A STUDY OF LANGUAGE POLICY AND LANGUAGE PLANNING IN
A SMALL PRIVATE SCHOOL IN PUERTO RICO

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2009
Dedication

To my daughter Liesl, who has served as inspiration during this learning process.

To my husband Obie, who encouraged me to begin a Ph. D. in Education and to finish what I had started. For his words of encouragement and his unconditional love and support throughout all these years. Gracias Obie, te adoro xxxooo.
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A very good friend said that a work of this magnitude is never the work of one person.

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ABSTRACT

A STUDY OF LANGUAGE POLICY AND LANGUAGE PLANNING IN A SMALL PRIVATE SCHOOL IN PUERTO RICO

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Supervisor: Dr. Nancy H. Hornberger

This study investigates language policy and language planning (LPP) in a small private school in an urban area of Puerto Rico. This school is considered an elite school where most of the students are bilingual (Spanish and English) and sometimes multilingual (Spanish, English, French and/or Hebrew). Through the gathering of facts by using ethnographic methods, my goal was to understand how language policy and planning develop at Saint Andrew’s School, with a primary focus on the role of the Spanish language in an English immersion setting.

Utilizing Hornberger’s and Skilton-Sylvester’s (2003) continua of biliteracy framework, this study analyzes how the English and Spanish languages are used, taught and learned. Hornberger (2003, 2006) has suggested that “the more the learning contexts allow learners to draw on all points of the continua, the greater are the chances for their full biliterate development.” With the above in mind, this study investigates the school’s practices, attitudes, beliefs and perceptions towards monolingualism and bilingualism.

By examining the school’s history as well as the school’s current use of the Spanish and English languages, this study shows that Saint Andrew’s school’s LPP evolved from a limited bilingual type of program to a bilingual/biliterate type of program. Spanish is now taught as a first language at Saint Andrew’s school. Its students acquire...
excellent English literacy skills and moderate Spanish literacy skills. Their use of both languages is situation specific.
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Chapter 1

A Study of Language Policy and Language Planning in a Small Private School in Puerto Rico

This study investigated language policy and language planning (hereafter LPP) in a small private English immersion school in an urban area of Puerto Rico. As one of the most expensive and elite schools in the island, Saint Andrew’s School is considered a highly competitive school in terms of its high college acceptance rate inside and outside of Puerto Rico. At Saint Andrew’s most of its students are bilingual (Spanish and English) and sometimes multilingual (Spanish, English, French and/or Hebrew). My goal undertaking in this study was to understand the LPP practices at Saint Andrew’s School. I primarily focus on the role of the Spanish language in an English immersion setting. To gain insight into how Spanish is being used at the school over time, I rely on ethnographic methods to understand the community’s language practices.

The purpose of my research is primarily, to contribute to the literature on LPP with regard to bi(multi)lingual/bi(multi)literate elite schools nationally and internationally. I would also like to assist the school in its expansion for more bi(multi)literacy contexts for its students. As a bilingual parent at this school, I support more opportunities for the students to develop bilingualism and biliteracy. In many ways, I have benefited from interacting in two languages throughout my life and would have appreciated the chance to become multilingual. Currently, English is the language of instruction at Saint Andrew’s. However, I would like to see English and Spanish become the languages of instruction of the school. Since the native language of 84% of the students is Spanish, I believe that both languages can achieve equal status. Given that

1 All names of institutions and individuals in this study are pseudonyms.
Spanish and English are two major world languages, I would like the students to listen, speak, read and write well in both languages. Research already indicates that knowledge of two of more languages is instrumentally advantageous as it increases the chances of entry into business, educational and political arenas (Christ, 1997; Corson, 1999; Cummins, 2000 and Wong-Filmore & Valadéz, 1986). Saint Andrew’s should take advantage of the fact that Spanish is the maternal language of most of its students and teach both languages to the same degree. I believe that this process is in its initial stages since the school is giving its students more opportunities to use Spanish.

Using Hornberger (2003) and Hornberger and Skilton-Sylvester’s (2003) continua of biliteracy framework, the study analyzed how the English and Spanish languages are used, taught and learned. Hornberger has suggested that “the more their learning contexts allow learners to draw on all points of the continua, the greater are the chances for their full biliterate development” (2003, p. 37). With the above in mind, this study investigated the schools’ practices, attitudes, beliefs and perceptions towards monolingualism and bilingualism. In this chapter I present a brief history of language policy during the twentieth century in Puerto Rico followed by my research questions and an overview of each of the chapters of my dissertation.

**Brief History of Language Policy in Puerto Rico**

After four hundred years of Spanish colonization in Puerto Rico, Castellano or Spanish had become the language of communication. The Spanish regime lost control in 1898 at the end of the Spanish-American War. The Treaty of Paris, which ended the war between the United States and Spain, ceded Puerto Rico and other territories to the United States. Since then, Puerto Rico has been a territory of the United States. English
language policy in Puerto Rico at the school level began after the Spanish-American War ended.

The first half of the twentieth century saw the "continued intrusion of the United States’ influence in language-in-education policy in Puerto Rico" (Ricento, 1997, p. 138). The 1902 Official Languages Act or Foraker Act (see Chapter 2) "granted official status to both English and Spanish" on the island (Resnick, 1993, p. 261). The Anglo-Americans who governed the island tried unsuccessfully to impose the English language on a people whose native language had been Spanish for centuries (Pousada, 1996; Resnick, 1993). Puerto Ricans had developed a cultural identity tied to the Spanish language and resisted the imposition of English (Pousada, 1996, 1999).

As described further in Chapter 2, the intellectuals of the 1930s, the journalists, the Teachers’ Association and politicians prevented language shift to English from happening (Clampitt-Dunlap, S., 2000; Pousada, 1999; Torres-González, 2002; Vélez, 2000). Moreover, the ratio between the North American and Puerto Rican population was never large enough to lead to language shift. Nevertheless, between 1900 and 1949, English was the language of instruction in the secondary public schools on the island (Torres-González, 2002).

During the second half of the twentieth century, the United States granted Puerto Rico limited autonomy. The islanders elected the first Puerto Rican governor in 1949, Luis Muñoz Marín. Governor Muñoz Marín and other leaders had been discussing educational problems and solutions, including the language of instruction used in public schools. Immersion in English was not working well for two reasons: (1) the availability of English teachers on the island was too small and (2) demographically, too few Anglo-
Americans lived on the island. In 1949, Spanish became the language of instruction in public schools and English became a subject to be taught in all grades (Clampitt-Dunlap, 2000; Pousada, 1996; Torres-González, 2002). From 1949 until 1997, Spanish was the main language of instruction in public schools at the primary and secondary school levels. Supposedly, from 1997 to the present, Spanish and/or English languages have been utilized for instruction in public schools. I say supposedly because the quality of English instruction has been and continues to be poor due to the lack of trained English teachers. I further explain language policy in Puerto Rico in Chapter 2.

**Language Policies within the Puerto Rican Political Context**

Controversies regarding the language policies in Puerto Rico arose with the political changes that occurred during the second half of the twentieth century. Politically, after 1949, the Popular Democratic Party (PPD) remained in power until the late 1960s. After the PPD lost power in 1967, the two major political parties, the PPD and the New Progressive Party (PNP), rallied for political control. In 1967, the first PNP party governor, Luis Ferré, was elected. From 1972 to 1979, the PPD regained power. Later, from 1980 to 1987, the PNP took over. Then, beginning in 1988 to 1991, the PPD reclaimed control. A year later, from 1992 through 1999, the PNP ruled. For the past 8 years, the PPD has been in power.

During these political rotations, very little was accomplished regarding language policy. In other words, Spanish remained the language of instruction from 1949 until 1997 with English being taught as a preferential subject in public schools. Nevertheless, language policy has been and still is a powerful political campaign issue for the two major parties of the island. The PNP and PPD continue to put this issue at the forefront
when campaigning during election years. For example, in 1967, Ferré proclaimed that
“Spanish [would] be protected with statehood” (Cited in Torres González, 2002, p. 228; translation mine). Several years later, Carlos Romero Barceló, the governor of Puerto Rico between 1980 and 1987 said:

To limit the use and teaching of English in Puerto Rico is to limit the opportunities of work and study to our sons. The colonial leaders, whose objective is to eliminate English as the official second language, have their children in private schools where they learn... English while at the same time, they seek to eliminate the teaching of English in the public schools to the detriment of those families that have no choice but to send their children to public schools. This is hypocritical and cynical! (Cited in Torres González, 2002, p. 232; translation mine).

Since Ferré and Romero Barceló’s ideal for Puerto Rico was statehood, their ideologies influenced their plans for language policy. These two politicians knew that the majority of the population would not agree with the elimination of Spanish and the elevation of English. Although they advocated for the rise of English, they could tolerate a bilingual policy. In fact, the majority of the population agrees with a bilingual policy (Fajardo, 1999; Torres González, 2002; Vélez, 2000).

However, in 1991 and under the PPD, a law was passed declaring Spanish as sole official language of the government of Puerto Rico (Clampitt-Dunlap, 2000; Torres González, 2002). Spanish’s position was declared to be the highest cultural expression and a reflection of Puerto Rican nationality (Torres González, 2002). According to Torres González (2002), by 1992, a large part of the population preferred the co-existence of Spanish and English, rather than having one official language, namely, Spanish. With the change in government in 1992 (PNP), the law that declared Spanish the official language of the island was abolished (Clampitt-Dunlap, 2000). The new law
known as Law #18 of the Department of Education of Puerto Rico from June 16th, 1993 declared that English and Spanish would be the official languages of Puerto Rico. Pedro Roselló, the governor during that time, declared the following:

English is the preferred language of communication internationally. For historic reasons, our country has been utilizing Spanish and English... for more than nine decades and this has not caused us to give up our vernacular, the Spanish language, nor have we given up on our language or on our culture. On the contrary, our citizens are in a privileged position of having been exposed to and having had the opportunity of learning and speaking two important languages. Spanish and English can co-exist harmoniously as they have done up until now... without devaluing either one (Cited in Torres Gonzalez, 2002, p.235; translation mine).

The PNP politicians believe that bilingualism is key for statehood to occur, and the aim of the PNP political party is statehood. Their motivation towards bilingualism is political. In the elections of 1996, the PNP remained in power. Don Young, a senior Republican congressman from Alaska, proposed a project called the ‘Young Bill’ to carry out a referendum in which the people of Puerto Rico could choose among four options: statehood, independence, associated republic or the current commonwealth status for their political future (OLR Research Report, 2001). It is important to note that PNP leader Romero Barceló, who endorsed the bill, withdrew his endorsement “because of an amendment that would require that English be the language of the government, courts, and schools of Puerto Rico under statehood” (Clampitt-Dunlap, 2000, p. 32). Although this referendum failed due to political controversies², the PNP was already developing a project that would help drive the Young Bill through Congress.

² For more information see http://www.cga.ct.gov/2001/rpt/olr/htm/2001-r-0930.htm
The 1997 Bilingual Citizen Project. The 1997 Bilingual Citizen Project was developed in the middle of the debate in Congress over the Young Bill. According to Torres González (2002), the plan was to give equal importance to the Spanish and English languages. However, he argued that the project prioritized the teaching and learning of English over Spanish and highly valued the English language in social and communicative contexts, particularly in matters related to the economy, employment, the sciences, technology and globalization. With the 1997 Bilingual Citizen Project, the aforementioned Law #18 progressed. In Chapter 3, article 3.03 the law states that:

> the programs of study of the school will adjust to the necessities and experiences of their students. The directors, teachers and the counselors will make sure that the school courses allow... the students to enrich their vocabulary and develop their oral and written communication abilities in Spanish as well as in English (Fajardo, 1999, pp. 355-356).

In Chapter 5, article 5.06, the law stated that the languages of instruction would be Spanish and/or English in the public school system (Fajardo, 1999). Here, this law places Spanish and English on the same level. However, looking at the summary of the project, one finds statements like “this innovative plan... integrates three academic disciplines: English, science and mathematics.... [We must] attend to the lack of English knowledge” on the island (Departamento de Educación de Puerto Rico, 1999).

Although English was the focus of the 1997 Bilingual Citizen Project, Spanish was still recognized as the vernacular of Puerto Ricans (Molina, 1999). Further, an English immersion program was developed as a pilot program to implement the Bilingual Citizen Project in some public schools, which lasted three years. In 2001, with the change of power to the PPD, the program was eliminated. Out of the public schools that started the 1997 Bilingual Citizen Project, only eight public schools remain in this
program (IN: Coral, 07-02-20). A century after Puerto Rico became a United States territory and with numerous attempts to institute English as a primary language on the island, the native language of most Puerto Ricans continues to be Spanish (Baker, 2001). The clarification of Puerto Rico’s political status “would lead to clarification of language goals and roles, which would, it is hoped, lead to better language teaching” (Pousada, 1996, p. 504). As shown above, political uncertainty leads to a language policy of confusion. Therefore, increasingly, those who have the option send their children to private schools (Pousada, 1996). Additionally, private schools, in general, are not affected by the governmental political environment and, as such, are more stable regarding language policy.

Private Schools. With respect to private education during the first half of the twentieth century, “an average of about four percent of school children were enrolled in private schools” (Net Industries, 2008). The majority of these institutions were parochial schools, including Saint Andrew’s School. Most were affiliated with the Roman Catholic Church (Puerto Rico Reconstruction Administration, 1940). However, during the second half of the twentieth century and parallel to the Spanish-language policy in public schools, a number of English-language private schools opened. Those who attended these schools were, for the most part, from upper- and middle-class backgrounds whose parents viewed learning English as instrumental for economic success.

Within this historical, political, educational context, I intend to present how Saint Andrew’s LPP influences language practices at the school level. Considering the status of Spanish in the larger community of Puerto Rico, my main research question is what is the role of Spanish at Saint Andrew’s School?
Research Questions

My primary research question guiding this investigation is given that English is the medium of instruction in the classroom and the school-wide language policy, what is the role of the Spanish language in Saint Andrew’s School? I also ask the following sub-questions: 1. What is the rationale for the language policy of Saint Andrew’s School? What/Who guides this explicit or implicit policy? Why? 2. How does language planning exist in the school? What is the status of Spanish and English? Why? 3. What are the participants’ (i.e., students, teachers, administrators, parents) beliefs and attitudes regarding bilingualism, the language of instruction at Saint Andrew’s School and the status of languages in the school?

Overview of the Dissertation

In Chapter 2, I present literature relevant to language policy, language planning, bi(multi)lingualism, bi(multi)literacy and bilingual education. Then, because Puerto Rico is largely influenced by the United States’ governmental and educational policies, I provide a brief history of bilingual education in the United States followed by bilingual education and language policy in Puerto Rico. I end this chapter by highlighting Mejía’s work (2002) regarding elite bilingual education internationally with a comparison to Saint Andrew’s School. Chapter 3 covers my research design and methodology. I present the research questions of the study, as well as give an overview of the ethnographic research and the setting. Then, I explain how I conducted the study in addition to how my entry into the field occurred. More specifically, I explain how I selected the participants, the methods I used for data collection and my ethical considerations. I finish by presenting a theoretical framework informed by Hornberger’s (2003) continua of
biliteracy framework that I use in my data analysis.

Chapters 4, 5 and 6 present the findings and analysis of the study within the continua of biliteracy framework (Hornberger, 2003). In Chapter 4, I report on the contexts in which Spanish and English are used in the school and the analysis of language use in situational contexts. Chapter 5 describes the media through which the students learn Spanish and English and the analysis of how these languages are learned. Chapter 6 shows and analyzes how language development occurs within the context of Saint Andrew’s School and which content is used for this development, particularly in Spanish. In Chapter 7, the conclusion, I present my interpretation of the study, as well as its implications.
Chapter 2

Conceptual Framework and Context of Study

Most people take for granted the language into which they are born, the one spoken in their home and by their playmates. They learn it as a matter of course, and it appears to be of no more consequence to them than the air they breathe. Yet, without either one they could not grow up to be human beings: lack of air would kill their bodies, but lack of language would kill their minds (Haugen, 1985, p. 4).

Although language is used simply for communication purposes, many factors exert an influence in and around the usage of language(s). Language is the “vehicle for identifying, manipulating and changing power relations between people” (Corson, 1999, p. 14). Languages are “directly and indirectly interwoven into the politics of a nation. [Languages are] not only studied linguistically, psychologically and sociologically, [they are] also studied in relation to” the structures of power and status and the political systems of society (Baker, 2001, p. 367; see also Wiley, 1996). Academics have called the study of interactions between languages within societal systems the “ecology of language” (Hornberger & Hult, 2007). “The ecology of language focuses on a language’s interaction with other languages in the minds of bi- and multilingual speakers...” as well as “its interaction with the society in which it functions as a medium of communication” (Hornberger & Hult, 2007, p. 281). The ecology of language assumes different levels of analysis as explained by Calvet (2006). At a higher level is the ecosphere, which Calvet (2006) defines as the worldwide organization of the relationship among languages followed by the linguistic ecosystem. This ecosystem is the relationship that languages in contact maintain. Lastly, there are the ecological niches defined as the relationship that one language has with other languages and the place that
it occupies in the ecosystem. Concerning the ecosphere at the site of study, three world recognized languages are in interaction with each other. Regarding ecological niches at the Saint Andrew's School, the highest status is reserved for English, which is followed by Spanish. French is offered as an elective from seventh through twelfth grades and is limited to interaction in the classroom and, therefore, has the lowest status. But, in terms of the ecosystem, Spanish achieves the highest status followed by English outside of the school.

Below, I discuss literature that portrays how politics and social organization influence language policy. Then, I define language policy in the broad sense followed by the definition of language planning, which includes status planning, acquisition planning and corpus planning. Subsequent to this, I define bilingualism/biliteracy followed by the current types of bilingual education, historical background on bilingual policy in the United States and in Puerto Rico and various scholars' positions on bilingual policy. Last, I address bilingual education at the site of study.

Language Policy and Planning

Language Policy

Most nations have a "national" language, and "those who command the 'national' language... tend to enjoy greater recognition and socioeconomic status than those that do not speak or write that language" (Ricento, 2006b, p. 231). Fishman (2006a) argues that "language authorities are normally linked to the political authorities of the communities upon whom the implementation of language policy ultimately depends" (p. 311). In terms of language policy, those in power, consciously and/or unconsciously, de jure and/or de facto tend to impose their language through political, economic, social, and
educational structures. The knowledge of that language signifies access to information, to social events/functions, to a better education and to better employment opportunities (Cooper, 1989). For example, the de facto language policy of the United States yields towards English at the national, community and school levels. The knowledge of English implies access to the structures mentioned above. At Saint Andrew's School, the site of study, English is the de jure and de facto language of communication. However, once outside of the school, Spanish is the de facto language of communication in domains such as churches, government, restaurants, and social gatherings.

Politics and Society in Language Policy. A nation's politics, as explained in the bilingualism section below, plays a major role in LPP (Schmidt, 2006). The language development of a country must be looked at within the context of its history. The perceptions and feelings of the times allow for tolerance/intolerance and flexibility/inflexibility towards specific languages. For example, in the United States, German-language instruction was common during the 19th century (Wiley, 1996, 2007). “As the dominant language minority group for most of the 19th century, Germans were successful in maintaining their language and culture” (Ricento, 1996, p. 134). Following World War I, German-language instruction was eliminated. The political, economical and social sentiment against German speakers and speakers of other minority languages was so hostile that those in power imposed an English-only policy on the nation. The knowledge of the English language was equated with nationalism or allegiance to the United States.

Another illustration of the close relationships among language, politics and society is the identity of Puerto Ricans with the Spanish language; it is so strong that the
imposition of the English language by Anglo-Americans at the beginning of the 20th century was viewed as a threat to the Spanish language. To this day, “[i]t is not yet accepted that bilingualism need not be the replacement of the Spanish language with the English language” (Serrano, 1999, p. 22; translation mine). Neither English as a second language nor English-only policies worked in this context. In this case, although the island’s de jure language policy encourages bilingualism (Spanish and English), the de facto policy privileges Spanish, the native language. Spanish continues to be the primary language in educative, economic, political and social settings.

Other multilingual contexts like Catalonia in Spain and South Africa in Africa also faced challenges with language policies. In Catalonia, the Catalan language was prohibited during the Franco Era (1939-1975) while the nation tried to promote a Spanish-only language policy. Nevertheless, Catalan was still used secretly for certain functions. The language never died because Catalonians strongly identified with their language and continued to promote the use of Catalan. In the post-Franco era, Catalan is the language of choice in education, in social events and in the government. The language policy of the Franco era was a one-language policy, namely, Spanish; whereas now, it is a bilingual policy (Spanish and Catalan), where Catalan, the primary language, prevails (Mejía, 2002).

In South Africa, after apartheid, life for its people shifted drastically resulting in new policies affecting all aspects of daily life. Regarding language policy, according to the constitution, eleven languages have official status in South Africa. Of these, English is understood by a majority of its people (69%), English is the language of the government, and English is the language of the major news networks (Ridge, 1996).
Thus, "when offered a choice, a significant number of black parents have opted for English as the language of instruction for their children, even from the first year of primary school" (Ridge, 1996, p. 27). In this case, the learning of English is perceived as the means to upward social mobility (Bratt Paulston & Heidemann, 2006).

The examples above show how social pressures and politics influence the linguistic ecosystem resulting in different language policies for three different nations. For these three nations language policy is linked with national identity. Catalan surfaced again after several decades of repression. Spanish remained in Puerto Rico after decades of unsuccessfully promoting language shift to English. Moreover, in South Africa, eleven languages remained including English, which is the most sought out and spoken language due to the perception of better employment opportunities. This perception is shared by Puerto Ricans. LPP continues to be a delicate endeavor with many stakeholders but not everyone’s interests are equally valued.

**Definition of Language Policy.** In broadest terms, language policy is a codified statement indicating which language will be used in a group and for what purpose. In general, where a language policy exists, two or more languages are in use. Ideally, language policy should be an active process in which those involved may contribute (see Corson, 1999). A group’s culture and beliefs need to be taken into account when creating rightful language policies. Schools are a microcosm of culture and society. Therefore, a school’s approach for language policy and language planning should be no different since they are comprised of people who bring their cultures, beliefs and perceptions to the table. "[I]nformation about the school and the community is needed" (Wiley, 1996, p. 139) before policies can be materialized and implemented.
For the purposes of this study, I intend to use the definition expressed in the previous paragraph for language policy. Any language policy requires some kind of planning. Fishman (2006a) points out that a language policy is nothing without language planning unless the policy is already implied in a group or community. The term language planning encompasses the design, implementation and evaluation of a language policy.

**Language Planning**

Haugen’s (1985) idea of language planning was that of standardizing a language for communication purposes in a setting (e.g. a school, a community, a nation). Yet, this conception now takes on many different shapes and forms. “Language planning is generally seen as entailing the formation and implementation of a policy designed to prescribe, or influence the language(s) and varieties of language that will be used and the purposes for which they will be used” (Wiley, 1996, p. 108). If the purpose is for the uses and the users of a language to increase markedly, language planning should be organized taking into account the political, social, educative and economic structures in which it exists (Baker, 2006; Corson, 1999; Fishman, 2006a; Freeman, 1998; Herriman & Burnaby, 1996; Hornberger, 1996, 2003, 2006a; Ricento, 2006a; Wiley, 1996).

It is inevitable to notice how the above-mentioned structures affect language policy(ies). Freeman (1998) rightly suggests that a “bilingual education policy is often not based on language or education issues at all.... [Instead,] it reflects power struggles between particular social groups with particular political interests” (p. 35). And, “standardization [of a language], and the orthography planning... that often accompanies it, is more often motivated by political goals than by pedagogical criteria or concerns for
equal educational access” (Hornberger, 1996, p. 458; also see Cooper, 1989 and Herriman & Burnaby, 1996). Thus, the underlying purposes of LPP are rarely for educative reasons (Ricento, 1996, 2006a). For the most part, LPP are politically and economically driven or are the result of judicial decisions.

**Definition of Language Planning.** I will briefly state the definitions of language planning types and give examples of some of its goals for purposes of this dissertation (for more explicit discussions regarding language planning see Baker, 2006; Cooper, 1989; Corson, 1999; Fishman, 2006a; Haugen, 1985; Hornberger 1994, 2006a; Wiley, 1996).

Fishman is a very strong advocate and defender of minority languages and minority cultures. He is also well known for his writings on reversing language shift (RLS) or revival of a language. Language shift occurs when the native language spoken by a population is abandoned in favor of a language spoken by a different population as a result of extended contact between them (Fishman, 2006c, 2006d; Vélez, 2000). Its corresponding acquisition-planning goal (Hornberger, 2006a), language spread, concerns an increase in the uses of, generally, a stronger language. For example, Spanish spread throughout Puerto Rico due to the efforts and abuse of the Spaniards. The Taíno language disappeared due to an increase in the uses of Spanish. Reversing language shift is reviving the minority language, picking up what is left to try to reconstruct the language through language planning. Fishman’s Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale (GIDS) has eight detailed stages for reversing language shift. The scale “is an aid to understanding language planning and attempted language reversal from an international perspective” (Baker, 2006, p. 60; see also Fishman 2006c).
A good example of language revival or RLS is that of Hebrew in Israel. "The promotion of Hebrew was a tool in the struggle for social change" (Cooper, 1989, p.12). The revival of Hebrew began in the late 19th century with the emigration of Jews from Russia and Eastern Europe to Palestine. At the time, a strong national sentiment permeated throughout Europe. The Jews seemed to have a strong national bond with Hebrew. The growing population of Jews in Palestine created a need for a common language. "Hebrew was the "natural" medium for this purpose... [since] most Jewish men and many Jewish women had had a religious education which made them familiar with literary Hebrew" (Cooper, 1989, p. 14). After the establishment of Israel in 1948, the emigration of Jews to this land was even greater. Then, an intensive Hebrew language course was born and called an Ulpan.

The Ulpan was initiated during the massive influx of new immigrants at the creation of the state when the struggling country was determined to absorb the many Jews that arrived from the four corners of the world. The Hebrew language was used not only as a tool of communication, but as a common binding thread for Jews whose traditions, clothing and Jewish expression were often barely recognizable to their brethren. The Ulpan served to help develop a shared identity and to infuse what would later become a deciding factor in the fabric of Israeli society (The Jewish Agency for Israel, 2009).

This intensive course was taught to new immigrants for the purpose of equipping the learners for everyday communication in the spoken language (Baker, 2006, p. 126-127). Hebrew is the unmarked language in Israel for most domains.

Sociolinguistic scholars converge on three components for language planning: status planning, corpus planning and acquisition planning. Sociolinguists have established goals for these three types of planning (Cooper, 1989; Fishman, 2006b, 2006e; Hornberger, 2006a) that Hornberger synthesized into a framework. The
framework includes two planning approaches for the three types of planning mentioned above: the policy planning approach and the cultivation planning approach (see Figure 2.1). The policy planning approach attends to matters of society and nation, at the macroscopic level, emphasizing the distribution of languages/literacies, and [is] mainly concerned with standard language... while cultivation [planning] approach... attend[s] to matters of language/literacy, at the microscopic level, emphasizing ways of speaking/writing and their distribution, and [is] mainly concerned with literary language (Hornberger, 2006a, p. 28).

Corpus planning comprises the “development of a literary norm which overrides regional and social literacies” or standardization of the grammar to be used or the spelling to be used in the policy planning approach, and modernization and renovation or “cultivation of a language’s form for additional functions” in the cultivation planning approach (Hornberger, 2006a, pp. 30-31). Status consists of the value given to a language by a group, society or nation. Status planning refers to “the ways in which societies recognize, accept, and sanction the use of languages in their communities and institutions” (Herriman & Burnaby, 1996, p. 5). In Hornberger’s (2006a) integrative framework, policy-planning goals for status planning are standardization, officialization, nationalization and proscription; the cultivation planning goals for status planning are language revival, language maintenance, language spread and inter-lingual communication (Hornberger, 2006a). The purpose of status planning is to increase the uses of a language, which in turn may increase the value of that language. For example, to increase the uses of an endangered language, such as Hebrew at the end of the 19th century, language revival would be the appropriate cultivation-planning goal of status planning.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Types</th>
<th>Policy planning approach</th>
<th>Cultivation planning approach</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Status planning</td>
<td>Officialization</td>
<td>Revival</td>
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<tr>
<td>(about uses of language)</td>
<td>Nationalization</td>
<td>Maintenance</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Standardization of status</td>
<td>Spread</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Proscription</td>
<td>Interlingual communication—international, intranational</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Acquisition planning</td>
<td>Group</td>
<td>Reacquisition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(about users of language)</td>
<td>Education/school</td>
<td>Maintenance</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Literary</td>
<td>Shift</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Religious</td>
<td>Foreign language/second language/literacy</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Mass media</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Work</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Corpus planning</td>
<td>Standardization of Corpus</td>
<td>Modernization</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(about language)</td>
<td>Standardization of auxiliary code</td>
<td>(new functions)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Lexical</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Stylist</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Graphization</td>
<td>Renovation (new forms, old functions)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Purification</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Reform</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Stylist simplification</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Terminology</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>unification</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 2.1. Language Policy and Planning Goals: An Integrative Framework (Hornberger, 2006a, p. 29).

Notes: LPP types are in plain typeface, approaches in *italics*, goals in *bold*. The figure incorporates the work of Cooper (1989); Ferguson (1968); Haugen (1983); Hornberger 1994; Kloss (1968); Nahir (1984); Neustupny (1974); Rabin (1971); Stewart (1968).

Note: I excluded Haugen’s (1983) fourfold matrix from the figure.
Cooper who introduced the term acquisition planning in 1989, suggests that acquisition planning can be classified according to its overt goal, for which he identifies the possibilities of reacquisition, maintenance, foreign-language/second-language acquisition, and to which [Hornberger (2006a) adds] shift as a fourth possible goal, thus producing an exact correspondence with the four status cultivation goals (revival, maintenance, inter-lingual communication and spread) (p. 32).

According to Corson (1999) and Fishman (2006), minority languages worldwide are being ignored or devalued. The purpose of most acquisition planning is to reverse the previous statement and to celebrate multilingualism.

Thus, language planning is about social change (Cooper, 1989). The process also entails community wanting to keep a language alive in a setting (e.g., school, work, church, government, country, etc.) through standardization, graphization, modernization and renovation (Hornberger, 2006a). Furthermore, language planning involves increasing the uses and users of a language. As seen in previous examples, a strong bond between the language at stake and the peoples who want their language to thrive may constitute the basis and motivation for a language policy.

In bilingual policy(ies), Ruiz (1984) posited three possible orientations regarding language (while also suggesting there may be others): language as a problem, language as a right and language as a resource (see also Baker, 2006; Wiley, 1996). When language is seen as a problem, assimilation and integration usually occur and minority languages tend to be ignored (Baker, 2006; Fishman, 2006e; Wiley, 1996). When language is seen as a right, Kloss introduces two levels: tolerance-oriented rights where “language rights concern protection from discrimination”, and, promotion-oriented rights where a person has the right to use the minority language freely, including in all official contexts (cited in
Baker, 2006, p. 386). When language is seen as a resource, it refers to the development of a second language in monolingual speakers and to the preservation of minority languages (Baker, 2006, p. 391).

Similarly, Wiley (1996) presents three broad types of language policies in the United States: language shift, language maintenance and language enrichment policies. Language shift represents the goal of most transitional bilingual education programs in the United States where the outcome is English monolingualism (see the Bilingualism section below). Transitional bilingual programs view the students' home language as a problem, if it is not English. The language maintenance policy suggests that a second language learner may maintain her native language while learning the second language. Here language is seen as a right. The language enrichment policy is one where at least two languages of instruction exist. Multiple languages are seen as resources. Wiley (1996, 2006) favors the language enrichment policy where language diversity is seen as a resource instead of as a problem.

A language carries meaning, perceptions and beliefs. As a result, language(s) must not be viewed outside of their context. Language planning at any school can be imposed, but the cultural beliefs and perceptions of the school community may be so strong that the imposition may not work. For example, in the 1940s, the pressure from the Puerto Rican Teachers' Association to teach the children in Spanish was so intense and the failure of the students was so evident that Spanish was finally established as the language of instruction for grades one through sixth (Clampitt-Dunlap, 2000; Pousada, 1999; Torres-González; Vélez, 2000). Consequently, "language planning is about social change" (Hornberger, 2006a, p. 25). In the example above, although the purpose of the
Anglo-Americans was language shift towards English, their plan did not work. Therefore, one cannot look at language planning without looking at the socio-historical context of the community being studied.

A school language policy defines the language(s) of instruction in a school. LPP give direction to the school’s members. Through the gathering of information using ethnographic methods, I aim to understand the LPP practices at Saint Andrew’s School, a bilingual/biliterate environment.

**Bilingualism and Biliteracy**

Bi(multi)lingualism is the acquisition (be it simultaneous or sequential) and use of two or more languages by an individual or a social group. Bi(multi)literacy is “any and all instances in which communication occurs in two (or more) languages in or around writing” (Hornberger, 1990, p. 213). Barton (1991) emphasizes that “[t]he starting point for any literacy work has to be people’s needs, ... [l]iteracy work needs to start from people’s own definitions and understanding of reading and writing, from their own purposes, and from their current communication practices” (p. 10). Further, Cummins (2000) argues that biliteracy may be attained in multiple ways, and, one of the most important aspects of becoming biliterate in schools is the interpersonal interaction between the students and the teacher. In schools, “the interactions between educators and students represent the direct determinant of bilingual students’ success or failure” (Cummins, 2000, p. 6). That is, with their coercive or collaborative interactions, educators may respectively disable or empower their students.

Issues of bi(multi)lingualism and bi(multi)literacy arise in the context of study because instruction at Saint Andrew’s exists in three languages: Spanish, English and
French. English is taught as a subject and is used as the medium of instruction and communication throughout the school. Spanish is taught as a subject from first through twelfth grades and is sometimes used for communication purposes in the school. French is an optional course and is taught as a subject from seventh through twelfth grades.

Types of Bilingual Education

Several types or models of bilingual education have been described by a number of academics (Baker, 2006; Cummins, 1994; Cummins and Corson, 1997; Faltis & Hudelson, 1998; Freeman, 1998, 2006; Hornberger, 1991, 2003; Torres-Guzmán, 2006; Trueba, 1979; Williams & Cappizzi, 1990). In The Encyclopedia of Language and Education, Cummins (1997) presents five types of bilingual education programs.

Type I programs involve the use of indigenous or Native languages as mediums of instruction. The goal of these programs is the revival or revitalization of languages that have become endangered (p. xii).

Type II programs involve the use of a national minority language, which sometimes has official language status in the society (p. xiii). The goal of these programs is language maintenance or revitalization of language.

Type III programs involve international minority languages that are the languages of relatively recent immigrants to a host country. Most of these are transitional programs designed to facilitate students' academic progress (p. xiii).

Type IV programs focus on a particular linguistic and cultural minority group, namely the Deaf and hard-of-hearing community. Educational language policy for Deaf and hard-of-hearing individuals warrants separate treatment as a result of the unique characteristics of manual sign language and its implications for implementing bilingual programs (p. xiii).

Type V programs are intended for dominant or majority group students and are intended to develop bilingual and biliteracy skills among such students. French immersion programs in Canada and two-way bilingual programs in the US are examples. Two-way bilingual programs also fall into the category of Type II and III since they also serve linguistic minority students (p. xiii).

These programs have similarities with Baker's (2006) categorization of programs.
For instance, Type III programs are comparable to Baker’s weak forms of education for bilinguals and Type V programs are comparable to Baker’s strong forms of education for bilinguals (see Table 2.1 to Table 2.3 below).

The submersion model is categorized as a monolingual form of education for bilinguals (see Table 2.1). A “sink or swim” metaphor is usually used to describe the submersion model. The student is placed in a classroom where most students speak the majority language and where the medium of instruction is in the majority language. A variant of this type of bilingual education is the structured immersion program, which contains only language minority children and no language majority children (Baker, 2006). The student is expected to swim, struggle or sink in this type of program with no help from his/her native language (Baker, 2006; Wiley, 2006).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of Program</th>
<th>Typical Type of Child</th>
<th>Language of the Classroom</th>
<th>Societal and Educational Aim</th>
<th>Aim in Language Outcome</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SUBMERSION (Structured Immersion)</td>
<td>Language Minority</td>
<td>Majority Language</td>
<td>Assimilation/Subtractive</td>
<td>Monolingualism</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SUBMERSION with Withdrawal Classes/SHELTERED ENGLISH/Content-based ESL</td>
<td>Language Minority</td>
<td>Majority Language with ‘Pull-out’ L2 Lessons</td>
<td>Assimilation/Subtractive</td>
<td>Monolingualism</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SEGREGATIONIST</td>
<td>Language Minority</td>
<td>Minority Language (forced, no choice)</td>
<td>Apartheid</td>
<td>Monolingualism</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2.1. Monolingual Forms of Education for Bilinguals (Baker, 2006, p. 216).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of Program</th>
<th>Typical Type of Child</th>
<th>Language of the Classroom</th>
<th>Societal and Educational Aim</th>
<th>Aim in Language Outcome</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>TRANSITIONAL</td>
<td>Language Minority</td>
<td>Moves from Minority to Majority Language</td>
<td>Assimilation</td>
<td>Relative Monoligualism</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MAINSTREAM with Foreign Language Teaching</td>
<td>Language Majority</td>
<td>Majority Language with L2/FL Lessons</td>
<td>Limited Enrichment</td>
<td>Limited Bilingualism</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SEPARATIST</td>
<td>Language Minority</td>
<td>Minority Language (out of choice)</td>
<td>Detachment/Autonomy</td>
<td>Limited Bilingualism</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2.2. Weak Forms of Bilingual Education for Bilinguals (Baker, 2006, p. 216).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of Program</th>
<th>Typical Type of Child</th>
<th>Language of the Classroom</th>
<th>Societal and Educational Aim</th>
<th>Aim in Language Outcome</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>IMMERSION</td>
<td>Language Majority</td>
<td>Bilingual with initial emphasis on L2</td>
<td>Pluralism and Enrichment. Additive</td>
<td>Bilingualism &amp; Biliteracy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MAINTENANCE/HERITAGE LANGUAGE</td>
<td>Language Minority</td>
<td>Bilingual with emphasis on L1</td>
<td>Maintenance, Pluralism and Enrichment. Additive</td>
<td>Bilingualism &amp; Biliteracy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TWO WAY/DUAL LANGUAGE</td>
<td>Mixed Language Minority &amp; Majority</td>
<td>Minority and Majority</td>
<td>Maintenance, Pluralism and Enrichment. Additive</td>
<td>Bilingualism &amp; Biliteracy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MAINSTREAM BILINGUAL</td>
<td>Language Majority</td>
<td>Two Majority Languages Pluralism</td>
<td>Maintenance &amp; Biliteracy and Enrichment. Additive</td>
<td>Bilingualism</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2.3. Strong Forms of Bilingual Education for Bilingualism and Biliteracy (Baker, 2006, p. 216)

Notes: L2=Second Language; L1=First Language; FL=Foreign Language.
The transitional bilingual model falls under the weak forms of education for bilinguals (see Table 2.2). The transitional model uses the L1 (native language) as a medium of instruction until the native speaker has acquired enough skills to be taught in the L2 (second language). At this point, all content is taught to the L1 speaker in the L2. The criticisms of this type of bilingual education are that the native student fails to keep his mother tongue and that the transitional model varies from place to place. In some places the transference of the L1 speaker to the L2 environment is too abrupt. That is, the student is transferred to L2 but is not “able to reach parity with their L2 speaking counterparts by the time he completes the program” (Freeman, 2006, p. 5). Most of the bilingual programs in the United States follow the transitional type (see Villarreal 2007 for a framework that classifies transitional bilingual education programs).

The goal of the transitional bilingual and submersion models is assimilation towards the L2 and the L2 culture (Baker, 2006; Cummins, 2000; Freeman, 2007). In general, the teachers in the weak forms of education for bilingualism tend to be monolingual or limited bilingual. Other monolingual and weak forms of education for bilinguals exist (Baker, 2006; Wiley, 2006; see Tables 2.1 and 2.2), but bilingualism or biliteracy is rarely the outcome of these types of bilingual education (Baker, 2006). In the next section on bilingual education in the United States, I refer to some examples of transitional and submersion bilingual education types. Research has shown that the monolingual and weak forms of education for bilinguals tend to be less effective than the strong bilingual type programs (Baker, 2006; Cummins, 2000; Freeman, 2007; Hornberger, 2006a, 2006b, 2007).

The strong bilingual type programs in Table 2.3 include the maintenance or
heritage language, the immersion, the two-way immersion (TWI), and the mainstream bilingual types. The maintenance or heritage model uses the L1 and L2 with a higher emphasis on the L1. However, "the focus is exclusively on the non-[L2]-speaking or minority language... learners" (Faltis & Hudelson, 1998, p. 31). The majority of the learners in this model are usually minority or heritage language students. As noted by Baker (2006a), "Heritage Language education is... more concerned with preservation of ethnic language... [and] ethnic culture" (p. 242).

The immersion model uses the L2 as the medium of instruction for all its students and introduces the L1 increasingly over time. Immersion "caters for majority language children learning through a second language" (Baker, 2001, p. 226). Core features of immersion programs include (Johnstone, 2007, p. 24):

- L2 is the main or a major medium of instruction.
- The immersion L2 curriculum parallels the local L1 curriculum.
- Overt psychological and other support exists for the L1, both from parents and the school.
- The program aims for additive bilingualism.
- Exposure to the L2 is largely confined to the classroom.
- Learners generally enter with similar (and limited) levels of L2 proficiency.
- The teachers are bilingual.

Time and age are two variables that differ among immersion programs; that is, the amount of time spent teaching in the L1 versus L2 and whether the student enters early immersion, delayed or middle immersion or late immersion. According to Freeman (2007), these programs teach at least 50 percent of the curriculum in the second language, and they last at least five to seven years. In early immersion, the child usually enters the program in kindergarten. In middle or delayed immersion the student enters the program around the fourth grade, and in late immersion the student enters the program at the
secondary level. In general, 100% of the teaching is in the L2 for two or three years. Over the following four years, the teaching time in L2 is reduced to about 80% and, finally the teaching time in L2 is reduced to approximately 50% in junior and high schools (Baker, 2006). The three immersion programs may also be partial. "Partial immersion provides close to 50% immersion in the second language throughout infant and junior schooling" (Baker, 2006, p. 245). Two excellent examples of immersion-type bilingual programs are the Canadian and the Catalan models. In Catalonia, a bilingual policy (Spanish and Catalan) where Catalan is the primary language prevails (Mejía, 2002). The Catalan case is one of reversing language shift where the Catalanians rescued their language after Franco’s prohibition era. Currently, Catalan shares official status with Spanish in Catalonia (Etxeberría-Sagastume, 2006).

Canadian immersion programs emerge due to political and socioeconomic pressures. First, the people urging this type of program are locals and those from the middle and upper-middle classes. Second, the “Canadian immersion model is a language enrichment programme... designed to promote bilingualism in a largely monolingual environment” (Mejía, 2002, p. 29). In the Canadian immersion program, the English-language speakers (the majority) are immersed in French. The program’s aim is bilingualism in French and English and is considered a successful immersion model (Cummins, 2000). Other successful immersion bilingual programs around the world exist in Finland, Australia, Scotland, Spain, Switzerland, Africa, Wales and Ireland (Baker, 2006; Mejía, 2002). No immersion programs seem to have a negative impact on the student’s L1 (Baker, 2001). These students eventually catch up with their mainstream peers in L1 skills (Baker, 2001).
The TWI programs are dual language programs that target a balanced number of L1 and L2 speakers, "and they provide content-area instruction through both languages to all students in integrated classes" (Freeman, 2007, p. 7). Baker (2006a) and Freeman (2007) point out that TWI programs may also be called two-way schools, bilingual immersion, dual-language education, dual-language immersion, two-way bilingual education, double immersion, interlocking education and developmental bilingual education. "A central tenet of such programs is that a language should be added to the one the children already know and that children's academic growth in both languages should be fostered" (Torres-Guzmán, 2007, p. 50). The goals of these programs are to produce bilingual and biliterate students as well as to promote cultural awareness amongst them. Features of the TWI programs include equitable time exposure to the two languages being used, academic achievement in L1 and L2, development of bilingual and biliterate skills, and positive cross-cultural attitudes (Torres-Guzmán, 2007). As a result, these students tend to be more tolerant and linguistically and culturally sensitive towards others (Baker, 2006) (for examples of this model see Cummins, 1994, 2000; Faltis & Hudelson, 1998; Freeman, 1998, 2007; Hornberger, 1991; Johnstone, 2007).

The Coral Way School in Florida is one of the oldest and most successful TWI programs in the United States (Baker, 2006; Torres-Guzmán 2007). During the 1960s a number of dual language schools opened in Dade County due to the influx of Cuban exiles after Castro’s take over. Another example of an established TWI program is the James F. Oyster Bilingual Elementary School in Washington, DC (see Freeman, 1998). A common trait that distinguishes these two bilingual programs is that the initiative was taken by the parents and the local community. The above examples correspond to the
The mainstream bilingual type uses two majority languages for its students (for examples of this model see Baker, 2006; Mejía, 2002; Freeman, 2007). The L1 and L2 are typically widely spoken languages such as Spanish and French. These programs cater to language majority children. Baker (2006a) and Mejía (2002) cite two examples of schools that carry out this type of bilingual education, namely, International Schools and European Schools.

International Schools are created to “serve a basically monolingual student population” that is largely affluent. Employers of international businesses, the United Nations, the armed forces, missionaries and diplomats provide their employees with this type of education for their children. Although many of the students in International Schools are bi(multi)lingual, “the emphasis in curricula and school language provision is monolingual and often mono-cultural” (Mejía, 2002, p. 21). In most of the International Schools, English is the language of preference. If no other majority language, like French, Spanish or German, is taught then the International School is not considered a mainstream bilingual school (Baker, 2006). However, most International Schools offer a second majority language and sometimes a third and fourth. Baker (2006a) observes that “generally, the languages of International Schools are majority languages with international prestige. Minority languages are rarely found in these schools” (p. 252).

On the other hand, the language(s) of instruction amongst European Schools vary. These schools serve the children of foreign civil servants. Pressure from these parents who “felt that their children’s academic needs were not being met” (Mejía, 2002, p. 22) gave birth to the European Schools. The majority of the population of these schools
"speaks one of the nine European languages as a first language, Danish, Dutch, English, French, German, Greek, Italian, Spanish and Portuguese... European Schools are committed to a philosophy of first language maintenance and the promotion of academic multilingualism in at least two languages for all students" (Mejía, 2002, p. 25). Thus, bi(multi)lingualism is a goal for these schools.

In general, the strong bilingual education types foster additive bilingualism. Additive bilingualism "refers to the form of bilingualism that results when students add a second language to their intellectual tool-kit while continuing to develop conceptually and academically in their first language" (Cummins, 2000, p. 37). This form of bilingualism is associated with positive linguistic and academic consequences (Cummins, 2000). The aims of the strong bilingual education types are bilingualism and biliteracy, as well as pluralism, enrichment and maintenance. For the purposes of my study, I use Baker’s (2006) concept of weak and strong bilingual type programs and Mejía’s (2002) concept of elite bilingual education.

History of Bilingual Education in the United States

Reference to the history of bilingualism in the United States is essential because the relationship between Puerto Rico and this country influences its political and educational decisions. Historically, regarding bilingual education in the United States, the pendulum swings between extremes, acceptance and rejection (Wiley, 2007). In the late 1770s, multilingualism was welcomed. In fact, “more than 150 languages belonging to some fifteen language families were spoken by American Indian groups” (Faltis & Hudelson, 1998, p. 3). In the early 1800s, schools that taught bilingually or only in a language other than English were common (Faltis & Hudelson, 1998; Freeman, 1998). In
“1847, Louisiana law authorized instruction in English, French, or both languages according to parental request. Spanish-English bilingual education was authorized in New Mexico in 1884 with the choice of language of instruction left to the school director” (Freeman, 1998, p. 35). However, by the late 1800s, children of families from American Indian groups were being separated from their families and sent to boarding schools. In these schools, they could only speak English with the purpose of assimilating them to the Anglo-American culture (Wiley, 2007). However, if they did not speak exclusively English, they were punished (Freeman, 1998).

By the beginning of the 20th century, new Americans such as those from Alaska, Philippines and Puerto Rico were being requested to speak English to be eligible for United States citizenship (Wiley, 2007). The onset of World War I and World War II reinforced the teaching of English at the expense of other languages. At that time, the sentiment of the leaders of the Anglo-American people was that if a person lived in the United States, that person had to learn English. Consequently, bilingualism was rejected. All languages other than English were banned from use in public schools (Faltis & Hudelson, 1998; Wiley, 2007). “Monolingualism in English came to be equated with political loyalty to the United States” (Freeman, 1998, p. 36). As a result, during the first half of the 20th century, bilingualism was almost eliminated (Wiley, 2007).

With the Civil Rights Movement of the 1960s, bilingualism resurrected. A few legislative benchmarks ignited and gave rise to this movement. In the Brown v. Board of Education case of 1954, segregation according to race became unconstitutional and, as a result, education on equal terms became a right (Hornberger, 2006b). The late 1950s and the beginning of the 1960s brought a large number of Cubans to the United States due to
political changes in Cuba. The Cubans who arrived to Dade County, Florida, requested bilingual teaching (Spanish and English) and it was granted (Faltis & Hudelson, 1998). This decision gave way to the aforementioned Coral Way School, a successful TWI program in the United States (Baker, 2006; Freeman, 1998, 2007).

Another important piece of legislation was the Immigration and Nationality Act Amendment of 1965. Freeman describes that the Act “abolished the national origins quota system that had been established by the Immigration Act of 1924, and thereby eliminated national origin, race, or ancestry as a basis for immigration to the United States” (Freeman, 1998, p. 40; see also Wiley, 2007). This change in immigration laws brought a large number of immigrants from all over the world in the late 1960s and 1970s. Given that many of these immigrants had little or no understanding of the English language and education on equal terms had become a right, the need for bilingual education became more important. In 1968, Congress approved “Title VII of the 1965 Elementary and Secondary Education Act, also known as the Bilingual Education Act” (Freeman, 1998, p. 41). At this time, the Bilingual Education Act was not defined and, as such, began as an experiment. With the 1974 *Lau v. Nichols* Supreme Court ruling, bilingual education for non-English speakers changed from a discretionary type of bilingual education to what seemed like compulsory bilingual education in public schools that served non-English speakers in the United States (Freeman, 1998; Wiley, 2007). In reality, transitional bilingual education materialized as explained below.

Amendments to the Bilingual Education Act of 1968 emphasized transitional bilingual education (Freeman, 1998). The native language of an immigrant was not valued but was viewed as a problem to be overcome. Since then, the “goals of bilingual
education and ESOL programs in elementary public schools in the United States are for students to (a) learn the second language (English) and (b) keep up with their monolingual peers in academic content areas” (Hornberger, 2003, p. 4; see also Baker, 2006). Hornberger (2006b) points out that:

The *Lau v. Nichols* decision stopped short, not only with regard to side-stepping the issue of Constitutional language rights, but also by failing to specify any particular programmatic remedy.... On the other hand... *Lau* created ideological space for bilingual education, a space that was further reinforced by the Lau Remedies, authored in 1975 by a task force convened by the Office of Civil Rights and implemented for several years until the change in presidential administrations in 1980.... Furthermore, the Lau Remedies in conjunction with the Bilingual Education Act... created implementational space for bilingual education for more than 30 years... which even allowed space for ideological shift toward a language as a resource view (p. 229).

Even though the literature clearly indicates that the enrichment and maintenance models are more effective for attaining high levels of academic achievement, most bilingual education programs in the United States follow the transitional model (Baker, 2006; Cummins, 1994, 2000; Faltis and Hudelson, 1998; Freeman, 1998, 2007; Hornberger, 1991, 2003, 2006a; Torres-Guzmán, 2007). But, bilingual education is and has always been a controversial issue. The 1980s saw a resurgence of opponents to bilingual education who argued that to survive in the United States society, its members must be “literate” in English. These opponents have been referred to as the English-only movement (see Baker, 2006; Crawford, 2007; Cummins, 2000; Escamilla, 2006; García, 2008; Herriman & Burnaby, 1996; Hornberger, 2006b). This movement continued through the 1990s and the beginning of the twenty-first century. However, according to García (2008), in “the 21st century, Spanish has increasingly acquired status as a global language... which has spurred the development of a more integrated way of using and
teaching Spanish in US classrooms” (García, 2008, p. 31). García (2008) concludes that the best bilingual programs currently available are the TWI language bilingual education programs. Yet, the NCLB Act and the emphasis on English-only assessments have slowed the development of these programs.


Opponents of bilingual education tend to advocate either a submersion model or a transitional model. Part of the concern with opponents of bilingual education is the general misunderstanding that speakers of other languages do not want to learn English. What the opponents of bilingual education do not understand is that research clearly indicates that becoming proficient in the native language fosters the acquisition of a second language (Baker, 2006; Crawford, 2007; Cummins, 1994, 2000; Faltis, 1990; Freeman, 1998, 2007; García, Skutnabb-Kangas & Torres-Guzmán, 2006; Hornberger, 1991, 2000, 2006b, 2007; Hornberger & Micheau, 1993; Micheau, 1990; Moll & Diaz, 1985, 1987; Torres-Guzmán, 2007; Zentella, 1992) and that speakers of other languages do want to be proficient in English.

An example of how L1 fosters L2 acquisition is Hornberger’s (1990) article “Creating successful learning contexts for bilingual literacy.” In a predominantly Latino classroom in the United States, a teacher encourages the use of one language (Spanish) to
aid in the development of the other (English) and emphasizes meaning rather than drill and skill or grammar correctness. The teacher relies on the children’s wealth of knowledge from their experiences at home and in the community. Further, Moll and Diaz (1985) illustrate a successful instance of bilingual education where they as researchers intervened in a bilingual teaching/learning process. The authors demonstrated that when the students were allowed to express themselves in their language of preference (in this case, mostly Spanish), they showed comprehension of the story that they had read in English.

In Hornberger’s (1992) research related to the Cambodian community, she found that the Cambodian students used their first language for translation purposes, that is, to translate school related and non-school related material to their parents who have little knowledge of the English language. Zentella (1992) also describes Spanish and English uses in “el barrio” in New York City. Sometimes they use solely Spanish, other times they use solely English and at other times they use “Spanglish”. Micheau (1990) found the Latino community of North Philadelphia to be a bilingual one (Spanish and English) where use of Spanish is an important aspect of the Puerto Rican community and of their culture. In other words, language(s) is (are) interconnected with the culture and value of a people (Cummins, 2000; Hornberger, 1992, 2003, 2006b, 2007; Ricento, 2006a).

**Bilingual Education and Language Policy in Puerto Rico**

As mentioned in the Introduction, Puerto Rico had been under Spanish rule for 400 years whereby the indigenous languages vanished and Spanish became the dominant language. Then, Puerto Rico was ceded to the United States at the end of the Spanish-American War in 1898. As would be expected in these circumstances, the United States
military headed the colonization process on the island. Immediately following the
signing of the Treaty of Paris, the people of Puerto Rico requested an end to the military
rule, which was granted in May of 1900 with the creation of the Foraker Act. The
Foraker Act (1900-1917) supposedly provided a “civil government” for Puerto Rico
(Negrón de Montilla, 1971; Pousada, 1999; Torres-González, 2002). Actually, it ensured
that the United States would politically control the island through Anglo-American
officials who would report to Washington (Negrón de Montilla, 1971).

One major consequence for language policy in Puerto Rico occurred.

In 1902 and under the Foraker Act, the Official Languages Act... declared that in
all insular governmental departments, courts, and public offices, English was to
be regarded as co-official with Spanish3, and when necessary, translations and
interpretations from one language to the other would be made so that all parties
could understand the proceedings (Welcome to Puerto Rico, 2008).

The United States’ commissioners at the time thought that it would be best for the
colonized people to learn English given that the island had become a United States’
territory. In addition, after conducting a study that concluded that only one in ten
islanders read and wrote Spanish, the Anglo-Americans decided to impose English as the
language of instruction in an educative system similar to that of public schools in the
United States. At first, they brought continental teachers from the mainland to Puerto
Rico to accomplish their goal. Later on, they would send Puerto Rican teachers to the
United States to study English (Pousada, 1999; Vélez, 2000). In turn, the teachers would
return to the island to teach their students utilizing the English language. Subsequently,
*bilingual education* began in Puerto Rico (see Table 2.4 below for the changes that
occurred in the island’s language policy of the public schools during the past century).

3 Table 2.4 shows the language policy of the island during the last century.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Years</th>
<th>Elementary School</th>
<th>Secondary School</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1900-1903</td>
<td>Spanish</td>
<td>English</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1903-1916</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>English</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1916-1934</td>
<td>1-4&lt;sup&gt;th&lt;/sup&gt; grades: Spanish 5&lt;sup&gt;th&lt;/sup&gt; grade: Transitional 6-8&lt;sup&gt;th&lt;/sup&gt; grades: English</td>
<td>English</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1934-1937</td>
<td>Spanish</td>
<td>English</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1937-1942</td>
<td>1-4&lt;sup&gt;th&lt;/sup&gt; grades: Spanish 5&lt;sup&gt;th&lt;/sup&gt; grade: Transitional 6-8&lt;sup&gt;th&lt;/sup&gt; grades: English</td>
<td>English</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1942-1949</td>
<td>1-6&lt;sup&gt;th&lt;/sup&gt; grades: Spanish</td>
<td>7-12&lt;sup&gt;th&lt;/sup&gt; grades: English</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1949-1997</td>
<td>Spanish</td>
<td>Spanish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1997-2000</td>
<td>Spanish and/or English</td>
<td>Spanish and or English</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2.4 Language Policy in Public Schools in Puerto Rico, 1900-2000 (Torres-González, 2002, p. 106, translation mine)

I italicized *bilingual education* because the first fifty years of American colonization did little to change the language of communication on the island to English. Vélez (2000) points out that language shift did not occur because Puerto Rico was a very populous island with a disproportionate number of English-speaking people compared to Spanish speakers. Besides, although the mainland used the right vehicle of public schools to teach the English language to the islanders (public schooling), they met opposition from well-educated Puerto Ricans (Negrón de Montilla, 1971).
Whereas the language policy in most United States possessions and/or territories (e.g., Hawaii, Philippines) shifted from a native language to English, Puerto Rico was and is an exception. A 1950s study from Teachers College revealed that teachers would secretly teach in Spanish for the students’ advantage (Clampitt-Dunlap, 2000; Torres-González, 2002). According to Vélez (2000), the inability to change the language of communication to English was due in part to resistance and in part to demographics. Through the resistance of teachers, intellectuals and politicians, the public education of the island was used to intensify the teaching/learning of Spanish. Not enough was done for the teaching and learning of English. As noted by Vélez (2000), the “population figures show[ed] that the English-speaking American community was never large enough to compete in any measurable way with the well-entrenched Spanish language majority. Thus, the demographic language contact situation never favored language shift” (p. 18).

Besides, “American colonial policies for Puerto Rico prior to self-government, while frequently boorish and unenlightened, were seldom if ever brutal or inhumane. Islanders were never actually forced to abandon their language and culture despite American biases in favor of English” (Vélez, 2000, p. 11).

The 1940s showed an increase in the Spanish literacy of Puerto Ricans. The efforts put forth by the Anglo-Americans in massively educating the islanders through the public schools resulted in the strengthening of Spanish literacy (Vélez, 2000). The rise in knowledge of American culture and of English literacy that the Anglo-Americans expected did not occur (Torres-González, 2002). In 1949 with the first Puerto Rican elected governor, Spanish became the language of instruction. Mariano Villaronga, the Secretary of Instruction at the time, established through an executive order that the
language of instruction in all public schools would be Spanish and that English would be taught as a preferential subject in all grades beginning in August of 1949 (Torres-González, 2002; see Table 2.4).

Meanwhile, the fact that Spanish had become the language of instruction on the island in public schools brought about an increase in the number of private schools available on the island during the 1950s and 1960s. Most private schools purposely used English as their language of instruction. Those who attended these schools were, for the most part, of upper- and middle-class backgrounds. Their parents wanted their children to learn the language of power, English, and viewed this learning as a way towards economic success. Saint Andrew’s fell under this category at the time and more Puerto Rican students entered the school.

Also during this time and throughout the next decades, Puerto Rico changed from an agricultural and rural society to an industrial and urban society (Torres-González, 2002). With North American capital, administrative, professional, technical and financial opportunities were opening up in newly created companies throughout the island, and the use of English became a priority. Still, for most of the Puerto Rican people English remains in the receptive levels of development. For example, television is a major influence on islanders today. With access to digital cable television and other electronic technology, many Puerto Ricans listen to English language programs and work with electronic technology where English is dominant. This access generally influences the reading and listening levels of biliteracy. Although English is regarded highly by many islanders, only a small segment of its people develop the productive (speaking and writing) skills to communicate effectively. This proficiency is usually, although not
always, found among privileged classes. On the other hand, Spanish is the language that predominates in public schools, social settings, governmental meetings, work and environments. In fact, the receptive-productive and oral-written development of Spanish increased markedly in Puerto Rico during this period and, to this day, it continues to be the language of communication on the island (Torres-González, 2000, 2002; Vélez, 1999, 2000).

In summary, the island of Puerto Rico went through (1) a segregationist program (see Table 2.1) imposed by the Spanish colonizers, (2) an unsuccessful transitional bilingual education program during the first half of the twentieth century imposed by the United States, and (3) a successful Spanish language program after 1949. Since the 1950s the policy of public schools on the island is Spanish with English taught as a preferential subject; the learning of English is still seen by some as losing their vernacular and their identity (Department of Education, 2003).

The authors of the English curricular framework of the Department of Education (2003) in Puerto Rico have concluded that

> the teaching and learning of English in Puerto Rico must move away from the concept of a subtractive approach. The pedagogy must vigorously move forward towards an additive approach where the learning of English as a second language is genuinely perceived as desirable additional knowledge, which will open up new opportunities for learners, and will not be seen as a socio-psychological or political threat (p. 9).

Although the efforts that would allow for additive bilingualism or biliteracy seem well intentioned, some of the people of the island of Puerto Rico have not healed from the scars created by the imposition of English in public schools during the first half of the
20th century and may not see the advantages of this bilingualism or biliteracy (Pousada, 1999).

Puerto Rican scholars as well as the upper and upper-middle classes believe bi(multi)lingualism to be an asset for the islanders (Molina Iturrondo, 1999; Pousada, 1996; Torres-González, 1999, 2002). It is also well established that bilinguals carry advantages over monolinguals (Christ, 1997; Cummins, 2000, 2006 and Corson, 1999). Spanish and English are powerful sources of literacies in Puerto Rico. Spanish is the language of communication of most of its people, and English is the language of communication of the United States. Given the political situation, there is a need, for at least some people, to be biliterate. That is, the United States has had control over many of the political decisions made in Puerto Rico. Since 1948, the Puerto Ricans were allowed more authority by electing their own governor. Puerto Ricans need to be able to negotiate with the Anglo-Americans regarding political decisions. Still, no more than 30% speak English fluently (Torres-González, 2002).

**Elite Bilingual Education**

Contrary to many bilingual education studies where many schools’ population comes from low socioeconomic backgrounds, the population of the school examined here is of high socioeconomic status. Few studies exist regarding bilingualism and the affluent. Given that the school to be investigated is considered an elite and bilingual school in Puerto Rico, I highlight some of Mejía’s (2002) work related to elite bilingual schools. Mejía (2002) observes that a change in perception towards bi(multi)lingual education is occurring, mainly due to job opportunities and socioeconomic progress (see also Freeman, 2007). Becoming bi(multi)lingual is equated by some nations in South
East Asia, Africa (South Africa) and South America (Perú) with social prestige and economic advancement (Mejía, 2002; Hornberger, 2006b, 2007). Amongst the educational environments that she presents, I previously described three that are comparable to the setting of study, namely, the International Schools Movement, the European School Movement and the Canadian Immersion Education Programs. The Canadian immersion programs differ from the other two in terms of student demographics. As previously mentioned, the people supporting this type of program are locals and from the middle and upper-middle classes. In the European and International Schools, the families who lead the creation of these programs relocate frequently and come from the upper echelons.

Saint Andrew's School: The Site of Study

Saint Andrew’s School shares similarities with the three environments described by Mejía (2002). Like International Schools, Saint Andrew’s was created to serve a monolingual English population at the time of its founding in 1915. Its first students were immigrant children, mainly Anglo-American, whose parents had moved to Puerto Rico for either colonization purposes or religious missions. Most likely they had moved because Puerto Rico had become a territory of the United States a decade and a half earlier after the Spanish-American War (Pousada, 1996; Resnick, 1993; Torres-González, 2002). Bishop Colemore, an Episcopalian bishop, moved from the United States to Puerto Rico with his family of five daughters to do missionary work. I assume that Bishop Colemore did not find an adequate school for his children because he wanted one with a religious focus. At this time, English was the language of instruction in the public schools of the island. Bishop Colemore founded Saint Andrew’s School in 1915.
English serves as the language of instruction, yet Spanish has been part of the curriculum since its conception (Harding, 1920; Ricciardi, Karon, Schenquerman & Woger, 1991; Underhill, 1968).

Akin to the Canadian immersion programs and unlike the European Schools, presently at Saint Andrew’s and throughout its existence, the Puerto Rican pupils have been and are immersed in the second language English. The community of Saint Andrew’s School regards English as a powerful language. However, from first through twelfth grades Spanish is taught as a subject in the school while French is taught as an elective course from seventh through twelfth grades.

School manuscripts regard bilingualism in Spanish and English as an asset: “Many of St. Andrew’s graduates have attained very high and important positions because of their ability to speak both languages” (Anonymous, 1940s). For Puerto Rican scholars and upper-middle and upper classes, becoming bi(multi)lingual is correlated with social and economic advancement (Molina Iturrondo, 1999; Torres-González, 1999, 2002). At the site of this study, bilingualism remains a fact of life and daily communication.

Tribute to Saint Andrew’s (Ricciardi, Karon, Schenquerman & Woger, 1991), a school pamphlet published during Saint Andrew’s 75th anniversary, reveals that in the 1930s “Saint Andrew’s becomes non-denominational with a Board of Directors composed of seven parents. The school property is at this time purchased by the patrons of the school” (Ricciardi et al., 1991, p. 23). In 1938, this arrangement was formalized with a non-profit corporation that was registered with the Office of the Executive Secretary of Puerto Rico. For the first 27 years, the school was conducted as an
elementary and junior high school. In 1942, the high school section was started with grade 9; in 1954, grade 10 was added; in subsequent years, a complete college preparatory program at the secondary level from 9th to 12th grades was developed. The first high school class graduated in 1957 (Ricciardi et al., 1991).

The student population in Saint Andrew’s School shifted throughout the decades. In Saint Andrew’s beginnings, foreign students comprised at least 50% of the student population. Currently Saint Andrew’s School has an enrollment of approximately 750 students from pre-kindergarten through twelfth grade. According to the school website, “84% come from Hispanic backgrounds, 8% from diverse backgrounds and 8% from continental United States” (Saint Andrew’s School Resources, 2008).

The school is located in an urban area of an affluent neighborhood in Puerto Rico. Trees line the sidewalks of the school. Two parks are in walking distance from Saint Andrew’s. Across the street, there are professional offices, public parking, shops, a hospital, restaurants and a condominium. On each side of the school, there are stores and offices. Behind the school, there is another private school. Saint Andrew’s is located one block away from beach. If it was not for the city noise, one could hear the waves from school.

Three buildings that I will call building 1, building 2 and building 3 constitute the physical environment of the school. Building 1 houses pre-kindergarten, kindergarten, third, fourth and fifth grades, a faculty room, the computer and the science laboratories and music and drama rooms for the elementary grades. Building 1 also has two recreation areas: one for younger and one for older students. Female and male bathrooms are available in each of the three floors. Recently, an elevator was added to this building.
Building 2 holds the first and second grades, junior high and high school as well as the bookstore, the computer laboratory for junior and high schools, the school cafeteria, the elementary and high school libraries, a faculty room, an elevator, a recreation area, the gym, lockers along the walls and administrative offices. Building 3, called Marbella, is a recently acquired building that currently houses more administrative offices. Nairn Street separates building 1 and building 2. Building 3 is behind building 2. Saint Andrew's School purchased a fourth building next to the building 2, which is being remodeled.
Chapter 3

Research Design and Methodology

The main research question that this study sought to answer is given that English is the medium of instruction at Saint Andrew’s School, what is the role of the Spanish language in the school? The following are sub-questions: (1) what is the language policy of Saint Andrew’s School? What/Who guides this explicit or implicit policy? Why? (2) In what form does language planning exist in the school? What is the status of Spanish and English? Why? (3) What are the participants’ (i.e., students’, teachers’, administrators’, parents’) beliefs regarding bilingualism and the language of instruction at Saint Andrew’s School?

An Ethnographic Approach

Ethnographic studies concentrate on observing what goes on in a setting for an extended period of time. According to anthropologists, ethnography is a method to study culture (Lucca-Irizarry & Berrios-Rivera, 2003; Saville-Troike, 1996 & 2003; Spindler 1987; Spindler & Hammond, 2000). Spindler and Hammond (2000) and Spindler (1987) argue that ethnography involves long-term participation of more than one year and recording in a field setting. One of the reasons for long-term participation is the fact that one is studying a culture and entry into the field setting may require significant time and effort. It takes time for those being studied to become accustomed to having a researcher observe them and for the researcher to establish a comfortable relationship. Anthropologists also argue that hypotheses develop in the field and not before, and, that the volume of material collected determine a successful or unsuccessful ethnography. An anthropological ethnographer collects everything relevant to the context that she/he can.
In most instances, ethnographic study includes a combination of the following: observations, interviews, videos, tape recordings and collection of journals and materials relevant to the study (Erickson, 1986; Lucca-Irizarry & Berrios-Rivera, 2003; Spindler & Hammond, 2000). Ethnography is focused on the meanings, values and beliefs of the participants and with understanding the relationships among the actions in the context.

Hornberger (1994b) elaborates on what ethnography aims to accomplish.

An ethnography... seeks to describe the set of understandings and specific knowledge shared among participants that guide their behavior in that specific context, that is, to describe the culture of that community, classroom, event or program... [The] value of ethnography lies in its emic and its holistic view (p. 688).

The emic view refers to the description of a culture, as its members understand it (Hornberger, 1994b; Lucca-Irizarry & Berrios-Rivera, 2003). Hornberger (1994b) explains the importance of the holistic view.

   The holistic view refers to the ethnographer’s goal of creating a whole picture of the particular culture, cultural situation, or cultural event under study—a picture that leaves nothing unaccounted for and that reveals the inter-relatedness of all the component parts (p. 688).

Another important aspect of an ethnographic researcher is the etic standpoint. All researchers go into the field with assumptions. These assumptions should be presented and studied before entering the field if possible, during the fieldwork and the analysis and after the fieldwork. Freeman’s (1998) study of dual-language planning provides an example of the etic standpoint. An interviewee responded to one of Freeman’s questions with the phrase “it’s much more than language” (p. 26). This response alerted Freeman to understand that her assumptions were blocking her “ability to gain a more holistic understanding of [the] school’s bilingual program” (p. 26). Besides questioning her
assumptions, this statement led her to develop a better understanding of how the dual-language program worked in its sociopolitical context.

Finally, as explained by Saville-Troike (2003),

ethnography of communication... seeks always to discover the general from the particular, and to understand the particular in terms of the general, to see the unique event and the recurrent pattern both from the perspective of their native participants and the vantage point afforded by cross-cultural knowledge and comparison (p. 141; see also Farah, 1997).

Sociolinguists and, more specifically, linguistic anthropologists, proposed the need for the ethnography of communication as an approach to studying language and culture, where culture is expressed through language and where language is a system of cultural behaviors (Corson, 2001; Farah, 1997; Fishman, 2006b-f; Freeman, 1998; Hornberger, 1995, 2003; Hymes, 1974; Saville-Troike, 2003). Ethnography of communication questions, “what does a speaker need to know in order to communicate appropriately and to make sense of communicative situations within a particular speech community, and how does he or she learn this?” (Saville-Troike, 1996, p. 351)

My interest in finding out more about Spanish language acquisition at this school urged me to try to understand the communicative events that take place in different settings such as curriculum meetings, Spanish classes, school presentations, inforums and school activities. I also studied the attitudes, beliefs, perceptions and values that teachers, administrators and parents hold toward Spanish because they influence LPP. Given that 84% of the school's enrollment is Hispanic and that the language of instruction is English, I wanted to understand the status and uses of Spanish. It was

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4 Inforums are meetings that administrators, parents, Board of Trustees and teachers attend to be informed of the school's plans and activities. In addition, anyone may criticize and/or propose anything, and/or, express a concern.
necessary to understand the English language use and its value in order to grasp the use and value of the Spanish language at Saint Andrew's.

This ethnography of communication study explores the attitudes, beliefs, perceptions and values that the community of Saint Andrew's School has regarding language policy, language planning and bilingualism and biliteracy focusing mainly on Spanish. I adopted Freeman's (1998) conception of a socio-cultural perspective to my study. Freeman explains the importance of how such a conception can be applied to research. A "socio-cultural perspective on how languages are used, taught, and learned at school demands understanding of the cultural beliefs that underlie those practices as well as the historical and sociopolitical relations that gave rise to those beliefs and practices" (p. 84).

Over the course of six years from 2002 to 2008 and intensively for a year and a half from September 2003 to February 2005, I used the following methods to gather data in order to accomplish the type of study described above: formal and informal interviews, electronic correspondence, observation and documentation. I recorded and took fieldnotes of fifteen formal interviews, fourteen classroom observations and two curriculum meetings; videotaped school presentations (such as assemblies) and photographed school presentations. I observed and documented this educational process using available technology such as tape recorders, video cameras, still cameras, electronic correspondence, computers and notebooks. I corresponded electronically with thirteen families of the school, the middle and high school librarian, the college counselor from 1990 to 2001, the high school principal from 1980 to 1989 and two Spanish teachers who were also interviewed (see Appendix A).
In terms of my role as researcher, I had anticipated two problems in pursuing this project: (1) keeping the necessary distance that a researcher needs to fulfill her job, that is, drawing lines between friendship and research and (2) my ethnicity. As a researcher, I played two roles: the participant observer and observant participant. The role of participant observer is one who mainly observes and asks questions but does not participate in the process of doing research (Farah, 1997; Wolcott, 1987). On the contrary, the observant participant is one who participates in the process while conducting research as suggested by Freeman (1998). Due to the nature of my personality, I found it difficult to sit and simply observe without participating somehow. Although after some time, I became more comfortable in the role of participant observer. I also consider myself a friend and resource to the participants of this study and vice-versa. I became a warm, sympathetic observer and established a strong rapport with the community.

Another problem I encountered during the research relates to my Puerto Rican ethnicity. Hornberger (1994b) observes the insider/outsider dilemma which has always been present for the [ethnographer] but which presents itself acutely in current ethnographic research by minority researchers in their own communities and by teachers in their own classrooms.... The dilemma is over how to strike the best balance between insider and outsider perspectives (p. 689).

I acknowledge that I may have missed some observations because it may not have struck me as noteworthy. I believe, however, that being Puerto Rican was advantageous. As predicted, I had access to materials and information that would probably not have been given to me otherwise. Moreover, since I am a parent at the school, I receive notifications through mail, electronic mail and the school website. Overall, I have open
communication with the school community that facilitated my access to the school. I tried to balance my insider/outsider perspectives when analyzing my data and when reaching my conclusions in several ways. Initially, I compared my analysis with the current literature. I also informally shared my analysis with two of the Spanish teachers of the study, thereby engaging in a cyclical process of refining my analysis from both etic and emic perspectives in order to arrive at more credible conclusions.

**Entry into the Field**

I have been involved in different tasks within the school since 1999 when my daughter entered Saint Andrew’s School. For example, I have been room mother, substitute teacher, chaperone on school excursions and assistant in the spring musical. I also worked on the “strategic planning committee” making decisions regarding the school’s future. I communicate well with the staff (i.e., maintenance people, guards or caretakers, cafeteria workers), the administrators, the parents and the teachers. When possible, I share my views regarding education with teachers, administrators and parents of the school and I listen to their views as well.

While formally starting my research in September of 2003, I worried whether some teachers, parents and administrators would see me as intrusive, whether having access to materials would be difficult and whether the participants that I wanted in my study would feel uncomfortable knowing that my work could be published. These worries disappeared once I became more involved in the research. The participants of the study, for the most part, felt comfortable once I explained that their identities would be anonymous throughout my study and that I would use pseudonyms for each one of them. Many of the participants also knew that I could assist in making Saint Andrew’s a better
school.

Before deciding to go through with investigating language policy and language planning in this setting, I spoke briefly with a Spanish teacher who welcomed me into her classroom in September of 2003. I then spoke to another Spanish teacher who seemed excited about my research interests. After presenting my proposal in January of 2004, I requested permission from the headmaster of the school and he granted it. I did not need consent from the board. Then, I requested verbal and/or written permission from key participants (see Appendix A) of the study. In this case, parents, teachers and administrators are key participants in the decision-making process of language policy and language planning.

**Participants and Data Collection**

I conducted most of the formal research such as interviews and observations from September of 2003 to February of 2005. I interviewed the sub-secretary and the English director of the Department of Education of Puerto Rico in February of 2007. I also corresponded electronically with the families of Saint Andrew’s School in December of 2007. I collected documentation data from 2002 through 2008.

I described to key participants about how I intended to conduct the study through observations, recorded and unrecorded interviews and collection of documents, photographs and videos in the hope that they would understand my position and my research. I communicated to the participants my goals of describing their practices and perceptions in relation to language policy, language planning and bilingualism/biliteracy. In addition, I indicated my intentions to research and publish these issues for my dissertation and my desire to be a learner throughout the research. Moreover, I expressed
interest in studying language policy and language planning in Saint Andrew’s School and
asked them individually if they wanted to participate in the research. Ultimately, I
received the approval of all the participants. The participants were informed of their
option to withdraw from the research. However, no one selected that option.

I interviewed a total of seven Spanish-speaking teachers (four from elementary
school, one from middle school and two from high school; see Appendix A). In addition,
I observed one elementary school teacher six times, one middle school teacher three
times and two high school teachers three times each teaching in their classrooms. I also
interviewed the headmaster, the elementary school vice-principal and principal, the
middle school principal, the high school principal, a curriculum consultant to the school,
an ex-headmaster of the school and an ex-high school principal.

Initially, I thought that informal conversations with the parents regarding
language policy and language planning would be enough. However, while analyzing my
study, I realized that I needed more input from them and decided to prepare a
questionnaire (see Appendix B). I sent this questionnaire electronically to twenty
families and thirteen responded (see Appendix A).

I collected written documentation, such as newsletters and flyers, to back up my
data as well as my analysis. The contents of the documents allowed for a better
understanding of the school history and school personnel’s beliefs. I used my
observational data and my proposal to prepare the questions (see Appendices C-F) used
in interviews with the participants. In this project, it was crucial to interview the
participants to gain more insight into their beliefs; it was also vital to observe the teachers
and administrators in action in classrooms, at meetings and activities in order to describe
their practices.

In general, I feel that they did not see me as an intruder and they understood my intentions. I began my interviews in an open manner by collecting biographical information. Then, I would ask more theoretical questions related to language policy and planning (see Appendices C-F). I interviewed some Spanish teachers before observing them in class and vice-versa. After I finished my interviews and observations of the Spanish teachers, I transcribed my interviews and my observations with some help from a professional transcriber. During this time and up until now, if I have had questions, I have performed member checking by either asking the participant informally or corresponding through email. Below are brief biographies of the administrators and Spanish teachers that I formally interviewed at Saint Andrew’s School.

**Biographies**

**Manny Aguilar-Middle School Spanish Teacher**

Manny Aguilar was born in Spain and later came to Latin America to teach. His first stop was in Guatemala for two years and then he spent nine years in Panamá. During this time, he traveled through Central America working with Guatemalan Indians most of the time. He recalls this period as a special experience for him. Later on, he worked in Italy for one year.

In 1984, he moved to Puerto Rico. His first job on the island was at Colegio Marista where he spent approximately six years as a teacher. Then, he arrived at Saint Andrew’s School where he has been teaching for thirteen years. He has dedicated his life to that of an educator because of his passion for teaching. At night, he teaches at the

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5 The participants’ names are pseudonyms.
Central University of Bayamón. He is a middle school teacher and currently as of 2007 teaches seventh and eighth grades.

**Luis Collazo—Headmaster from 1974-1991**

Mr. Collazo is the headmaster of a school called The American School in Switzerland (TASIS) in Dorado, Puerto Rico. My interest in interviewing him came from the fact that he was the headmaster in Saint Andrew's School from 1974 to 1991.

**Robert Font—Headmaster from 2001-Present**

Robert Font is the director of Saint Andrew's School. He is a native of Connecticut who studied in local public schools and later enrolled at Duke University where he received his B.A. in history. After teaching for a number of years, he pursued his master's degree in administration from University of Hartford and then his Ed.D. degree from Illinois State University with the goal of becoming a principal and then a superintendent of schools. However, while pursuing his doctorate, he became assistant director and then acting director and then director of the University High School, Laboratory School, which was a department within the College of Education. After finishing his doctorate, he became principal of a high school in Evanston, Illinois. After three years, he became superintendent of public schools in a small town in New York. He remained in New York for 21 years and took early retirement from New York State.

Wanting a change, Robert traveled overseas to become headmaster of an international school in Malaysia. After four years, he worked as a consultant in a strategic planning company for education purposes. Then, he had the opportunity to interview for a job as headmaster at Saint Andrew's School in Puerto Rico. He says that the Board of Directors was looking for people to do certain things and he “apparently met
their qualifications, came here and [he has] been [in Puerto Rico] ever since... This [he says] would be [his] last school... [He doesn’t] see [him]self coming here and doing something else.” In his first year at Saint Andrew’s he taught a leadership seminar in high school.

_Tita González-Elementary School Spanish Teacher_

Tita González was born and raised in Puerto Rico. She graduated from a local private school in Puerto Rico. Upon graduation, Tita went to a university in the United States. However, she missed her family too much and returned to Puerto Rico. She finished her bachelor’s degree in elementary education at the Sacred Heart University in Puerto Rico. After graduating, the schools’ semester was half way through so she worked as a substitute teacher at Saint Andrew’s elementary school primarily in Spanish classes. Later on, she applied for a job as a regular teacher at three schools and Saint Andrew’s offered her a position in the elementary Spanish department. She is currently finishing her second year as a Spanish teacher.

_Mercy Herrera-High School Spanish Teacher_

Mercades was born in Cuba. She left Cuba when she was around 16 years old. She studied in a Catholic school in Omaha, Nebraska. Then, she worked in public and private schools while studying to be a teacher. After four years of teaching at a private school, she moved to Puerto Rico.

Mercades tells the story of a Cuban teacher in Nebraska that instilled in her many of the values that shape her teaching today. Mercades says teaching is like the priesthood, meaning that it is a profession that calls for a strong feeling of suitability or vocation. She has been teaching at Saint Andrew’s School for thirty-four years.
María Maldonado-Elementary School Vice-Principal

María Maldonado is a Puerto Rican who graduated from Academia Perpetuo Socorro High School. She has a bachelor’s and a master’s degree in pre-school education from Boston College. Upon returning to Puerto Rico, she worked as a first-grade English teacher in Academia San José. While at Academia San José, she was offered a job at Saint Andrew’s School for the following year and she accepted. Her job at Saint Andrew’s consisted of working as a kindergarten assistant. The following year she became a kindergarten teacher and remained as such for eleven years until a position opened to become vice-principal of the elementary school. She was offered the position and started as vice-principal on July of 2004.

Angeles Montero-Consultant to Saint Andrew’s

Angeles Montero is a Puerto Rican who obtained a bachelor’s with a concentration in elementary education and fine arts from Sacred Heart University in 1974. In 1976, she received her master’s from New York University specializing in art education. In 1982 she received her Ed. D. from Boston University in early childhood education. Later in 1985, Angeles finished post-doctoral studies in human development at Harvard University.

While a university student, she taught in several colleges and day care centers. She became a researcher in 1979 and continued until 2000. Since 1985, she has held several positions at the School of Education at the University of Puerto Rico. In 2004, she became the dean of the School of Education of the University of Puerto Rico, a position that she has held up until 2008.
Throughout her life, Angeles has presided over several education-related committees at the University of Puerto Rico and with the government of Puerto Rico. She has presented in numerous conferences since 1984 in and outside of Puerto Rico. Angeles has also authored several children’s books and published many articles in well-known Puerto Rican journals and newspapers. In addition, Angeles Molina became a consultant to Saint Andrew’s School in curriculum and assessment areas.

**Daniela Noel-High School Principal until 2007**

Daniela Noel, after graduating from high school, went to a state college where she majored in Spanish and history. She pursued a graduate degree in Pan-American studies at the University of Pennsylvania. While at the University of Pennsylvania, she met her husband, a Puerto Rican who was studying to become a lawyer. When they finished their degrees, they married and moved to Puerto Rico.

In Puerto Rico, Daniela and her husband taught at the Catholic University of Ponce in their respective strengths, history and law. In addition to serving as the principal of Saint Andrew’s School, she taught a course in Advanced Placement (AP), which prepares high school students for university-level studies.

**Victoria Otero-High School Spanish Teacher**

Before arriving to Saint Andrew’s, Victoria taught Spanish courses for about seven years in Washington, D.C. The school where she taught required that the students learn a second language and many of them chose Spanish. Spanish seemed to be in great demand due to the large Latin American population living in Washington, D.C. Additionally, some of her students were from Latin America. Victoria Otero teaches three SSL classes and two regular Spanish classes in the high school at Saint Andrew’s.
Roger Smith—Middle School Principal from 2002 until 2005

Roger Smith was born in the United States. He grew up in New York and graduated from high school in New York City. During his childhood, his parents traveled frequently. As a young child, he lived in Italy. As a teenager, he lived for one year in France. He went to college in Ohio that offered an alternative program where for one semester he would work and for one semester he would take courses. He taught in a New York City elementary school. However, since he developed a passion for traveling, he started teaching at different international schools to mix his love for teaching and traveling. The first international school he taught in was in Brazil, where he met his wife. They then traveled to international schools in Turkey, England and Puerto Rico.

Angie Thompson—Elementary School Principal

Angie Thompson was born in Puerto Rico in 1963. She studied up until second grade in Buchanan School. Then, her family moved to Illinois for four years where she studied from third until sixth grades. At the time, bilingual schools were nonexistent in the town where they lived so she was immersed in English. After those four years, the family returned to Puerto Rico. Angie finished high school at Cupeyville School.

Her studies continued at Oral Roberts University, a school well known for its education program. She finished a bachelor’s degree in Special Education and Elementary Education. Upon finishing, she did her internships in Oklahoma in special education and in Puerto Rico focusing on elementary education.

She has taught in Texas and California. In California, she taught in a bilingual experimental program. After six years in Los Angeles, she and her husband decided to move to Puerto Rico. In 1993, she began teaching in Saint Andrew’s School. When she
entered her pre-kindergarten classroom, she realized that she could not teach in the format prepared for the children, that is, 29 pre-kindergarten children in a classroom and 29 desks. Angie revolutionized Saint Andrew’s elementary school. By the next year, the school had two pre-kindergarten classrooms with 15 students each. The classroom arrangement was completely different. They had an area of tables with child-sized chairs and an area with rugs and pillows. These areas were called learning centers. At times, the teacher read stories while they were sitting on the rug. Other times, they would color at their tables.

Angie offered many workshops to the teachers, for example, on how to work in small groups and how to setup centers. She taught for two years and was offered the vice-principal position, which she took. She remained in this position for seven years. This year is her first year as principal of the elementary school.

**Valentina Valdés-Elementary School Spanish Teacher**

Valentina Valdés teaches five Spanish courses in elementary school. She is a mid-aged woman whose daughter graduated from Saint Andrew’s in 2005. She has been teaching elementary Spanish for at least 9 years.

**Mayra Vélez-Elementary School Teacher**

Mayra Vélez obtained her bachelor’s degree in sociology from the University of Puerto Rico and her master’s degree in pre-school education from the University of Phoenix in Guaynabo, Puerto Rico. Upon graduation, she worked as a teacher assistant at a children’s center and the following four to five years as an administrator at the same pre-school. She then left the administration position to teach kindergarten for one year at Colegio La Merced, where she had graduated from high school. Currently, she has been
at Saint Andrew's School for almost a year. She mentions that previously she worked by herself as a teacher and that Saint Andrew's brought a significant change because now she works with all the other elementary Spanish teachers. She teaches five Spanish classes in elementary school.

**Ethical Considerations**

I would like to publish or present information related to this research project for the benefit of the Puerto Rican private school system. I have been honest in the description of the events and in my process of analysis. I use pseudonyms to preserve the anonymity of the participants, especially when presenting to a local audience. But, like Wolcott (1973) states, "readers close to the school or district in which the research [took] place probably cannot resist trying to identify personalities or to speculate about personalities where positive identification is possible" (p. 4). I believe that to share the research with the participants of the study would be best. I informally shared part of the analysis with two Spanish teachers. I also shared my data with my advisor, an invaluable resource given her experience in the field.

Erickson (1986) writes about four types of information that may be disclosed to the public in reports, namely, (1) information that is known and positively or neutrally regarded, (2) information that is known and negatively regarded, (3) information that is not known and positively regarded and (4) information that is not known and negatively regarded. To attend to these types of information, I need to be informed not only about the local meanings, perspectives and beliefs of the local audience but also about the political implications that this report may have on the very actors of the research. This is a local program and it would be almost impossible not to disclose who they are by just
using pseudonyms. Erickson's (1986) suggestion about presenting the unknown information that is negatively regarded within a context of information that is positively regarded is especially relevant for my study. The school community may take this in a positive manner and try to do something about it. Information that is known and negatively regarded may not be welcome in a large audience and may be damaging to interested parties. I would present this information to a small group of people especially those close to the project who could do something about changing this negative analysis. In a general audience, when presenting an anonymous study where the location is unfamiliar to the audience using pseudonyms would be appropriate.

**Framework for Data Analysis**

As previously mentioned, I find Hornberger's (2003) framework most appropriate for the analysis of my study. Hornberger’s (2003) continua of biliteracy framework and Hornberger & Skilton-Sylvester’s (2003) addendum of the content continua to the continua of biliteracy framework greatly assisted during my analysis (see Figure 3.1). In the continua of biliteracy framework, Hornberger (2003) conveys that the notion of continuum is not finite, static or discrete but that inter-relatedness exists among the different sets of the continua (see Figures 3.2 & 3.3). I analyze my research using all domains of the continua of biliteracy framework. The continua of biliterate contexts suggest that language has to be looked at within a context. Many researchers argue that one is unable to look at an instance of biliteracy without presenting the context in which the instance took place (Fishman, 2006a; Hornberger, 2003, 2006a; Saville-Troike, 2003). As stated by Hornberger, "any particular context of biliteracy is defined by the intersection of at least three continua – the micro-macro continuum, the oral-literate
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<tr>
<th>Traditionally less powerful</th>
<th>Traditionally more powerful</th>
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<tr>
<td>micro&lt;-----------------------&gt;macro</td>
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<tr>
<td>oral&lt;-----------------------&gt;literate</td>
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<td>bi(multi)lingual&lt;------------&gt;monolingual</td>
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<td><em>Development of biliteracy</em></td>
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<tr>
<td>Reception&lt;-----------------&gt;production</td>
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<td>L1&lt;-------------------------&gt;L2</td>
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<td><em>Content of biliteracy</em></td>
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<tr>
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<td>vernacular&lt;------------------&gt;literary</td>
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<td>contextualized&lt;-------------&gt;decontextualized</td>
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<td><em>Media of biliteracy</em></td>
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<td>simultaneous exposure&lt;-------&gt;successive exposure</td>
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<td>dissimilar structures&lt;------&gt;similar structures</td>
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<td>divergent scripts&lt;---------&gt;convergent scripts</td>
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Figure 3.1 Power Relations in the Continua Model (Hornberger and Skilton-Sylvester, 2003, p. 39)
Figure 3.2 Nested Relationships among the Continua of Biliteracy (Hornberger and Skilton-Sylvester, 2003, p. 36)
continuum, and the monolingual-bilingual continuum” (2003, p. 9). At the micro-macro level of context “patterns of language use are examined in the context of a situation or a speech event” (Hornberger, 2003, p. 10). At the macro-micro level of context “a particular feature of language is examined in the context of a society or a large social unit” (Hornberger, 2003, p. 10). I wanted to understand how the micro-macro level affects or is affected by the larger social units such as the Department of Education of Puerto Rico and the political party(ies) in power and the political status of the island itself. I examined the forces that influence language selection in this private school using the continua of biliteracy.

Three sub-continua comprise the continua of biliterate development: the reception-production continuum, the oral written continuum and the L1-L2 continuum. The continua of biliterate development highlights research findings that suggest that
listening and speaking do not necessarily precede reading and writing (oral-written development) and that listening and reading do not necessarily precede speaking and writing (receptive-productive development) as is often presumed (Hornberger, 2003). Instead, “receptive and productive development occurs along a continuum, beginning at any point, and proceeding, cumulatively or in spurts, in either direction” and the same occurs in the oral language-written language continuum (Hornberger, 2003, pp.15-16). The learning process could occur in any direction. In other words, listening, speaking, reading and writing are not learned discretely or in a linear path; each action offers something to the other actions. Goodman and Goodman (1983) argue that, “people not only learn to read by reading and write by writing but they also learn to read by writing and write by reading” (p. 16). In her research, Cahnmann (2003) realized that “the media involved in student output shed light on their ‘zig-zag’ development, the non-linear, back-and-forth relationship between students’ receptive (listening and reading) and productive (speaking and writing) competence in Spanish, English and both languages” (p. 195).

Hornberger and Skilton-Sylvester (2003) also note that “[w]hereas the media continua focus on the forms literacy takes, the content continua focus on the meaning those forms express... Through the content continua, biliteracy becomes linked to bicultural literacy” (p. 50). The media of biliteracy continua is made up of three sub-continua: the successive-simultaneous exposure continuum, the similar-dissimilar structures continuum, and the convergent-divergent scripts continuum. “A child who acquires two languages before age three is doing so simultaneously... One who acquires one language before age three and the other after age three is doing so successively”
A child who learns a language that is linguistically related to her first language may make use of similar structures and convergent scripts. Studies have shown that "the more characteristics two orthographic systems have in common, the greater or more immediate the potential for transfer of reading skills or strategies" (Hornberger, 2003, p. 24); while others note that "when students are learning to read in two languages at the same time, different writing systems appear to lead to less interference than do similar writing systems" (Hornberger, 2003, p. 24). It is possible that when the writing systems are similar, the potential for both 'transfer' and 'interference' is high.

The ways in which the languages are mixed are varied and complex. In the Saint Andrew's School context, a mix of Spanish and English occurs. This mixing has been called code-switching, codemixing, language borrowing and transfer by academics. Although codemixing refers to one word or a few words in a sentence change, like 'leo un magazine' and codeswitching has been used to refer to a phrase in one language followed by a phrase in another language, "Eastman (1992, p. 1) suggested: 'efforts to distinguish codeswitching, codemixing and borrowing are doomed' (cited in Baker, 2006, p. 110)." For example, Spanglish is a mixture of Spanish and English. This mixture can be code-switching where one or more Spanish words are used with one or more English words moving freely from one language to another; "translation of an English expression into Spanish using English syntax ('Te llamo para atrás' for 'I'll call you back'); and straight phonetic translation (children's cold remedy Vick's VaporRub becomes "bibaporú")" (Johnson, 2006, p.1). Pousada (1994) refers to Spanglish as loanwords, that is, extensive use of English loanwords or code-switches into English, which consist
primarily of nouns (although it is also possible to borrow verbs or adjectives) from one
language, which have been completely or partially integrated into the phonology and
morphology of another language. Sometimes codeswitching, or transfer conveys
acceptance or disapproval depending upon the situation or setting, as well as bring about
positive or negative attitudes. Baker (2006) poses twelve overlapping purposes of
codeswitching:

(1) Code-switches may be used to emphasize a particular point in a
conversation.… (2) If a person does not know a word or phrase in a language, that
person may substitute a word in another language. This often happens because
bilinguals] use different languages in different domains of their lives.… (3)
Words or phrases in two languages may not correspond exactly and the bilingual
may switch to one language to express a concept that has no equivalent in the
culture of the other language.… (4) Codeswitching may be used to reinforce a
request.… (5) Repetition of a phrase or passage in another language may also be
used to clarify a point.… (6) Codeswitching may be used to express identity,
communicate friendship or family bonding.… (7) In relating a conversation held
previously, the person may report the conversation in the language or languages
used.… (8) Codeswitching is sometimes used as a way of interjecting into a
conversation. A person attempting to break into a conversation may introduce a
different language.… (9) Codeswitching may be used to ease tension and inject
humor into a conversation.… (10) Codeswitching often relates to a change of
attitude or relationship.… (11) Codeswitching can also be used to exclude
people from a conversation.… (12) In some bilingual situations, codeswitching
occurs regularly when certain topics are introduced (p. 111-113).

For purposes of this dissertation, I will use the words codeswitching and transfer
interchangeably. Interference, on the other hand, implies that one language is getting in
the way of another. That is, because of their similarities or convergences, a student may
use the syntax or grammar of a language incorrectly.

Hornberger and Skilton-Sylvester (2003) argue that “in educational policy and
practice regarding biliteracy, there tends to be an implicit privileging of one end of the
continua over the other such that one end of each continuum is associated with more
power than the other” (p. 38) (see Figure 3.1). They acknowledge that the weight set on both ends of the power relations of the continua could also be transformed. Ideally, in language-enrichment policies, equal weight is set on both ends of the power relations of the continua of biliteracy. My assumption was that more weight was placed on the traditionally more powerful ends of the continua of biliteracy at Saint Andrew’s School. However, a more balanced phenomenon exists where the weight shifts to the traditionally less powerful continua.

In analyzing my data using the four continua mentioned above, I tried to take each one of them separately. However, due to the intersecting relationships between development and content of language, I found it difficult to separate these continua so I presented the findings and analysis together. When analyzing my findings using the continua, I looked at my observations, interviews, electronic correspondence, document and conversation data within the context, development, content or media of biliteracy continua. I could then arrive at plausible findings. For example, the following data confirmed that an English environment permeates in Saint Andrew’s School: interviews with Spanish teachers, observing and listening in the cafeteria and the hallways of the school, interviews with the administrators, electronic correspondence with the parents, newsletters, notifications and the school web-site. All of these sources confirm that an English environment permeates at Saint Andrew’s along the context of bi(multi)literacy of Saint Andrew’s. The micro-macro, oral-literate and bi(multi)lingual-monolingual context of biliteracy ends drove me to compare the languages used in a context; where can I position a language(s) along the continua and why. I took a similar approach with the other three continua of biliteracy.
In conclusion, Hornberger’s (2003) continua of biliteracy framework is an excellent tool for analysis of bilingual/biliterate programs. It is a comprehensive structure that supports important elements regarding bilingualism/biliteracy.

My goal in these next three chapters is to answer the main research question previously mentioned. Given that English is the medium of instruction in the classroom and the school-wide language policy, what is the role of the Spanish language in the school?

I also ask the following sub-questions:

1. What is the rationale for the language policy of Saint Andrew’s School? What/Who guides this explicit or implicit policy? Why?

2. How does language planning exist in the school? What is the status of Spanish/English? Why?

3. What are the participants’ (i.e., students’, teachers’, administrators’, parents’) beliefs regarding bilingualism and the language of instruction at Saint Andrew’s School?

To answer these questions, I draw on my formal interviews, informal interviews, observations, documentation, electronic correspondence and telephone conversations. I designed a notation system to refer to the data collected in the sections that follow.

Appendix A contains a table of the people that were formally interviewed with their respective positions and the dates of their interview and the notation system used for interviews (IN: name of interviewee, date in the form of YY-MM-DD). Appendix A also contains a table of the parents that I corresponded with electronically, the date of their response and the corresponding notation for electronic mails (EM: family name, date in the form of YY-MM-DD), the telephone conversations with people that I corresponded with, the date and the corresponding notation (TC: name of person, date in
the form of YY-MM-DD), and the informal conversations with people that I corresponded with, the date and the corresponding notation (IC: name of the person, date in the form of YY-MM-DD). Appendix G contains a table with the titles of the newsletters, letters, brochures, yearbooks, pamphlets and other school material with their dates and respective notation (NS: title and year in the form of YYYY, page number if applicable). Appendix H contains a table of the data that I collected in the form of fieldnotes, mainly observations inside and outside of class, linked with their dates and their location (FN: situation, date in the form of YY-MM-DD) or, if the situation takes place in a Spanish classroom, instead of situation, I enter the teacher's name with their dates (FN: teacher's name, date in the form of YY-MM-DD).

I have provided all direct quotes below in the original language. If the quote(s) has (have) been translated the words “translation mine” appear in its reference. The brackets [] in my transcription notation include words used by me to facilitate your understanding of what went on during the dialogue. I also use *italics* for the original quotes in Spanish.

The next three chapters show the findings and analysis of my study. Chapter 4 presents the description and analysis of the context of biliteracy continua at Saint Andrew's School; Chapter 5 presents the description and analysis of the media of biliteracy continua at Saint Andrew's School; Chapter 6 presents the description and analysis of the development and content of biliteracy continua at Saint Andrew's School.

In each chapter, I briefly present evidence indicating that English is the medium of instruction of the school. As such, English is privileged over Spanish in this setting. I then focus on the role of Spanish language at the site of study. I show that Spanish is
also an important language of the school because it is the mother tongue of most students at Saint Andrew’s School.
Chapter 4

**Context of Biliteracy Continua at St. Andrew’s School**

In this chapter, I aim to describe and analyze the Saint Andrew’s School data using the context of biliteracy continua. The context of biliteracy continua is made up of three sub-continua: the macro-micro continuum, the oral-literate continuum, and the monolingual-bilingual continuum (see Figure 4.1).

\[
\text{micro} \rightarrow \text{macro} \\
\text{oral} \rightarrow \text{literate} \\
\text{bi(multi)lingual} \rightarrow \text{monolingual}
\]

Figure 4.1. The Context of Biliteracy Continua (Hornberger and Skilton-Sylvester, 2003, p. 39)

In my study I refer to the macro level of context as the English-language environment in which the children are immersed and to the micro level of context as the Spanish language domain within this immersion context. The oral context of biliteracy revolves around the use of spoken language; whereas the literate context is concerned with reading and/or writing of a language. The use of two languages denotes a form of bilingualism. When adding the written form, biliteracy occurs. Consequently, a bi(multi)lingual context entails the use of two languages or more, be it in spoken and/or in written form. A monolingual context denotes the use of one language. These continua imply that instances of literacy occur within a context. A decontextualized literacy event loses its meaning. Literacy events contain verbal and non-verbal ways of communicating, attitudes, perceptions and beliefs.

To understand how the continua of biliteracy works at the school we need to
understand how decision making occurs in the context of Saint Andrew’s School. As the main stakeholders in the school, the parents influence how school matters are handled. The Board of Trustees is composed mainly of a group of parents whose children attend Saint Andrew’s School. Many of them are also alumni of the school. With the input from parents, outside of school consultants, research, history, the school administration and faculty, recommendations are made that are generally accepted by the headmaster, the school principals and the faculty who, in turn, carry out those directives. Regarding the context of biliteracy continua, the school settings for instruction are provided by the headmaster, the school principals and its faculty (see Figure 4.2 below).

![Organizational Chart of Saint Andrew's School](image)

**Figure 4.2. Organizational Chart of Saint Andrew’s School (Saint Andrew’s School Directory, 2007-2008)**

As mentioned before, Saint Andrew’s School was founded to cater to the North American English-speaking population that was arriving in Puerto Rico at the beginning of the 20th century after the Spanish-American War ended in 1898. Naturally, English (L1) was the medium of instruction of the school. English was also, supposedly, the language of instruction in the public schools of the island as well. Presumably, when

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6 Other positions exist in the school. However, these are the relevant ones for this study.

7 In the Saint Andrew’s School context, L1 is English and L2 is Spanish.
Bishop Colemore did not find an adequate school for his daughters in 1915, he desired a school with a suitable religious setting. Additionally, Mr. Luis Collazo, the headmaster from 1974-1990, mentioned that Saint Andrew’s was created to fill the religious void of the Episcopal families that were arriving in Puerto Rico from the United States and wanted their children to study in a school with an Episcopalian background (IN: Collazo, 03-10-09). It is curious to note that, at a time when the United States was trying to impose English as the language of instruction in Puerto Rican schools, Spanish (L2)\textsuperscript{8} was being taught at Saint Andrew’s School as a foreign language (Harding, 1920).

In the 75\textsuperscript{th} year celebration of the Saint Andrew’s School inception, Ana Maria Valdés de Saldaña, a 1920 graduate, wrote, “[t]he Spanish teacher was the famous writer Carolina Marcial Dorado. By [third grade], we were all bilingual” (Ricciardi, Karon, Schenquerman & Woger, 1991, p. 22; underlining mine). The underlined statement dazzled me because during the 1920s the Anglo-Americans were making big efforts to assimilate the Puerto Rican population to the Anglo-American culture and the English language. At this school, where most of the students were of Anglo descent, these students seemed to be proud of learning Spanish. Also, the previous statements lead me to believe that this English-speaking population understood that the learning of Spanish was an important tool if their purpose was to communicate with the islanders and participate actively in the community. Saint Andrew’s School members were part of a group of missionaries whose purpose was to educate a community, academically and religiously (IN: Collazo, 03-10-09). Nevertheless, English as the language of instruction

\textsuperscript{8} Ibid.
has always been the language policy at Saint Andrew’s School. Moreover, Spanish has
always been the language of communication of the island.

**English in the Context of Saint Andrew’s School**

As mentioned earlier, Spanish and English represent the languages of powerful
literacies in Puerto Rico. Spanish carries prestige because it is the language of
communication of most Puerto Ricans. English is considered powerful because Puerto
Rico is a territory of the United States. To know both languages is an asset for those
who travel to/from the United States in search of a “better life”, to attend colleges and
universities and/or, for economic reasons (Torres-González, 2002).

My electronic correspondence and informal conversations with the parents of
Saint Andrew’s School (see Appendix A) revealed the following: (1) these parents
believe that this school’s education will allow their children to have better chances in
life; (2) these parents value the English language and want their children to be proficient
in this language; (3) these parents recognize the importance that the English language
has nationally and internationally, and (4) these parents value the Spanish language and
want their children to be proficient in their mother tongue while recognizing that English
is the language policy of the school (EM: Geddes, 07-09-18; EM: Latimer, 07-09-17;
EM: Lizmore, 07-09-17; EM: Moreno, 07-09-25; EM: Ramos, 07-09-17; EM: Romero,
07-09-26; EM: Saltz, 07-09-21; EM: Shannon, 07-09-17; EM: Sutton, 07-09-25; EM:
Virgo, 07-09-26). In addition, their interaction with North America and elsewhere is
substantial. Many travel extensively, nationally and internationally, most own
businesses and/or have attained degrees in highly regarded professions and many are
alumni of Saint Andrew’s School and/or have attended universities in the United States.
Parents believe that this school's education will allow their children better chances in life

In electronic correspondence, a parent describes her experience in Saint Andrew’s as follows:

QUESTION: Do you believe in the school’s preparation for college/university? Why?

ANSWER: From the first weeks of my 1st child’s days at [Saint Andrew’s School], he always came home with a smile, ready to do homework and learn more, and ready to go back the next day. [Saint Andrew’s School] continued building and fulfilling his unique and ever questioning desire to learn and know more about everything that interested him. They helped to cement his desire for knowledge continuously. I can see the fruits today as he has received many letters from potential universities, including 8 of the top 10 Ivy League schools, and has great plans to continue with his studies and life (EM: Reyes, 07-09-18).

A high percentage of Saint Andrew’s graduates attend universities in the United States (see any of the Saint Andrew’s School newsletters in Appendix G for more information). In a brochure published for the school’s 90th anniversary celebration, two quotes support the previous statement: “For nearly a century, the name Saint Andrew’s has been synonymous with academic excellence... [and] Saint Andrew’s is proud of [its] history of top college acceptances in the United States each and every year” with a picture showing the banners of some of the colleges where Saint Andrew’s students have been accepted to (namely, Yale, Harvard, Princeton, University of Pennsylvania, Georgetown, Colombia, John Hopkins, Colby, Stanford, Williams, Cornell, MIT, Bard, Chicago, Duke, Brown, Boston University, Boston College, University of Puerto Rico, Tufts, Amherst and Dartmouth among others; see Figure 4.3 below).
For nearly a century, the name Saint John’s has been synonymous with academic excellence.

Saint John’s is proud of our history of top college acceptances each and every year.

Many of Saint Andrew’s School’s parents expect their children to attend colleges or universities (EM: Garfield, 07-09-20; EM: Latimer, 07-09-17; EM: Lizmore, 07-09-17; EM: Ramos, 07-09-17; EM: Reyes, 07-09-18; EM: Rice, 07-09-17; EM: Romero, 07-09-26; EM: Shannon, 07-09-17; EM: Sutton, 07-09-25; EM: Virgo, 07-09-26). Some already have students at the college or university level and are content with their children’s primary and secondary education (EM: Garfield, 07-09-26; EM: Geddes, 07-09-18; EM: Lizmore, 07-09-17). One of Saint Andrew’s goals is to prepare the students academically to enter the university of their choice. A “Strategic Planning” brochure published during the academic year 2003-2004 states that: “We will revise and align the curriculum and develop an assessment plan to ensure that all of our students meet our strategic objectives while maintaining our traditional strengths as an English speaking, college preparatory school committed to academic excellence” (NS: Strategic Planning...
At Saint Andrew’s School, English is viewed as a vehicle to economic success. The Saint Andrew’s School’s newsletters from 2002-2007 (see Appendix G) present an “Alumni Corner” section which lists the professions of some of the graduates. Some are employed with multinational companies, such as Motorola, Time, Merck Sharp and Dome, IBM and UBS. Many of these graduates work in the United States and globally. For example, a 2001 graduate works at the American Embassy in Bangladesh (NS: 2004, p. 15), a 1989 graduate is an attorney in Florida (NS: 2004, p.15), another graduate presides over UBS of Puerto Rico, an international banking institution based in Switzerland (NS: 2006-2007), a 1970 graduate works at the IBM Corporation as a Director and Executive IT Architect and has five patent applications in progress (NS: 2006-2007). These are considered successful Saint Andrew’s graduates and are purposely published in its newsletters.

**Saint Andrew’s Parents Value the English Language**

Saint Andrew’s parents value the English language (IN: Font, 04-09-30; IN: Thompson, 04-10-04; FN: 4th grade bake sale, 03-10-08). Most students come from homes where Spanish is their native language, and these parents decide to enroll their children in this particular school so that they can become proficient in English.

In addition, my interviews with the administration of the school, its Spanish teachers and an outside consultant to the school point to the English language as a medium of instruction at Saint Andrew’s School in the twenty-first century as one reason for the students’ success. The headmaster of the school (IN: Font, 04-06-30) stresses that
all of the courses at Saint Andrew's should be taught in English except for the Spanish class.

Font: I think in class with the exception of the Spanish class, they should be speaking English and speaking primarily from the perspective of Saint Andrew's because this is part of our, this is what defines us, our mission, it is an English learning/speaking instruction [school] (IN: Font, 04-06-30).

The former high school principal believed that Saint Andrew's is and should remain a college preparatory English-speaking school.

Noel: Para mí eso es parte. Saint Andrew's es una escuela que habla inglés con la meta de que cada estudiante que vaya a los Estados Unidos no hay otra manera de hacerlo, tiene que aprender el inglés bien (IN: Noel, 04-09-09).

Noel: To me that is part. Saint Andrew's is an English speaking school with the objective that each student has the opportunity of going to [university] in the United States; there's no other way of doing it. [The student] has to learn English well (IN: Noel, 04-09-09, translation mine).

The elementary school principal expressed that English teaching is part of what Saint Andrew's is in this statement.

Thompson: El rol del inglés en la escuela está escrito porque nuestra descripción de la escuela dice que 'this is an English-speaking preparatory school', o sea que eso está bien claro. (IN: Thompson, 04-10-04)

Thompson: The role of English is already stated because our description of the school says that this is an English-speaking preparatory school, so this is very clear. (IN: Thompson, 04-10-04, translation mine)

A curriculum consultant for more than six years at Saint Andrew's understood the following:

Montero: Saint Andrew's es una escuela de inmersión de inglés. No es una escuela bilingüe. Es lo que se llama noventa-diez [90-10], o sea, 90% inglés 10% español (IN: Montero, 05-02-12).

Montero: Saint Andrew's is an English immersion school. It is not bilingual school. It is what is called ninety-ten [90-10], that is, 90% English 10% Spanish (IN: Montero, 05-01-12, translation mine)
Upon entering Saint Andrew's School, Otero, a ninth grade Spanish teacher, thought that the school was a bilingual one. When she began teaching at the school, she realized that English was the language of instruction.

Malaret: ¿Cuál es la política del lenguaje en Saint Andrew's para ti?
Otero: Yo como soy nueva, yo juraba todo este tiempo que era una escuela bilingüe, no fue hasta entrar acá y enseñar que me doy cuenta de que no lo era y entonces me encuentro rápido con quejas de padres pidiendo que por favor le diéramos importancia al español y que trabajásemos la gramática y la ortografía porque por muchos años no se trabajaba. Toda persona, todo estudiante que entra aquí, todo padre que pone su niño acá tiene que estar bien consciente de que la escuela es una escuela americana y que el español es una de tantas, una de las muchas materias, no es la principal y que nada más vas a tener esos 45 minutos de tiempo para practicarlo y trabajararlo (IN: Otero, 04-04-05).

In summary, according to the administration (IN: Font, 04-06-30; IN: Noel, 04-09-09; IN: Maldonado, 04-09-30; IN: Thompson, 04-10-04), the teachers (IN: González, 04-05-14; IN: Otero, 04-04-05), a consultant (IN: Montero, 05-02-12), and other personal communications, English language instruction is the language policy at Saint Andrew's School. One of the many letters received by parents (Appendix P) substantiate this evidence. All of the written communication that is mailed by the school to the parents is written in English with the exception of the information sent by the Spanish teachers. The Saint Andrew's School website is in English. The English language policy of the school has been emphasized throughout its ninety years of existence.

Yet, though not a bilingual school, it appears to strive for bilingualism in English and Spanish (IN: Otero, 04-04-05; IN: González, 04-05-14; IN: Font, 04-06-30; IN:
Upon graduation from high school, many parents expect their children to be able to communicate well in Spanish (EM: Geddes, 07-09-18; EM: Latimer, 07-09-17; EM: Lizmore, 07-09-17; EM: Ramos, 07-09-17; EM: Romero, 07-09-26; EM: Shannon, 07-09-17); some have already observed their children's utilization of both languages (EM: Geddes, 07-09-18); and others worry about their children's level of biliteracy (EM: Reyes, 07-09-18; EM: Rice, 07-09-17). For example, Rice pointed out that English is the language used in the home. Her children use English as the language of communication at home and at school. She would have preferred a Spanish language policy school. However, since she teaches at Saint Andrew's School, it is convenient for her husband and her to keep the children in this school.

**Spanish in the Context of Saint Andrew's School**

Every child's level of biliteracy depends upon a number of factors. For instance, the environment where the language(s) is (are) learned should be suitable for the learning of a language. A healthy development of biliteracy in a school depends upon the role played by the administration, teachers, and parents. Below, I describe the role of Spanish language along the context of the biliteracy continua in Saint Andrew's School.

I present this section in four time periods: Spanish at Saint Andrew's from its inception until 1974; Spanish at Saint Andrew's from 1974 through 1991; Spanish at Saint Andrew's from 1991 through 2001; and Spanish at Saint Andrew's from 2001 through 2007. I do this for two reasons: (1) before 2001, I obtained limited information regarding Spanish's role along any of the continua of biliteracy; (2) from 1974 through 2007, the school's headmasters with the Board of Trustees' support seem to have
defined the setting (conducive/less conducive to learning) in which the Spanish language
developed; and these periods correspond to the change in headmasters.

**Spanish valued at Saint Andrew’s: 1915-1974**

I obtained from the school archives several typed and hand-written manuscripts on
the history of the school as well as some newsletters written by former students, teachers
and administrators during this time period concerning Saint Andrew’s School. I was
also able to ask a few alumni some informal questions. Even though the levels of
literacy are not clearly defined in the written material, it does define the advantages of
biliteracy attained by the students.

This written information led me to the following assumptions. In the introduction
chapter, I mentioned the importance given to bilingualism in the 1920s. The author of
one manuscript considered herself a bilingual person by the third grade. By the 1940s
some school newsletters and newspapers pointed at bilingualism as an asset, and
indicated that many of Saint Andrew’s graduates had attained highly coveted positions
because of their bilingual ability. In the 1950s, “Senator César Chávez of California,
state[d] that Saint Andrew’s School [was] the only bilingual school of its kind in the
world” (Ricciardi et al., 1991, p. 24). In a 1968 newspaper article that appeared in *The
San Juan Star*, bilingualism was depicted as a positive feature of Saint Andrew’s School
graduates. The front-page headline of one of Saint Andrew’s newsletter, dated April of
1969, read “Spanish is taking over” (NS: 1969, p.1). The same newsletter showed that
two plays and a recital were to be presented in Spanish to the parents of Saint Andrew’s
School. Moreover, the May-June 1969 newsletter writes of a successful Spanish recital
(NS: 1969-2, p. 2). An alumna, mother of three Saint Andrew’s School graduates, told
me in conversation that she arrived at Saint Andrew’s in 9th grade and that Spanish was as strong as it is now. She studied at Saint Andrew’s from the late 1960s through the early 1970s. The praise and promotion of Spanish leads me to believe that the learning of Spanish was a positive aspect during the first 65 years of Saint Andrew’s School’s existence.

**Spanish strengthened at Saint Andrew’s: 1974-1991**

For this interval of time, I acquired more written information and more interview information than with the previous time period. For example, I interviewed the headmaster, communicated electronically with the high school principal from 1980 to 1989, and interviewed and observed the class of a high school Spanish teacher who had taught at Saint Andrew’s School at that time. I also obtained written information such as newsletters and brochures.

In 1974 a new headmaster was hired. Apparently, he arrived at a time of crisis: “a situation of liberalism, lack of discipline, drugs, and absenteeism prevailed in the school”; the Anglo American population was leaving the island, and the Puerto Rican families were removing their children from the school due to the situation (IN: Collazo, 03-10-09, translation mine). The Board of Trustees was considering closing the high school if the crisis worsened. The new headmaster set out to find an answer to the crisis. He met with the Board of Trustees and told them what he thought would keep the school from closing: “the only thing that will save this school from closing is for the Puerto Rican community to adopt this school, that this school becomes a Puerto Rican school” (IN: Collazo, 03-10-09, translation mine). What Collazo meant by a Puerto Rican school is a school composed of mainly Puerto Rican natives. The Board supported him and the
After Mr. Luis Collazo, the headmaster, entered the school, more native students became part of the school and Spanish became more relevant (IN: Collazo, 03-10-09; EM: Méndez, 07-02-12). In terms of the context of biliteracy continua, the Spanish language strengthened during this period. Although the Spanish department’s situation looked grim upon his arrival (IN: Collazo, 03-10-09), with the help of the Board of Trustees, the elementary school principal, and the Spanish teachers, the environment for the teaching of Spanish improved. A high school Spanish teacher, wrote: “in [the betterment of Spanish], being Puerto Rican [referring to the ethnicity of the headmaster at the time], contributed significantly. He applauded all the efforts realized in any area of schooling, and especially in Spanish” (EM: Herrera, M., 06-09-29, translation mine).

In addition, Mr. Collazo pointed to four components discussed below that assisted him in the creation of a suitable environment for Spanish language development (IN: Collazo, 03-10-09). I point to the headmaster of the school at the time as a fifth component because without his motivation this environment would not have been possible.

1. The board of trustees:

Collazo: Yo me siento con un maestro de español y con los directores y les digo ‘miren, [a] esta escuela lo único que la va a salvar es el que la comunidad de Puerto Rico [acoja] esta escuela, de que esta escuela sea una escuela puertorriqueña. Y [creamos] estrategias para bregar con eso (IN: Collazo, 03-10-09).

Collazo: I sit with a Spanish teacher and the Board of Trustees and tell them ‘look’, the only thing that will save this school from closing is for the Puerto Rican community to adopt this school, for this school to become a Puerto Rican school. And, [we created] strategies to deal with that (IN: Collazo, 03-10-09, translation mine).

2. The elementary school principal:

Collazo: Saint Andrew’s nunca hubiera podido recuperar de la crisis en que estaba sin
Betty Harper. Yo fui el accidente del tipo joven con energía, credenciales académicas, y... puertorriqueño de una familia que los papás de Saint Andrew’s reconocían y respetaban. O sea, que era un momento crítico en que si llegan a traer un americano más probablemente no van para ningún sitio. Me trajeron a mí con muchos contactos locales lleno de juventud y entusiasmo y con Betty Harper que era el ancla de la institución. Betty era la historia colectiva; era la que conocía a todo el mundo, la que conocía el programa, la que conocía el currículo. Betty y yo trabajamos con un gran respeto todo el tiempo (IN: Collazo, 03-10-09).

Collazo: Saint Andrew’s would have never risen from the crisis that it was in without Betty Harper. I was the accident of the young guy with energy, academic credentials, and Puerto Rican from a well-respected and recognized family. That is, it was a critical situation that an Anglo-American would not have been able to fix. The school brought me, a person with a lot of local contacts, with a lot enthusiasm, and young, and with Betty Harper who was key to the institution, Betty was the collective history; everybody knew her, she knew the program [of the school], she knew the curriculum. Betty and I worked with great respect for each other all the time (IN: Collazo, 03-10-09, translation mine).

3. The teachers:

Collazo: Fueron unos maestros que respondieron al pedido [lingüístico y cultural]. Es que hay gente que tienen la vocación, la pasión, el compromiso. [A estos maestros] les encantaba lo que estaban haciendo. Tenían una lealtad inmensa a la escuela y lo que necesitaban era que alguien les diera un soplo, que alguien... los entusiasmara y les dijera que lo que ellos querían hacer estaba bien y allí en cuestión de unos cuantos años se [crearon] competencias de oratoria, todo tipo de cosas que se escribían, certámenes, el día de Puerto Rico, la noche de Puerto Rico, la semana de [las] lenguas (IN: Collazo, 03-10-09).

Collazo: These were teachers who responded to the linguistic and cultural call. There are people who have the vocation, the passion, the commitment. These teachers loved what they were doing. They were very loyal to the school and all they needed was someone who supported them, that someone would excite them and would tell them that what they wanted to do was all right, and, thereby, in a few years, oratory competitions, written material, contests, the Puerto Rican day, the Puerto Rican night, the languages’ week were developed (IN: Collazo, 03-10-09, translation mine).

4. The parents:

Collazo: Una de las estrategias era de que a ninguna familia puertorriquena le gustaba que sus hijos no aprendieran español. O sea, que querían que aprendieran inglés y tuvieran muy buen inglés pero querían que también tuvieran un buen español porque esa era la comunidad en que iban a vivir (IN: Collazo, 03-10-09).

Collazo: One of the strategies was that no Puerto Rican family liked that their children didn’t learn Spanish. That is, [they] wanted their children to learn English well, but they also wanted their children to learn Spanish well because that was the community in which they were going to live (IN: Collazo, 03-10-09, translation mine).

5. The headmaster:

Collazo: Yo era puertorriqueño ante todo, y entendía que podía haber escuelas con idioma de enseñanza en inglés, eso no me causaba ningún estrés, pero tenía que ser una escuela
que estuviera anclada en la comunidad de Puerto Rico. Por lo tanto, tenemos que responder a las necesidades, a los intereses, a la cultura [de sus miembros]. Empezamos a fortalecer el departamento de español y a insistir en que era una escuela con un idioma de enseñanza en inglés pero que el español era un idioma legítimo dentro de la escuela, que se podía hablar en la cafetería en español, que se podía enseñar la clase de educación física en español. Y [vamos a] analizar las cosas en que las personas son espontáneas. El deporte es una cosa en que a la gente el lenguaje le sale que no lo vas a controlar. Pues mira si el 'coach' y los estudiantes quieren hablar [español], porque antes todo tenía que ser en inglés, pues mira vamos a hacernos bilingües, unos hablan en inglés y otros hablan en español. A mí no me preocupa lo que hablen en la clase de educación física y no me preocupa lo que hagan en la hora de recreo ni en el almuerzo. Yo le voy a hablar a los estudiantes en inglés. Todas las asambleas y las actividades formales y el lenguaje del salón de clase tiene que ser inglés (IN: Collazo, 03-10-09).

Collazo: Above all, I was Puerto Rican, and understood that schools with a language policy of English could exist, that would not stress me out... but this school had to be anchored in the Puerto Rican community. Therefore, we must respond to the necessities, the interests, the culture [of their members]. We strengthened the Spanish department and insisted that this was an English language policy school but that Spanish was legitimate inside the school... that Spanish could be spoken in the cafeteria... that the physical education course could be taught in Spanish. And, [let's] analyze the things in which people are spontaneous. Sports is one thing in which the people are spontaneous with the language; which cannot be controlled. Well, look, if the coach and the students want to speak [Spanish], because, previously, everything had to be in English, well, then let's become bilingual. Some speak in English and others speak in Spanish. I don't worry which language they choose to speak with in the physical education class; nor do I worry about the lunch or recess times. I'm going to speak to the students in English. And, all the assemblies and the formal activities and the language policy in the classroom have to be in English (IN: Collazo, 03-10-09, translation mine).

In addition, I was able to communicate with the high school principal (1980-1989) who conveyed the following:

Méndez: Spanish was taught as a first language to all of the students who could handle it. The Spanish program was always very strong. A Spanish as a second language [SSL] program was also in place for students who needed it. While I was there, the majority of the students were native Spanish speakers and consequently, Spanish was extremely important to them and to their families (EM: Méndez9, 07-02-12).

When these five components supported the same cause within the school, the intended goals could be reached. Mr. Collazo's goal of returning the school to the community and developing a better Spanish department were accomplished with the assistance of the above mentioned components.

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9 María Méndez was the high school principal from 1980-1989.
In summary, upon the headmaster’s arrival, about 50% of the population was Anglo-American and about 50% was Puerto Rican. No Spanish communication was allowed outside of Spanish class. That is, during recess, in the hallways or when addressing anyone, English had to be utilized. After 1974, a larger Puerto Rican population entered Saint Andrew’s School (IN: Herrera, 04-09-27) resulting in positive changes for biliteracy development. The role of the Spanish language evolved during Collazo’s directorship to the point where cultural events, such as, Puerto Rican Day and Puerto Rican Night, Spanish competitions inside and outside of the school, and other courses related to Spanish were introduced and celebrated. In addition, a bilingual brochure of the school was published in the 1970s; a section was dedicated to a multicultural bilingual community in a brochure from the late 1970s and early 1980s; Saint Andrew’s School won several recognitions by the Columbia Scholastic Press Association for its Spanish literary magazine, *Perfiles* (see Figure 4.4 below).

According to Méndez, the high school principal from 1980 to 1989, Spanish was taught as a first language to native students and SSL was taught to those whose mother tongue was not Spanish. However, those non-natives that could handle regular Spanish were placed in regular Spanish.

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10 Puerto Rican night began in 1976. Ms. Herrera started it with Mr. Collazo’s support.

11 *Perfiles*, the Spanish literary magazine, “started in 1988, thanks to Mrs. Deborah Ferdman’s efforts. She was the Spanish AP professor and the twelfth grade teacher for several years [during Mr. Collazo’s directorship]... She taught a journalism course and, through this class, *Perfiles* was born” (EM: Herrera, 06-09-29, translation mine). *Perfiles* won the recognitions in 1991 and 1993 through 1999.
Spanish neglected at Saint Andrew's: 1991-2001

"Since I left, I have heard that the Spanish emphasis decreased, but I believe it has to do with the headmaster, his philosophy" (IN: Collazo, 03-10-09, translation mine).

These were the words of Mr. Collazo and he was accurate in his estimation (TC: Schneider, 07-11-03). After sixteen years of Spanish growth and an increase in biliteracy, in the 1990s, Spanish weakened with the entry of a new headmaster. Spanish was forbidden outside of Spanish class (IN: Font, 04-06-30; IN: Herrera, 04-09-27; TC: Schneider, 07-11-03). Students were not allowed to speak their mother tongue, spreading a state of English monolingualism throughout the school. Some Spanish teachers complained about the lack of importance given to the teaching of Spanish. Below, a Spanish teacher at the school during the 1990's agrees with the statements above:
Aguilar: Y cada vez se le está dando menos importancia a la clase de español. Y no solamente lo veo en cuanto al sentido de que se ha ido eliminando las clases especiales que había de español. En la escuela superior había por lo menos una o dos adicionales para que los muchachos tuviesen la oportunidad de enfatizar más en su idioma si estaban interesados. Eso se ha ido eliminando (IN: Aguilar, 04-09-07).

Aguilar: Spanish class is becoming less important to the school. And, I not only see it in the sense that special Spanish classes have been slowly eliminated. In the high school, one or two additional Spanish classes existed so that the students were able to have the opportunity to emphasize their language if they so desired. That has been eliminated (IN: Aguilar, 04-09-07, translation mine).

It seems that in the 1990s, Spanish suffered under a new directorship (IN: Aguilar, 04-09-07; IN: Font, 04-06-30). This headmaster remained at the school for ten years eliminating many of the intermediate and/or advanced courses from the school curriculum, Spanish included (IN: Aguilar, 04-09-07; EM: Herrera, 06-09-29). The exit of Dr. Becker heralded the entrance of a new headmaster, and, consequently, a new phase for the Spanish language.

**Spanish reinforced at Saint Andrew's: 2001-2008**

I collected my on-site data formally from August of 2003 through February of 2005. However, between 2001 and 2003, and, after 2005, I have obtained written data, informal interview data, telephone conversation data and electronic mail data to support the information below. This section is divided into the components I consider essential for establishing a successful context for the development of biliteracy at the school: the beliefs, attitudes and practices of the school administration, the teachers and the parents.

**Administration**

Once Dr. Becker left, the new headmaster that arrived in 2001, Dr. Font, set out to meet and understand the school community members. One of the aspects that attracted
him to the school was that most students were of Puerto Rican descent. Currently, around 90%\(^\text{12}\) of the students are Puerto Ricans (IN: Thompson, 04-10-15).

Font: I love the fact that 75% or more are Puerto Ricans. That is one of the things that attracted me (IN: Font, 04-06-30).

This headmaster believes that, previously, when the target population was Anglo-American, the acquisition of Spanish was of less importance. Given the change in population to a much larger native population, Spanish became more valued.

Font: It’s not considered appealing that maybe when the school started up early on and I think the target population was the English speaking population, it would probably be little the importance on the Spanish. Now the reverse is the case. **We are trying to celebrate the importance of Spanish** (IN: Font, 04-06-30, bold mine).

This statement reveals that Dr. Font was willing to change the way in which Spanish was viewed and taught at the school. He criticized the previous headmaster’s view of language policy, namely that English had to be used everywhere in the school except in the Spanish class.

Font: I understand that... the previous headmaster did not want the teachers speaking Spanish in the faculty room or anywhere else outside the class. I don’t think it was good and I think that is ridiculous (IN: Font, 04-06-30).

This headmaster believes that the native speakers should be able to speak their mother tongue. He accepts that they need to be comfortable in school and part of being comfortable is to not be sanctioned for speaking one’s native language, which assists these students in their identity formation.

Font: The role of Spanish in Saint Andrew’s School is to make sure that the people who are Spanish speaking maintain their ability level, to ensure that they are not only fluent but they speak the correct Spanish as well as hopefully learning the correct English. I would say also that I think it contributes to the comfort level of children in school; they are comfortable speaking Spanish. And so, the role of Spanish with Spanish speaking children in my view is to give them the comfort level in school and not feel that they are oppressed, I mean not oppressed, that English is being

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12 According to the Saint Andrew’s school website 84% of the students come from Hispanic backgrounds, 8% from diverse backgrounds and 8% from the Continental United States (Saint Andrew’s School Resources, October 30, 2007).
forced to them and that they can’t speak Spanish and that they are reprimanded for speaking Spanish; that is not the idea at all (IN: Font, 04-06-30).

This headmaster believes that part of what makes Puerto Rican students feel comfortable in the school is to allow them to communicate in their mother tongue, Spanish. Most administrators and Spanish teachers conveyed that, in the last couple of years, the Spanish language had increased in value and that the teaching/learning of it was better than in previous years (FN: Inforum, 04-03-04; FN: Spanish curriculum meeting, 04-03-11; IN: Herrera, 04-09-27; IN: Maldonado, 04-09-30; IN: Otero, 04-04-05; IN: Thompson, 04-10-15). These same interviewees also agreed that the improvement was mostly because the Puerto Rican population had increased markedly in recent years.

Below, the elementary school principal, Thompson, and her vice-principal, Maldonado pointed to the importance that Spanish had acquired in Saint Andrew’s School due to the current population served.

Thompson: English is the number one language [of the school]; now, Spanish is equally important. What happens is that all the courses are taught in English, but Spanish is a reality given that 90% or more of the students’ native language is Spanish. And, we want to give Spanish the same importance [as English] but with a lot less time dedicated to it. So, that’s our challenge (IN: Thompson, 04-10-15, bold and translation mine).

Maldonado: I understand that, although the language of instruction in the school is English, the role of Spanish is important. We now have, I would say, a Spanish-speaking population of 90%. That is, it is in our hands to teach our students not only the English language, but to make sure that they maintain the language that they bring with them to school (IN: Maldonado, 04-09-
Thompson articulated that the administration desires to give equal importance to Spanish but with much less time (i.e., 45 minutes a day) than English, and that this is their challenge. Maldonado expressed the hope that the students maintain their native language of Spanish. She goes further to say that the students who join Saint Andrew's at an early age have already been exposed to English and Spanish. In addition, most of them come from Spanish-speaking homes so it is the school’s responsibility to teach the children both languages. In that way, those who are native Spanish speakers get to keep their language. Below, the middle school principal conveys that, in his opinion, the students are completely bilingual and bicultural.

Smith: Well, I can still sort of recall when I got here and, still, I’m fully amazed that everyone is bilingual. In my opinion we are a bilingual school. It is an amazing and obscure fact that our kids for the most part they really are so comfortable with both languages. They may have a preference for one but, I’m amazed and I think it is wonderful. It is probably the biggest plus for our school that the majority of our kids are completely bilingual and bicultural. And I think that reflects in some way part of the Puerto Rican society, and I think that is wonderful (IN: Smith, 04-09-08).

On the other hand, the high school principal disagreed with the speaking of Spanish outside of the Spanish class at the elementary school level (IN: Noel, 04-09-09). She believed that in order to develop a comfort zone with the English language, these children had to speak English and had to be spoken to in English all the time. At the high school level, the high school principal felt that either language might be used outside of the classroom.

Except for the high school principal, most of the headmaster’s administrative staff supported him. The headmaster approved of Spanish communication within the school setting with some limits. That is, English was to be spoken in all classes except in the Spanish class. But, in the hallways, the faculty room, some assemblies, and some
activities, Spanish would be permitted allowing more learning contexts for biliteracy development.

Teachers

At Saint Andrew’s School, about 80% of the teachers are of Puerto Rican or Hispanic background. Less than 20% of the teachers are Anglo-American. The Puerto Rican/Hispanic teachers and many of the Anglo-American teachers are biliterate in Spanish and English. A minute percentage of Anglo-American teachers have no knowledge of Spanish. Throughout most of its history, the school has offered two Spanish courses from first through twelfth grades: regular Spanish for the native Spanish speakers and SSL for those students whose native language is not Spanish. Other activities planned by the Spanish teachers also occur. I will explain more regarding the Spanish courses in the Development, content and media continua of biliteracy sections below.

Because the middle and high school teachers of Spanish teach in their own classrooms, these contexts permit a better biliteracy development. Since each of them is provided with their own classroom, they may decorate their rooms with materials that illustrate the Spanish language. For example, Herrera’s classroom decorations show a map of Spain on one of its walls. Three posters are pasted on another wall; the first one reads Library week 1986, Library Systems of the University of Puerto Rico, Río Piedras, Puerto Rico and shows a girl sitting down on a chair and reading a book. A second poster placed under the first one reads July - month of Puerto Rican art; art is culture; promoted by the Puerto Rican Art Commission. Depicted in this poster are the Puerto

13 The posters’ writings are in Spanish. I have translated the words or phrases to English.
Rican flag in the background, a wooden saint, a rooster and a vejigante's mask. All four illustrations are cultural symbols of the Puerto Rican arts and beliefs. The third poster is about the famous Spanish painter, Velázquez, and an exhibition of his paintings at the Metropolitan Museum of Art. In addition, a bookshelf contains several dictionaries, trophies and a Puerto Rican flag.

In other middle and high school Spanish teachers’ classrooms, I observed decorations similar to the ones mentioned above. They are related to the teaching of the Spanish language and appreciation of Puerto Rican culture (FN: Aguilar, 04-02-12; FN: Barceló, 03-09-18; FN: Herrera, 04-09-13 and FN: Otero, 04-03-19). Their classrooms also include small libraries of books and dictionaries that the students may use at anytime during the class. The students who acquire knowledge in these classrooms have appropriate Spanish learning contexts for biliteracy development.

On the other hand, elementary Spanish teachers travel from classroom to classroom, and, as such, do not have a linguistically and culturally enriched environment in which to teach. Instead, to their disadvantage, they teach in an English language enriched context. Furthermore, one elementary Spanish teacher mentioned that the teachers of other subjects view Spanish as a less important class (IN: González, 04-05-14). Two of them felt that a number of parents do not confer as much importance to the Spanish class as to the other courses taught at the school (IN: González, 04-05-14; IN: Vélez, 04-05-06). These two teachers were new arrivals at the school and felt deeply that, given that the

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14 "The Vejigante is a colorful character introduced into carnival celebrations in Puerto Rico hundreds of years ago. This fantastic character is a classic example of the coming together of African, Spanish and Caribbean influences into Puerto Rican culture" (Vejigantes, 2005).
island's context of communication is Spanish, biliteracy development should be an important aspect of the school.

A middle school Spanish teacher spoke of the headmaster’s wishes to strengthen Spanish in the school.

Malaret: *Bueno, llevamos tres años con [este director] y ha habido unos cambios y yo sé que en español también ha habido unos cambios.*

Aguilar: *El quiere que el español se fortalezca y que se ponga donde [debe de estar].*

Malaret: *[M]e imagino que ha habido presión de los maestros también.

Aguilar: *Por lo menos de mi parte, yo he dado mi opinión.* (IN: Aguilar, 04-09-07)

Malaret: Well, we have had three years with [this director] and changes have taken place and I know that changes have also occurred with Spanish.

Aguilar: [The headmaster] wants to strengthen Spanish and to place it where [it should be].

Malaret: I imagine that there has been pressure from the teachers, too.

Aguilar: At least I have given my opinion. (IN: Aguilar, 04-09-07, translation mine).

This teacher voiced his opinion to the headmaster and the middle and high school principals.

Teachers and other activities

Other activities that help the bilingual development at the school are assemblies (performances produced by students and their teachers that are later presented to an audience during school hours), oratory competitions, the visiting author program, the Discovery of Puerto Rico celebration, and the Puerto Rican Night among others.

Assemblies come in two languages, Spanish and English. Two Spanish language assemblies occur per academic year in elementary school. Two examples of the Spanish assemblies are an annual assembly for the maintenance workers in celebration of appreciation week and the fourth grade assembly celebrating the discovery of Puerto Rico. I observed one of the assemblies for maintenance workers on March 18, 2005 in the school cafeteria from 8:00 to 8:30 am. During the assembly, each maintenance
worker received a certificate and a present. The presentation began in English and quickly changed to Spanish. Although the school adheres to its English-language policy in school events, the administration is flexible for some of these. I assume that one of the reasons for this is that some of the maintenance employees are not proficient in the English language. At this assembly, one of the school security guards presented a ‘bomba’ for a maintenance worker that retired after fifty years of service to Saint Andrew’s School. Once more, this event celebrated the Puerto Rican culture.

The second assembly, a play of the Juan Bobo stories performed by fourth graders, took place in November of 2003 during the Discovery Day celebration.

According to a teachers curriculum,

Juan Bobo is a well-known folk hero on the island of Puerto Rico. In English his name means Foolish John and he is the silly fellow who just can’t seem to get things right. Despite his limitations, difficult tasks generally turn out just fine, and in some cases he manages to solve his problems in a manner that can best be described as downright clever. The reader is often left wondering if Juan Bobo is really as foolish as he seems, or if it is just a case of God taking care of simple folk such as he (Zimbaldi, 2008).

Besides the students’ performance of some of Juan Bobo short stories, one of the students performed the song “Preciosa” written by Puerto Rican composer Rafael Hernández. Luis Enrique Juliá, Puerto Rican classical guitar composer, assisted her with his guitar.

Figures 4.5 to 4.7 below are photographs of the Juan Bobo assembly in November of 2003.

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15 The bomba is a uniquely Puerto Rican musical genre for dance. Although critics are uncertain about the exact origin of the bomba, it is generally agreed that it is derived from West Africa, through the importation of slaves to Puerto Rico from that region. Some have said that it first developed at the end of the 17th century in Loiza, a Puerto Rican town with a strong African presence (Bailyn, 2006).
Figure 4.5 Juan Bobo Assembly in November of 2003.

Other Puerto Rico related activities occur in elementary school, like the Discovery Day activity below, which shows a slight flavor of Puerto Rican culture. As indicated in the 2004 newsletter,

The First grade mothers worked hard to make the annual Puerto Rican luncheon on Discovery Day a terrific success! The students enjoyed delicious “arroz con pollo” at beautifully decorated tables with the tropical fruit and vegetables, while listening to Puerto Rican music played by three professional musicians alongside two Saint Andrew’s students. First grade students, teachers, and administrators thoroughly enjoyed and appreciated the care and effort put into this event—the culmination of the study of Puerto Rico! (NS: 2004, p. 8).

Although assemblies do not occur regularly at the middle and high school levels, below are some excerpts of newsletters that show how the school allows contexts allow for Spanish development with the island’s culture:

1. People are talking about... “La Familia Mixta”, the Christmas theater production of the Spanish as a Second Language Program students (SSL) in the Middle School, coordinated by teacher Esther Campos (NS: Summer 2003, p. 11).
2. The entire middle school went to the Teatro Tapia in Old San Juan in order to see “Vejigantes”, by Puerto Rican writer Francisco Arrivi. To prepare for the trip, the play was read and discussed in all the MS Spanish classes (NS: Spring 2003, p. 8).

3. The Student Council, who with the help of Juniors and Sophomores organized an exciting celebration on Puerto Rico’s Discovery Day, honored on November 18th. The Hermanos Cepeda and Pleneros provided live entertainment filled with music and dancing. Students and faculty were also treated to delicious Puerto Rican ‘frituras’ (NS: Spring 2003, p. 2).

4. The Spanish language is alive and kicking at Saint Andrew’s. One of our finest testimonies is the fourteenth edition of the Spanish literary magazine, Perfiles. This Spring the Perfiles’ Club members organized a creative writing workshop, where our secondary school students embraced their vernacular as a pure, beautiful and unyielding language. In our latest edition, the students wrote passionately about Puerto Rico, love, and the existential self. Their work was publicized and acclaimed by our local newspaper El Nuevo Dia and the television programs, Contigo y Cultura Viva. Next year we plan to have three creative writing workshops and provide our students with a venue to express themselves in Spanish. We are confident that our next edition will be better than the one before. The Perfiles’ Club members will continue to work hard to produce a magazine of high caliber and excellence (NS: Summer 2005, p. 16).

5. DISCOVERY OF PR November 2005-The Cepeda Family visited Saint Andrew’s School to celebrate the discovery of Puerto Rico. They, along with the ‘Bomba y Plena’ students, and Mr. Suárez gave us a wonderful show (NS: Spring 2006, p. 10).

The librarians of the school organize the visiting author program each year.

Besides hosting English language authors, authors of either Puerto Rican heritage or Spanish-language authors have visited Saint Andrew’s to speak with the students. In general, the authors do their presentations in English, unless their compositions are in Spanish. For example, Tato Laviera was the visiting author for the middle and high school during the spring of 2007. His compositions are written in English, Spanish and Spanglish. He read the poems selected in the original language. Below are some examples of the authors who have spent time at the middle and/or high school with the students:

1. Visiting Author’s program: last year’s visiting author was Mrs. Rosario Ferré, Puerto Rican author of several children’s books (NS: Spring 2003, p. 2).

2. Mr. Willie Perdomo, a Nuyorican poet, visited Saint Andrew’s School and talked to 5-12 grade students “about his background and experiences while living in East Harlem and other areas of New York. His poetry has a very gritty reality, yet positive outlook on life. A very motivating question-answer session followed and awakened even more interest among the audience of students, faculty, parents, and administration” (NS: Summer 2003, p. 8).
3. **Arturo Pérez Reverte**, Spanish writer visited Saint Andrew’s School on February 5, 2003. At the time, he had become the newest member of the Real Academia Española. “The author discussed his series of novels, *Capitán Alatriste*, as well as the development of his ideas for this fiction. He responded to student questions about his narrative style, about the films based on his novels and even about the participation of his daughter Carlota in the first novel of this series. Pérez Reverte’s answers often included anecdotes about his life and adventures as a writer and journalist and his experiences as war correspondent” (NS: Summer 2003, p. 9).

4. Middle School-Untamed Poetry-A Puerto Rican poet visits the school in November—Passionate, charismatic, gracious, this is how one would describe Puerto Rican poet Elsa Tió. Saint Andrew’s ninth grade class was honored by her visit this past November, thanks to her niece, Paulina Pagán. Elsa Tió shared stories about her father, Salvador Tió, her first encounters with poetry, her beautiful poems, and most importantly, her love of words. She encouraged students to write, to always strive to find the right combination of words, to make sure the word captures the object it names. She captivated and mesmerized the audience. We thank her for her time and for the privilege of allowing us to listen to *La Voz del Caracol* (NS: 2004, p. 13).

5. This year the Secondary Library invited a well-noted and very gifted author, poet, playwright, and community organizer, Jesús “Tato” Laviera, to present to the middle and high school students. Mr. Laviera, a native Puerto Rican, migrated at a young age to New York in 1960 and underwent all of the trials and tribulations typical to immigrants. His work, which forms part of a literary movement known as “Nuyorican” literature, documents the social, cultural and emotional experiences of Puerto Ricans in the Mainland. Tato has dedicated his life towards reaffirming the rich cultural heritage of the Puerto Rican “Diaspora.” He is most recognized as a best-selling poet, and is a prolific and tireless guest speaker at numerous colleges and organizations (NS: Spring-Summer 2007, p. 15).

The visiting author program began in 1999 primarily with North-American authors. Yet, as mentioned by Marqués, the middle and high school librarian, the program invites bilingual authors.

We have had the pleasure of presenting, in two instances, Puerto Rican poets (Nuyorican). Our program is aimed at middle and high schools (6-12 grades). There is no formal visiting author program for Spanish, but sometimes the Spanish department invites a Hispanic heritage author if the opportunity presents itself (EM: Marques, 08-01-09, translation mine).

Although the program allows for bilingual authors, during the past seven years, the elementary school has only brought English-language authors. It should be mentioned that the elementary school librarian for the past seven years has been of North American descent, whereas the middle/high school librarian is of Nuyorican descent. Marqués, the middle/high librarian has taken it upon himself to bring authors with which the students could identify. Next month, the visiting author is an American Indian from
the Dakotas, who has experienced similar colonial pressures as Puerto Ricans (IC: Marqués, 08-03-13). Montero, an elementary school consultant, expressed that the visiting author program ought to also come in both languages at the elementary school level, Spanish and English.

Montero:  
En términos del español, aunque yo he observado que quizás los últimos dos ó tres años ha habido un interés y se han dado unas gestiones particulares para enriquecer la enseñanza del español... por mucho tiempo yo entiendo que fue una lengua un tanto relegada porque se pudieron haber hecho muchas cosas para enriquecer el español. Por ejemplo, el programa de los autores visitantes, el 'visiting author'; no hay ninguna razón por la cual eso no se pueda hacer con un autor de libros infantiles en inglés y un autor de libros infantiles en español y eso sin embargo no se hace así por lo menos hasta el año pasado no se hacía de esa manera (IN: Montero, 05-02-12).

Montero: Regarding Spanish, even though I have observed that maybe in the past two or three years there has been an interest and particular events have occurred to enrich the methods of teaching Spanish for a long time I understand, that Spanish was an ignored language because many things could have been done to enrich Spanish. For example, the visiting author program, there is no reason why the school can’t do this with an author of children’s books in English and with an author of children’s book in Spanish. At least, up until last year it was not done this way (IN: Montero, 05-02-12, translation mine).

Parents

Based on their electronic mail survey responses, I learned that parents primarily choose the school for its reputation as a preparatory school for college/university, its language of instruction (English), its focus on analysis versus memorization, its non-traditional way of teaching in elementary school, its student-teacher ratio, and/or, their proximity to the school (EM: Saltz, 07-09-21; EM: Garcia, 07-09-26; EM: Geddes, 07-09-18; EM: Layoff, 07-09-17; EM: Richard-Cara, 07-09-17; EM: Rodriguez Vazquez, 07-09-26; EM: Shannon, 07-09-17; EM: Sutton, 07-09-25; EM: Virgo, 07-09-26). A few parents choose Saint Andrew’s School for its “bilingual education” (EM: Saltz, 07-09-21; EM: Moreno, 07-09-25). Even though biliteracy is not the main goal of the school, many of the parents expect their children to communicate effectively in both languages with the understanding that their children’s English language development would probably be
better. Nevertheless, parents value the learning of the Spanish language (FN: Conversation with grandmother, 03-09-10; FN: Barceló, 03-09-18; FN: Inforum, 04-03-04; FN: Inforum, 04-10-07; FN: Inforum, 07-10-25). Bilingual education seems to be an important goal, even if it is not their primary reason for choosing the school in most cases.

Soon after joining Saint Andrew’s School as the headmaster, Dr. Font created what are called “inforums” to better understand the culture of its members, specifically the parents. He also wanted to understand what the parents as the main stakeholders expected of him. Inforums are meetings that administrators, parents, the Board of Trustees and teachers attend to be informed of the school’s plans and activities. In addition, anyone may criticize and/or propose anything, and/or, express a concern. At several of these meetings parents have requested better Spanish instruction (FN: Inforum, 04-03-04; FN: Inforum, 04-10-07; FN: Inforum, 07-10-25). During the March 4, 2004 inforum, some parents requested that more Spanish be added to Saint Andrew’s academic life. One couple argued in favor of more teachers like Mr. Aguilar, whom they consider an excellent Spanish teacher and the person who gave their child a passion for Spanish. At the time, Mr. Aguilar was teaching sixth and seventh grades. As a result of this inforum, the administrators decided to ask Mr. Aguilar to join the next elementary curriculum meeting and he did. I will explain curriculum development more fully in the Content/development section. This incident at the inforum is an example of the parents’ role within the school. In this instance, parental pressure resulted in communication between a middle school Spanish teacher and the elementary Spanish teachers with the purpose of improving the teaching and learning of Spanish.
On the other hand, the parents of students who are foreign to the Spanish language worry about their children’s grade point averages at the high school level. As such, those children who are not native Spanish speakers tend to take SSL at the parent’s request even if they have the ability to perform well in the regular Spanish class. In an informal conversation, a parent told me that her ninth grade daughter would not get a grade higher than ‘C’\textsuperscript{16} in regular Spanish class. Her daughter, whose native language was English, was amongst native Puerto Ricans and did well for her knowledge. This mother worried that this grade would influence her grade point average (GPA) for college entrance. Therefore, she was considering SSL for her daughter where her daughter could easily get an \textit{A}. Similarly, Enrique, an excellent non-native student in regular Spanish class during his middle school years, takes SSL in ninth grade because his parents understand that this grade counts towards his college/university acceptance. These beliefs and practices are evidence of the influence that the GPA has on Spanish-language learning and the role that parents play in students’ class selection. Ultimately, parents greatly shape Spanish and English literacy at the school.

As seen above, most Spanish teachers and administrators agree that Saint Andrew’s School is not a bilingual school (IN: Font, 04-06-30; IN: González, 04-05-14; EM: Méndez, 07-02-12; IN: Montero, 05-02-12; IN: Otero, 04-04-05; IN: Thompson, 04-10-15; IN: Valdés, 04-05-13). However, a few, like the middle school principal, a high school Spanish teacher and the elementary school vice-principal, disagree (IN: Smith, 04-09-08; IN: Herrera, 04-09-27; IN: Maldonado, 04-09-30). For example, Herrera, a high school Spanish teacher defined a bilingual person as one who controls two languages

\textsuperscript{16} The grades at Saint Andrew’s school from sixth through twelfth are A, B, C, D and F.
with the same proficiency level, and therefore, she believes that Saint Andrew’s school is partially bilingual (IN: Herrera, 04-09-27). Still, the majority of the school’s administrators and Spanish teachers believe that Saint Andrew’s is not a bilingual school per se, but that the students and staff have bilingual competence. I now turn to the analysis along the context of biliteracy continua at Saint Andrew’s School.

Analysis along the Context of Biliteracy Continua

The Primacy of English

Throughout its ninety years of existence, the English language policy has strengthened at the macro level of the macro-micro continuum of context at Saint Andrew’s School. Along the oral-literate continuum of context, English literacy is of primary importance, more so than any other language taught at the school. Since its inception, English has dominated the Saint Andrew’s School context and has been the preferred language academically and sometimes socially. Along the monolingual-bilingual continuum of context, English monolingualism seems to be favored in all the time periods presented. However, the contrary is also true; bilingualism is also appreciated during the 1974-1990 and the 2001-present time periods presented in this study.

My analysis of the documents (Anonymous, ~1940s; Harding, 1920; Newsletters from 2002-2007; Ricciardi, et al. 1991; Saint Andrew’s School pamphlet, post-1960s; Saint Andrew’s School pamphlet, early 1970s; Saint Andrew’s School pamphlet, late 1970s), the interviews, my observations, and other personal communications show that English literacy was and is vibrant at all points of the continua in Saint Andrew’s School.

17 Spanish is taught from 1st through 12th grades and French is taught from 7th through 12th grades.
If this is so, then what is the role of Spanish at Saint Andrew’s School?

**The Strengthening of Spanish and Biliteracy**

*Biliteracy beneficial 1915-1974.* The limited evidence available shows that along the oral-literate continuum, the school allowed Spanish development. Although biliteracy was not the school’s main goal, pride of its students’ biliteracy prevailed. Regarding the power relations argument posed by Hornberger and Skilton-Sylvester (2003)\(^{18}\) and with the evidence presented above, the bi(multi)lingual continuum seemed to be favored over the monolingual continuum, insofar as participants’ beliefs and school cultural activities such as plays and recitals. However, it is not possible for me to indicate the levels of literacy in Spanish attained by the students without a thorough investigation of this period. Moreover, it is evident that English nevertheless received preference over Spanish in terms of teaching and learning.

*Biliteracy launched 1974-1991.* Regarding the context of biliteracy continua between 1974 and 1991, within the macro context (English), the micro context (Spanish) was celebrated to a greater extent than in the previous period. The headmaster led the strengthening of the Spanish department as well as its teaching and learning with the support of the Board of Trustees, the administration, the parents and the faculty. More environments conducive to the learning of both languages were created allowing bi(multi)lingualism to flourish. During this period, the Spanish department strengthened. Spanish became so prestigious that the levels of oralcy-literacy increased amongst the students. Regarding the power argument posed by Hornberger and Skilton-Sylvester

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\(^{18}\) In “educational policy and practice regarding biliteracy, there tends to be an implicit privileging of one end of the continua over the other such that one end of each continuum is associated with more power than the other” (Hornberger & Skilton-Sylvester, 2003, p. 38)
(2003), the macro-micro and the oral-literate context of biliteracy continua seemed more balanced than before. Puerto Rican related cultural contexts increased throughout the school. For example, Ms. Herrera created Puerto Rican Night in 1976 with the headmaster’s support and it continues to be celebrated every year. In addition to her publishing class, a Spanish teacher initiated *Perfiles*, a Spanish-language magazine published by the school, which contains students’ poems, essays, and other prose. The monolingualism-bi(multi)lingualism) continuum of biliterate context tilted towards bi(multi)lingualism in terms of both teaching and learning and cultural activities.

*Biliteracy weakened 1991-2001*. The headmaster that followed instituted a dramatic change concerning the continua of biliterate context. Again with limited evidence, I inferred that between 1991 and 2001, the macro context (English) regained control, whereas the micro context (Spanish) weakened. Along the monolingualism-bi(multi)lingualism continuum, English monolingualism prevailed in the school. While environments conducive to learning in English increased, the opposite occurred in the learning environments of Spanish. Along the orality-literacy continuum, although the English language was more significant and more learning contexts were developed, the Spanish classes from first through twelfth grades did not cease to exist. Fewer learning contexts for Spanish survived, and therefore, the orality and literacy of the students in this language probably suffered during this period.

*Biliteracy celebrated 2001-2007*. During this time period, the headmaster of the school reversed the context of biliteracy at Saint Andrew’s School. Along the macro-micro continuum, although English (macro) continues to be the language of instruction, Spanish (micro) was allowed more learning contexts. The headmaster’s belief permitted
its Puerto Rican students to speak and maintain their mother tongue. Most of the administration and specifically the Spanish teachers assisted in the creation of more biliterate learning contexts.

At the micro (Spanish) end of the continuum, the parents' and Spanish teachers' expectations of the oralcy and literacy of the students is high. Along the oral-literate continuum, the Spanish language has become more visible and has acquired more value. Yet, the English language still carries more weight along this continuum. English oralcy-literacy is the key to success in this school.

As mentioned before, inforums, official meetings, official presentations (i.e. at graduations, presentation of honor roll awards) and other activities are carried out in English. Some assemblies, some visiting author programs, and, certainly the Spanish classes are carried out in Spanish. According to most Spanish teachers, no English is allowed during the Spanish classes (see IN: Aguilar, 04-09-07 and IN: Herrera, 04-09-27). Spanish monoligualism and literacy prevails in these classrooms, even in the SSL classes. These teachers aim for the students to learn their native language well, and the SSL classes fall into Cummins' (1997) category of Type III and V or Baker's (2006) maintenance/heritage language nature. That is, the non-native students are transferred to regular Spanish classes once their teachers believe that they have acquired the knowledge and skills to be in regular Spanish class.

A good example that shows how teachers, other than the Spanish ones, help in the development of the students' native language is the Juan Bobo assembly of 2003. The humanities, music, art and elementary Spanish teachers developed the Juan Bobo assembly. At times, the minority language seems to move towards the majority end of
the context of biliteracy continua. The above activity leans towards the productive and oral ends of the continua of biliteracy development.

As mentioned previously in this section, at the middle and high school levels, the environments were advantageous for learning Spanish. At the elementary school level, the classroom context was enriched with the English language and, therefore, was not as conducive to the learning of another language. Biliteracy development was easier at the middle and high school levels than at the elementary school level.

Regarding the monolingual-bi(multilingual) continuum, the bi(multi)lingual end of the continuum received more attention from parents, teachers, administrators and students than the monolingual end. Both languages were utilized during recess, lunch, and in between classes. The intensity of Spanish used at the high school level was higher when compared to the middle and elementary school levels; and the intensity of Spanish used at the middle school level was higher than at the elementary school level. In fact, at the high school level, the teachers and the students frequently use Spanish in the hallways and during other school activities. Spanish and English were used academically and socially and their use varied according to the societal/situational context. More specifically, the situational factors determined whether the actors used Spanish and/or English, providing evidence that "bilinguals switch languages according to specific functions and uses" (Hornberger, 2003, p. 14). For this time period, the power shifted towards the bi(multi)lingual end of the context continua. Parental expectations for biliteracy are high. Many members of the school look at bi(multi)literacy development in Spanish and English enthusiastically.
The leadership at Saint Andrew’s influence language learning and language usage in ways that parallel the waves of acceptance and rejection of bilingual education in the United States. For example, with the *Lau vs. Nichols* Supreme Court ruling in the mid-1970s, Saint Andrew’s saw a shift towards a more biliterate context or acceptance of bilingual education. The Board of Trustees, the headmaster, the faculty and the parents of Saint Andrew’s made an intensive effort to develop a better biliterate environment in their school. In the 1990s, Saint Andrew’s shifted towards English-only together with the English-only movement in the United States. In the twenty-first century, Saint Andrew’s did not view the NCLB as part of its program. However, the school did incorporate a stronger bilingual program in the curriculum.
Chapter 5

Media of Biliteracy Continua at Saint Andrew’s School

In this section, I describe and analyze my Saint Andrew’s School data using the media of biliteracy continua. The media of biliteracy continua is made up of three sub-continua: the successive-simultaneous exposure continuum, the similar-dissimilar structures continuum, and the convergent-divergent scripts continuum.

\[
\text{simultaneous exposure} \rightarrow \text{successive exposure} \\
\text{dissimilar structures} \rightarrow \text{similar structures} \\
\text{divergent scripts} \rightarrow \text{convergent scripts}
\]

Figure 5.1. The Media of Biliteracy Continua (Hornberger & Skilton-Sylvester, 2003, p. 39)

As mentioned previously, a “child who acquires two languages before age three is doing so simultaneously... One who acquires one language before age three and the other after age three is doing so successively” (Hornberger, 2003, p. 23). A child who learns a language that is linguistically related to her first language may make use of similar structures and convergent scripts. Studies have shown that “the more characteristics two orthographic systems have in common, the greater or more immediate the potential for transfer of reading skills or strategies” (Hornberger, 2003, p. 24); while others note that “when students are learning to read in two languages at the same time, different writing systems appear to lead to less interference than do similar writing systems” (Hornberger, 2003, p. 24). It is possible that when the writing systems are similar, the potential for both ‘transfer’ and ‘interference’ is high.

The questions regarding media of biliteracy in this study are whether the students
have acquired Spanish and English simultaneously or successively, do Spanish and English have similar or dissimilar structures and are Spanish and English's scripts convergent or divergent.

Due to the lack of available evidence, my analysis focuses more on the years after 2001. However, I will present a limited analysis on the years prior to 2001. I will mainly present description and analysis of the period from 2001 to 2007 for two reasons. First, I formally collected data from 2003 through 2005. Secondly, the current headmaster entered in 2001, and as previously stated, the headmasters with the Board of Trustees' support have played an important role in the ways that biliteracy is acquired in this school.

*Media of English and Spanish at Saint Andrew's School*

At Saint Andrew's School, Spanish, French and English are taught. I touch upon the media of English and concentrate on the media of Spanish. Along the similar-dissimilar structures continuum, these two languages are more similar than dissimilar in structure. The alphabets of these two languages are almost the same except for three additional letters in the Spanish language: the ch, the ll and the ñ. Concerning the divergent-convergent scripts continuum, Spanish and English are two languages with one writing system. In both languages, reading and writing are done from left to right, the grammars share similarities, and several words have similar or identical spellings. In many instances, the English pronunciation differs significantly from the Spanish pronunciation. With the above in mind, I will examine how these languages are taught and learned in the context of Saint Andrew's School.
I divided this part in two sections: (1) the description of the simultaneous-
successive exposure continuum, (2) the description of the similar-dissimilar structures
continuum in conjunction with the convergent-divergent scripts continuum.

Successive-Simultaneous Exposure Continuum

Upon entering Saint Andrew’s School, all the students are immersed in its
language of instruction, English. English is the only language of instruction used in pre-
kindergarten and kindergarten (IN: Thompson, 04-10-04; IN: Maldonado, 04-09-30).
Daily Spanish language classes are introduced in the first grade and continue to be taught
until twelfth grade (Saint Andrew’s School Resources, 2007). In general, non-Spanish
speakers are placed in SSL classes beginning in first grade or upon entry to the school
and native Spanish speakers are placed in regular Spanish classes. Throughout the
school, the preferred language of communication as explained in the Context of biliterate
continua section is English. In elementary school this preference is higher than in the
middle and high schools (IN: Otero, 04-04-05; IN: Herrera, 04-09-27).

Since its inception until 2007, the population of the school has gradually changed
from one of 100% foreign students (mostly Anglo-Americans) to one of 84% Puerto
Rican students. Therefore, I assume that in the school’s beginnings the students who
entered the school were well versed in English. Consequently, Spanish was taught as a
foreign/second language. The acquisition of a second language at this time was
successive. Around the 1950s, the school tried to maintain a 50-50 balance with regards
to the student population. That is, the school wanted 50% of the population to be Anglo-
American and 50% of the population to be Puerto Rican (TC: Schneider, 07-11-13). I
infer that the purpose of maintaining this balance had to do with biliteracy development.
That is, the school’s goal probably was for the students to become somewhat bilingual. By maintaining a balanced population, those students more knowledgeable in English could assist those whose native language was Spanish and vice-versa.

In conversation with Schneider (TC: Schneider, 07-11-13), a previous student of Saint Andrew’s and the college counselor of Saint Andrew’s from 1991 through 2001, she mentioned that while she was a student at the school from 1959 through the late 1960s two daily Spanish classes per grade existed: a regular Spanish class for native speakers and “español especial”, a special Spanish class for non-Spanish speakers. With the exception of the Spanish class, all the students were immersed in English in all their other classes. While the non-Puerto Ricans learned Spanish as a second language only in their one special class, “español especial”, the native Puerto Rican students learned Spanish in their regular Spanish class. These students learned two languages in two very different ways and in two different situations. Maybe the administration or the Board of Trustees thought with good reason that the mixture of students would somehow assist in their biliteracy. This program has the characteristics of an immersion program for the native Spanish speakers, and the characteristics of a mainstream education with a foreign-language teaching program for the non-native Spanish speakers (Baker, 2006; Freeman, 2006; Hornberger, 2006a).

When the islanders became the majority after 1974 and the Spanish language became more relevant, more learning contexts for Spanish emerged in the context of the school (e.g., the school cafeteria, the physical education class and the hallways; see Context of biliteracy section for more information). In the context of Saint Andrew’s School, Spanish was the mother tongue of most pre-school students during and after this
period. Further, the majority of these pre-school students had been exposed to the English language through books, television and games. The Puerto Ricans were immersed in an English environment within the school. The foreign students (mostly Anglo-American) were taught in their first language and were exposed to SSL beginning in first grade. Once the Spanish teachers felt that a student was prepared, he/she was transferred to regular Spanish. Still, the Puerto Rican and foreign students learned two languages in two very different ways and in two different situations. The main difference between the learning of Spanish before 1974 and after 1974 was the increase in contexts for Spanish learning. For example, Puerto Rican Night, Spanish assemblies, and other Spanish related activities (see Context of biliteracy section) were created after 1974.

**Similar-Dissimilar Structures and Convergent-Divergent Scripts Continua at Saint Andrew’s School**

As previously mentioned, the Spanish and the English languages gravitate towards the similar structures and the convergent scripts ends of the media of biliteracy continua. Below I show several examples that point to the convergence and similarity of these languages. Then I provide other examples that point to divergence and dissimilarities of these languages.

*Convergence and similarity.* One way that this convergence and similarity are manifested in classroom interaction is through students’ and teachers’ use of and negotiation around cognate words, known as anglicisms in the case of English words occurring in Spanish. Sometimes, the use of anglicisms is seen as a helpful way of bridging English to Spanish, whereas other times, teachers express concern that the students’ anglicisms are interfering with their learning Spanish. For example, Otero, a
Otero: I think that [reading, writing and talking] are necessary [to be literate in Spanish]. I’m most interested in oral communication, [I want] the student to communicate effectively, for the student to be able to think and dominate the Spanish language orally. [I don’t want the students] to fill out their conversations with anglicisms and I am constantly battling that because my class is based in the discussion that comes from the lectures and the writings. I also want [the students] to have good orthography. There are a lot of words that they tend to make up or that they write incorrectly because maybe skillful is written with ‘h’ in Spanish, but it is not written [with ‘h’] in English. Those spelling confusions exist. Malaret: Do these confusions happen a lot?
Otero: They happen frequently. I would tell you that many times the child could talk well because she doesn’t rely on the English but in their writings, you can see how awful they are orthographically. Maybe in elementary or intermediate school they have not worked the orthography (IN: Otero, 04-04-05, translation mine).

Otero wants her students to speak well in Spanish; she does not want her students to fill their conversations with anglicisms when using Spanish. She often finds English language structures and literal translations from English to Spanish in their Spanish compositions probably due to the similarities and convergences of these languages. The students’ use of English in their Spanish written work is considered a form of transfer in the bilingual education literature. In this sense, it is a positive trait. Yet, because of the similarities and convergences, some of the English language use in the students’ compositions may cause interference. In these instances, a teacher’s intervention is important for the student’s biliterate learning process. In the next example, an eleventh...
grade Spanish teacher corrects a student who used an anglicism while summarizing a story being discussed in the class.

Student: Mrs. Forbes is introduced.
Herrera: Introduced? She comes into play.
Student: Mrs. Forbes comes into play.
(FN: Herrera, 04-09-13, translation mine)

The eleventh grade teacher corrected the students' use of the phrase "se introduce" when supposedly it should have been "se presenta". The word "introducir" may have been an anglicism at some point and this teacher may not know that it no longer is. There is no difference between "introducir" and "presentar" at this point since the word "introducir" can be found in the dictionary of the Royal Spanish Academy. The word has been accepted as a Spanish word.

Besides anglicisms, a number of other negotiations occur during the SSL and regular Spanish classes, such as translations of phrases or words from the second language to the mother tongue, English use for comprehension and for expression in SSL and English use for comprehension in regular Spanish class.

A fourth grade SSL class seems very interested in learning Spanish. During this class, Barceló, the teacher, reads three books to the students: El otro lado (The other side), De repente (Suddenly) and La selva loca (The crazy jungle). El otro lado, a Mexican book teaches the concept of "the other side" to the reader. Since the book is written in Mexican Spanish, the teacher translates some phrases to Puerto Rican Spanish while she reads. Additionally, she may translate a Spanish phrase to English on the spot

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19 The story being discussed in class is El verano feliz de la Señora Forbes (Mrs. Forbes' happy summer).
for student understanding. She also allows the use of English for understanding in her class. In spite of this, the students try to express themselves in Spanish. Below are three examples of these types of expressions:

Example 1. This SSL class took place in the only elementary Spanish classroom at 8:10 in the morning. The class had 6 students (two boys and four girls). Barceló, the teacher, reads and discusses three books (El otro lado, De repente and La selva loca) with the students. In the example below, she shows the first book to be read in class (El otro lado):

Barceló: Este es extraño. Este yo lo vi en Méjico. El otro lado. Saben lo que es el otro lado?
Jonathan: Sí. The other side.
Barceló: Okay. Un día, el rey llamó a unos muchachos de por ahí les dijo: ¡Se me van volaos hasta el otro lado y vienen y me dicen que hay! El quiere que ellos vayan y le digan a él qué hay al otro lado.
Barceló a los estudiantes: ¿Parece un rey?
Los estudiantes expresan la palabra 'no' con sus cabezas.
Barceló: Vieron que extraño. Es bien raro. Es como una casa, muchos niños, el rey está en calzoncillos, ropa interior.
Estudiante3: Qué raro.
Barceló: Sí.
Barceló leyendo: Unos se fueron en bicicleta.
Brianna: ¿Qué es raro?
Barceló: Raro; weird, strange.
Barceló leyendo: Unos se fueron en bicicleta, otros en patines, otros, y otros en avalancha. Avalancha parece que es como un carrito. Yo no sé qué es; yo creo que es como un carrito.
Jonathan: ¡Qué cool!
Barceló: ¡Verdad?! Yo creo que es como un carrito de bolines.
Jonathan: “Wagon”. Creo que es “wagon”.
Barceló: Como un “wagon”, verdad?
Barceló leyendo: Otros se fueron más volandooo. No más en Méjico es nada más.
Estudiante4: Cómo se puede [volar]?
Barceló: No séee. Es extraño.
Barceló leyendo: Algunos llegaron pronto al otro lado. Pronto, qué es pronto? Rápido?
Estudiante3: Rápido.
Barceló: Verdad, llegaron rápido. Yo creo que los que...
Al final de la lectura, los estudiantes preguntan que de donde es el libro para saber si lo tienen en la biblioteca.
Barceló contesta: Sí, de la biblioteca.
Brianna: Es un nuevo libro.
Barceló: Yo creo que es del año pasado.
(FN: Barceló, 03-09-18).

Example 1-translation. This SSL class took place in the only elementary Spanish classroom at 8:10 in the morning. The class had 6 students (two boys and four girls). Barceló, the teacher, reads and discusses three books (El otro lado, De repente and La selva loca) with the students. In the example below, she shows the first book to be read in class and says:
Barceló: This [book] is strange. I saw this one in Mexico, The other side. Do you know what “el otro lado” means?
Jonathan: Yes. The other side.
Barceló: The other side. Good. Let’s see if it is from Mexico. Okay.
Barceló reading: One day, the king called on some guys that were around and told them... ‘Go quickly to the other side, return and tell me what you find [on the other side]!’
Barceló explaining: He wants them to go [to the other side], return and to tell him what they find.
Barceló to the students: Does he look like a king?
Students express the word no with their heads and some noises.
Barceló shows an illustration from the book and then says.
Barceló: Isn’t that strange? It is very strange. It is like a house, lots of children, the king is in his underwear.
Student3: How strange.
Barceló: Yes.
Barceló reading: Some left in their bicycles.
Brianna: What does the word ‘raro’ mean?
Barceló reading: Some left in bicycles, others left skating, and others left in wagons. ‘Avalancha’ seems to be like a toy car. I do not know what it is; I think it is like a toy car.
Jonathan: How cool!
Barceló: Isn’t it? I think that it is like a small car.
Jonathan: Wagon. I think it is a wagon.
Barceló agreeing with Jonathan: Like a ‘wagon’, right?
Barceló reading: Others left flying. ‘No más’... [in Puerto Rican Spanish] is ‘nada más’.
Student4: How can they fly?
Barceló: I don’t know. It’s strange.
Barceló reading: Some arrived quickly to the other side. ‘Pronto’, what is ‘pronto’? ‘Rápido’?
Student3: Fast.
Barceló: Right, they arrived quickly. I think that the ones...
Jonathan interrupts to answer the previous question: Fast.
The students question if the book is from the library or if it is the teacher’s.
Barceló replies: Yes, it’s from the school library.
Brianna: It’s a new book.
Barceló: I think it arrived last year to the library.
(FN: Barceló, 03-09-18, translation mine).

Example 2. In the second example, the teacher shows the second book to be read in class, De repente (Suddenly). This book is similar to the Juan Bobo stories mentioned previously where a silly fellow, in this case Paco, cannot seem to get things right.

Barceló leyendo: Paco camina de la escuela a su casa cuando de repenteee, Paco se acordó de que su mamá le había encargado una compra. Hay, que tonto! El se acordó.
Barceló: Ustedes vieron que uno puede decir a veces acordó.
Jonathan: Acordó es ‘remember’.
Barceló: Aha, ó recordó. [En español] usamos las dos, [acordó ó recordó].
(FN: Barceló, 03-09-18).

Example 2-translation. In the second example, the teacher shows the second book to be read in class, ‘De repente’ (Suddenly). This book is similar to the Juan Bobo stories mentioned previously where a silly fellow, in this case Paco, can’t seem to get things right.

Barceló reading: Paco walks home from school and suddenly, Paco remembered that his mother had instructed him to buy some groceries. Oh, how dumb! He remembered.
Barceló: Did you see that sometimes one could use the word ‘acordó’?
Barceló: Yes, or ‘recordó’. We use both [words, acordó and recordó].
(FN: Barceló, 03-09-18, translation mine).

Example 3. The third example shows another literal translation using the structure of English. At the beginning of the class, Jonathan is putting saliva on his head and combing his hair with his fingers. The girls find this disgusting and are trying to make him stop.

Hannah a la maestra: Señora, dice él que para.
Barceló: Jonathan.
Hannah: Yal Jonathan! Es fochi!!
(FN: Barceló, 03-09-18).

Example 3-translation. The third example shows another literal translation using the structure of English. At the beginning of the class, Jonathan is putting saliva on his head and combing his hair with his fingers. The girls find this disgusting and are trying to make him stop.

Hannah to the teacher: Mrs., tell him to stop.
Barceló with a strong voice: Jonathan!
Hannah: Enough! Jonathan! It’s disgusting!!
(FN: Barceló, 03-09-18, translation mine).

Several things are important to point out in this dialogue. First, throughout the dialogue Barceló asks questions to see if the students are following the story. At the beginning of the dialogue she asks what El otro lado (The other side), the title of the book, means. A student, Jonathan20, answers correctly in his native language and is allowed to answer in his language of preference, namely, English. Further, the teacher asks what the word “pronto” (quick) means. One student repeats the word “rápido” (fast), which the teacher already mentioned and Jonathan with “fast”, which is the translation of “pronto” (quick) or “rápido” (fast) in his native language. This exchange demonstrates that when the students are allowed to express themselves in their language of preference (in this case, mostly English), they show comprehension of the story that they read in Spanish (see Moll, 1985). In addition, this elementary school teacher asked questions throughout the reading of the book which partially shows that the elementary

20 Jonathan is a Canadian student who is literate in English and French. This was his first year acquiring Spanish. He seems to be transferring his knowledge of English and French to Spanish.
school teachers ask questions to evaluate student understanding of the material read or discussed in class.

Second, the students feel comfortable asking questions in this class. For example, after listening to the word “raro” (strange), Brianna asks her teacher for the meaning of this word. The teacher repeats the word “raro” reinforcing the Spanish language and then translates the word to English for Brianna’s understanding.

Third, since the foreign students of this school listen to Puerto Rican Spanish and a Mexican author wrote the book titled *El otro lado*, Barceló translates from Mexican Spanish to Puerto Rican Spanish. The words “no más” (Mexican slang) she translates to “nada más” (Puerto Rican slang) and Barceló tries to figure out what the Mexican Spanish word “avalancha” means from an illustration in the book and from the sentence. She comes up with the phrase “carrito de bolines” (toy car); but Jonathan comes up with the English word “wagon”. The teacher agrees with the student’s translation of the word “avalancha” to “wagon” and allowing him to express himself in his native language, English. During the reading of the second book *De repente (Suddenly)*, Jonathan shows understanding of what the teacher is saying by translating the word “acordó” to remember. The above shows that transfer between two languages occurs in the SSL class quite often.

Fourth, a literal translation from English to Spanish occurred when Brianna says that *El otro lado* is a new book. She said “el nuevo libro”, where the syntax is reversed. In English, the adjective usually appears before the noun, whereas in Spanish, the adjective occurs after the noun. The student was not corrected by the teacher, which possibly indicates that the student was allowed to express herself in her own way.
Example 3 shows another literal translation from English to Spanish. Once inside the SSL classroom, Hannah would speak in Spanish. In this instance she used her English syntax skills to voice what she wanted in Spanish. Furthermore, she includes Puerto Rican slang for the word disgusting, namely, “fochi”, which shows Hannah’s familiarity with Puerto Rican slang.

*Divergences and Dissimilarities.* There are other instances where the divergences and dissimilarities between Spanish and English are more salient, which may require translation or other negotiation of meaning. One such instance is the use of metaphorical language, as in the following example.

Often, in the regular Spanish classes, the students may ask the teacher to translate an English word or phrase to Spanish and vice-versa. For example, while discussing a poem from the book *El Mío Cid*, a non-Puerto Rican student in a ninth grade regular Spanish class asked the teacher to translate a Puerto Rican idiom to English.

> Estudiante1: \[*Don Gerónimo es un*] lambe-ojo.
> Otero: \[¿Tu crees que le puedan lamer el ojo al Cid así de fácil?\]
> Estudiante2: \[¿Qué es lamer el ojo?\]
> Otero poniéndose la mano en la nariz: \[To] ‘Brown-nose’.
> (FN: Otero, 04-04-03)

Student1: \[*Don Gerónimo is an*] eye-licker.
Otero: Do you think that anybody can lick the eye of the Cid that easily?
Student2: What’s eye-licking?
Otero placing her hand on her nose: To ‘brown-nose’.
(FN: Otero, 04-04-03, translation mine)

When the teacher translates to English she physically puts her hand on her nose showing the non-verbal action of brown-nosing. With one of the middle school Spanish teachers there seemed to be no negotiation when it came to the language to be spoken in his classroom as seen on the example below:
Aguilar:  

Contribución. [Ya pronto] los padres se vuelven locos por los impuestos. Por todo lo que tú ganas tienes que pagar una parte se llama contribución.

Henry duda de este concepto y mientras el maestro piensa en una palabra o frase con la que pueda explicar el concepto, otro estudiante dice la palabra en inglés.

Alejandro: Taxes.

El maestro le dice a este estudiante que el estaba tratando de buscar palabras en español para poder explicar el concepto a Henry sin utilizar palabras en inglés.

Aguilar: ¿Qué otra definición tiene la palabra contribución?

Henry: Colaborar.

Aguilar: Un ejemplo, viene la noche puertorriqueña [y a ustedes les han entregado dos libretas de boletos] para contribuir [vendiendo éstas]. Otro ejemplo, el hogar de ancianos que fuimos en diciembre; eso es una contribución de parte de ustedes. No necesariamente tiene que ser dinero; se puede contribuir [con otras cosas como tiempo].

(FN: Aguilar, 04-02-19).

Aguilar: Taxes. Soon enough the parents go nuts with the taxes. You have to pay a part of your salary it is called taxes.

Henry questions this concept and while the teacher is trying to find the words to explain it in Spanish, a student spurts the word in English.

Alejandro: Taxes.

The teacher says that he was trying to use Spanish words that would allow Henry to understand the concept without using English words.

Aguilar: Another definition for the word contribution.

Henry: Collaborate.

Aguilar: An example, Puerto Rican Night is close by [and you have been given two books of tickets] to contribute [by selling them]. Another example, the elderly home that we visited in December; that is a contribution on your part. It does not have to be money; one can contribute with other things, [like time].

(FN: Aguilar, 04-02-19, translation mine).

I observed this Spanish teacher’s classes three times. He did not use English in any of these classes. Even when the students spoke a word or two in English, this teacher would always answer in Spanish. The students and the parents respected and enjoyed his way of teaching. The above is a sample of how the students and the teachers of the school use these two languages to understand and negotiate concepts in their daily Spanish classes.

*Analysis along the Media of Biliteracy Continua*

I divided this part in two sections: (1) less flexibility for biliteracy before 2001, and (2) more flexibility for biliteracy between 2001-2007. I point to less or more flexibility in this section because, after 2001, the environment created for biliteracy
development allowed the students to communicate in their native language in school contexts other than their Spanish class.

**Less Flexibility for Biliteracy Development Before 2001**

Based on the available information, I infer that along the simultaneous-successive exposure continuum, successive exposure was more present when the school opened and that very little simultaneous exposure occurred especially if the majority of the population was Anglo-American. They probably learned SSL through moderate and high English literacy skills. As the student population changed in the 1950s two different scenarios surfaced. In the first scenario, the Puerto Rican population developed English literacy skills through minimal mother tongue literacy. In the second scenario, the Anglo-American population developed Spanish literacy skills through moderate or high English literacy. Therefore, native Spanish-speakers were at a disadvantage because of minimal use of their mother tongue compared to the Anglo-American speakers. After 1974, more learning contexts were allowed for Spanish development. As a result, in the first scenario, the Puerto Rican population probably developed English literacy skills through moderate mother tongue literacy.

Because the instruction of all other courses was in English as the students moved from elementary school to high school, students in both scenarios ended up developing Spanish literacy skills on the basis of highly developed English literacy skills. Along the successive-simultaneous exposure continuum, acquisition of biliteracy through the media of English and Spanish occurred successively in both scenarios.

Along the similar-dissimilar structures and the convergent-divergent scripts continua, since Spanish and English share similar structures and lean toward the
convergent scripts ends of the media of biliteracy continua, transfer probably occurred
during the students’ acquisition of biliteracy before 2001, despite the somewhat restricted
presence of Spanish.

More Flexibility for Biliteracy Development After 2001

After 2001, the importance of Spanish grew markedly due in part to a larger
Puerto Rican population and to parental pressure (see Development and content of
biliteracy continua section). Because the headmaster allowed more Spanish contexts in
the school, the Puerto Rican/Hispanic heritage students develop English literacy skills
through moderate Spanish literacy in the elementary school grades. The foreign students
develop Spanish literacy skills through a higher English literacy. To their advantage, the
majority of their classmates are of Puerto Rican or Hispanic heritage and they listen to
these students’ Spanish language elsewhere in the school, which assists their biliterate
development. By the middle school grades, the students develop Spanish literacy skills
through moderate English literacy and the Spanish that surrounds them outside of the
school context. In high school, they develop Spanish literacy skills through a higher
English literacy as well as the Spanish that surrounds them outside of the school context.
As seen in the excerpts above, Puerto Ricans and Anglo-Americans apply their English
literacy skills to Spanish. (See the Development of biliteracy continua section). Along
the simultaneous-successive exposure continuum, I have to say that many students are
successively exposed to a second language.

However, along this continuum I encounter a conflict. I strongly believe that
many of Saint Andrew’s students have been exposed to the English language at a very
early age through travels to and from the United States, television (most cable channels in
Puerto Rico are in English), digital games, and other media. As a result of this contact with English, I question whether these students learn simultaneously, successively or both (at times simultaneously and at other times successively). Although most Puerto Ricans island-wide learn a second language successively, I believe many of Saint Andrew's school students learn the Spanish and English languages simultaneously.

As mentioned in the *Methodology* chapter, along the similar-dissimilar language structures and the convergent-divergent scripts continua, the Spanish and the English languages have similar structures and convergent scripts allowing for transfer to occur (for further information on the transfer concept please see the *Framework for data analysis* section in chapter 3 and *Development of biliteracy continua* section in chapter 6). Since the Spanish and English languages consist of similar structures and convergent scripts, the students use their English knowledge while learning Spanish and vice-versa. The longer a student studies at Saint Andrew's School, the greater the probability of transfer from English to Spanish.
Chapter 6

Continua of Biliterate Development and Content at St. Andrew’s School

In this chapter, I describe and analyze my Saint Andrew’s School data using the development of biliteracy continua and the content of biliteracy continua, as seen in Figure 6.1. The development of biliteracy continua is made up of three sub-continua: the reception-production continuum, the oral language-written language continuum, and the L1-L2 transfer continuum. The content of biliteracy continua is made up of three sub-continua: the minority-majority continuum, the vernacular-literary continuum and the decontextualized-contextualized continuum. I will concentrate on the description and analysis of the 2001-2007 period for the reasons stated in the Media of biliteracy continua section. After a brief discussion of English development at Saint Andrew’s, this section will mainly focus on the development and content of Spanish at the school.

**Development of biliteracy**

\[
\text{reception} \rightarrow \text{production} \rightarrow \text{oral} \rightarrow \text{written} \rightarrow \text{L1} \rightarrow \text{L2}
\]

**Content of biliteracy**

\[
\text{minority} \rightarrow \text{majority} \rightarrow \text{vernacular} \rightarrow \text{literary} \rightarrow \text{contextualized} \rightarrow \text{decontextualized}
\]

Figure 6.1. The Development of Biliteracy Continua and the Content of Biliteracy Continua (Hornberger & Skilton-Sylvester, 2003, p. 39).
English Development and Content at Saint Andrew’s School

As stated in the Context of biliteracy continua section, English is the language policy of the school. The Board of Trustees, the headmaster, the principals, the teachers, the parents and the students understand that Saint Andrew’s is a college preparatory English-speaking school. The school environment allows the students’ development of the English language to occur without difficulty. A few statements from important school figures illustrate the value of English. Below, I present comments that provide evidence of support from the headmaster, principals, teachers and parents, all of whom are key participants in the students’ development of English.

Headmaster

Font: I think in class with the exception of the Spanish class, they should be speaking English.
(IN: Font, 04-06-30).

Principals

Ms. Kellog, who served as principal of the elementary school until 2004 voiced that in the 1930s Bishop Colemore passed the school over to the parents on two conditions: (1) parents are to be the owners of the school, and (2) English is to be the main language of the school (FN: Conversation with Elementary School Principal, 03-09-10). The current elementary school principal stated that English takes priority as the language of instruction at the school.

Thompson: El inglés es la lengua número uno [en esta escuela] (IN: Thompson, 04-10-15).

Thompson: English is the number one language of this school (IN: Thompson, 04-10-15, translation mine).

The two expressions below show strong feelings on behalf of the high school principal regarding the development of English.
Noel: In elementary school, the teachers have to use English inside and outside all the time, all the time because, otherwise, the children will not learn English.
Noel: Saint Andrew’s is a college preparatory English school. There! That’s what we are. Like I told you, with the years, outside of the classroom, Spanish is heard a lot more. But above all, the little ones must switch to speaking English [all the time] (IN: Noel, 04-09-09).

She specifically stressed the continuous use of English in the elementary school because, otherwise, the school would not be fulfilling its mission of preparing the students for colleges in the United States.

**Teachers**

An elementary Spanish teacher and a high school Spanish teacher point out that English is the language of the school.

**Elementary school**

González: This is an English-speaking school and a Spanish class is taught like any other class, but this is not a bilingual school. The Spanish class is comparable to the art class or the social studies class (IN: González, 04-05-14).

**High school**

Otero: I think that many of these parents might say my interest is for my child to learn English because I can take care of the Spanish language learning at home because it is the language of our home because [English] will give [my child] the job opportunity in the United States. (IN: Otero, 04-04-05)
Parental influence

I already mentioned in the *Context of biliteracy* section that the parents' expectations for the English language development of their children are very high. Eleven out of thirteen parents responded positively to the question “Did the fact that Saint Andrew’s School’s instruction is in English play a role in your selection?”. Only one said that it was a negative factor because English is the native language of their children and they wanted a Spanish-based instruction school. However, convenience influenced their decision because one of the parents of these children teaches at Saint Andrew’s School.

English language development as represented in the *Context of biliteracy continua* is the reality of Saint Andrew’s School. Nonetheless, Spanish has become an important language within the school.

**Spanish Development and Content at Saint Andrew’s School**

In the *Context of biliteracy* section, I mentioned that since 2001 Spanish has been reinforced at Saint Andrew’s School. The beliefs, attitudes and practices of the school administration, the teachers and the parents allow the development of Spanish amongst the students to improve and flourish. The headmaster, though not bilingual or Puerto Rican, supports the Spanish language maintenance and SSL. The elementary and middle school principals agree with him (IN: Thompson, 04-10-15, IN: Smith, 04-09-08). The high school principal is a bit more cautious (IN: Noel, 04-09-09). She wanted the elementary school students speaking English only; whereas, the middle and high school students could use Spanish outside of their other classes and in their Spanish class. Also, the parents’ demand for better Spanish instruction is one of the main reasons for the
improvement of Spanish. The Spanish teachers welcomed the parental demand for a better
development of Spanish at the school (IN: Herrera, 04-09-27; IN: Otero, 04-04-05; IN: Vélez, 04-05-06).

In fact, the parents who answered my questionnaires expect their children to be effective bilinguals (EM: Garfield, 07-09-20; EM: Geddes, 07-09-18; EM: Latimer, 07-09-17; EM: Lizmore, 07-09-17; EM: Moreno, 07-09-25; EM: Ramos, 07-09-17; EM: Romero, 07-09-26; EM: Saltz, 07-09-21; EM: Shannon, 07-09-17; EM: Sutton, 07-09-25; EM: Virgo, 07-09-26). Those parents whose children have graduated said that their children communicate well in both languages, English and Spanish (EM: Garfield, 07-09-20; EM: Geddes, 07-09-18).

Below I point to evidence that suggests a better development of Spanish, and therefore of biliteracy, at Saint Andrew’s School during the 2001-2007 period. The institution uses the Spanish curriculum used at other comparable private schools on the island where Spanish is the language of instruction (IN: Maldonado, 04-09-30; IN: Thompson, 04-10-15). With the exception of pre-kindergarten and kindergarten, regular Spanish classes and one SSL class per grade are taught. As soon as teachers feel that an SSL student’s development of biliteracy is such that they can attend a regular Spanish class, the student is transferred. The type of bilingualism practiced for non-L2 speakers is an example of mainstream bilingualism described by Baker (2006) where English speakers are taught a majority language, Spanish. Saint Andrew’s bilingual education for these students can also be compared to that of European Schools whose philosophy includes academic multilingualism in at least two languages for all students (De Mejía,
For these students, Saint Andrew's fosters additive bilingualism (Baker, 2006; Cummins, 2000).

My interviews with the administration, my interviews, electronic correspondence and conversations with the Spanish teachers and the parents, and my observations of Spanish classes and other school activities revealed the following:

- The elementary Spanish teachers contribute respectfully to the development of Spanish language teaching curricula. They exchange valuable information in the curriculum meetings, which can be beneficial both to them and to their students.
- The school supports the Spanish teachers on Spanish curriculum development at all levels.
- The parents of Saint Andrew's school influence the development of biliteracy of their children at all levels.
- The pride of being Spanish speakers and of being Puerto Rican resonates throughout the school but more acutely throughout the middle and high schools.
- Reading, writing, listening, speaking and observing are important elements in the development of Spanish. Saint Andrew's students are enticed to learn Spanish through these skills at all levels.
- Lack of Spanish vocabulary is due, in part, to the English-enriched environment at all levels.

I take up each of these points in detail below.
Spanish Curriculum Development

Language policy and planning scholars would agree that curriculum development is one of corpus planning’s essential components. Fortunately, while I was conducting my research at Saint Andrew’s School, the school was taking steps to improve the development of all its courses including Spanish. The administration had decided to review the curriculum of the school in 2003 and 2004. The elementary school principal explained how the Spanish curriculum at this level was being reviewed.

Malaret: Y tú que estás [trabajando] con los curriculos, ¿cómo a la maestra de español se les da el 'support' que necesitan, o sea, qué tiempo se les da, que materiales se les dan, cómo se seleccionan todas esas cosas?
Thompson: Pues mira, nosotros el año pasado hicimos una revisión de currículo. Se le daba un viernes al mes que ellas tenían el día completamente libre. Este año también estamos hablando de una revisión de currículo y tiempo para ellas planear y cambiar cualquier objetivo que necesiten en su currículo o en sus planes que les toma tiempo y ellas no tienen mucho tiempo. Así que igual se les va a dar un viernes al mes [para] que ellas puedan estar planeando, buscando actividades nuevas. Eso es algo que empezamos el año pasado y lo vamos a continuar porque creemos que es bien necesario.
Malaret: Y los materiales?
Thompson: Los materiales, nosotros usamos el mismo programa de texto que usan muchas de las escuelas [donde la instrucción es en español] en [nuestra] clase de español. Por supuesto ellas dan las otras materias; está matemática, estudios sociales, etcétera en español, pero el programa de español per se es el mismo que se usa en todas estas otras escuelas, que es bien completo y muy bueno. En cuestión de darles desarrollo profesional a ellas, conferencias y eso. ahi estamos bien limitados (IN: Thompson, 04-10-15).

Malaret: And, you that are working with the curricula, how do the Spanish teachers receive the needed support. That is, what time is given to them, what materials are given to them, how are all those things selected?
Thompson: Well look, last year we revised the curriculum. The Spanish teachers were given one Friday per month to work on curriculum development. This year we are talking about a review of the curriculum and time for them to plan and change any objective that they need within their curriculum or in their plans, which takes time and they do not have much time. We are going to continue giving them one Friday per month so that they can plan, looking for new activities. That is something that we started last year and we are going to continue because we think that it is necessary.
Malaret: And the materials?
Thompson: The materials, we use the same program that many Spanish-based instruction schools use. Of course, they teach the other classes, Mathematics, Social Studies, etc. in Spanish. But, here, the Spanish program is the same one used in all those other schools; it is very complete and very good. With regard to professional development to teachers, we are very limited (IN: Thompson, 04-10-15, translation mine).
Support for Teachers’ Curriculum Development

The school supports curriculum meetings by allowing the Spanish teachers to meet during the school day. The school provides substitute teachers on the days that the Spanish elementary school teachers meet for curriculum development. The teachers, especially those in the elementary grades, are encouraged to get together and work on their curriculum whenever they can. For example, when the elementary school students are in humanities, computers, physical education or music class, the elementary homeroom teachers and Spanish teachers have planning time. They may use this time to consult with each other, to develop curriculum and to support each other.

Out of the five elementary school Spanish teachers, only one had a designated classroom. The others were transient. Each one of the teachers taught four regular Spanish classes in first through fifth grades and an SSL class in one of these grades. For example, one teacher would teach regular Spanish in first through fourth grades and SSL in fifth grade. Another teacher would teach regular Spanish in second through fifth grades and SSL in first grade and so forth. The school has five Spanish classes per grade in elementary school. The Spanish teachers were asked to develop the Spanish curriculum for grades one through five under the following topics: lecture and comprehension; phonemes and orthography; writing; mechanisms of language and grammar; speaking, listening and observing; and study skills. They were given plenty of helpful information by the administration and the curriculum consultant to develop this curriculum (see Appendices I-N for more detailed information).
I participated in three elementary school curriculum meetings midway through the curriculum development process. I also attended one of the inforums\textsuperscript{21}, where parents brought up Spanish curriculum concerns. Except for the inforum, these meetings took place in Spanish. I present excerpts of two of these meetings below and excerpts of the third curriculum meeting and the inforum within the parental involvement and curriculum content section.

The five elementary Spanish teachers attended the meeting on January 23, 2004. None of these teachers had written a curriculum before (FN: Spanish curriculum meeting, 04-03-12). The teachers decided to team up in order to create the curricula for each of the grades. For example, González, Santiago and Valdés worked together to create the curriculum for second grade; Vélez and Barceló did the same for third grade. After finishing the draft of the development of curricula for the five grades, they openly discussed each other’s input for each grade giving suggestions for activities and/or evaluations, correcting each other, asking questions whenever anyone felt uncertain about any of the parts examined for the creation of this curriculum.

Below is one of the dialogues that occurred during this meeting. The teachers discussed how to evaluate writing by second-grade students.

Valdés to González: Okay, dijiste personajes y eventos... Desarrollar una obra hecha por ellos... Están en actividades.
González: Okay nos quedamos en la cuatro. Necesitamos una actividad.
Santiago: Puede ser hacer un periódico.
Valdés: Lo del pelotero... el béisbol... ellos escogerían un pelotero famoso y buscarían información sobre su vida profesional y personal.
Vélez: [Hay que] tratar de incluir lo de differentiated instruction.
Valdés: La evaluación va a ser entregada en forma de folleto.
Barceló: Y si en vez de eso evalúan el proceso.
Vélez: Que ellos sepan lo que son las partes del cuento [o sea, personajes, ambiente, problemas, soluciones, título, autor, conclusión].
Barceló: Que no se evalúe solo al final.

\textsuperscript{21} See the Context of biliteracy section for more information on inforum.
Valdés to González: Okay, you said characters and events... To develop a story written by
the students... You are in activities.

González: Okay we are on number four. We need an activity.

Santiago: It can be to write a newspaper.

Valdés: About the baseball player... baseball... they could select a famous baseball
player and look up information about his professional and personal life.

Vélez: [We have to] try to include what we learned in the differentiated instruction
seminar.

Valdés: The evaluation will be turned in as a pamphlet.

Barceló: What if the process is evaluated instead?

Vélez: For [the students] to understand the parts of the story [that is, characters,
environment, problems, solutions, title, author, conclusion].

Barceló: [The evaluation] should not be only at the end.

These teachers brainstorm ideas to then decide what to select. González says, “to
develop a story written by the students,” which Valdés repeats. Santiago adds that the
students can write a newspaper. Valdés suggests that the students can turn in the written
information as a pamphlet and that the pamphlet can be used for evaluation. But, Barceló
says that the students should not only be evaluated by the output (that is, the pamphlet);
they should be evaluated on the developmental process as well. Additionally, Vélez
brought up the fact that they have to include the “differentiated instruction” information
they recently learned. An important characteristic of the interaction is that all the
teachers contribute respectfully to the development of curricula while learning from each
other.

Another interesting excerpt that illustrates the co-construction of knowledge by
the Spanish teachers was Valdés’s comment when discussing the words that carry accents
and syllables in Spanish. She brought to the teachers’ attention that “la palabra examen
se puede dividir de dos maneras dependiendo del país” (the word exam can be divided in
two ways depending upon the country, translation mine) and explains that the Royal
Spanish Academy accepts both ways, i.e., e-xa-men or ex-á-men (FN: Spanish curriculum meeting, 04-01-23). This implies that the meetings are productive not only because the teachers learn how to develop curriculum but also because the teachers exchange valuable information, which can be beneficial to them and their students.

The March 12, 2004 meeting was held in the same classroom. This meeting differed from the previous one because Montero, a consultant experienced in curriculum development from the University of Puerto Rico who had been helping Saint Andrew’s for many years, met with the five elementary Spanish teachers to read the draft of the curriculum and to guide them through the process. The consultant began by telling them “vamos a empezar por el principio, primer grado” (let’s start from the beginning, first grade) (FN: Spanish curriculum meeting, 04-03-12, translation mine). While she read what the teachers had developed under the six headings, she made suggestions, asked questions and corrected their work.

Montero: *Vamos a escritura, proceso y redacción. Yo les sugiero que en la meta pongan 'mejorar la escritura como proceso de atribución de significado a través del proceso de escritura'. Yo añadiría en proceso, escritura emergente y espontánea, preparación del borrador, ilustrar, revisar y publicar. ¿Ustedes se refieren a escritura espontánea?*

Valdés y Barceló: Sí.

Montero: *¿Qué buscan cuando evalúan un escrito de un niño de primer grado?*

Valdés: *Que utilizando símbolos se expresen; uno pregunta [para saber que entienden].*

Montero: *Okay, expresa verbalmente las ideas escritas.*

Barceló: *Que incluya personajes.*

Montero: *Se observa [a los estudiantes para evaluar]. Para cada objetivo debe de haber una actividad y como evaluar.... ¿Ustedes cuantas veces han escrito curriculo?*

The five teachers answer in unison: *Nunca. Es la primera vez.*

(FN: Spanish curriculum meeting, 04-03-12).

Montero: *Let’s go with writing: process and drafting. My suggestion is that as a goal you write ‘improve writing as a process of meaning-making through the process of writing’. I would add emergent and spontaneous writings, draft preparation, illustrating, revising and publishing to the process. Are you referring to spontaneous writing?*

Valdés and Barceló: *Yes.*

Consultant: *What do you look for when evaluating the writings of a first grade student?*

Valdés: *That they express themselves using symbols; one questions them [to see if they understand].*
The consultant asks questions to understand what they wrote and why, and assists them accordingly. For example, when she asks them, "What do you look for when you evaluate the writing(s) of a first grader?" she wants them to verbalize how to evaluate the students. Once the consultant provides her suggestions, the teachers continue to develop the Spanish curriculum with a better understanding and with more confidence. The teachers received support from the administration and from the above mentioned consultant in their process of curriculum development.

The sixth grade Spanish teacher Aguilar was critical of the way the curriculum had been developed in the elementary school.

Aguilar: Otro de los problemas que tenemos es que la escuela elemental es un ente aparte de lo que es la escuela intermedia y la escuela superior [cuando de desarrollo de currículo se trata]. Ahora mismo ellos han hecho el currículo, lo han revisado ellos aparte. Entonces ahora nosotros empezamos [a trabajar en el currículo] para después... tratar de integrar ambas partes del currículo.

Malaret: O sea, a ver si entiendo, en realidad el proceso debió haberlos incluido a ustedes en la escuela elemental.

Aguilar: Exactamente, por lo menos la escuela intermedia, que es el enlace.

Aguilar: Yo pedí por escrito y todo el tener un maestro de escuela intermedia presente en el currículo de la escuela elemental y nos dijeron que no.

(IN: Aguilar, 04-09-08)

Aguilar: Another problem that we have is that the elementary school is separate from the middle and high schools [when it comes to curriculum development]. Right now they have worked on the curriculum, they have revised it separately from us. Then, we begin to work [on the curriculum] to then try to integrate both parts of the curriculum.

Malaret: Well, let me see if I understand, the process should have included you in the elementary school.

Aguilar: Exactly, at least the middle school that is the link.

Aguilar: I asked in writing to have a middle school teacher present during the elementary Spanish curriculum development and the answer was no.

(IN: Aguilar, 04-09-08, translation mine).
Even though Aguilar had requested the presence of one middle school teacher in the Spanish curriculum development meetings, his request was denied. When I asked if the administration had stated a reason for not including a middle school Spanish teacher, he answered in the negative indicating that he had received no response. To Aguilar part of the problem lies on the lack of communication between the elementary and middle school Spanish teachers, which prevents continuity between the levels.

**Parental Involvement and Curriculum Content**

The other two meetings were related to curriculum content: a parent inforum on March 4, 2004, and a teachers’ meeting on March 11, 2004, which evolved as a result of the inforum. The March 4, 2004, inforum took place in a room called “The Pit” which is used for small school activities and for some physical education classes. At the inforum, parents expressed their concern about the Spanish instruction that their children were receiving at Saint Andrew’s School. Two parents mentioned that the sixth grade Spanish teacher is excellent and that they want more teachers like him. These parents brought up the issue that the students were not reading novels in Spanish at the fourth and fifth grade levels. The parents also requested novels with Puerto Rican vocabulary and novels written by Puerto Ricans. As a result of this inforum, the administrators decided to arrange a meeting with the sixth grade Spanish teacher and the elementary Spanish teachers.

The March 11, 2004, meeting occurred in the elementary Spanish classroom already mentioned above. The entire meeting was conducted in Spanish. The elementary school principal, Ms. Thompson, started the meeting by stating the above-mentioned concern, which illustrates that the parents can influence the development of biliteracy of
their children. She then mentioned that she had consulted the elementary Spanish teachers and Aguilar, the sixth grade Spanish teacher, on whether the children should read novels at the fourth and fifth grade levels. They had all answered positively so the elementary school principal proceeded to find out which novels were suitable for these children.

Thompson: We need novels suitable for those ages. Some parents do not want translated novels; they want novels written by Puerto Rican authors. What they do not understand is that good translations exist. We have to look at the options available.

Aguilar: There are good translations for this level.

Thompson: The parents mentioned that when the students arrive at your class, they are not prepared, especially in grammar. I try to tell them that reading is paramount in elementary school... that it is difficult to instill in them the love of writing and reading in only forty-five minutes per day.

The sixth grade teacher indicates that:

Aguilar: The deficiency in grammar is not what worries me. I do worry about [the deficiency] in reading and in the vocabulary that they have developed. [The understanding of] grammar follows from vocabulary and reading.... To identify a verb is basic. [To lack the ability of identifying a verb] is sad, at least, they should be able to identify the verb [before entering sixth grade]. [We] have to clarify the process to the parents. [In the readings], the vocabulary leans towards Mexican Spanish, and [the parents complain about this]. The books from Norma and Santillana publishers that are adapted for Puerto Rico [are good].

Thompson: We need book suggestions.

Aguilar: The important thing is to look for books that the students like... stories that they would enjoy.
Thompson: We have to search for a novel.
Mrs. Valdés: We have “The Abandoned Cabin.”
Thompson tells her to look for it and to show it to Aguilar for approval.
(FN: Spanish curriculum meeting, 04-03-11, translation mine)

In the aforementioned meeting, the elementary school principal’s mission seemed to be to choose a book and be able to tell the parents that they have chosen a book that will be read by the fourth and/or fifth graders. When Valdés proposes “La cabaña abandonada,” she immediately tells her to get it and show it to the sixth grade Spanish teacher for approval.

Meanwhile, the sixth grade Spanish teacher clearly stated that reading develops grammar and vocabulary and that the elementary students should read whatever they like, that is, the book should not be chosen for them. This teacher argued that there are very good translations of books that are interesting for the students from some of the editorials. He realized that the students should read books that they identify with so that the reading activity becomes a fun and learning activity for them. Aguilar clearly wants the student to connect with the reading material because through reading a student learns grammar and vocabulary. This excerpt confirms that during a curriculum development event, someone or something can stifle the process. In this case, the sixth grade teacher disagrees with the elementary school principal regarding what route to follow. The elementary school principal somewhat stifles the process by agreeing with Valdés’s suggestion instead of listening to an experienced and well-regarded Spanish teacher.

A few months later I interviewed Aguilar (IN: 04-09-08) who mentioned that, after the March 11, 2004, meeting, they were supposed to have monthly meetings but that those meetings never occurred. He seemed disillusioned with what had happened at the meeting and implied that the elementary school principal did not follow through with the
plans (IN: Aguilar, 04-09-08). This experience illustrates the challenges of curriculum development in Spanish.

**Spanish Language and Student Identity**

With regard to most of the students’ native language of Spanish, a high school teacher expressed that one of the reasons for teaching Spanish is that of the student’s identity. She emphasized that after 1974, the number of Puerto Rican students in the school increased markedly which resulted in more importance for the Spanish language. Consequently, she argued that the language gives the student a sense of identity.

Malaret: **Dado que el inglés es la lengua de instrucción aquí, ¿por qué se enseña español aquí, cuál es la razón del español aquí?**

Herrera: **Yo creo que el sentido de identidad. Cuando yo llegué aquí hace muchos años, la mayoría de los estudiantes eran norteamericanos. Pero, eso cambió desde el año '74 en que llegó [un nuevo director] y entró una población un poco más extensa puertorriqueña y yo creo que es correcto que aprendan el español, la lengua materna para la mayoría de estos estudiantes le da un sentido de identidad. Como yo le dije no me hablé de Puerto Rico ni me hablé de una bandera ni de un partido político. Ser buen puertorriqueño para ti es escribir y hablar el idioma.** (IN: Herrera, 04-09-27)

Malaret: Given that English is the language of instruction here, why is Spanish taught here? What’s the reasoning behind it?

Herrera: I believe that it is the sense of identity. When I arrived here many years ago, the majority of the students were Anglo-American. But, since 1974, that changed. [A new headmaster arrived] and a larger proportion of Puerto Ricans enrolled in the school and I believe that it is right for them to learn Spanish, their mother tongue; this will give the students a better sense of identity. I tell them, don’t talk to me about Puerto Rico or about a banner or about a political party. Being a good Puerto Rican for you is to write and speak the language. (IN: Herrera, 04-09-27, translation mine)

Herrera, a Spanish teacher for more than thirty years, understood the relationship a native student should have with his/her mother tongue. The headmaster and the rest of the Spanish teachers interviewed agreed. Otero went further to say that, “one has to appreciate one’s own culture to appreciate other cultures” (IN: Otero, 04-04-05, translation mine).

Whether the students are native Puerto Ricans or not, the school plays a role in trying to make sure that the students understand the culture of the island. It seems that
the school has inadvertently begun to promote a better language ecology (Hornberger & Hult, 2007). As stated in the *Context of biliteracy continua* section, in elementary school, two Spanish language assemblies occur per academic year. While I did my research I also witnessed a bilingual presentation by the “Sol y Canto” group to the elementary school students. The “Sol y Canto” group played several instruments while singing bilingual songs in Spanish and English. In the middle and high schools, the students are interested in learning about other aspects of the island’s culture as seen in the *Context of biliteracy* section. For example, a group of high school students had the pleasure of interacting with Puerto Rican poet Elsa Tió in November 2004. A newsletter described the visit as follows:

Passionate, charismatic, gracious, this is how one would describe Puerto Rican poet Elsa Tió. Saint Andrew’s ninth grade class was honored by her visit this past November, thanks to her niece, Paulina Pagan. Elsa Tió shared stories about her father, Salvador Tió, her first encounters with poetry, her beautiful poems, and most importantly, her love of words. She encouraged students to write, to always strive to find the right combination of words, to make sure the word captures the object it names. She captivated and mesmerized the audience. We thank her for her time and for the privilege of allowing us to listen to *La Voz del Caracol* (NS: 2004, p. 13).

Tato Laviera22, a Puerto Rican poet who lives in New York visited the school in the spring of 2007 (NS: 2007 YBK, p. 63). After reading about the visiting poet, Tato Laviera, in their English class, the middle school students were asked to write a poem about the meaning of being Puerto Rican. Tato Laviera has written poems in Spanish, English and Spanglish. Spanglish, as explained previously, is a mixture of Spanish and English where one or more Spanish words are used with one or more English words

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22 Tato Laviera was born in Puerto Rico and has lived in New York City since 1960. A second-generation Puerto Rican writer, a poet and playwright, he is deeply committed to the social and cultural development of Puerto Ricans in New York. His poetry and plays are linguistic and artistic celebrations of Puerto Rican culture, African Caribbean traditions, the fast rhythms of life in New York City, and of life in general. Laviera writes in English, Spanish, and Spanglish, a mixture of the two. His superior command of both languages and the playful yet serious value he imparts to Spanglish, distinguishes his writing from others of his generation.” (Cengage Learning, 2007).
moving freely from one language to another. Pousada (1994) refers to Spanglish as 
loanwords that consist of nouns, verbs or adjectives from one language, which have been 
completely or partially integrated into the phonology and morphology of another 
language.

The middle school students were given the option of writing the poem in any 
of the three languages mentioned above. Appendix O shows the poem written by Liesl 
Collazo, an eighth grade student. This student chose Spanglish to show what being 
Puerto Rican means to her. These students are enticed to learn by reading, listening, 
observing and writing. They share their compositions with the school community as 
shown on the pictures from Saint Andrew’s Yearbook 2007 below.

“The senior class was honored with the visit of Flavia Lugo, a retired University 
of Puerto Rico Spanish Department Director and widow of recognized Puerto 
Rican author and actor Carlos Marichal. She visited on Valentine’s Day 2007 and 
spoke about “the real meaning of love”” (NS: 2007 YBK, p.64).

The pride of the Spanish language and of being Puerto Rican was celebrated 
during several activities. For example, on November 18, 2003, the President of the High 
School Student Council expressed himself as follows in an activity to commemorate the 
 discovery of Puerto Rico:

As all of you tomorrow we commemorate the discovery of Puerto Rico. To many, this is just a 
day free from work in which sleep can be extended; by the end of today the council wants to make 
sure that tomorrow is more than this. You are about to see a series of presentations in which la-
puertorriqueñidad will be defined by the four different classes, a series of presentations that 
describe what it means to be puertorriqueño or to live in Puerto Rico for these four groups. 
Before we start, I want to get across that for me as well as for the rest of the Board, tomorrow is 
much more than a day in which our sleep can be extended, it is a day in which we are bound to 
demonstrate our respect to the island that is our home and to most of us la isla que nos vió nacer 
(the island that saw our birth, translation mine).

23 The European Discovery of Puerto Rico was on November 19, 1493.
Senior Parents
College Orientation

Puertorrican poetry competition wins: "Lies!"

Informed Parents Activities

School/Relationship
John Littleford, SJS Consultant

Figure 6.2. Students share their compositions with the school community (NS: 2007 YBK, p. 62).
Figure 6.3. Students sharing their compositions with the school community (NS: 2007 YBK, p. 63).
Being puertorriqueño means watery eyes when you hear Verde Luz, it means feeling the connection between the land and your feet, it means recognizing that we are one by ourselves, it means knowing that the insularism that drowns us makes us stronger and closer to our fellow puertorriqueño, it means smiling when you hear people clapping when your plane touches ground in San Juan.

So tomorrow, when we all wake up, let’s open our windows and look at our world with pride. Let’s think how we can better ourselves and our island. Let’s recognize that we are the future and that the future is in us, let’s promise ourselves that whatever we do, we do it with the common good of los puertorriqueños as the guiding star; that wherever we go, we do not forget the place we were born, that we do not forget that it was here where we met ourselves.

Have a great Día del Descubrimiento, and never forget that this island belongs to you; that you will always be Puerto Rico (NS: 2004).

The uses of Spanish in these phrases are purposely placed for everyone to feel Puerto Rican. The feeling of identity seems to blossom for the Puerto Rican students in Saint Andrew’s School, especially from sixth through twelfth grades.

Another effort that values Spanish is Perfiles, the school’s Spanish literary magazine. Herrera explains the origins of the magazine.

Perfilés, [the school’s Spanish literary magazine,] was started in 1988, thanks to Mrs. Deborah Ferdman’s efforts. She was the Spanish AP teacher and the [twelfth] grade teacher for several years.... She taught a journalism course and through this class, Perfilés was born” (EM: Herrera, 06-09-29, translation mine).

The publication of this Spanish magazine continues under the direction of Otero, the Spanish department head, identified in the 2007 publication as the adviser. Several students contributed artwork. Short stories, essays and poems written by the high school students and their adviser are published in Perfiles 2007. Many of the writings are identity related or about the love for Puerto Rico. The Perfiles 2007 magazine is dedicated to Nilita Vientos Gastón, a Puerto Rican who became the first female lawyer in the Department of Justice of the island. She was also the first female President of Ateneo.
Puertorriqueño, and created two literary magazines on the island, namely, Asomante in 1945 and Sin nombre in 1965 (Perfiles, 2007).

In addition to Perfiles, the high school participates in yearly oratory competitions in Spanish. Oratory competitions have three categories: category A, category B and category C. Category A is the most prestigious. About eight to ten private schools comprise each category. Depending upon the school’s placement during the last competition, the school could switch to another category. Each category has the following types: oratory, poetry, drama, original and improvisation (EM: Herrera, 08-02-26). The students select the piece to be presented and the type desired which gives them the opportunity to identify themselves with the piece of writing. Moreover, if a student selects the original or improvisation type, he/she writes the piece. The competition practice with their Spanish teachers usually takes place after school. The competitions are held in the schools under each category. For example, if San Ignacio School is under category A, it could host the competitions for category A in 2008; if San Antonio school is in category B it could host the competitions for category B in 2008.

Saint Andrew’s School has won first place overall in the Spanish oratory competitions under category A for seven years in a row from 2001 to 2007, showing that some of its teachers and students go beyond simple maintenance of their native language (EM: Herrera, 08-02-26; IN: Otero, 04-04-05; NS: Summer 2007, p. 10; NS: Summer 2002, p. 8; NS: Summer 2003, p. 9; NS: Summer 2005, p. 19; NS: Summer 2007, p. 10). These competitions boost the students’ self-esteem and offer opportunities for Spanish language enrichment.
Another opportunity for students to gain Spanish literacy is through the elementary school’s publishing center whose purpose is “to give students the opportunity to express themselves through creative writing and art. Students from pre-kindergarten through fifth grade submit books that they have written and illustrated themselves, either in the classroom or at home” (NS: 2006-2007, p. 13). Parent volunteers assist the students with “their illustrations and editing, and later type, assemble and bind the books” (NS: 2006-2007, p. 13). Given the English-enriched environment in elementary school, most of the books published are in English. However, a small number of elementary students choose to write books in Spanish as well. Unless the teacher requests Spanish, the student is free to write a book in Spanish, English or both. During the yearly Young Author’s Fair, which takes place at the end of the school year, most of the students want to display their books for family, friends and classmates to see (Saint Andrew’s School Resources, 2008). The numerous aforementioned opportunities illustrate how the students are attracted to learn Spanish in different ways at different levels.

*Reading, Writing and/or Speaking Skills*

I asked Spanish teachers at different levels to indicate the order of importance regarding reading, writing and speaking in their Spanish class, if there was any. Below are the responses of one elementary school teacher, one middle school teacher and one high school teacher, along with illustrative classroom examples in some cases.

**Elementary School**

Malaret: *De los siguientes elementos del lenguaje, ¿cuán importantes son en tus clases: la lectura, la escritura y el habla?*

González: *¿En algún orden?*

Malaret: *¿Qué orden, si [es que] hay un orden?*

González: *Para mí la lectura es número uno porque el que lee mucho sabe escribir y sabe hablar. Porque [el estudiante] está viendo todo el tiempo cómo se escribe una palabra. Después el hablar... porque creo que uno habla más que lo que escribe, porque tú hablas todo el tiempo.*

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por último escribir. Siendo todas importantes claro, pero con ese orden. Y número uno leer porque el que lee mucho sabe hacerlo todo bien.

Malaret: ¿Y qué tipo de escritura esperas de los estudiantes, coger notas, copiar poemas?

González: Pues mira yo de poemas no sé. Me gustan mucho los cuentos, que escriban cuentos porque encuentro que eso le abre esta imaginación y escriben unas cosas que tú lees y aprendes de tus mismos niños. O sea que ellos escojan lo que quieren escribir en forma de cuenta o en forma de cómo les guste. A veces los de primer grado [escriben] y yo [me digo] Dios mío pero como este niño puede escribir estas cosas porque se imaginan unas cosas [incredibles].

(IN: González, 04-05-14)

Malaret: Of the following language skills, how important are they in your classes:

reading, writing and speaking?

González: In some order?

Malaret: What order, if any?

González: For me, reading is number one because the one who reads a lot knows how to write and speak. Because [the student] is looking at the written word. Then, speaking because I believe that one spends more time talking than writing, because one talks all the time. And last writing. Still, all three are important, but in that order. And number one reading because the one that reads a lot knows how to do the rest.

Malaret: And, what type of scripts do you expect from the students, taking notes, copying poems?

González: Well, look regarding poems, I know nothing. I like stories a lot, I like letting the students write stories because I find that it opens their imagination and they write things that you read and you learn from your own students. That is, let them select what they want to write about in whatever way they like. Sometimes the first graders [write] and I [tell myself] my God how did this child come up with this they have an amazing imagination.

(IN: González, 04-05-14, translation mine)

Although reading seems to be the most important skill to this elementary school teacher, she also expects them to write about whatever they like. Observations also show that the students participate in class by answering questions and asking questions (FN: Spanish curriculum meeting, 04-03-12; FN: Barceló, 03-09-18). For example, in this fourth grade SSL class the teacher is reading the book *El otro lado* from the author Alejandro Aura to the Anglo-American students. The story is about a king that sends his people to the other side to find out what is on the other side. The king expects them to come back and tell him what they found. The teacher purposely asks questions to find out if the students understand what is being read. The students also feel comfortable asking questions when they do not understand a word or phrase.
La maestra de español como segunda lengua enseña el libro y dice lo siguiente: 

Este [libro] es extraño. Este yo lo vi en México. El otro lado. ¿Saben lo que es el otro lado?

Estudiante 1: 

Si. The other side.

Barceló repitiendo: 

The other side. Bien. Vamos a ver si es de México.

Barceló leyendo: 

Fondo de cultura de México. Estos libros casi siempre son buenos.

Barceló leyendo: 

Un día, el rey llamó a unos muchachos de por ahí y les dijo: ‘¡Se me van voloas hasta el otro lado y vienen y me dicen que hay!’

Barceló: 

El quiere que ellos vayan y le digan a él qué hay.

Barceló a los estudiantes: ¿Parece un rey?

Los estudiantes mueven sus cabezas dejando saber que no.

Barceló enseñando las ilustraciones del libro: Vieron que extraño. Es bien raro. Es como una casa, muchos niños, el rey está en calcancillos, ropa interior.

Estudiante 1: 

¿Qué raro.

Barceló: 

Si.

Barceló leyendo: 

Unos se fueron en bicicleta.

Estudiante 2: 

¿Qué es raro?

Barceló: 

Raro [es] weird, strange.

Mientras la maestra lee, traduce algunas palabras de español mejicano al español puertorriqueño.

Barceló leyendo: 

Otras se fueron no más volando. No más en México es nada más.

Estudiante 4: 

¿Cómo se puede [volar]?

Barceló: 

No sé. Es extraño.

Barceló leyendo: 

Algunos llegaron pronto al otro lado.

Barceló: 

Pronto, ¿qué es pronto?

Estudiante 3: 

Rápido.

Barceló: 

Verdad, llegaron rápido.

Estudiante 1: 

Fast.

(FN: Barceló, 03-09-18)

The SSL fourth grade teacher shows the book to be read in class and says: This one is strange. I saw this one in Mexico. El otro lado. Do you know what el otro lado means?

Student: 

Yes. The other side.

Barceló repeats: The other side. Okay. Let’s see if [the book] is from Mexico.

Barceló reading: Cultural Fund of Mexico. These books are almost always good.

Barceló reading: One day the king called some people and told them: Go fast to the other side, come back and tell me what there is!

Barceló: He wants them to go and find out what there is.

Barceló to the students: Does he look like a king?

The students shake their heads “no”.

Barceló showing the illustrations of the book: Did you see how strange the story is? It is very strange. It is like a house, lots of children, and the king is in underwear.

Student 1: 

How strange.

Barceló: 

Yes.

Barceló reading: Some left on bicycles.

Student 2: 

¿Qué es raro?

Barceló: 

Raro [is] weird, strange.

While Barceló reads, she translates some words from Mexican Spanish to Puerto Rican Spanish.

Barceló reading: Others left flying.

Barceló translates from Mexican Spanish to Puerto Rican Spanish: No más in Mexico means nothing else.

Student 4: 

How can they [fly]?

Barceló: 

I don’t know. It is strange.
Barceló reading: Some arrived fast to the other side.
Barceló: Pronto. ¿What is pronto?
Student 3: Fast.
Barceló: They really arrived fast.
Student 1: Fast.
(FN: Barceló, 03-09-18, translation mine)

When finished with the reading, the students and the teacher discuss what occurred in the story in Spanish. In this SSL class, the teacher communicated mostly in Spanish and when she felt that the students would not understand a word, phrase or sentence, she translated into English. She also asks general questions to find out what the students understand and the students answer her questions in Spanish, if possible, showing understanding of what was read. In addition, the students ask questions when they do not understand a word or phrase, and the teacher translates to English. Compared to the elementary level, Spanish in middle school focuses more on grammar.

Middle School

Malaret: Entre los elementos del lenguaje, la lectura, la escritura, el habla, ¿cuán importantes son en tu clase o cuál es más importante, es uno más importante que el otro?
Aguilar: Nosotros hablamos mucho, yo quiero que ellos hablen mucho en la clase de español aunque sea de temas muchas veces no relacionados con la clase como tal, pero que yo sí les pongo a hablar mucho. Es decir que si [nos] dedicamos a hablar. Claro, por supuesto, la base de este curso de sexto grado es la gramática. [El sexto grado] está orientado más bien hacia la gramática, en crear esa base. [Los estudiantes] no distinguen un verbo, la acentuación [no la hacen bien] el nombre, clases de nombres, el adjetivo, el adverbio. Ah, si inglés piensan en inglés, para entonces después buscar qué significa en español. Pero aunque la base sea la gramática siempre la lectura y la escritura son importantes.
Aguilar: Es decir que si trabajamos escribiendo, ellos tienen que crear. Al mismo tiempo en la clase ellos no están mirando nada más y escuchando lo que yo digo, ellos tienen que escribir.
Aguilar: Que digan barbaridades, para eso yo estoy, para corregir y para ayudarles. Mira, esto no es así, es de esta otra forma y si no utiliza tu diccionario, utiliza tu diccionario y busca [las respuestas].
(IN: Aguilar, 04-09-08)

Malaret: Among the language skills, reading, writing and speaking, how important are these skills in your class or which one is most important, is one more important than the other?
Aguilar: We talk a lot, I want them to talk a lot in Spanish class even if the themes selected are unrelated with what's going on in the class, I entice them to talk a lot. That is, we dedicate ourselves to talk. Of course, grammar is the basis of the sixth grade course. [The sixth grade course] is based on grammar, on creating that foundation. [The students] cannot distinguish a verb, they do not place emphasis on the accents or write them the noun, kinds of nouns, the adjective, the adverb. Oh, yes English they think in English, to then figure out what it means in
Spanish. But, although grammar is the base in this course, reading and writing are extremely important.

Aguilar: That is, if we work on writing they have to create. At the same time in the class they are not just looking and listening to what I say, they have to write.

Aguilar: Let them make huge mistakes, that’s why I’m here, to correct and to help them. Look, this is not that way, it is this other way and if not, use your dictionary and search [for answers].

(IN: Aguilar, 04-09-08, translation mine)

In middle school, the Aguilar wants the students to talk. He wants to listen to them and he wants to be able to help them learn the Spanish language. Notice that he says “let them make awful mistakes, I don’t care, I am here to assist them, I am here to teach them.” He believes that in elementary school the students should read extensively because through the readings they learn vocabulary and grammar. He can then work on the students’ grammar in detail at the middle school level. He said that the students also listen, observe and write in his class. During the school year, he collects their notebooks and makes corrections. He wants them to be able to express themselves well in Spanish. Aguilar said that he wants the students to learn the Spanish language and to love their language “Amo mi idioma y quiero que mejoren y que salgan bien preparados con este idioma.” (I love my language and I want the [students] to improve and to become well prepared in this language (translation mine)) (FN: Spanish curriculum meeting, 04-03-11).

High School

Otero: Pero yo te diría que yo quiero que todas [las destrezas] se trabajen por igual. Pero lamentablemente no se le puede dedicar el mismo tiempo entonces lo que se hace es combinar más la lectura con la discusión, con la comunicación oral más que el escrito que también es importante.

Malaret: ¿Y cuando le das cosas escritas, qué tipo de cosas te gusta, o sea copia, coger notas?

Otero: [Lo que me gusta darles] es escritura creativa. Ellos toman apuntes pero la mejor manera para mí de ver si tienen un buen vocabulario, por ejemplo, si tienen un vocabulario amplio, si la ortografía es correcta y si saben estructurar un párrafo, si saben tener una buena transición entre párrafo y párrafo o sea que haya una coherencia, que haya una fluidez al escribir, que sean concisos, que sean directos, hay muchas cosas que se trabajan en la escritura. Me interesa que comuniquen [lo que] ellos quieren decir de una forma fluida, coherente y que gramaticalmente estén bien hechas también.

(IN: Otero, 04-04-05)
Otero: But I would tell you that I want to work all the skills in an equivalent fashion. Unfortunately, the same amount of time cannot be applied to each skill so, then, what is done is combining the readings with the discussions, with the oral communication more than the written communication which is also important.

Malaret: And, when you ask the students to write, what kind of writings do you ask for, that is to copy to take notes?

Otero: [What I like to ask of them] is creative writing. They take notes but the best way for me to see if they have a good vocabulary, for example, if their vocabulary is adequate, if their spelling is correct and if they know how to structure a paragraph, if their transition from paragraph to paragraph is good, that is, the writing should be coherent, it should flow, they should be concise, direct, many things are worked in the writing. I want them to communicate what they want to say in a fluid, coherent and grammatically correct way.

(IN: Otero, 04-04-05, translation mine)

Like the middle school teacher Otero wants her students to speak Spanish. She feels however that the development of reading, writing and speaking skills are all very important. But given the lack of time allotted to the Spanish class, she cannot concentrate on all skills. She seems to concentrate more on the speaking and reading skills. Like the elementary school teachers, when she assigns writings she allows the students to be creative. She senses that by allowing creative writing she persuades the students to write. Still Otero says that

La escritura se practica y se fomenta bastante. En mis clases, particularmente las de 9no y 12mo los estudiantes tienen mucho contacto con la escritura, ya se mediante ensayos, actividades o exámenes de análisis. Te diría que yo les asigno 3 ó 4 ensayos durante el año. Las otras tareas son de escritura creativa: poemas, cuentos, etc. La escritura es una de esas destrezas que tenemos que trabajar más (EM: Otero, 08-02-26).

The students are often encouraged to write. In my classes, particularly in my ninth and twelfth grades classes, the students have a lot of contact with writing, either through essays, activities or analysis exams. I assign three or four essays during the year. The other writing assignments are creative: poems, short stories, etc. One of the skills that we need to work on some more is writing (EM: Otero, 08-02-26, translation mine).

Otero also mentions that

La influencia del inglés en el español está muy presente, ya sea de forma escrita u oral. Los chicos tienden a pensar más en inglés que en español. Muchas veces me piden que les traduzca una palabra del inglés al español. En la escritura les encanta terminar con las preposiciones, usar la doble ff, ll, ss. También emplean la sintaxis del inglés y no la del español (EM: Otero, 08-02-26).

The influence of English if present in the students' development of Spanish, be it in written form
or orally. The students tend to think more in English than in Spanish. I am often asked to translate
an English word to Spanish. They love to finish their writings with prepositions, to use ff, ll, ss.
They also employ the English syntax and not the Spanish one (EM: Otero, 08-02-26, translation
mine).

With their compositions, Otero evaluates their vocabulary, their grammar, their
paragraph structure and their transitions. Below, Herrera, another high school Spanish
teacher conveys that she would like the students to write more than twice a month, but it
is sometimes impossible because of the amount of material that they need to cover.

_{Quisiera que escribieran ensayos o composiciones más de dos veces al mes, pero a veces es
imposible por todo el material que se cubre (EM: Herrera, 08-02-26).}_

I would like the for the students to write essays or compositions more than twice a month, but at
times it is impossible because of the amount of material that is covered (EM: Herrera, 08-02-26,
translation mine).

It seems that in middle and high school the Spanish teachers’ demand for
students’ writings increase compared to the amount of student writing in elementary
school. Still, considerable influence of English syntax and orthography exists in the
middle and high school students’ written and oral Spanish (EM: Otero, 08-02-26; IN:
Herrera, 04-09-27; IN: Montero, 05-02-12; IN: Otero, 04-04-05).

**Evaluation of Reading, Writing and Speaking**

According to Pousada (1996), in addition to design and implementation, language
planning involves evaluation. At the elementary level, students are evaluated in a variety
of ways.

Malaret: ¿Y cómo es que se evalúan los estudiantes?

Vélez: [Aparte de los exámenes], yo estoy muy pendiente a niños que me participan.
Yo los observo mucho y casi todo trabajo que yo les doy, yo lo corrijo y ahí yo veo cuán bien está
el niño en cuanto a escritura. A mí me gusta... cuando yo estoy dando la clase, [la] participación
de ellos, que ellos me hablen, que ellos me opinen. Ahí pues estoy evaluando la expresión oral de
ellos, como ellos se comunican en el español. En la escritura y con la lectura también. Como
leemos tanto, a veces yo les leo, a veces ellos leen, a veces ellos leen individualmente y
después discutimos [lo leído] y ahí yo puedo evaluar la comprensión de ellos (IN: Vélez, 04-05-
06).
Malaret: And, how are the students evaluated?
Vélez: [Besides the exams], I am watchful of their class participation. I observe them a lot and I correct almost all the work that I give them and I can tell how well they do regarding scripts. I like when I am in class with them, their participation, their oral communication, their opinions. There, I evaluate their oral expression, how they communicate in Spanish. In their writings and their readings too. Since we read so much... sometimes I read to them, sometimes they read to me, sometimes they read individually and then we discuss the reading and there I can evaluate their comprehension (IN: Vélez, 04-05-06, translation mine).

Evaluation of students’ Spanish proficiency at the high school level also entails different methods.

Malaret: ¿Cómo son tus evaluaciones para los estudiantes?
Otero: Mira, yo tengo que admitir que yo asigno esa puntuación y a la hora de tener que dar notas yo no trato de fracasar al niño. Yo lo que quiero es que el niño se sienta cómodo al escribir. Yo no quiero castigar al estudiante y cuando digo esa palabra me refiero a que se sienta pues mira, para qué voy a escribir, para qué voy a decir lo que siento, para qué me voy a abrir a ella si ella lo que está pensando es que en la gramática no lo hice bien, o sea [hay] crear un balance lo que yo estoy buscando es que el niño se disfrute la escritura y no sienta que lo estoy penalizando todo el tiempo. Entonces eso es lo que yo intereso. Y esas son ideas que una como maestra va aprendiendo, o sea una a veces lee, escucha, aprende de otras maestras, o sea, yo creo que el enseñar es un aprender para nosotros mismos. [Yo pienso] todo el tiempo de cómo mejor proceder, actuar.

O sea que yo trabajo todo, por ejemplo yo lo que hago es que tengo a desglosar los puntos y la puntuación que yo le otorgo en un trabajo como es fluidez y coherencia, gramática, ortografía, que haya seguido instrucciones. (IN: Otero, 04-04-05)

Malaret: How are your evaluations for your students?
Otero: Look, I have to admit that I assign a grade and at the time of really evaluating my interest is not in failing the student. What I really want is for the student to feel comfortable writing. I do not want to take away the student’s self-confidence and when I say this, I refer to a student that tells himself why should I write, why should I say how I feel, why should I open up to her if what she is thinking is that I did not do well grammatically. I have to create a balance what I am looking for is for the student to enjoy writing and for the student not to feel that I am penalizing him/her all the time. This is what interests me. And, those are ideas that one as a teacher learns along the way, that is, one reads, listens, learns from other teachers I also believe that to teach is a learning experience for us. [I think] constantly about how to proceed and act in a better way.

That is I work out everything; for example, I tend to do a breakdown of the work that they do for me and I assign a number of points per section, like, how was the flow of the writing, was it coherent, grammar, spelling, did she follow directions? (IN: Otero, 04-04-05, translation mine).

Teachers evaluate their students’ writings, their oral expressions and their reading comprehension. In elementary school, the students’ reading comprehension is evaluated through questions or oral expression. Although I did not receive a direct answer from
middle school Spanish teachers, I infer from my observations that in Aguilar’s class, reading comprehension is evaluated through class discussions and tests. In high school, the students’ reading comprehension is evaluated through oral discussions, written work and tests.

**Lack of Vocabulary**

Middle and high school teachers criticize the fact that their students lack vocabulary in Spanish. This reality can be attributed to the disproportionate amount of English classes compared to Spanish classes. As Herrera mentioned, the other courses in the school do not feed into her Spanish class. That is, since all the other courses are taught in English, the students’ English vocabulary is vast in contrast to their Spanish vocabulary. On the other hand, Aguilar believes that the students need to read more.

Aguilar contends that the development of vocabulary increases through reading. He says*

*La mejor forma de aprender [vocabulario y sus significados] es leyendo. ¿Por qué leer es importante? Mientras más lees más ves las palabras [creas una] memoria fotográfica. Tienen que leer lo que a ustedes les guste leer. Lean en español. Es mejor que se acostumbren ahora (FN: Aguilar, 04-02-19).*

Reading is the best way to learn [vocabulary and their meanings]. Why is reading important? The more you read the more words you see [you create] a photographic memory of the words. You have to read what you like. Read in Spanish. Now is a better time for you to get used to reading. (FN: Aguilar, 04-02-19, translation mine).

Aguilar tries intensely to develop the children’s vocabulary. In class, they discuss the different definitions that a word may have.

**Aguilar:** [La palabra] hoja la puedo utilizar de diferentes formas.
**Estudiante 1:** Hoja de papel.
**Aguilar:** ¿Cómo se llama la parte que corta de un cuchillo?
**Estudiante 2:** Hoja.

**Aguilar:** Vamos a aclarar.
**Estudiante 3:** Cuando algo oscuro se pone claro.
**Aguilar:** Cuando yo les explico algo que me preguntan.
**Estudiante 4:** Estás aclarando nuestra pregunta.
In the following example, an eleventh grade teacher reads vocabulary words written on the board and tells the students to look them up in a dictionary.

Herrera: Pueden hacer uso de [la] computadora o utilizar el diccionario de aquí.
(Cuatro estudiantes utilizan el diccionario en la computadora y siete usan el diccionario)
Estudiante diciendo la definición de una de las palabras de vocabulario: Aja, tend to.
Herrera: Sí, pero no lo digas en inglés.
(FN: Herrera, 04-09-13)

Herrera: You may use either the computer or the dictionary to look up the words.
(Four students use the computer dictionary and seven students use the dictionary)
Student telling the definition of one of the vocabulary words: Yes, tend to.
Herrera: Correct, but don’t say it in English.
(FN: Herrera’s classroom, 04-09-13, translation mine)

In the next examples, Herrera asked the eleventh grade students to look for fundamental themes in the reading that had been given for homework, “El rastro de tu sangre en la nieve.” While they discuss the themes, one Puerto Rican student asks the
Estudiante 1: Dramatic irony, cómo se dice?
Herrera: Ironía dramática.
Estudiante 2: They didn’t accept it too well.
Herrera: Hablemos español.
Estudiante 2 traduciendo al español: No lo aceptaban muy bien.
(FN: Herrera’s, 04-09-27)

Student 1: Dramatic irony, how do you say it in Spanish?
Herrera: Ironia dramatica.
Student 2: They didn’t accept it too well.
Herrera: Let’s speak Spanish.
Student translating to Spanish: No lo aceptaban muy bien [They didn’t accept it too well.]
(FN: Herrera, 04-09-27, translation mine)

Herrera and Otero want their pupils to speak, write and read in Spanish as well as listen to Spanish. The rule “no English is to be spoken in my classroom” applies to most Spanish teachers’ classes, even in SSL; the Spanish teachers are constantly trying to enforce this rule. The sixth grade teacher does not allow his students to speak English with him inside or outside of the class.

Even though Spanish is the mother tongue of most students at Saint Andrew’s, many of them translate literally from English to Spanish in their classes. A ninth-grade Spanish teacher commented on how one language nourishes or distorts another language.

Otero: Yo creo que sigue habiendo una preocupación de esa mezcla que se da de cómo [un lenguaje] nutre al otro [positivamente] pero de cómo también un [lenguaje] puede ser afectado [negativamente por otro] (IN: Otero, 04-04-05).

Otero: I think that a concern continues to exist regarding that mixture that happens when one language nourishes another but [a language] may [also] negatively affect another language (IN: Otero, 04-04-05, translation mine).

I inferred that this Spanish teacher meant to say that when a person has knowledge of more than one language, these languages feed into each other. Yet, the similarity of these languages may also interfere with the oral-literate development of
either. Otero commented on how English influenced Spanish in her students’ writings. A Spanish-language curriculum consultant for many years to the school expresses her views.

Malaret: ¿Tú cambiarías algo para el español?
Montero: Bueno sí, por ejemplo, yo creo que una desventaja bien grande es que las maestras de español no tienen un salón de español para dar clase de español [en escuela elemental] donde el ambiente esté enriquecido lingüísticamente en español, sino que las maestras son itinerantes, van cambiando de salón en salón y van a dar español en un salón donde el ambiente está lingüísticamente enriquecido con el inglés y yo creo que eso es una desventaja porque el español no se puede ver únicamente en función de la lengua oral. Hay que ver el lenguaje integralmente, lengua escrita y lengua oral.

Malaret: Eso es en la escuela elemental.
Montero: En la escuela elemental.
Malaret: Porque en la escuela superior [y en la intermedia] las maestras de español sí tienen su salón.
Montero: Sí, pero en la escuela elemental no lo tienen. Y es el nivel más importante, el de la escuela elemental. Cuando llegan a escuela superior las maestras notan las desventajas que tienen los estudiantes versus el inglés que tienen los estudiantes y ven como hacen las traducciones del inglés al español.

Montero: Hay una interferencia del inglés en el español particularmente en la sintaxis. Los niños tienden a usar sintaxis en inglés cuando están escribiendo y hablando en español, hacen unas traducciones literales y eso pues se debe al hecho de que tienen mucha más exposición y riqueza en el inglés y mucho menos en el español. (IN: Montero, 05-02-12)

Malaret: With regard to the teaching of Spanish, would you change anything?
Montero: Well yes, for example, I believe that a great disadvantage for the Spanish teachers is not to have their own classroom to teach in the [elementary school], where the environment is enriched linguistically with Spanish. Instead, the teachers are ambulatory; they go from room to room and they teach in a classroom linguistically enriched with English. And, I think that is a disadvantage because the Spanish language cannot only be seen in the oral function. The language has to be seen integrally, the written and the oral language.

Malaret: That is in the elementary school.
Montero: In elementary school.
Malaret: Because, in the high [and in the intermediate] schools, the Spanish teachers have their room.
Montero: Yes, but in the elementary school they don’t have it. And, it is the most important level, the elementary. When they get to high school, the teachers notice the disadvantages that the students bring to class versus the students’ English; and they witness how the students perform literal translations from English to Spanish. There is an interference of English in the Spanish [language], particularly in the syntax. The children tend to use English syntax when writing and talking in Spanish; they carry out literal translations and that is due to the fact that they have much more exposure and enrichment in English than in Spanish. (IN: Montero, 05-02-12, translation mine)

The majority of the students learn the non-native language, English, in an enriched environment. The decoration in most elementary school classrooms and
hallways is related to the English language. However, a Spanish environment was observed in all of the intermediate and high school Spanish classrooms.

*Analysis Along the Continua of Biliterate Development and Content at Saint Andrew’s School*

Regarding the power relations’ argument posed by Hornberger and Skilton-Sylvester (2003)\(^{24}\) and with the evidence presented above, I would say that unequal power relations between Spanish and English exist at Saint Andrew’s School. This power imbalance is reflected in the pattern of biliterate development.

*Biliterate Development: Vocabulary and Curriculum*

Along the L1-L2 continuum of biliterate development, some teachers and administrators report and my observations confirm that Spanish is taught at Saint Andrew’s School as a first language (called regular Spanish) only to Puerto Rican/Hispanic heritage students and those non-natives that have high levels of Spanish proficiency. The non-native speakers are placed in SSL. Since the rest of the classes are taught in English, the teaching of Spanish, in fact, becomes a language maintenance policy for Puerto Ricans at Saint Andrew’s School (see Baker, 2006; Freeman, 2007 and Hornberger, 2006a & 2007 for more information). In terms of teaching of the academic content, the students’ L1 is English and their L2 is Spanish. English and Spanish are not taught with equal emphasis on a regular basis. Rather, English is the language of instruction, and, as a result, the students’ exposure to this language throughout the school day is much higher than Spanish. Along the receptive-productive, oral-written and L1-L2 continua of biliteracy development, English surpasses Spanish. The students’ receptive

\(^{24}\) In “educational policy and practice regarding biliteracy, there tends to be an implicit privileging of one end of the continua over the other such that one end of each continuum is associated with more power than the other” (Hornberger & Skilton-Sylvester, 2003, p. 38).
and productive capabilities tend to be superior in English than in Spanish. Nevertheless, Spanish has had a strong presence in the school for reasons already stated.

After 2001, along the reception-production continuum, the oral-written language continuum and the L1-L2 transfer continuum, Spanish development flourished and biliteracy improved markedly. Given that the English-enriched environment puts Spanish language development at a disadvantage, the students nevertheless perform well in both languages along the receptive-productive and the oral-written continua of biliterate development. Regarding Spanish, more learning contexts have recently been allowed for biliteracy development. As previously mentioned, currently Spanish is allowed throughout the school except in classes where English is used as the language of instruction. The students’ development of receptive-productive and oral-written skills in Spanish also increases in assemblies, Puerto Rican Night and Spanish oratory competitions and in students’ compositions, such as the books published through elementary school publishing center and the *Perfiles* magazine published in high school.

Still, middle and high school teachers criticize the fact that their students lack vocabulary in Spanish. The lack of Spanish vocabulary can be attributed to the emphasis at the school on being a “college preparatory English-speaking school”. Since its beginnings it has been very clear that English is the language of instruction. At the same time, it is evident that in the past six years the Spanish teachers have been given tools, materials, time and assistance to improve the teaching and learning of Spanish. Spanish language teaching and learning have improved. Concern about Spanish vocabulary suggests two things: (1) the students acquire much more English vocabulary since they
read, write and listen to more English than Spanish during the school day and (2) the teachers’ expectations are high considering that there is always room for improvement.

Although some teachers complain about anglicisms within their Spanish classes, the reality is that English is the students’ academic language. English-Spanish and Spanish-English transfer in this school context is inevitable. A child who learns a language that is linguistically related to her first language may make use of similar structures and convergent scripts. Some scholars have suggested that “the more characteristics two orthographic systems have in common, the greater or more immediate the potential for transfer of reading skills or strategies” (Hornberger, 2003, p. 24) while others note that “when students are learning to read in two languages at the same time, different writing systems appear to lead to less interference than do similar writing systems” (Hornberger, 2003, p. 24). It is possible that when the writing systems are similar, the potential for both transfer and interference is high. Students’ use of English-Spanish dictionaries and of Spanish-language dictionaries in the Spanish classes demonstrates the development of biliteracy in the school. The curriculum consultant rightly points that,

there is an interference of English in the Spanish [language], particularly in the syntax. The children tend to use English syntax when writing and talking in Spanish; they carry out literal translations... and that is due to the fact that they have much more exposure and enrichment in English than in Spanish (IN: Montero, 05-02-12, translation mine; see also IN: Otero, 04-04-05 and IN: Herrera, 04-09-27)

Two school principals have argued that Spanish is taught as a first language at Saint Andrew’s School. The current elementary school principal and vice-principal agree that the Spanish curriculum used at Saint Andrew’s School is the one used by other
comparable private schools where Spanish is the language of instruction. Most of Saint
Andrew's students become biliterate. I would say that, in order to enhance that outcome,
the next step to improve Spanish acquisition would be to turn the school into a two-
way/dual language school or mainstream bilingual school (see Baker, 2006).

A very important aspect of the development of biliteracy continua is the teacher's
ability to find suitable information and materials for the development of their Spanish
courses. Since the teachers are given time to interact with each other, they not only give
suggestions to each other but they also learn from each other. During the curriculum
meetings the Spanish teachers try to find ways to entice the students to learn orally,
through reading and comprehension, listening, writing, and observation, activities which
could encompass the receptive-productive and the oral-written continua of biliteracy
development.

In their curriculum work with the help of an outside consultant the Spanish
teachers were aware of the importance of the receptive-productive and oral-written
development in Spanish. During the March 12, 2004, curriculum meeting, the oral-
written and the reception-production continua were discussed. The phrases "express
written ideas verbally", "emergent and spontaneous writings", "process of meaning",
"process of writing", and "express themselves using symbols" show that the teachers
want their students' to flourish in their oral and written Spanish development as well as in
their receptive and productive Spanish development.

The evaluation of the students' Spanish development seems to be constructive and
adequate for the age. For example, through student oral participation in class the Spanish
teachers measure the students' reading comprehension. In elementary school, the
teachers ask direct questions to observe and evaluate student comprehension. In high
school, the teachers and students enter discussions regarding reading comprehension.
Elementary school teachers tend to assign creative writing and evaluate the students' expressions rather than grammar, syntax and punctuation. High school teachers tend to assign creative writing and writings regarding comprehension of the material presented.
In part, the high school teachers want the students to feel comfortable writing. Although they correct their grammar and spelling, they concentrate more on the flow and coherence of the script. Thus, the productive and written ends of the development of biliteracy continua play a significant role in Spanish classes.

**Biliterate Content: Identity and Student Writing**

The vast majority of the students at Saint Andrew's are Puerto Ricans whose native language is Spanish and language is one of the most important instruments that a person acquires in life. Language and identity go hand in hand (Baker, 2006; Hornberger, 2003; Pousada, 1999). Puerto Rican Spanish is tied to Puerto Rican identity (Pousada, 1999; Torres-González, 2002; Vélez, 1999). Pousada (1999) concisely illustrates how Puerto Rican Spanish matured into what it is today.

The early Spaniards, primarily from the southern part of Spain and the Canary Islands, brought their own particular dialect of Spanish to the island. Over the centuries, in the hands of the criollo population and with the added influence of the African slaves and their different languages, this southern-flavored Spanish evolved into the well-known Puerto Rican Spanish of today. While this is not the place to go into the particulars of the linguistic features of Puerto Rican Spanish, it is safe to say that it was sufficiently distinct from the Castilian dialect to provoke certain negative and disparaging comments both from the Spanish colonial powers (who should have known better) as well as the more ignorant American powers who came later (p. 34).
Saint Andrew’s School is committed to the teaching of Spanish as a first and second language. In an interview, Font clearly stated that the role of Spanish in Saint Andrew’s School is to make sure that the people who are Spanish speaking maintain their ability level, to ensure that they are not only fluent but that they speak the grammatically correct and standard Puerto Rican Spanish. He further mentioned that he does not want Spanish-speaking children to feel that English is being forced to them and that they should feel comfortable speaking Spanish (IN: Font, 04-06-30). In addition and since its beginnings, the school was well known as an International School and, given that the language of the island is Spanish, the school felt the need to teach non-Spanish speakers the island’s main language.

A sense of pride and identity can be seen in the students’ writings and actions as exemplified in the President of the Student Council’s statement shown previously and in Liesl Collazo’s poem that appears in Appendix O. These two activities fall at the contextualized end of the content continua, while they move along the length of the minority-majority and vernacular-literary continua of biliteracy content. The President of the Student Council, Luciano, was given the chance to express his Puerto Ricaness during Discovery Day on November 18, 2004. He wrote the speech and delivered it during the celebration of the European discovery of Puerto Rico. Luciano’s speech is formal and contextualized with a vernacular twist, and it includes minority and majority content.

Collazo and her fellow classmates read about Laviera’s passionate writings in their English class. With the assistance of their English teacher, the readings guided them to write about themselves as Puerto Ricans and about the meaning of being Puerto Rican.
During these events, native and non-native Spanish teachers assisted the students. When writing the poems for Tato Laviera’s visit, the middle school English teacher planned the activity, which represents an example of productive biliterate development. This middle school teacher deserves merit for her creativity and for accepting the vernacular-literary style of writing of these students. The ways teachers integrate the students’ cultural, linguistic and political backgrounds into the activities greatly influence the performance and self-esteem of the participants (Heath, 1982; Moll & Díaz, 1987 and Philips, 1971, 1982).

Liesl Collazo’s poem presentation during the Spring 2006 visiting author presentation is also evidence that local actors are actively engaged in making use of vernacular, literary and contextualized content. The poem is written in “Spanglish” and Liesl presented it orally to the visiting author in a school competition. Even in non-Spanish classes the students are given assignments that are culturally relevant, like Collazo’s poem and Luciano’s speech. Along the content of biliteracy continua, Luciano’s speech and Collazo’s poem move freely from vernacular styles to formal styles of writing. The writings, which are meaningful to the authors, show contextualized language use.

In elementary school, the students publish books in English and Spanish voluntarily supporting the notion that the school wants to promote the students’ productive and written biliterate development. As previously mentioned, the students may write about whatever they want in the language they choose. To motivate them to write, the “student authors ‘publish’ their own books in Spanish and English in our publishing center and exhibit them at our annual Young Author’s Fair” (Saint Andrew’s
School Resources, 2008). The teachers, students, parents, administration and staff are invited to attend the fair, which lasts two to three days.

When the parents requested Puerto Rican novels for their fourth and fifth grade children, the elementary school and the middle school Spanish teachers tried to find materials with which the students could identify with. For example, they looked for books within the editorials available that contained Puerto Rican Spanish during the curriculum meetings. These teachers and the parents gravitated towards the vernacular, minority and contextualized ends of the content of biliteracy continua at this level. After exhaustive searches, the teachers found that there are very few books written by Puerto Rican authors for this age group.

Teachers are also careful to incorporate the Puerto Rican vernacular in the classroom. Barceló’s translation of Mexican Spanish to Puerto Rican Spanish in the fourth grade SSL class is a good example of an elementary Spanish teacher that values the vernacular style of writing and talking in the classroom. Moreover, teachers understand the importance of culturally relevant content. Along the continua of biliteracy content, a middle school teacher realized that the students should read books that they can identify with so that reading becomes a fun and learning activity. Reading culturally relevant materials would offer the students agency and voice, and the students’ development of biliteracy would improve.

As the students pass through the upper grades, the literary styles become more developed. For example, in the media of biliteracy section, the ninth grade Spanish teacher discusses and evaluates “El Cantar del Mío Cid”, a Spanish poem that dates to the 1200s. Although the students have been previously introduced to literary styles of
writing, this poem is a classic literary style that is difficult to understand for two reasons: it is written in old Spanish and it leans towards the literary and decontextualized ends of the content of biliteracy continua. As such, the teacher’s guidance, which was provided, is critical for student understanding.

Most parents, Spanish teachers and administrators of Saint Andrew’s school agree that the students should become biliterate at some level. These school members’ concerns have led to the revision of the schools’ curricula. Parental influence triggers even more changes in the Spanish curriculum. The opinions and suggestions of parents, principals and teachers are welcome by the headmaster at the forums and elsewhere. Evidence shows that the school supports the teachers in their curriculum development. An outside consultant provides guidance to the elementary school teachers. Agreements and disagreements regarding Spanish teaching and learning surface on the part of principals and teachers. Some issues are resolved but others are not. From the student perspective, the pride in Spanish and the desire to learn Spanish increase. In spite of the positive attitude toward learning Spanish, the search for relevant Spanish content and development of curriculum remains a constant challenge.

Regarding the role of Spanish along the continua of biliteracy development, the students are encouraged by their Spanish teachers to develop their receptive and productive skills to their potential within the time limit of forty-five minutes per school day and in an English-language enriched environment. Reading, listening, speaking and writing are very important elements of the school at all levels. Along the oral-written continuum, the Spanish teachers implied in interviews that they want their students to communicate in Spanish emphasizing the oral end of this continuum. The written end is
not neglected either; the students are invited to write creatively and in other ways. Along the L1-L2 transfer continuum, L1-L2 transfer occurs more often than L2-L1 transfer in the Spanish classes.

Regarding the role of Spanish along the minority-majority content continuum, Spanish falls within the minority end of the continuum, in terms of the cultures and identities, perspectives and experiences represented in their academic content. Along the vernacular-literary continuum in elementary school, Spanish use leans towards the vernacular, as expressed in everyday, local Puerto Rican usage. Gradually, as the students move to the upper grades, the literary end is introduced. The teacher is pivotal in the comprehension of literary styles. Along the contextualized-decontextualized content continuum, again in elementary school, the teachers try to keep connections between the students and the readings. As the students move to the upper grades, other forms of literacy are introduced that may fall in the decontextualized end of the continuum. Therefore, teacher assistance becomes very important. Since 2001, as more content has been made available in Spanish and more contexts have been allowed for Spanish at Saint Andrew’s School, a better biliterate development has occurred.
Chapter 7

Conclusion: Interpretation and Implications

The purpose of this study was to understand the language policy and planning at Saint Andrew's School, an elite bi(multi)lingual school in an urban area of Puerto Rico. Saint Andrew's is also known as a college preparatory English immersion school.

English has been and is viewed as a powerful language nationally and internationally: nationally because of the need to communicate with the United States (Puerto Rico is a territory of the United States), and internationally because English is a language of widespread use in our world. Nevertheless, Spanish is also spoken by large sectors of the world population. In this study, I focused primarily on the role of the Spanish language in this English immersion setting. As seen in the analysis of this dissertation, the role of Spanish at Saint Andrew's school evolved with the changes in population.

My interpretation follows the concepts presented in the literature review and the research design and methodology chapters. In particular, I used the continua of biliteracy framework (see Hornberger, 2003 and Hornberger & Skilton-Sylvester, 2003) for the interpretation and implications of my work.

Saint Andrew’s: English immersion or bilingual school?

English is the language of instruction at Saint Andrew's School. Access to the school’s history allowed me to understand the current linguistic situation. I have mentioned throughout the dissertation that Saint Andrew’s mainly served English language users during the first half of the twentieth century. After the 1950s, manuscripts and newsletters indicated that Saint Andrew’s School tried to have a balanced population of 50% foreign and 50% Puerto Rican or Hispanic. I inferred that they wanted a better
bilingual development in Spanish and English. After 1974, a large number of native Puerto Ricans entered Saint Andrew’s school, and a large number of foreign students, mostly Anglo-Americans, left Saint Andrew’s School. At this point, English continued to be the language policy of the school, but a more appropriate bilingual development occurred. I say appropriate because Spanish was the mother tongue of many of the students at the time and research indicates that knowing one’s mother tongue assists in learning other languages (Baker, 2006; Hornberger, 2003, 2006b & 2007; Moll & Díaz, 1985 & 1987; Torres-Guzmán, 2007; Zentella, 1992).

Saint Andrew’s School community values proficiency in the English language. For example, in chapter 4 I mentioned that Saint Andrew’s parents and administrators value the English language. They choose this school, in part, because the language of instruction is English. The administrators are well aware of this and also believe in its English language instruction. This preparation allows the students to enter the college or university of their choice.

Currently, eighty-four percent of the school population is Hispanic and English continues to be the language of instruction of the school. In spite of the biases toward English, a more balanced bilingual development is occurring for several reasons: changes in population (more Puerto Rican/Hispanic students), parents’ request for better Spanish and Spanish teachers’ demand for more Spanish language materials and activities. The Spanish teachers also expressed that, given the existent population, Spanish deserves a higher status in the school. Spanish language status and acquisition have increased since 2001. The underlying language policy for Spanish changed as explained below.
A better biliteracy program has slowly emerged in the school due mainly to social organization changes and parental pressure. Changes in language policies require language planning (Fishman, 2006a). Using Hornberger’s (2006a) integrative framework for language policy and planning goals (see Figure 2:1), I concluded that the acquisition and status-planning goal for Spanish at Saint Andrew’s is language maintenance. The current curricular Spanish program resembles a maintenance policy planning approach and maintenance cultivation planning approach. A language maintenance policy suggests that a second language learner may maintain his native language while learning the second language. In agreement with Pousada (1999), Torres-González (2002) and Vélez (1999), the present headmaster, some Spanish teachers and parents understand that native Puerto Rican students identify closely with Spanish. Their impulse has pushed the school into Spanish curricular revisions for a better biliteracy development (maintenance cultivation planning). Often, Spanish language teaching is related to identity and culture. At Saint Andrew’s, language is seen as a right (Ruiz, 1984) where the student is allowed to use his mother tongue to express himself. The headmaster specifically said that part of being comfortable in school is to not be sanctioned for speaking one’s native language, which assists in their identity formation. Currently, the school’s Spanish language policy is in flux. This academic year (2008-2009) Spanish was introduced in Kindergarten (FN: Inforum, 08-04-01) instead of in first grade, acknowledging the fact that most students’ mother tongue is Spanish.

Academics have said that LPP is about social change (Cooper, 1989; Freeman, 1998; Hornberger, 1994). Changes in the social organization of the school led to curricular modifications of Spanish. Puerto Rican/Hispanic parents demanded a better
Spanish development and they were persuasive enough for Spanish curricular changes to take place. The modifications that have occurred are the work of many as seen in the analysis sections of chapters 4, 5 and 6.

The use of a language depends upon the social structure, function, situation or event (Baker, 2006; De Mejía, 2002; Fishman, 1972 & 2006; Hornberger, 1988, 2003 & 2006; Micheau, 1990). In most countries, more than one language is learned and employed. When this is so, languages are given a level of importance or value. At Saint Andrew’s School, the status of English has been and is higher than that of Spanish. For example, English is used in the majority of school functions, like graduations, honor roll events, inforums and the board of directors’ meetings. Currently, Spanish is used in some assemblies, Spanish oratory, and Puerto Rican night as well as in the school corridors and cafeteria. The school’s attitude towards Spanish has positively changed. However, more can be done to spread its usage at the school. For example, a selection of courses could be taught in Spanish, or, like in dual language schools, most courses could be taught in Spanish and English.

It is important to note that Spanish continues to be the main language in educational, economical, political and social settings in the larger context of Puerto Rico. It would be detrimental to the students if they were unable to communicate in Spanish within this society. The current language policies of the school do not promote equitable multilingualism, and English is still more important than Spanish. Saint Andrew’s School could do more as explained in the following paragraphs. But, to some extent, the language policies of Saint Andrew’s School foster linguistic diversity.
Although the Spanish teachers would like to see the Spanish language hang in the traditionally more powerful ends of Hornberger & Skilton-Sylvester’s (2003) continua, this is rather difficult to accomplish given the English dominance that has historically prevailed at Saint Andrew’s School as well as worldwide. Most Spanish teachers at Saint Andrew’s believe that Spanish is taught as a second language. I believe that it is more than that. Saint Andrew’s makes use of materials and curriculum that are used in other private schools where Spanish is the language of instruction. The school allows more learning contexts for Spanish development as seen in the analysis sections. Spanish assemblies, native Puerto Rican visiting authors, the Spanish magazine *Perfiles* and oratory Spanish competitions are some examples.

Spanish is the language of communication used outside of the school, which forces the students to communicate in Spanish. But, according to the high school and middle school Spanish teachers, the students lack Spanish vocabulary and better writing skills upon leaving the school when compared to English. I believe that to improve Spanish acquisition, the school would need to change into a two-way/dual language school or mainstream bilingual school (see Baker, 2006). These types of bilingualism would allow students to acquire the knowledge of Spanish academic registers and styles that they lack. As previously mentioned, lack of Spanish vocabulary knowledge is due in part to the absence of Spanish-enriched environment and the ample English-enriched environment at all levels. Still, Saint Andrew’s uses a strong form of bilingual education for bilingualism and biliteracy: immersion in English.

Features of Saint Andrew’s English immersion program vary somewhat from Johnstone’s (2006) core features of immersion programs mentioned in the literature
review chapter. Saint Andrew’s School’s features include: English is the main medium of instruction from pre-kindergarten through twelfth grades; the English immersion curriculum parallels the local Spanish curriculum; overt psychological and other support exists for Spanish, both from parents and the school; the program aims for additive bilingualism; exposure to English is largely confined to the school; learners generally enter with similar levels of English proficiency; most if not all the teachers are bilingual. This immersion program teaches Spanish only in its Spanish class to all students. If the students join Spanish language extra-curricular programs, they get added benefits. The educational aim for teaching Spanish at Saint Andrew’s School is mainly maintenance but also enrichment as seen by other spaces used to teach and learn Spanish besides the Spanish class. This is a 90% English/10% Spanish immersion program, which resembles that of International Schools (Mejía, 2002). As previously mentioned, English is the language of preference in the majority of the International Schools. But, if another majority language is taught, it is considered a mainstream bilingual school (Baker, 2006). Saint Andrew’s School happens to be an English immersion school with a majority language (Spanish) taught as a subject for twelve years. The selection of Spanish happens to be due to the context in which the school is situated; that is, a mostly monolingual Spanish country. I must also bring to the readers’ attention that a bilingual education program is in place for non-native Spanish speakers and that these students build Spanish literacy on high English literacy skills. They get the added benefit of living in a Spanish language setting, Puerto Rico, which permits them to use their skills in Spanish.

Whether Saint Andrew’s is a bilingual school or not is still a matter of discrepancy among many. The fact is that bilingualism was probably not a goal of Saint
Andrew's School when it opened. I have suggested in this study that the learning of Spanish grew out of the need to communicate with the inhabitants of the island and it evolved to what we have now: an immersion bilingual school. Saint Andrew’s School is fortunate enough to offer two majority languages, Spanish and English. Regardless of the fixation of English, the community of Saint Andrew’s values the acquisition of bi(multi)literacy which acknowledges the fact that middle-high and high socioeconomic families value multiliteracies (Mejia, 2002; Pousada, 1999).

**Spanish at Saint Andrew’s School and the Continua of Biliteracy Framework**

Spanish language teaching and learning have improved markedly over time. The Spanish curriculum continues to be strengthened and more learning contexts for Spanish have been allowed giving the students a better chance for their biliterate development. In terms of the content continua, the interviews with Mr. Collazo and Dr. Font showed that the school took steps for the Puerto Rican students to feel positive about their identity and their culture. Méndez further wrote that more was being done regarding the connection between the Spanish literature and the students' identities—she noticed “a true desire and a pride in the learning of Spanish and a curriculum alignment to Puerto Rican Literature” (EM: Méndez, 07-02-07)—creating an environment conducive to the development of biliteracy (English/Spanish). My analysis leads me to conclude that Spanish content has been added to the school curriculum, involving the use of vernacular and literary content in a contextualized manner. Decontextualized content in Spanish is also present in the higher grades of the school but teacher guidance for understanding is provided.

A teacher’s guidance is key to the development of biliteracy. Along the receptive-productive, oral-written and L1-L2 continua of biliterate development, my
evidence confirms that Spanish is taught as a first language to Puerto Ricans/Hispanics and those students that can handle it. The non-Spanish speaking student is placed in an SSL class. These students use high English literacy skills to learn Spanish. The Spanish teachers try to develop their students' receptive-productive and oral-written skills to their potential. L1-L2 and L2-L1 transfer occurs daily at Saint Andrew's School. Teachers generally understand the value of students' use of one language alongside the other. At other times, they find it difficult to distinguish transfer from what they consider interference. For example, when the students create instead of borrow an English word in the Spanish class, Otero finds this to interfere with the Spanish language. Although she understands that codeswitching can be considered helpful, she makes an effort with her students because she wants them to use their mother tongue.

Along the media of biliteracy continua, given the lengthy time under the United States educational system's influences, both simultaneous and successive exposures occur. Since Puerto Rico became a territory of the United States, mixed (Spanish-English speaking people) marriages have occurred. In general, the children of these marriages learn to communicate in both languages at the same time. But, most Puerto Rican children come from Spanish-speaking backgrounds. These learn Spanish, their mother tongue, first and arrive to schools with little or no English knowledge. As such, the learning of another language is considered successive. In Saint Andrew's School, many of the students arrive at the school with some English knowledge and the learning of both languages may be simultaneous. As previously mentioned, Spanish and English have similar structures and convergent scripts allowing for transfer to occur. By the same token, because of the similarities and convergences, one language may interfere with the
other as explained above and in the media of biliteracy section.

Regarding the context continua, along the oral-literate continuum, the English language has dominated in writing and written texts in the school. Along the monolingual-bilingual context continuum, English monolingualism prevailed during the first sixty-four years of the school’s existence meaning also that English language policy strengthened at the macro level of the micro-macro context continuum within the school. Yet, at the micro level of context within classrooms, Spanish was taught as a second language for reasons presented earlier and bi(multi)lingualism seemed to be appreciated. As evidenced previously, the ability to communicate in Spanish was looked at as a positive trait throughout these six decades. A positive attitude towards bilingualism must have prevailed in the school. The fact that Spanish was and is a language of high socio-economic status in the island may have helped this attitude. The ability to communicate in two languages has always been beneficial to the students of this school. The acquisition of jobs is only one of the many positive aspects of being bi(multi)lingual.

Spanish language teaching and learning has had a strong reason to exist in Saint Andrew’s School. At first, when the population of the school was mostly Anglo-American, the need to communicate with Puerto Ricans for education, trading and/or economic reasons probably sparked the teaching of Spanish. Further, as the population evened out between Anglo-Americans and Puerto Ricans in the school, the use of the Spanish language increased. In 1974, with the entry of a Puerto Rican headmaster and of more Puerto Rican students to the school, the teaching and learning of Spanish became more relevant. Major curricular changes took place regarding the Spanish language classes. One of the principals mentioned that the Spanish class was taught as a first
language while she was at the school between 1980 and 1989. Although between 1991 through 2001 the Spanish language was degraded, the teaching of Spanish remained in the school. Now that eighty-four percent of the student population is of Puerto Rican or Spanish heritage, the teaching and learning of Spanish has become even more relevant.

More curricular changes in the Spanish classes have taken place in the past few years.

1. Whereas previously members of the school were not allowed to use Spanish outside of the Spanish classroom, now members of the school may use Spanish in school corridors, the cafeteria and any other activities that are Spanish related.

2. The Spanish curriculum was revised for two reasons: (1) the parents requested the betterment of the Spanish curriculum and (2) the Strategic Planning Committee led a complete school curricular revision including Spanish.

3. Spanish’s status increased to a higher level at Saint Andrew’s. However, English is the dominant language.

Although the headmasters significantly helped modify language policy during the second half of the twentieth century and the beginning of the twenty-first century of Saint Andrew’s School, I found that faculty, parents and board members also contributed to language policy changes. Before 1974, all the directors were Anglo-Americans and the language policy was that of English communication throughout the school except for the Spanish class. This was also the case between 1991 and 2001. The first and only Puerto Rican headmaster that Saint Andrew’s School has ever hired arrived in 1974. Mr. Collazo changed Saint Andrew’s language policy by activating the ‘button’ for a better Spanish language development with the help of the board of directors, the administration and the Spanish teachers. The students, teachers and administrators were at liberty to use
the Spanish language outside of their classes, which allowed the students more learning contexts for the development of Spanish.

Although the current headmaster is Anglo-American, he set out to meet with the school’s members and to understand the culture of the school before deciding to do the same thing that Mr. Collazo did, that is, to improve the curriculum of the Spanish classes and to allow more learning contexts for its development. Hornberger (2003) rightly points out that “the more their learning contexts allow learners to draw on all points of the continua, the better the chances for their full biliterate development” (xvi). As such, Saint Andrew’s seems to be on the right track. However, more can be done academically with Spanish so that students develop better Spanish related skills.

To improve the bi(multi)literacy development at Saint Andrew’s I would suggest: (1) a written language policy for each of the languages offered at the school. Although English is known to be the language of instruction of the school, no documents reflect the language policy(ies) of the school. A written policy for the languages offered at the school would serve as a guide to the administrators, teachers, school members and those considering Saint Andrew’s School for their children. It should be noted that some students requested the learning of Mandarin Chinese and, for the time being, the school is offering this course after school to the elementary school children; (2) in accord with Mr. Aguilar’s belief, more opportunity and requirement for students to read in Spanish, thereby promoting the development of vocabulary; (3) additional Spanish language enrichment contexts for bi(multi)literacy development. For example, in European Schools another language is used for physical education and European hour (for more information see Baker 2006 and Mejía, 2002). At Saint Andrew’s, Spanish could be used
to teach physical education classes, history of Puerto Rico, and electives such as drama, performing arts, music, art, and humanities. Other Spanish elective courses could also be added to the high school curriculum. Saint Andrew’s School’s language policy is in flux. Bilingualism and biliteracy have been and are valued highly at Saint Andrew’s School. But, I believe that Saint Andrew’s would best serve its students by becoming a dual-language school where content is taught in both Spanish and English.

Spanish and English languages are already defined by the current socio-political situation of the island, that is, the policy planning approach. The society of Puerto Rico emphasizes importance of English and Spanish. The cultivation planning approach has been defined at Saint Andrew’s School, such that the status of English is highest, followed by Spanish and French. And, the purpose of Spanish teaching is language maintenance, though this is in flux because Spanish’s acquisition is gaining strength.

English is a dominant language given our proximity to the United States, one of the most powerful nations in the world, and given that Puerto Rico is a territory of the United States. However, Spanish is also a language of power particularly within the Americas and worldwide. Two forces are responsible for this: the increase of the Spanish-speaking population in the United States and elsewhere and the proximity of the United States to Central America, South America and the Caribbean where in many of its nations, Spanish is the language of communication.

I believe in multilingualism. The more languages our youngsters experience, the better prepared they will be to communicate and interact with an ever-smaller and more diverse world.
## Appendix A

### Catalog of Communication with Participants

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<th>DATE OF INTERVIEW</th>
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<tr>
<td>Ms. Yolanda Vizcarrondo</td>
<td>Sub-secretary Department of Education</td>
<td>20-Feb-07</td>
<td>IN: Vizcarrondo, 07-02-20</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ms. Patricia Coral</td>
<td>English Program Director Dept. Education</td>
<td>20-Feb-07</td>
<td>IN: Coral, 07-02-20</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ms. Angeles Montero</td>
<td>St. Andrew's School Consultant</td>
<td>12-Feb-05</td>
<td>IN: Montero, 05-02-12</td>
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<tr>
<td>Luis Collazo</td>
<td>Headmaster St. Andrew's 1974-1991</td>
<td>09-Oct-03</td>
<td>IN: Collazo, 03-10-09</td>
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<td>Robert Font</td>
<td>Headmaster St. Andrew's 2001-present</td>
<td>30-Jun-04</td>
<td>IN: Font, 04-06-30</td>
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<td>Angie Thompson</td>
<td>Elem. Principal St. Andrew's 2004-present</td>
<td>04-Oct-04</td>
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<td>Margarita Maldonado</td>
<td>Elem. Vice-principal St. Andrew's 2004-present</td>
<td>30-Sep-04</td>
<td>IN: Maldonado, 04-09-30</td>
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<td>Roger Smith</td>
<td>Middle School Principal St. Andrew's 2002-05</td>
<td>08-Sep-04</td>
<td>IN: Smith, 04-09-08</td>
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<td>Dana Noel</td>
<td>High School Principal St. Andrew's until 2007</td>
<td>09-Sep-04</td>
<td>IN: Noel, 04-09-09</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mercy Herrera</td>
<td>High School Spanish Teacher for &gt; 30 yrs.</td>
<td>27-Sep-04</td>
<td>IN: Herrera, 04-09-27</td>
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<tr>
<td>Victoria Otero</td>
<td>High School Spanish Teacher since 2003</td>
<td>05-Apr-04</td>
<td>IN: Otero, 04-04-05</td>
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<tr>
<td>Manny Aguilar</td>
<td>Middle School Spanish Teacher since 1991</td>
<td>07-Sep-04</td>
<td>IN: Aguilar, 04-09-07</td>
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<td>Tita González</td>
<td>Elem. School Spanish Teacher until 2004</td>
<td>14-May-04</td>
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<td>Mayra Vélez</td>
<td>Elem. School Spanish Teacher 06-May-04</td>
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<td>Karina Schneider</td>
<td>College Counselor 1990-2001</td>
<td>3-Nov-07</td>
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<td>Rogelio Marqués</td>
<td>Middle and High School Librarian</td>
<td>9-Jan-08</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mercy Herrera</td>
<td>12th grade Spanish teacher</td>
<td>29-Sept-06</td>
<td>EM: Herrera, 06-09-29</td>
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<td>María Méndez</td>
<td>High School Principal 1980-1989</td>
<td>26-Feb-08</td>
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<td>Victoria Otero</td>
<td>9th grade Spanish teacher</td>
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<td>Rogelio Marqués</td>
<td>Middle and High School Librarian</td>
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Appendix B

Written Consent Form for Parents and Questionnaires 1 and 2

Most of you know that I am writing my dissertation for PhD. It would immensely help me if you answer a few questions so that I am able finish analyzing my findings. You may answer whatever questions you want. Please leave unanswered anything that does not apply to you. I will not use your names in my dissertation. Instead, I will use pseudonyms to preserve the anonymity of the participants.

By answering the questions below, you agree to participate in my study “A study of language policy and language planning in a small private school in Puerto Rico”. This study is being done in conjunction with the graduate school of education of the University of Pennsylvania.

If you have further questions, please do not hesitate to ask me. My cellular phone is 787-413-2353, home phone is 787-707-1008 and my e-mail is agnesmalaret@aol.com.

Thank you in advance and I hope that this does not interrupt your daily commitments too much.

QUESTIONNAIRE 1

- Did you attend Saint Andrew’s school? Did your child(ren)’s other parent attend Saint Andrew’s school? If yes, did any of you attend college/university in the United States after graduation?
- Why did you select Saint Andrew’s school for your child(ren)?
- Did the fact that Saint Andrew’s school instruction is in English play a role in your decision?
• Upon graduating Saint Andrew’s school, do you expect your child(ren) to communicate effectively in English and Spanish?
• Do you believe in the school’s preparation for college/university? Why?
• Do you interact nationally and/or internationally for business purposes with countries other than Puerto Rico? If so, what language(s) do you use?
• Do you interact nationally and/or internationally for other purposes with countries other than Puerto Rico? If so, what language(s) do you use?

QUESTIONNAIRE 2:
• Did you attend Saint Andrew’s school? Did your child(ren)’s other parent attend Saint Andrew’s school?
• Did any of you attend college/university in the United States after graduation from high school?
• Why did you select Saint Andrew’s school for your child(ren)?
• Did the fact that Saint Andrew’s school instruction is in English play a role in your decision?
• Upon graduating Saint Andrew’s school, do you expect your child(ren) to communicate effectively in English and Spanish?
• Do you believe in the school’s preparation for college/university? Why?
• Do you interact nationally and/or internationally for business purposes with countries other than Puerto Rico? If so, what language(s) do you use?
• Do you interact nationally and/or internationally for other purposes with countries other than Puerto Rico? If so, what language(s) do you use?
Appendix C

Biographical Interviews with Teachers, Administration and Staff

• Where were you born and in what year?

• Any siblings?

• Why did you enter this field? What is your training?

• What are your personal goals?

• What do you bring to Saint Andrew’s School? What do you see as your duties?
Appendix D

Research Interview Questions for Administrators

- Small biography of interviewee
- Given that English is the language policy of Saint Andrew’s School, what is the role of Spanish in the school?
- Is there a written language policy in the school?
- Do you consider the language policy to be a bilingual one?
- Given the political debate in Puerto Rico over language policy in public schools, does politics influence language policy at Saint Andrew’s School? Why? How?
- How are the Spanish teachers encouraged and/or given support for curriculum development?
- What language(s) do you speak at home/school?
Appendix E

Research Interview Questions for Spanish Teachers

- Small biography of interviewee
- Given that English is the language policy of Saint Andrew’s School, what is the role of Spanish in the school?
- What is bilingualism to you?
- What methods of teaching do you use?
- How important are reading, writing and speaking in your classes? Do you use one more than the other? Is there an order of importance amongst these three skills?
- What kind of writings do you expect from your students?
- What grade(s) do you teach?
- How prepared are the students for your class?
- How do you select the reading material for your students?
- Who do you share your doubts, knowledge, problems, etc. with?
- Are there any policies to correct or guide the students?
- How do you evaluate your students?
- Do you feel comfortable giving suggestions to your peers and/or the administration in the school?
- Regarding Spanish language teaching, would you like to see any change(s)?
Appendix F

Research Interview Questions for Saint Andrew’s School Consultant

- Small biography of interviewee

- Describe language policy in Puerto Rico.

- What do you believe is the language policy for Saint Andrew’s school? Why?
  Would you change anything?

- What would you like language policy and language planning to look like?

- What is the role of Spanish in Saint Andrew’s school? Historically, what role has Spanish played in St. Andrew’s school?

- Does politics affect language policy in Saint Andrew’s? How?

- Do you see any value in examining the use of language across the curriculum and developing a common policy for the school?
## Appendix G

### Catalog of Documents

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<td>NS: 1960, page # if applicable</td>
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<td>Saint Andrew’s School Brochure</td>
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<td>Late 1970’s or Early 1980’s</td>
<td>NS: 1980, page # if applicable</td>
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<td>Saint Andrew’s School Newsletter</td>
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<td>May-June 1969</td>
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<td>Saint Andrew’s School Newsletter</td>
<td>Summer 2002</td>
<td>NS: Summer 2002, page # if applicable</td>
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<td>Saint Andrew’s School Newsletter</td>
<td>Spring 2003</td>
<td>NS: Spring 2003, page # if applicable</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saint Andrew’s School Newsletter</td>
<td>Summer 2003</td>
<td>NS: Summer 2003, page # if applicable</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saint Andrew’s School Newsletter</td>
<td>Winter 2003-2004</td>
<td>NS: 2004, page # if applicable</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saint Andrew’s School Newsletter</td>
<td>Spring 2005</td>
<td>NS: Spring 2003, page # if applicable</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saint Andrew’s School Newsletter</td>
<td>Summer 2005</td>
<td>NS: Summer 2005, page # if applicable</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saint Andrew’s School Newsletter</td>
<td>Spring 2006, Vol.26, No.2</td>
<td>NS: Spring 2006, page # if applicable</td>
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<tr>
<td>Saint Andrew’s School Newsletter</td>
<td>2006-2007</td>
<td>NS: 2006-2007, page # if applicable</td>
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<tr>
<td>Saint Andrew’s School Newsletter</td>
<td>Spring-Summer 2007</td>
<td>NS: Summer 2007, page # if applicable</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saint Andrew’s School Newsletter</td>
<td>2005</td>
<td>NS: 2005, page # if applicable</td>
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<tr>
<td>Saint Andrew’s School Centennial Countdown</td>
<td>2005</td>
<td>NS: 2005 YBK, page # if applicable</td>
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<tr>
<td>2007 Yearbook</td>
<td>2007</td>
<td>NS: 2007 YBK, page # if applicable</td>
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### Appendix H

**Catalog of Observations**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>LOCATION</th>
<th>DATE</th>
<th>SITUATION</th>
<th>NOTATION SYSTEM</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>MR. AGUILAR’S CLASSROOM</td>
<td>12-Feb-04</td>
<td>SPANISH CLASS</td>
<td>FN: Aguilar, 04-02-12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>19-Feb-04</td>
<td></td>
<td>FN: Aguilar, 04-02-19</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>26-Feb-04</td>
<td></td>
<td>FN: Aguilar, 04-02-26</td>
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<tr>
<td>MS. BARCELO’S CLASSROOM</td>
<td>18-Sept-03</td>
<td>SPANISH CLASS</td>
<td>FN: Barcelo, 03-09-18</td>
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<td></td>
<td>25-Sept-03</td>
<td></td>
<td>FN: Barceló, 03-09-25</td>
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<td>06-Nov-03</td>
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<td>FN: Barceló, 03-11-06</td>
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<td></td>
<td>13-Nov-03</td>
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<td>FN: Barceló, 03-11-13</td>
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<tr>
<td>MS. HERRERA’S CLASSROOM</td>
<td>13-Sept-04</td>
<td>SPANISH CLASS</td>
<td>FN: Herrera, 04-09-13</td>
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<td>15-Sept-04</td>
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<td>FN: Herrera, 04-09-15</td>
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<td>27-Sept-04</td>
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<td>FN: Herrera, 04-09-27</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>01-Oct-04</td>
<td></td>
<td>FN: Herrera, 04-10-01</td>
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<tr>
<td>MS. OTERO’S CLASSROOM</td>
<td>19-Mar-04</td>
<td>SPANISH CLASS</td>
<td>FN: Otero, 04-04-03</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>FN: Otero, 04-03-19</td>
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<td>FN: Otero, 04-03-27</td>
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<td>SPANISH ELEMENTARY CLASSROOM</td>
<td>23-Jan-04</td>
<td>SPANISH CURRICULUM MEETING</td>
<td>FN: Spanish curriculum meeting, 04-01-23</td>
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<td>SPANISH ELEMENTARY CLASSROOM</td>
<td>11-Mar-04</td>
<td>SPANISH CURRICULUM MEETING</td>
<td>FN: Spanish curriculum meeting, 04-03-11</td>
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<tr>
<td>SPANISH ELEMENTARY CLASSROOM</td>
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<td>SPANISH CURRICULUM MEETING</td>
<td>FN: Spanish curriculum meeting, 04-03-12</td>
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<td>PIT</td>
<td>04-Mar-04</td>
<td>INFORUM</td>
<td>FN: Inforum, 04-03-04</td>
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<td>PIT</td>
<td>07-Oct-04</td>
<td>INFORUM</td>
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<td>25-Oct-07</td>
<td>INFORUM</td>
<td>FN: Inforum, 07-10-25</td>
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<td>PIT</td>
<td>01-Abr-08</td>
<td>INFORUM</td>
<td>FN: Inforum, 08-04-01</td>
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<td>SAINT ANDREW’S SCHOOL ENTRANCE</td>
<td>10-Sept-03</td>
<td>CONVERSATION WITH GRANDMOTHER OF 2 CHILDREN</td>
<td>FN: Conversation with grandmother, 03-09-10</td>
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<td>ELEMENTARY SCHOOL PRINCIPAL’S OFFICE</td>
<td>10-Sept-03</td>
<td>CONVERSATION WITH ELEMENTARY SCHOOL PRINCIPAL UNTIL 2004</td>
<td>FN: Conversation with elementary school principal, 03-09-10</td>
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<tr>
<td>CAFETERIA</td>
<td>08-Oct-03</td>
<td>4th grade bake sale Conversation with mother of 3 children</td>
<td>FN: 4th grade bake sale, 03-10-08</td>
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Appendix I

Rubric to Evaluate Students’ Fables

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cualidades</th>
<th>4 (lo hizo)</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>1 (no lo hizo)</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>El estudiante captura la atención del lector</td>
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<tr>
<td>Incluye un título</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Incluye una moraleja</td>
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<tr>
<td>Utilizó el diálogo entre personajes</td>
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<tr>
<td>Los sucesos tienen un orden lógico</td>
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<tr>
<td>Entregó el trabajo a tiempo</td>
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<tr>
<td>Calidad de la sintaxis</td>
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<td>Corrección ortográfica</td>
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<tr>
<td>Limpieza del trabajo</td>
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<tr>
<td>Incluyó un dibujo</td>
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Comentarios de la maestra: ____________________________________________
________________________________________________________________

NOMBRE DEL ESTUDIANTE: ____________________________________________

Rúbrica para evaluar la creación de una fábula
Evaluación de la maestra
**Saint John's School**

*Rúbrica para el informe de comprobación de lectura*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nombre: ____________________</th>
<th>Fecha ______________</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Grado ____________________</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1- Incluye título del cuento</th>
<th>1 2 3 4 5</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2- Escribe autor e ilustrador (a) del cuento</td>
<td>1 2 3 4 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3- Identifica los personajes principales</td>
<td>1 2 3 4 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4- Redacta un breve resumen</td>
<td>1 2 3 4 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5- Escribe algunas palabras nuevas del cuento</td>
<td>1 2 3 4 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6- Evalúa el libro según las categorías indicadas</td>
<td>1 2 3 4 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7- Escribe e ilustra la parte favorita</td>
<td>1 2 3 4 5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Comentarios del maestro:**

________________________________________________________________________

________________________________________________________________________

**Comentarios del estudiante:**

________________________________________________________________________

________________________________________________________________________
### Appendix K
Daily Report of Students in Reading and Writing Class

**NOTA DE CLASE DIARIA**

Nombre del estudiante

Grupo

Maestra

#### LECTURA

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Conducta esperada</th>
<th>10</th>
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<th>20</th>
<th>20</th>
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<th>10</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Participa en clase.</td>
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<tr>
<td>2. Demuestra interés y disfrute en las lecturas.</td>
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<td>3. Demuestra una actitud entusiasta por la clase de español aportando ideas.</td>
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<td>4. Demuestra curiosidad por la lección haciendo preguntas.</td>
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<td>5. Lee independientemente.</td>
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<tr>
<td>6. Es respetuoso con la maestra y con los demás compañeros.</td>
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#### ESCRITURA

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<td>1. Hace las asignaciones.</td>
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<tr>
<td>2. Demuestra interés en realizar ejercicios escritos.</td>
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<tr>
<td>3. Trabaja limpia y organizadamente.</td>
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<tr>
<td>4. Demuestra interés o disfrute por el trabajo en grupo o en pareja.</td>
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<tr>
<td>5. Escribe independientemente.</td>
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<tr>
<td>6. Completa sus trabajos a tiempo.</td>
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<tr>
<td>7. Comienza las oraciones con letras mayúsculas.</td>
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<tr>
<td>8. Escribe oraciones completas.</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Deletrea las palabras correctamente.</td>
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<tr>
<td>10. Utiliza los signos de puntuación correctamente.</td>
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### Appendix L

**Rubric for a Fifth Grade Book Report**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nombre del estudiante</th>
<th>Fecha</th>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Rúbrica para el informe del libro</strong></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>Quinto Grado</em></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Evidencia de haber leído</strong></th>
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<th>2.</th>
<th>3.</th>
<th>4.</th>
<th>5.</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Habilidad de establecer el problema claramente.</strong></td>
<td>1.</td>
<td>2.</td>
<td>3.</td>
<td>4.</td>
<td>5.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Identificar los personajes principales.</strong></td>
<td>1.</td>
<td>2.</td>
<td>3.</td>
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<td>5.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Identificar el ambiente principal.</strong></td>
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<td>2.</td>
<td>3.</td>
<td>4.</td>
<td>5.</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Apariencia visual. (presentación)</strong></td>
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<td>2.</td>
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<td><strong>Habilidad para identificarse con los personajes principales</strong></td>
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<td>2.</td>
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<td><strong>Habilidad para resumir.</strong></td>
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<td><strong>La opinión del estudiante se establece claramente con los ejemplos.</strong></td>
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<td>3.</td>
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**Comentarios de la maestra:**

**Comentarios del estudiante:**

---

198
## En el proceso de redacción

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Criterio</th>
<th>Extensivamente</th>
<th>Frecuentemente</th>
<th>A veces</th>
<th>Rara vez</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>¿Redactó el estudiante un borrador tosco?</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Participó el estudiante en un grupo de redacción.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Revisó la historia de acuerdo a la retrocomunicación que recibió del grupo de redacción.</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Compartió su historia.</td>
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</table>

### Criterios fundamentales a tomar en cuenta al hacer la valuación de un texto escrito por el estudiante

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Criterio</th>
<th>Extensivamente</th>
<th>Frecuentemente</th>
<th>A veces</th>
<th>Rara vez</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>La pieza está escrita organizadamente desde el principio hasta el final.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Hay una progresión de ideas desde el principio hasta el final.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Tiene fluidez.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Es coherente.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Detalles son explícitos, vivos, efectivos.</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Comentarios:

________________________________________________________________________
________________________________________________________________________
________________________________________________________________________
________________________________________________________________________
________________________________________________________________________

199
Appendix N

Evaluation of a Written Book Report

Nombre del estudiante ____________________________________________
Fecha ____________________________
Título del libro informado ____________________________________________

**Criterios fundamentales a tomar en cuenta al hacer la valuación de un informe escrito por el estudiante**

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**Comentarios:**

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* Favor de añadir requisitos que faltan o eliminar los requisitos que no haya sido para el informe.*
Poem Titled "The Meaning of Being Puertorriqueño"

By: Liesl Collazo

What does being Puertorriqueño mean
To some it's a blessing
To others it's obscene
But to me it's a privilege above all things

Our air of hospitality
And our hint of pride
Overwhelm the cities
In which we reside

We celebrate our cultura
Like no other
And act like familia
To one another

Some of us stay put
In this place of our own
The rest go away
And travel the unknown

We feel the need
To go far, far away
Vamos y venimos
But our hearts always stay

Trabajador, fiel
Amoroso y trigueño
All the characteristics
Of el Puertorriqueño

We sing our canción
In these streets that we roam
In this pequeña isla
The one we call home.
Appendix P

Evidence of One of the Many English Letter to Parents

March 5, 2008

Dear Middle School Parents and Guardians:

February was an exciting month in the Middle School, and March promises to be the same. During the last several weeks, our students and teachers have engaged in multiple learning experiences and school activities. These events have collectively improved our school climate; while individually, they help our young adolescents to grow into responsible, ethical, problem-solving adults. Again, these were outstanding events, and I would like to tell you about them.

Those who excelled academically and earned the highest grades during the second marking period were awarded during our Honors and High Honors Awards Ceremony. In fact, thirty percent (30%) of our students received such awards. A large number of students were invited to apply to be members of the National Junior Honor Society. Those accepted will be inducted into this prestigious society in an upcoming ceremony where they will be recognized for their academics, character, service, citizenship, and leadership skills.

Our students also had the opportunity to show their academic achievement in other social settings outside of the classrooms when they participated actively in our annual French Day and Family Science Night. Our sixth grade class experienced how learning and fun can be combined when they saw the play “Don Goyito” (one of their Spanish class readings) at the theater.

In addition, there were several other events that enlivened our belief that the Middle School should commit to the principles of humanity, equality, solidarity, and democratic values. During the last weeks, our students had the opportunity to raise awareness and resources for the American Heart Association during the Hoops for Hearts event. They also had the extraordinary experience of making a meaningful contribution to the betterment of our community when they spent an afternoon feeding the homeless at a nearby shelter, coaching younger students from a neighboring school on sports, making art crafts with the elderly, cleaning the beach, reading to first and second graders at a public school in a housing project, and visiting the ill at the hospital. Our students not only prepared for these community service projects in a thoughtfully manner, but also they reflected on their experiences upon their return. I am proud of our students and their compassion demonstrated to others during this ‘glorious’ afternoon.

Our students also danced together during the Valentine’s Dance and cheered the Juvenile basketball team in their 11-0 streak of victories. And just when we thought that they had
had enough, our students earned the larger school community much recognition for the individual and group achievements on the regional Spelling Bee, Geo Bee and Math Counts competition. None of these activities would have been successful without the competent instruction and guidance of the teachers as well as the commendable support and assistance of the parents.

The month of March promises to be full of learning experiences and school activities as well. For instance, our students will work closely with a visiting artist in the designing and painting of a wall-size mural on the coming-of-age theme. They will learn how to provide assistance in case of emergency during a mandatory CPR class for students the day before they challenge each other physically in our Field Day.

In addition, our students will meet and learn the travails of a published writer during our annual Author’s visit. They will have an opportunity to put their math knowledge in practice during Pi Day; and our most talented in math will defend the school colors in the island-wide Math Counts competition. Our girls will have a special treat when they attend a “Real Beauty” workshop, specifically designed to address health issues among pre-adolescent girls. All of this will happen in the weeks before we leave for our Spring Break, when around thirty (30) of our students will visit Argentina in an educational and cultural trip sponsored by the social studies department.

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Upon our return, I would like to have an opportunity to present to you some of our new projects for the next school year. After spending the last months listening to your suggestions and sharing my ideas, the time has come to move forward together for the betterment of our Middle School. Therefore, I would like to invite you to join me, Luis Rivera, Dean of Students 6-12, and other school administrators at separate meetings for parents and guardians of each grade level.

8th Grade Parent Meeting – Tuesday, April 1, 2008 at 7:30 a.m. in the “Pit”
7th Grade Parent Meeting – Wednesday, April 2, 2008 at 7:30 a.m. in the “Pit”
6th Grade Parent Meeting – Thursday, April 3, 2008 at 7:30 a.m. in the “Pit”

I am looking forward to meet will all of you during these meetings.

Sincerely,

Middle School Principal
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