of a highly regarded organization (choir) in the community. The NELs developed trust in their choir director while preparing for their Small Group/Solo Performance. When it was time for the girls to practice their song, they stood facing the wall. Mrs. Rossi did not correct them because she wanted them to feel comfortable practicing in the room. The next time they rehearsed, she slowly coaxed them to turn around.

Recognition was achieved after each of the performances, and it gave the NELs a sense of belonging. Bourdieu (1986) states that recognition supports the development of social capital. The NELs were able to perform for their community with the chorus as a whole and also with their peers in small groups. During these performances, they experienced applause and acceptance from the audience. Performing for the class was an exciting experience for the NELs because they gained recognition and acceptance from their peers in the choir. Mrs. Rossi instilled the value that all chorus members would respect each other during practice and performance. These values allowed the NELs to feel comfortable attempting to speak English with their friends outside of

choir. Mrs. Rossi and Mrs. Puentes both noticed this change in the NEL students. In the next section, I discuss the implications for this research study.

Researcher Reflection

My interest in this research stemmed from many years as a choral director and music teacher. I experienced vastly different views on music education within the state of Texas, which prompted the question: why is music education viewed so differently in far west Texas? I reviewed the population of students attending high school in this region and noted a multitude of emerging bilingual students who left their native country in order to attain an education in the United States. I immediately thought of the cognitive benefits provided by music education in language development and, especially how participation in a focused choral program would help NELs of any socioeconomic status, age, race, or culture. While the purpose for the study was to understand the role of the chorus on NELs language use and learning, a major obstacle seemed to be the lack of NESs enrolled in choir as an elective subject. It was difficult to find more than a maximum of two NELs enrolled in a choir elective in the high schools within the entire region. Why, in a city filled with NELs, could I not locate NELs enrolled in high school chorus? After contacting twenty high school choir directors from three central school districts, it became clear. NELs are not enrolling in the chorus. My objective strengthened to understand why this was the case. The findings suggest that NELS encountered systemic challenges such as a lack of support during the registration process. Also, cultural brokering and counselor knowledge regarding the elective courses, played a factor forming a barrier to enrolling in choir. It was apparent that choir was overlooked as an elective.

Implications of the Study

The research findings contribute to the literature in music education as well as language learning by concluding that communicative competence and social capital can be developed through practice and performance in choir. This research allowed me to explore the reasons NELs were not in chorus and may explain why there is a deficiency in the literature relative to NELs successes and failures in education.

First, the gap in the literature revealed that there was very little research on NELs in the chorus, and my study allowed me to explore the barriers to that. The systemic barriers faced by NELs during registration and scheduling were inhibiting participation in chorus, and therefore they were not being enrolled in the chorus. Students are expected to graduate high school within a four-year term. The intent of the counselor was to schedule the NELs in courses that would ensure that graduation was not prolonged for any reason. The counselors placed the NELS into their electives based on their previous credits reported on their boletta, which tended to be electives such as art and dance, both of which are non-verbal forms of creative arts. The pressure then lies on the music educator instead of the counselor, to recruit NELs into the chorus.

Second, providing education for counselors and administration regarding the benefits of choral music for NELs would allow options for the students during scheduling. Abril (2003) asserts the necessity for educational administration to become educated on the benefits of enrolling a culturally diverse student population into musical ensembles. The benefits of enrolling in a music ensemble can assist this culturally diverse population socially, academically and linguistically. Robinson's (2002) findings suggest teacher preparation courses for preservice teachers that focus on high-quality music and arts education. This type of training would allow preservice teachers to gain an understanding about the structure and discourse of the program.

Counselors and administration should receive training on the structure of beginning, intermediate, and advanced level music courses, so students are scheduled into the proper level of coursework.

Third, building a strong relationship between ESL and chorus students and teachers would create a bond and link between the two departments. Corson (2001) states the importance of incorporating linguistic models with music models into teaching strategies. By incorporating communicative games and interactive learning for ESL students, language learning is enhanced. By integrating music into language learning, many of the benefits of music can overlap into language learning.

Fourth, the importance of culturally responsive pedagogy in the choral classroom is crucial. Music teachers must become educated and continue their education on culturally responsive musical repertoire and methods for teaching. Robinson (2002) claims that teacher education can surpass cultural barriers for effective multicultural music education. She said, "Music educators are expected to teach musical and cultural content and perspectives for which they have little to no education" (p. 229). The coursework that is currently offered to preservice music educators is limited to one semester (or less) of choral music education. Culturally diverse students are enrolling in U.S. schools every day, and it is imperative that music educators incorporate pedagogy that taps into their funds of knowledge. Educating the preservice teachers should be done through university coursework when completing a degree plans to become a music educator. However, continuing education for music teachers already in the field is equally as important. The new musical repertoire is always being published and becoming educated and exposed to new material is an excellent opportunity for music educators to increase their knowledge. The Texas Choral Director's Association (TCDA) holds a convention every year, usually taking place the first week of August. During the convention, choral directors attend "reading sessions" where they receive

the newest publications and editors' picks for musical repertoire. The convention also holds sessions to learn about new pedagogical techniques and expose choral directors to new concepts. Although this sounds ideal in thought, the convention and housing are expensive, and many times the educator has to pay from their pocket. It would benefit school districts to be aware of the importance of culturally diverse pedagogy, and to offer financial support for choral director professional development.

Fifth, the social development of the NEL students revealed an improvement in their self-esteem during their time in choir. The students expressed an increase in their confidence when speaking with friends. They also expressed their willingness to attempt to speak English in venues outside of choir. Choir provided an avenue for practicing language that allowed NELs to feel safe and secure to speak English. The confidence of the NELs then traveled outside of the classroom and into their daily lives. The ESL teacher Mrs. Puentes, contacted me after data collection had completed, and told me that Robert's language had continued to develop and he was more confident in his ability to use the English language since his time in choir. allowing NELs to develop their language further.

Finally, the NELs development of communicative competence through practice and performance provided meaningful tools for assisting NELs' language development in choir. Through the use of a hybrid alphabet to interpret English phonology as Kalmar (2001) suggested, the NELs were able to decipher and decode the English words by using their prior knowledge of their native language. By building social capital and developing communicative competence, the NELs gained confidence and self-esteem that transcends the realm of the classroom.

Future Research

There is a need to expand research on NELs in choral music education, given current immigration trends on the U.S.-Mexico border. Lind (2001) suggests that music educators encourage NELs to enroll in secondary choral music because it can help them to feel affiliated with the choral classroom. Research on musical ensemble participation has been widely studied (Abril, 2003; Elpus & Abril, 2011), but scholarly understanding on the role of high school choir for NELs is a gap. My findings suggest that NELs are not enrolled in choir as an elective, and future research could expand on this issue to understand more about systemic barriers to their participation.

The study took place over a one semester time period and I was not able to collect any data on sociolinguistic competence. Future research could include a longer study that would include sociolinguistic competence occurring in the choral classroom. While this study contributes to the literature relative to NELs in choral music education, further longitudinal research is needed that would involve more significant numbers of high school NELs as participants in choral music programs. The long-term progress of these NELs through higher education and including successes and failures would provide insight and direction for enhancement and modification for these choral programs. Also, multiple languages need to be included in future studies that relate to global integration and respect cultural differences.

Another avenue for future research would be to include alternative forms of the arts in combination with a choral component. Research on NELs in other elective courses that incorporate communication as a component of the curriculum could support the findings of this study and contribute to the literature, and exploring the effects of arts education on NELs can contribute to the literature on language learning and music education (Gadsden, 2008). Many

NELs were put into visual art and dance classes, and that the impact of this on their language learning needs to be studied.

A productive line for future research would be to investigate NELs use of Spanish (or their native language) phonology to interpret English when singing and speaking. The research contributes to consisting literature on phonological language use because the findings display how NELs used their knowledge of Spanish phonology to interpret the lyrics in the music they were about to perform. Research in the area of NELs in chorus can stimulate an integration of both language education and music education.

Conclusion

In sum, the findings of this research identify the challenges that NELs face in the fields of both language learning and music education. Specifically, the study contributes to the research presently available on NELs in choral music education (Carlow, 2006). The evidence provided by the study shows how a high school choral music education can assist NELs in their social and linguistic development. At the conclusion of the study, Mrs. Rossi expressed to me that Borris was now delivering the announcements over the intercom to the entire school. On a final note, she was also elected the 2019 DCHS Prom Queen.

NELs face daunting challenges when they arrive in the United States and they are required to develop a new language within a short period of time. This study also sheds light on the process of registration and selection of electives for NELs. NELs were not finding their way to the chorus. The systemic challenges that NELs face became apparent in this study, and changes in school policies regarding choral music education would be one way to aid their language development. Finally, incorporating a choral music education into NELs' schedules contributed to their

development of communicative competence, which suggests that including choral music education early in their educational trajectory would benefit them.

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APPENDIX A

Student Interview

Interview 1 (Background and Life History)

1. What is your name and can you tell me about yourself?
2. Can you tell me about your family? Parents? Siblings? Grandparents?
3. Tell me about your experiences in school growing up. When and where did you begin going to school?
4. Were there any times when you weren't going to school?
5. What was your experience moving to a new school?
6. Tell me about the language(s) that your family speaks. Does anyone in your family speak a different language than you?
7. Tell me about the language(s) in your family.
8. Tell me about where you live? How long have you lived there? Where else have you lived? What was it like moving?
9. Can you tell me about your experience moving? How do you feel about moving? What is different? What is the same?
10. Did you participate in any other activities like sports, music, groups or clubs?
11. Do you have any Brothers and sisters?
12. If so, Can you tell me about them?
13. Can you tell me about your brothers and sisters experience in school?
14. Tell me about your favorite subject in school
15. Tell me about your hobbies?
16. Do you have a job? If so, where do you work?
17. What do you like to do on the weekends?
18. Tell me about the kinds of things that you like to read. In Spanish? English? Another language?
19. What kinds of things do you watch on TV? Can you give me an example? Tell me about it.
20. What type of games do you like to play? Why?
21. What kind of Movies do you like? Can you give me an example? Why do you like that movie?
22. Do you do any kind of community service? Volunteer work?
23. Tell me about your use of? Social media.
24. Are you parents involved in social media?
25. Are your friends involved in social media?
26. How do you communicate with your friends when you are at home?
27. Is there anything else you would like to tell me today?

Entrevista 1 (Historia de Antecedentes y Vida)

1. ¿Cuál es tu nombre y puedes decirme sobre ti?
2. ¿Puede hablarme de su familia? ¿Padres? Hermanos ¿Abuelos?
3. Háblame de tus experiencias en la escuela. ¿Cuándo y dónde empezó a ir a la escuela?
4. ¿Hubo momentos en que no ibas a la escuela?
5. ¿Cuál fue su experiencia mudándose a una nueva escuela?

6. Cuénteme sobre el idioma (s) que su familia habla. ¿Alguien en su familia habla un idioma diferente a usted?
7. Cuénteme sobre el (los) idioma (s) en su familia.
8. Háblame de dónde vives? ¿Cuánto tiempo ha vivido allí? ¿Dónde más has vivido? ¿Cómo fue moverse?
9. ¿Puede decirme acerca de su experiencia en movimiento? ¿Cómo te sientes al moverte? ¿Que es diferente? ¿Qué es lo mismo?
10. ¿Participó en otras actividades como deportes, música, grupos o clubes?
11. ¿Tienes hermanos y hermanas?
12. Si es así, ¿puede decirme acerca de ellos?
13. ¿Puede decirme acerca de sus hermanos y hermanas experiencia en la escuela?
14. Cuéntame sobre tu materia favorita en la escuela
15. Cuéntame sobre tus pasatiempos?
16. ¿Tienes trabajo? Si es así, ¿dónde trabaja?
17. ¿Qué te gusta hacer los fines de semana?
18. Háblame de los tipos de cosas que te gusta leer. ¿En español? ¿Inglés? ¿Otro idioma?
19. ¿Qué tipo de cosas ves en la televisión? ¿Puedes darme un ejemplo? Cuéntame sobre eso.
20. ¿Qué tipo de juegos te gusta jugar? ¿Por qué?
21. ¿Qué tipo de películas te gustan? ¿Puedes darme un ejemplo? ¿Por qué te gusta esa película?
22. ¿Hace algún tipo de servicio comunitario? ¿Trabajo voluntario?
23. Háblame de tu uso de? Medios de comunicación social.
24. ¿Están sus padres involucrados en las redes sociales?
25. ¿Sus amigos están involucrados en las redes sociales?
26. ¿Cómo se comunica con sus amigos cuando está en casa?
27. ¿Hay algo más que me gustaría decirme hoy?

Student Interview #2 (Focus on Attitudes and perceptions of music)

1. What led you to join choir?
2. Do you play any other instruments?
3. Tell me about any previous music experience.
4. Tell me about the kind of music you listen to when you are just hanging out.
5. Does your family listen to music? What kind?
6. When do you listen to music as a family? Dinner, family parties?
7. Does anyone in your family play an instrument?
8. Do you like to listen to the same music as your parents?
9. Are there any famous musicians do you admire? Why? Tell me about them.
10. What are your happiest musical memories?
11. Were you influenced by any older musicians or new ones? Which ones?
12. Tell me about your experience so far in choir.
13. Have you ever been in a concert or a competition before? If so, tell me about it.

If answer yes, go to question 14. If answer no, go to question 17.

14. Can you tell me about your concerts or competitions?
15. How do you handle mistakes during a performance?

16. Do you get nervous before a performance or a competition?
17. What types of things have you learned in choir?
18. Do you enjoy singing in different languages? If so, which languages do you enjoy and why?
19. Tell me how you learn a new song in choir. What are the steps?
20. Can you tell me about learning to sight-read in music?
21. What do you think is the purpose of sight-reading?
22. How do you feel about sight-reading as an activity?
23. How do you feel about your ability to sight-read?
24. What do think about sight-reading? Is it useful? Do you use sight reading when you learn new music?
25. Does the music that you are learning have lyrics that relate to you?
26. If so, how?
27. Take a look in your choir notebook. Describe the meaning of one of the songs you are learning in your choir class. What is the emotion of the song? Does this emotion in the song relate to your life in any way? Explain.
28. Do you think that the chorus has any goals? What do you think are the goals of the chorus?
29. Do you have any personal goals in choir? If so, what are they?
30. Is there anything else you would like to talk about?

Entrevista # 2 del estudiante (foco en las actitudes y las percepciones de la música)

1. ¿Qué te llevó a unirse al coro?
2. ¿Toca algún otro instrumento?
3. Cuéntame sobre cualquier experiencia musical anterior.
4. Cuéntame sobre el tipo de música que escuchas cuando simplemente sales.
5. ¿Su familia escucha música? ¿Que tipo?
6. ¿Cuándo escuchas música como familia? Cena, fiestas familiares?
7. ¿Alguien en tu familia toca un instrumento?
8. ¿Te gusta escuchar la misma música que tus padres?
9. ¿Hay músicos famosos que admiras? ¿Por qué? Cuéntame sobre ellos.
10. ¿Cuáles son tus recuerdos musicales más felices?
11. ¿Fuiste influenciado por músicos mayores o por otros nuevos? ¿Cuáles?
12. Cuéntame sobre tu experiencia hasta ahora en el coro.
13. ¿Alguna vez has estado en un concierto o una competición antes? Si es así, háblame.

Si responde afirmativamente, pase a la pregunta 14. Si responde que no, pase a la pregunta 17.

14. ¿Puede usted hablarme de sus conciertos o competiciones?
15. ¿Cómo manejas los errores durante una actuación?
16. ¿Se pone nervioso antes de una actuación o una competición?
17. ¿Qué tipo de cosas has aprendido en el coro?
18. ¿Te gusta cantar en diferentes idiomas? Si es así, ¿qué idiomas le gustan y por qué?
19. Dime cómo aprendiste una nueva canción en el coro. ¿Cuáles son los pasos?
20. ¿Puede decirme acerca de aprender a leer en la música?
21. ¿Cuál crees que es el propósito de la lectura visual?
22. ¿Qué piensa usted de la lectura visual como actividad?

23. ¿Cómo te sientes acerca de tu habilidad para leer a la vista?
24. ¿Qué piensa acerca de la lectura visual? ¿Es útil? ¿Usas la lectura visual cuando aprendes música nueva?
25. ¿La música que está aprendiendo tiene letras que se relacionan con usted?
26. En caso afirmativo, ¿cómo?
27. Echa un vistazo en tu cuaderno del coro. Describe el significado de una de las canciones que estás aprendiendo en tu clase de coro. ¿Cuál es la emoción de la canción? ¿Esta emoción en la canción se relaciona con tu vida de alguna manera? Explique.
28. ¿Crees que el coro tiene alguna meta? ¿Cuáles son los objetivos del coro?
29. ¿Tienes metas personales en el coro? Si es así, ¿Qué son?
30. ¿Hay algo más de lo que le gustaría hablar?

Student Interview 3 (Reflection)

1. Tell me about your experience in choir this semester?
2. From what I could observe in class, I noticed you talking to different people in the class. Could you tell me about the people you would talk to while in choir. Tell me about what you do when you hang out with Mexican friends. Tell me about what you do when you hang out with American friends.
3. Tell me about your experience with sight reading music.
4. How do you feel about sight reading?
5. Tell me about your favorite song that you sang this semester.
6. Why was it your favorite?
7. What was it about? What was the meaning of the song? How did the music sound? Can you describe it for me?
8. Did you relate to this song personally? If so, how?
9. Did any of your songs that you sang remind you of your family? How?
10. Did any of the songs that you sang remind you of a friend? If so, How?
11. Did anyone you know come to the concerts? If so, tell me who it was. How did you feel about your family attending your concerts?
12. What was their reaction to your singing? (Ask Only if they answer yes about family coming)
- 13.

Interview Prompt: *In front of you is a list of the songs that the choir sang this semester. This will help you remember the musical repertoire we have performed thus far.*

14. Did you feel a connection to any of the songs that you sang? If so, Why? If not, why not?
15. What do you envision for your future in music? Do you envision a future for yourself with music? If so, what might it be? If not, why not?
16. Can you tell me about your journal entries?
17. Is there anything else that you would like to tell me about?

Entrevista 3 (Reflexión)

1. ¿Cuénteme sobre su experiencia en coro este semestre?
2. Por lo que pude observar en clase, me di cuenta que hablas con diferentes personas en la clase. ¿Podría hablarme de la gente con la que hablaría mientras estaba en el coro? Háblame de lo que

haces cuando sales con amigos mexicanos. Háblame de lo que haces cuando sales con amigos americanos.

3. Cuénteme acerca de su experiencia con la música de lectura a la vista.
 4. ¿Cómo te sientes acerca de la lectura visual?
 5. Háblame de tu canción favorita que has cantado este semestre.
 6. ¿Por qué fue tu favorito?
 7. ¿De qué se trataba? ¿Cuál era el significado de la canción? ¿Cómo suena la música? ¿Puede describirlo para mí?
 8. ¿Te relacionaste personalmente con esta canción? ¿Si es así, cómo?
 9. ¿Alguna de tus canciones que has cantado te recuerda a tu familia? ¿Cómo?
 10. ¿Alguna de las canciones que has cantado te recuerda a un amigo? ¿Si es así, cómo?
 11. ¿Alguien que conoce viene a los conciertos? Si es así, dime quién fue. ¿Cómo te sentiste sobre tu familia asistiendo a tus conciertos?
 12. ¿Cuál fue su reacción a su canto? (Pregunte Sólo si responden que sí acerca de la familia que viene)
 - 13.
- Interview Prompt: En frente de usted está una lista de las canciones que el coro cantó este semestre. Esto le ayudará a recordar el repertorio musical que hemos realizado hasta el momento.
14. ¿Sientes una conexión con alguna de las canciones que has cantado? Si es así, ¿Por qué? Si no, ¿por qué no?
 15. ¿Qué piensa usted para su futuro en la música? ¿Imaginas un futuro para ti mismo con la música? Si es así, ¿qué podría ser? Si no, ¿por qué no?
 16. ¿Puede decirme acerca de sus entradas en el diario?
 17. ¿Hay algo más que me gustaría contarme?

Choir Director Interview Questions

1. What is your official position?
2. Can you tell me about yourself?
3. How do you identify ethnically?
4. Tell me about your language(s).
5. Tell me about the language(s) in your family.
6. Tell me how you began in music.
7. Tell me about your experience with choral music
8. Can you explain your approach to teaching a new piece of repertoire?
9. How do you incorporate the meaning of the text in the music?
10. Tell me about the newcomer students in your class
11. How do you approach teaching ELs?
12. Tell me about how you place the students on the risers.
13. Do they ever decide?
14. What happens when they do?
15. What have you noticed about how the students socialize?
16. Can you tell me about your upcoming concerts or competitions? What kind of music are you singing? How did you choose the music?
17. What language(s) do you enjoy singing in?

18. Can you tell me about the languages for singing choral repertoire? What are your favorites and why?
19. Can you tell me about the musical repertoire you are learning right now in choir?
20. Are you preparing for a specific event? A concert? Contest? Can you tell me the purpose for the concert/contest?
21. What do you think is the purpose of sight-reading?
22. How do you feel about sight-reading as a classroom activity?
23. Does the music that you are teaching apply to your life? If so, how?
24. Describe the meaning of one of the songs that the students are learning in your choir class. What is the emotion of the song? How do you get your choir members to portray this emotion?
25. What are your personal goals for your choir?
26. Is there anything else that you would like to tell me about?

ESL Interview Teacher Questions

1. Tell me about your classroom teaching experiences with newcomer ELs.
2. How did your classes go this month?
3. Do you ever incorporate music in your lessons? If so, how?
4. Can you tell me about your experiences with the newcomer ELs who are in chorus?

VITA

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Lisa Serna earned a Bachelor of Music Education degree from the University of Texas at Arlington in 2000. She went on to earn a Master of Education with a focus on choral studies from Southern Methodist University in Dallas, TX in 2005. In 2013, she entered the University of Texas at El Paso, in pursuit of her of a doctorate of philosophy in Teaching, Learning and Culture. During her time in the program, she assisted Dr. Song An in a study focusing on the effects of music themed mathematics lessons for elementary students in a school located on the U.S. – Mexico border. Lisa became a co-author with Dr. An on the publication titled Music Activities as an Impetus for Hispanic Elementary Students' Mathematical Disposition, published in the Journal of Mathematics Education.

Lisa Serna currently works for Ysleta Independent School District as the head choir director and piano instructor at Del Valle High School. Since 2000, Lisa Serna's choirs and piano students have consistently earned Division 1 Superior ratings at UIL contest. In 2018, Lisa Serna was the clinician and conductor of the Region 22 Texas Men's choir. In the past, Lisa has been the adjudicator for the Region 15 UIL Concert and Sight Reading contest the Socorro Independent School District Concert and Sight Reading Contest.

Lisa Serna earned her PhD in 2019 from the University of Texas at El Paso in Teaching, Learning and Culture with a concentration on Literacy/Biliteracy. The title of her dissertation was "Newcomer English Language Learners in High School Choral Music Education: An Ethnographic Case Study", supervised by Dr. Char Ullman.

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