Acknowledgements

Low-income Spanish-speaking students pose an enormous and rapidly increasing challenge to US public schools. For the past 12 years, my research has been dedicated to understanding how educators can organize their programs and practices so that these students can participate and achieve in school. To date, this work has involved ethnographic/discourse analytic research in two transitional bilingual programs, one in Brooklyn, NY(1985–1986) and the other in Perth Amboy, NJ (1986–1987), and in two dual-language programs, one in Washington, DC (1989–1991) and the other in Philadelphia, PA (1996–present). This book is the result of this research, and while I am indebted to all of the students and educators who taught me how to understand their experiences in these bilingual programs, I would like to acknowledge specific people and institutions who have supported my work throughout this time.

First, I want to express my gratitude to John Devine, the man who introduced me to the challenges of urban educational reform, and to the possibilities of ethnographic research as a means of understanding the complex processes of learning and teaching at school. In 1985, I was invited to join John Devine and a group of students from New York University (where I was studying for my MA in TESOL) to help design and implement a drop-out prevention program in a public high school in Brooklyn, New York. Located in a low-income neighborhood and serving a predominantly Puerto Rican, Dominican, and African American population, the school had a 75% drop-out rate. Part of my job was to tutor ESL to the Spanish-speaking students in the transitional bilingual program who were considered 'at-risk' of dropping out. When it became obvious that these students were participating and achieving in the program that we had organized, I developed questions about their 'at-risk' status. While I had no formal training in ethnography of education at the time, my natural instincts led me to observe the students I was working with in their regular classes and to talk to their teachers about what was going on with these students and why. John Devine encouraged my interest in ethnographic research, and I began to learn how schools can function to limit students' opportunities. I thank Miriam Eisenstein and the TESOL program at New York University for supporting my work in this transitional bilingual program with a Research Assistantship.

My awareness of dramatic differences in students' interactions and performance across learning contexts inspired the need to understand how schools could organize their programs and practices so that students like those I had worked with in Brooklyn could achieve. In 1986, I began ethnographic research in a transitional

bilingual middle school program in Perth Amboy, NJ that the State of New Jersey had labeled 'exemplary'. My original goal was to investigate how this bilingual program was providing equal educational opportunities to its low-income Spanish-speaking (predominantly Puerto Rican and Dominican) students. What I found, however, was that 'exemplary' simply meant a drop-out rate that was lower than in most bilingual schools in that area at that time. While I was beginning to question if and how transitional bilingual education could provide educational opportunities to students labeled 'Limited English Proficient' (as the Bilingual Education Act mandates), my experience using ethnographic and sociolinguistic methods in school-based research was allowing me to see relationships between the Puerto Rican and Dominican students' positioning in the micro-level classroom interaction and macro-level educational and societal discourses that discriminate against low-income Spanish-speaking populations. I thank the Anthropology of Education Department of the Graduate School of Education at Rutgers University in New Brunswick, New Jersey for supporting my research, and I am extremely grateful for Susan Gal's mentoring at this stage in my career.

I realized that in order to challenge discriminatory practices at school, I needed to better understand how discrimination is socially constructed in the face-to-face interaction. In 1989, I enrolled in the PhD program in Linguistics at Georgetown University to learn how social identities are constituted through discourse, and to learn how to analyze discourse. At the same time, I began ethnographic/discourse analytic research at Oyster Bilingual School, a 'successful' dual-language elementary school in Washington, DC, to learn how it was providing educational opportunities to its low-income native Spanish-speaking (primarily Salvadoran) population. This book provides a case study of dual-language planning and implementation at Oyster Bilingual School, and I want to express my extreme gratitude to the teachers, administrators and parents for the access they gave me to study their program and practices. In particular I thank the sixth grade and Kindergarten teachers and students who taught me how to look at what was happening at Oyster, and to understand why .

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Since 1996, I have been doing ethnographic/discourse analytic research at Julia de Burgos Bilingual Middle Magnet School in North Philadelphia in order to learn how a group of educators is developing a dual-language program that can meet the needs of their low-income, primarily Puerto Rican student population. The challenges that these educators face are reminiscent of those I saw in Brooklyn, NY and

in Perth Amboy, NJ, and of what the Oyster educators said they struggled against in the early days of dual-language planning at their school. Although this book is not directly based on my research at Julia de Burgos, my conversations with the educators, parents, students, and community members there have really helped me appreciate the complexity involved in challenging language prejudice and transforming social relations in a low-income urban public school setting. I want to thank José Lebrón, Barbara Mitchell, Carmen Cotto, and Olivia Dreibelbis for giving me the opportunity to do my research at Julia de Burgos, and I am especially grateful to Marjorie Soto, Angela Garay, Michael Trautner, and Helda Ortiz for allowing me to be so closely involved in their thinking about dual-language planning and implementation at their school. I also want to thank graduate students Crissy Cáceres, Serafín Coronel-Molina, Susan O'Malley, Anne Pomerantz, Anne Roberti, Mary Springer, and Doris Warriner for sharing their insights on dual-language education at Julia de Burgos with me. My experience at Julia de Burgos has made an important impact on my thinking about bilingual education research and practice, and about how universities, public schools, and community-based organizations can work together to provide opportunities to low-income Latino students who are too often marginalized in US schools and society.

My colleagues Nancy Hornberger and Teresa Pica in the Educational Linguistics Program of the Graduate School of Education at the University of Pennsylvania have been incredibly supportive of my research for the last five years, and I feel privileged to have the opportunity to exchange ideas about issues related to the education of linguistically and culturally diverse students with them on a regular basis. Their influence is readily apparent in my work, and I cannot thank them enough. I also want to thank the rest of my colleagues at the Graduate School of Education, and especially my students in the Educational Linguistics program who have helped me think through many of the ideas that I have developed in this book. I am very grateful to Colin Baker, Nancy Hornberger, Marilyn Martin-Jones and Anne Pomerantz for their contributions to this manuscript in its various stages.

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