

Voices of Refugee Youth
in a Restrictive Educational Language Policy Context
in Arizona:
Narratives of Language, Identity and Belonging
by
Kathleen M. Corley

A Dissertation Presented in Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Doctor of Philosophy

Approved April 2016 by the
Graduate Supervisory Committee:

Teresa McCarty, Co-Chair
Elizabeth Swadener, Co-Chair
Doris Warriner

ARIZONA STATE UNIVERSITY

May 2016

ABSTRACT

This qualitative study investigates the experiences of ten focal youth who came to the United States as refugees and were placed in Structured English Immersion (SEI) programs in Arizona high schools. The educational language policy for Arizona's public schools (during the 2014-2015 school year) mandates SEI include four 60-minute classroom periods devoted to reading, writing, grammar, oral English exclusively. Students in SEI thus have restricted access to the full-range of general education courses required for graduation, as well as limited opportunities for social interaction with peers enrolled in the "mainstream" curriculum.

The study investigates how youth understand and navigate the school language policy, practices and discourses that position them, and specifically seeks to learn how being identified as an "English Language Learner" interacts with youth's construction of academic and social identities. Adopting a critical sociocultural theory of language policy (following McCarty, 2011), employing ethnographically-informed research methods, and using social-positioning as an analytic lens, I aim to learn from an emic youth perspective and to amplify their voices. Eight Somali and two Iraqi students took part in two individual in-depth interviews; five students participated in a focus group; and all engaged in numerous informal conversations during 22 researcher site visits to an ethnic community-based organization (ECBO) and a family apartment.

Narratives recounting the participants' lived experiences in the socio-cultural context of high school provide powerful examples of youth asserting personal agency and engaging in small acts of resistance to contest disagreeable positioning. The findings thus support the conceptualization of youth as creative producers of hybridity in response to

their environments. This work also confirms the perennial significance of social categories and “othering” in high school. Though the institutional structure of separate classrooms and concomitant limited access to required courses hinder the study participants’ academic progress, the youth speak positively about the comfort of comradery and friendship in the shared safe space of the separate SEI classroom. The dissertation concludes with participants’ recommendations for educators and the people refugee youth interact with in the context of high school to improve refugee youth’s experience.

DEDICATION

To my parents Lila McCarthy Corley and Martin Corley who always loved me no matter

what;

To Brahim Koudssi and Zakaria Corley Koudssi, husband and son who have supported

and tolerated this bumpy journey of mine;

To refugees the world over, but especially to the young people from the Somali and Iraqi

diaspora who participated in this study, and the adults who are deeply committed to

safeguarding their futures. I am grateful to, and humbled by, these wonderfully strong

and adept teens.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I am infinitely grateful to my *Committee of Stars*: Professors Beth Swadener, Terri McCarty, and Doris Warriner. I have been privileged to have such exceptionally smart and accomplished women care about and influence me and my work. They are formidable scholars and teachers who work for social justice. I aspire to follow in their footsteps.

Thank you to my Co-Chair Beth who took me on as Terri headed west to UCLA. Beth you have shouldered the lion's share of in-person support. I have benefitted not only from the time you have spent helping me, but also from observing your way of gently guiding and encouraging others. Your ability to meet each person where she is a rare attribute. The dissertation writing support group you created was a safe space for many of us to share our struggles and achievements. I am proud to be the 50th candidate from this group to defend a dissertation.

Terri, thank you for agreeing to be my Chair even though you were in your last semester in residence at ASU. Your sensitivity to, and work on behalf of people's rights to use, maintain and rekindle their mother tongues and heritage languages, has touched me deeply and influenced me profoundly (as it has thousands of others).

Doris thank you for being my sole committee member. I sought you out because of your impressive work, and I have continued to be impressed with all that you do. Your feedback on my comprehensive exam papers and research proposal helped shape and deepen my work. You extended a "position" in theory to me that aligned with my own epistemological belief that *context is everything!*

My gratitude to you three outweighs my ability to find words to express it.

I must acknowledge the school teachers who made indelible marks on my soul when I was a child: Ms. G. (Ann Giordano) who in fourth grade let us choose what name we wanted to be called and by doing so communicated that we nine-year-olds could claim our identities. She made school fun and participatory for the first time in five years; she awakened my love for stories when she read *Charlotte's Web* aloud to our class. I am thankful to my teacher in seventh and then again tenth grade, Barbara Kennedy, a formidable actress and scholar who with theatre games and movement stirred my consciousness to the fact that learning is a fully embodied, rather than an exclusively cerebral, experience. Wonderful teachers have lasting impact.

Thank you to all the people I knew and those I met by chance who helped me as I struggled to find my way not knowing the local language in many places throughout Slovakia, the Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland, Austria and Japan, but especially Slovakia. The kind and generous people in these places at times literally took my hand and led me, as I experienced my mother tongue, English, to be just one of many languages in the world.

I am very grateful for the financial support of the Graduate and Professional Student Association (GPSA) Research Grant Funding (Project ID# 8297).

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
LIST OF TABLES.....	ix
LIST OF FIGURES	x
PREFACE.....	xi
CHAPTER	
1 INTRODUCTION	1
Why Them? Why Me?	2
Research Context.....	4
2 IMPORTANT ANTECEDENTS: SITUATING THE STUDY IN PLACE, TIME AND THEORY.....	20
Part 1: Arizona History, Language, and Law	21
Part 2: Concepts of Youth	28
Part 3: Language Ideology and Policy	36
Part 4: Theoretical Underpinnings and Conceptual Framing.	42
Chapter Summary	48
3 RESEARCH DESIGN, METHODS, AND ANALYSIS.....	49
Chapter Summary	83
4 FINDINGS RELATED TO IDENTITY.....	84
Part 1: Meet the Participants	85
Part 2: Life Circumstances	95
Chapter Summary	106

CHAPTER	Page
5 POLICY-RELATED FINDINGS	108
Chapter Summary	132
6 FINDINGS ON THE ROAD TO BELONGING	134
Part 1: A Place in School	137
Part 2: Age as Obstacle	158
Chapter Summary	165
7 CONCLUSION AND IMPLICATIONS	167
REFERENCES.....	195
APPENDIX	
A INTERVIEW PROTOCOL USED AS CONVERSTAION PROMPTS	211
B MINOR ASSENT FORM	214
C PARENTAL LETTER OF PERMISSION	216
D INSTITUTIONAL REVIEW BOARD APPROVAL	218
E INSTITUTIONAL REVIEW BOARD APPROVAL CONTINUATION	220

LIST OF TABLES

Table	Page
1. Public High School 4-year Adjusted Cohort Graduation Rate (ACGR) for the 50 States, and the District of Columbia: School Year 2012–13	.....10
2. States with Restrictions on the Teaching of ELL Students in 2008–09	.....38
3. First Round Code Book	.....75
4. Participant Biographical Data	.....94
5. Median Age and Gender of Refugee Arrivals, Fiscal Year 2014	.....97
6. Refugee Arrivals by Country of Origin and Select Age Categories, Fiscal Year 2013	.....100
7. Participant Language Data	.....104
8. Refugee Arrivals to Arizona of Iraqi and Somali Nationality and FFY of Resettlement	.....115
9. Participant Age and Grade at Time of Study	.....161
10. Participants’ Recommendations for Educators and the People Refugee Youth Interact with in the Context of High School	.....182
11. Participant Plans for the Future	.....193

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure	Page
1. Literature Review Topics	20
2. Screenshot of KWIK Search for “Friends” in Nasara Interviews	81
3. Screenshot of File View of Use of “Friends”	82
4. Contributing Themes in the Social Positioning of Study Participants in School—From Policy to Belonging.....	136
5. Map of Area of Africa Referenced	142
6. Positioning Allegiance.....	172

PREFACE

The first time I travelled outside the North American continent, I visited the Netherlands, Belgium, France, Spain and Morocco with my friend, who many years later became my spouse. It was during this trip that two young children showed me how profoundly interwoven language and identity are. We flew from New York to Amsterdam, and spent the day exploring the city, trying to stay awake after a long, delayed charter flight. We headed east of the city by train to visit my companion's sister and her family in a small Dutch town near the border with Germany. The family of four included two adults and two children, who would later become my niece and nephew (according to my U.S.-American construct of familial relationships based on marriage). When I met my niece Nawal she was a few months shy of her third birthday. She looked at me and began speaking in Dutch; she then turned to my partner, her uncle, and spoke Arabic to him. What was at work in her young mind that prompted her decision to translanguage when speaking to me? She had seemingly attributed language categories based on our physical features. Living in a small Dutch town, with close relationships to Dutch friends and neighbors, she had already sorted out that in her world people who had "fair skin" and lighter hair spoke Dutch and people with "olive skin" and black hair spoke Arabic. She was growing up bilingual, as a member of a Moroccan family in the Netherlands.

During the same summer adventure my partner and I traipsed through Belgium, France and Spain and finally Morocco where I encountered another little one who exhibited a very different understanding about language and the identities of language speakers. One day my companion and I took two of his nephews along for a ride to the

bakers to pick up baguettes for the mid-day meal. I was seated in the front passenger seat, the children in the back. Unbeknownst to me, one of the little boys who was four-years-old at the time repeatedly asked me in Moroccan Arabic to give him a piece of the warm, fresh bread we had just purchased. He eventually tugged on my arm to get my attention and repeated his request. Finally in frustration, he turned to his uncle and asked: “What is wrong with her? Is she a crazy person? Why won’t she give me a piece of bread?” This child had no awareness there were people in the world who did not speak Moroccan, as he had never encountered such a person before in his short life. He had not started school, so had yet to encounter French, the colonial language, which was the lingua franca during this post-colonial period.

The niece in the Netherlands and the nephew in Morocco had very different early childhood language encounters. The first, though younger, was keenly aware of the existence of more than one language and had figured out which language was spoken in which context by whom. The other child had never fathomed the existence of people who did not speak his language, though he soon after began school and became a fluent French speaker. These young children exemplified how conceptualizations about language connect to lived experience. I met them at the time when I had just completed Sociolinguistics and Phonology and Morphology classes as prerequisites for the Master’s degree program I was to begin the following semester. They inspired and filled me with enthusiasm.

Place has had a significant influence in their linguistic lives and in how they have been positioned within society. Nawal was born in Holland, but was not considered Dutch, as she was the child of immigrants. She lived in an environment where Moroccan

was spoken at home, but not in the public sphere. Saad, on the other hand, was born and raised in his and his parents' country of birth, where Moroccan was spoken in all venues a child would encounter prior to entering school. But because Morocco is a former French colony, Moroccan citizens are entitled to receive a university education in France. Saad has done just that. He earned a business degree at a French university and is currently studying in France, pursuing his Master of Science degree.

My curiosity about the connections between language and identity and my desire to explore the intricacies and manifestations of such relationships, thus deepened and took root in Europe and North Africa. Prior to becoming a doctoral student I had thought of Nawal and Saad's experiences strictly from a linguistic perspective. I have since come to consider how both of them have lived in countries where they have been positioned as the "other." They have been marginalized, not based on language, but on ethnicity. Again Nawal's encounters with marginalization came earlier than for Saad because she grew up in a country in which her North African physical features were recognizably distinct from that of the majority population. For Saad, it was not until young adulthood that he found himself positioned on the margins of French society. He knew in advance of going the prejudice Moroccans encounter in France, but he was motivated by his educational goals. As an adult he has the power to make such a choice; young children do not have this prerogative.

Youth who had no choice about where to live, whose families were uprooted due to war, are the focal actors in this dissertation study. As refugees resettled in Arizona, they have been thrust into a new linguistic and cultural milieu, where they resiliently

navigate their way. Their views and experiences doing so, particularly in the socio-cultural context of high school, are recounted in the pages that follow.

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Can you imagine you being displaced in another country and in a minute, in a second, get yourself out of there in five minutes? The culture, the religion that you know? It's like you are being displaced in a big field, in the middle of big field/ It's hard for us to assimilate. It takes a while. (Drogba)

Drogba (all names are pseudonyms) is one of the ten young people who participated in the dissertation study that follows. He asked me to imagine this episode from his life and its aftermath during one of our interviews. He began with a rhetorical question, yet his words impart a request that his lived experiences be acknowledged and understood. The resplendent voice of Drogba, and the voices of nine other youth, all of whom came to the United States as refugees of war and were attending Phoenix, Arizona high schools when we met, reverberate throughout this dissertation. Though I had yet to meet Drogba when designing this qualitative research study, my research goals aligned seamlessly with his entreaty. My purpose in conducting this dissertation research was to understand and document the experiences and views of immigrant students attending high school in Arizona's restrictive educational language-policy context. Specifically, the policy requires students who have not passed Arizona's English-language proficiency exam (known as AZELLA) to spend four hours a day in Structured English Immersion (SEI) classes, and prohibits them from taking a full course-load of general education classes required for graduation. The context created by this policy is a segregated school environment based on language. The study investigates students' perspectives on attending school in such a setting.

Arizona’s policy in practice requires multilingual students enrolled in public schools, who are classified as English Language Learners (ELLs) or “Limited English Proficient” (LEP) to attend Structured English Immersion (SEI) classes where they are sequestered from the general education student population and denied access to the full curriculum for most of the school day. Though there has been research published on the case of Arizona (Arias & Faltis, 2012; Lawton, 2012; Lillie, 2011; Lillie & Markos, 2014; Menken & García, 2010; Rios-Aguilar, González Canché, Sabetghadam, 2012). I was committed to studying the implementation of SEI from a different angle – by conducting a qualitative study with a youth perspective, in which high school students would be positioned as the rightful experts on their own lives, a study that would serve as a conduit through which their voices could be heard and amplified. The most straightforward way to accomplish this goal was through listening to youth intentionally and attentively. Using in-depth phenomenological interviewing as my primary method of investigation, and spending time with youth after school and on weekends, I recorded their stories, feelings, and opinions about language, learning, and life during 22 site visits over a six month period during the 2014-2015 school year.

Why Them? Why Me? How Our Paths Crossed

Earlier in the study design phase, I had imagined my study participants would be recent immigrants to the United States; I had not set out to investigate the experiences of refugee youth specifically. Rather, resistance from school districts created a perfect storm of sorts – incessantly tossing barricades in my path to accessing students in school, and setting me down at two ethnic community-based organizations, the Somali Americans Together Community Organization (SATCO) of Arizona, and the Iraqi American

Community Council (IACC) where I connected to the ten strong young people whose lived experiences as high school students in SEI constitute this dissertation. During in-depth interviews over the course of six months, these youth shared personal histories concerning language and education, as well as significant events and encounters both before and after coming to the U.S.

I was drawn to this work through a confluence of life events. My academic and professional background in teaching English as an Additional Language has afforded me opportunities to live as a culturally and linguistically “other” albeit in small, selective doses. I have lived and taught internationally, experiences which have in no way paralleled the lives of immigrants and certainly not that of refugees, as I always carried my embodied privilege—racial, economic, as well as the right of return with me. Nevertheless, I have faced being utterly alone, on my own trying to get around countries by bus and train before Smartphones and Google Maps, in places where I did not speak the local languages—Slovak, Czech, Hungarian, Polish and Japanese—and where no one outside of school settings spoke English. I have also lived more than half my life with a partner who emigrated from a non-English-speaking country. Family visits to his native Morocco for me meant entering a zone of imposed silence as I did not speak Moroccan Arabic, and French, the lingua franca left as a legacy of colonialism and a language I spoke passably, was not typically spoken in the home. My mother-in-law, who was bilingual in Kabylie Berber and Moroccan Arabic, did not speak French, so to insert myself into a conversation with an interjection in French was not a good option. Language, as illustrated in this personal example, is imbued with the power not only to connect people, but also to keep them apart.

Another biographical fact instilled my desire to work with adolescent youth and to understand their worlds. I am the mother of a teenage son attending high school. I have thus come to this work with three bags full of empathy: one for the stranger in a strange land, two for the speaker not entirely fluent in the local language, and three for the adolescent experiencing the vicissitudes of high school.

In the remainder of this introductory chapter, I acquaint the reader with the research context; I say a bit more about the research problem and its significance, as well as the significance of the study as a whole. I also share the research questions I posed to direct my inquiry. Finally in the last section of this chapter, I provide an overview of the organization of the dissertation and briefly describe the goals of each chapter.

Research Context

Place plays a prominent role in this study because the educational language policy for public education and its manifestations are specific to Arizona. So by way of introduction, I will describe a few relevant features of the state context. Since passage of a state ballot initiative known as Proposition 203 (“English for the Children”) in November 2000, Arizona has had an English-Only education policy in place. Subsequent to the law’s passage, state regulations imposed a Structured English Immersion (SEI) requirement, a program whereby students “shall be taught English by being taught in English... during a temporary transition period not normally intended to exceed one year” (A.R.S. §§15-752). SEI has essentially replaced bilingual education for children and youth. Students designated “ELL” (referred to as “LEP” in existing federal data reports, though the term has been eliminated in the new Every Student Succeeds Act, ESSA), do not participate in subject-area instruction such as history, math, science while

they attend English language classes, as SEI programs are required by the state to include four 60-minute classroom periods devoted to reading, writing, grammar, oral English: conversation and vocabulary exclusively. I describe in detail the much litigated collision of language rights and education policy in Arizona in Chapter Two.

The question of how students who speak languages other than English as their primary language should be educated in U.S. public schools is a topic about which people have strong opinions closely connected to their ideologies and politics (Arias & Faltis, 2012; Rolstad, Mahoney, & Glass, 2005; Skutnabb-Kangas & McCarty, 2008; Wiley, 2014, 2005, 2004; Wiley, Castro, & deKlerk, 2005). In Arizona, students are not consulted about their preferences regarding their optimal language(s) of instruction. Nor are multilingual students or their families consulted as to their readiness and desire to access the full curriculum in which the language of instruction is English. A waiver procedure for parents to opt out of the SEI program on behalf of their children is available. Yet no provision to consider the preferences of the students themselves is included. This omission of youth input is not unique to Arizona. In fact, beyond the preschool years and outside alternative schools using learner-centered approaches to teaching and learning, students in the United States are rarely involved in the development and implementation of education policies and the practices that directly affect them (Arias & Faltis, 2012; Moore, 2014).

Public education in Arizona nevertheless does differ from other states in a number of important ways including having among the lowest per pupil funding in the nation, outlawed ethnic studies courses, and poor graduation rates for students designated “LEP” (Cabrera, Milem, Jaquette, & Marx, 2014; Delgado, 2013; Dotts, 2015; National Center

for Education Statistics, 2013; O’Leary, Romero, Cabrera, & Rascon, 2012). To help the reader envision the educational landscape of Arizona, I turn now to describe the aforementioned three circumstances that in part contribute to the characterization of this state as unique I do not offer an exhaustive account of these factors, their root causes and ramifications, as to do so would be to write a different dissertation. I describe these circumstances briefly in order to give a sense of the rocky education terrain of the place where the study is situated.

Arizona’s investment in education. If monetary investment were the yardstick by which government concern for educational matters was measured, Arizona would appear to have a “hands-off” ideology towards public schooling in its legislature. But to the contrary, the role of government in K-12 public education in the Grand Canyon state is highly interventionist and “hands-on,” particularly in regards to school programming and curriculum planning.

According to the U.S. Department of Education Institute of Education Sciences National Center for Education Statistics in 2011, the year reflecting the most current data available, Arizona ranked 48th of the 50 states, plus the District of Columbia (thus 48th of 51) in per pupil expenditures. Arizona spent \$7,782 per pupil, whereas the ten states or jurisdictions providing the most financial support per pupil spent between \$14,123 and \$20,793, and the national average for the same year (2010-11 school year) was \$11,332 per pupil (National Center for Education Statistics, 2013). The national average in per student expenditures had actually been higher two years prior in 2008-09 when it reached \$11,537, while in Arizona the high was \$7,929. Since 2008-09, the year that marks the beginning of the great recession, average per-student spending on K-12 education in the

United States has gone down every year despite the economic recovery in other sectors (National Center for Education Statistics, 2013). Money is not the salve to cure all education ills; however, Gándara and Hopkins (2010) point out that underfunded programs have diminished opportunities to learn, and fewer resources for teacher professional development.

Legislating un-differentiated instruction. Though Arizona’s legislature appears to deem education as a sector not warranting significant financial investment, the state government has considered the public education curricula to be an area requiring close scrutiny. During the same period of economic recession described in the previous paragraph, in 2010 the Arizona House of Representatives passed House Bill 2281, an act amending existing state statute relating to school curriculum. Widely seen as targeting the Latino/a population, this anti-ethnic studies statute, declared: “...public school pupils should be taught to treat and value each other as individuals and not based on ethnic background.” HB 2281 prohibited courses or classes: “1) Designed primarily for pupils of a particular ethnic group 2) [that] advocate ethnic solidarity instead of the treatment of pupils as individuals.” It should be pointed out that the legislature has never considered the critical fact that the “mainstream” curriculum is in fact an “ethnically” Eurocentric one (Orozco, 2011; Urrieta, 2009). The most publicly visible victim of this bill was the Mexican American Studies (MAS) program in the Tucson Unified School District (TUSD). In 1978, in response to a class action lawsuit filed by students against the Tucson Unified School District for its practice of de jure segregation, the federal district court approved a desegregation plan. However, in 2004 the court curtailed judicial oversight of the district and recommended local accountability of policymakers to

constituents. The Mexican-American Studies Program with its culturally relevant pedagogy was recommended as a means of meeting this obligation (Dotts, 2015). The MAS program had been credited with transforming a drop-out pattern into a college-going trend for Latino/a youth who enrolled (Delgado, 2013). Prior to development of the MAS program, roughly half of Latino/a students had been dropping out of school (Delgado, 2013), whereas the 2010 graduation rate for the MAS cohort was 82.6% (O’Leary et al., 2012). More recently, Cabrera, Milem, Jaquette and Marx (2014) conducted an in-depth statistical analysis of four high school student cohorts from 2008-2011 ($n=8,382$) attending schools that offered MAS classes. They found academic achievement was positively related to student participation in MAS classes. Academic achievement was defined as passing the state standardized tests (AIMS; previously administered to all 10th grade students in the Arizona) and graduating from high school. Even a disaggregated sample of students who had initially failed AIMS prior to enrolling in a MAS class out-performed their non-MAS-taking peers (p. 1102).

Arizona came under the national spotlight with the eradication of the MAS program, its subsequent banning of certain “ethnic studies” books, and reaction of the Latino community and its allies. Though this dissertation is not about the HB 2281, the anti-ethnic studies mandate is closely connected to anti-bilingual education sentiment and its concomitant restrictive educational policy that has led to segregated classrooms based on language.

Graduation rates. In the previous section, I touched upon the improved graduation rate of students in the defunct Mexican American Studies program in Tucson. I now present the stark data on the high school graduation rate for students designated “LEP.” This demographic group should not be misconstrued as the Latino/a students discussed in regards to the Mexican American Program because most Latino/a high school students in Arizona are bilingual in Spanish and English and do not attend ESL classes.

Amongst 49 states and the District of Columbia, Arizona ranks last in its graduation rate for “LEP” students (Idaho had not submitted this data at the time of this writing; *EDFacts*, 2015). Only 20% percent of “LEP” students in Arizona graduated in 2013, while the statewide graduation rate for all students was 75%, according to the National Center for Education Statistics (2015). To be precise, in 2013, of the 1,155 students in the demographic, only 192 students graduated in four years and the percentage of graduates has been decreasing in Arizona in recent years: The graduation rate was 25% in 2011, 24% in 2012, and 20% in 2013 (Arizona Department of Education, 2015). Table 1 lists the states according to the percentage of “LEP” students who graduated from public high school in four years in descending order. I include this data here as a snapshot to convey how Arizona compares to other states. In my view, statistics never tell the full story, but instead point to a need to investigate. For a quantitative study on the interaction between Arizona’s educational language policies, individual student factors, and drop-out rates see Lillie, 2011.

Table 1

Public High School 4-year Adjusted Cohort Graduation Rate (ACGR) for the 50 states, and the District of Columbia: School Year 2012–13

Rank		LEP	Total (all demographic subgroups combined)
	US	61.1	81.4
1.	West Virginia	83	81.4
2.	Arkansas	81	84.9
3.	Indiana	78	87.0
4.	Iowa	76	89.7
5.	Kansas	75	85.7
6.	Tennessee	73	86.3
7.	Rhode Island	73	79.7
8.	Maine	73	86.4
9.	Texas	71.3	88.0
10.	Delaware	71	80.4
11.	New Jersey	70.5	87.5
12.	New Hampshire	70	87.3
13.	South Carolina	69	77.6
14.	Missouri	69	85.7
15.	Wyoming	68	77.0
16.	Ohio	67	82.2
17.	Pennsylvania	67	85.5
18.	New Mexico	65.4	70.3
19.	Michigan	65.4	77.0
20.	Oklahoma	64	84.8
21.	Kentucky	64	86.1
22.	Connecticut	64	85.5
23.	Illinois	63.7	83.2
24.	Massachusetts	63.5	85.0
25.	California	63.1	80.4
26.	Vermont	63	86.6
27.	Wisconsin	62	88.0
28.	North Dakota	61	87.5
29.	Utah	60	83.0
30.	Nebraska	60	88.5
31.	Minnesota	59.3	79.8
32.	South Dakota	59	82.7
33.	Colorado	58.5	76.9
34.	Florida	57.5	75.6
35.	Montana	57	84.4

Rank		LEP	Total (all demographic subgroups combined)
36.	Mississippi	57	75.5
37.	Maryland	57	85.0
38.	Hawaii	57	82.4
39.	District of Columbia	52	62.3
40.	Virginia	51.8	84.5
41.	Washington	50.6	76.4
42.	Oregon	49.1	68.7
43.	North Carolina	49	82.5
44.	Louisiana	48	73.5
45.	Alabama	44	80.0
46.	Georgia	43.8	71.7
47.	Alaska	40	71.8
48.	New York	39.1	76.8
49.	Nevada	24	70.7
50.	Arizona	20	75.1
	Idaho (no data available)	—	—

SOURCE: ED*Facts*/Consolidated State Performance Report, SY 2012–13, <http://www2.ed.gov/admins/lead/account/consolidated/index.html>.

Clearly, the SEI program is not working for high school students in Arizona. In the next section I discuss some of the reasons why.

Why Separate *and* Not Equal Is a Problem

The problem with the educational language policy that resulted from passage of Proposition 203 (Nov. 7, 2000) is that in practice SEI requires students who are dominant in one or more languages other than English be sequestered in separate, but not equal classrooms for 2/3 of the school day. Relegated to English as a Second Language (ESL) classes for four out of six instructional hours daily, multilingual students inevitably fall behind their grade-level peers – a fact that the Department of Education has acknowledged to teachers: “It is important to remember that reclassified students may not

be at grade level, but have enough English to access grade level content” (Arizona’s English Language Learners Boot Camp September 12, 2013).

Delayed academic progress is a significant equity concern, but it is not the only problem connected to the implementation of a policy that excludes multilingual students from the general education student population and full roster of courses. “Special population” status can be socially problematic for youth as well. Multilingual students’ social connections, sense of belonging, and identity formation, in addition to their academic trajectories, can be limited by the construction of deficit around and about them (Bal, 2009; Bucholtz, 2011; Bucholtz & Hall, 2008; Davies & Harré, 1990, 2001). These affective implications are the primary focus of this study. Research conducted for the Arizona Educational Equity Project found that linguistic segregation stigmatizes, marginalizes and increases the likelihood of dropping out for students separated from the mainstream population based on their heritage language (Lillie, Markos, Arias, & Wiley, 2012). No doubt language plays a vital role in social life (Thompson, 1991) and a mediating role in the social worlds of youth who have varying degrees of mastery over the dominant language in use in the contexts in which they find themselves. Acts of acceptance and rejection are typical amongst adolescents, the focal demographic of this study, but language differences and perceptions of “foreignness” can accelerate youth decision-making about group membership – determinations about who is in and who is out (Bucholtz, 2011; Bucholtz & Hall, 2008; Davies & Harré, 1990, 2001; de Fina, 2006; Eckert, 1989; Fine, 1991; Rampton, 2006). When multilingual students with greater expertise in a language or languages other than the majority language spoken in a school are separated from the larger student body, they clearly have fewer opportunities to learn

English pragmatics, that is, how language works in communicative and social interaction. Nor are they afforded the opportunity to learn what Rom Harré describes as: “the rights and duties available to, and expected of them” (Harré, 2010) through the process of interaction. Students who are physically kept apart from the students in general education classes are thus denied access to the local “corpus of sayings and doings” (Harré, 2010). Such an environment conflicts with the notion of immersion, and is more akin to segregation. Ironically, when students who are assessed as not proficient in English and thereby designated “ELL” or “LEP” spend most of their time with other learners with the same designation, they are not immersed in the “standard English” they are sequestered in special classes to learn, but rather in “learner English.” Alternatively, when SEI classes are populated with speakers who share the same mother tongue (e.g. Spanish) these students likewise are not immersed in English (Gándara & Orfield, 2012; Valdés, 2001).

Significance of a Student-Centered Study

Academic literature is rife with depictions of students, often extrapolations based on assessments of some aspect of their performance, such as test scores, teacher evaluations, trend-reports and the like. Yet there is little scholarly literature with youth voice at its core and this terrain remains under-explored. Maira and Soep (2005) posit that in academic research the experiences of youth are construed as not quite as important as those of adults: “In many fields of academic research, the actual experiences of youth are not always considered important sites for developing theory and methodology and are seen as secondary in importance to the actions and imaginations of adults” (Maira & Soep, 2005, p. xv). This assessment is born out in the comparatively small amount of

scholarly work presenting students' perspectives. (Notable exceptions include the work of Bal, 2009; Bertrand, 2013; Borrero, Yeh, Cruz & Suda, 2012; Lundy & Swadener, 2014; McCarty, Romero-Little, Warhol, & Zepeda, 2014; Mitra, 2004; Soto & Swadener, 2005; Wyman, 2012.) Still this terrain remains under-explored, particularly in the area of language policy implementation in schools. Lillie's (2011) dissertation study was the first to take up youth voice and specifically investigate Arizona's restrictive language policy; however youth voice in Lillie's quantitative study is accessed through surveys, rather than through spoken interaction.

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this qualitative study is to document and understand the experiences and views of multilingual adolescent students attending high school in a restrictive educational language-policy context. In order to diverge from routine reification of youth, I directly solicited the views of students whose lives were directly impacted by the implementation of the restrictive educational language policy, one which was purported to have students' best interests at heart, but which promulgates a nationalistic attitude towards people who speak languages other than English, including languages indigenous to Arizona (Bloch, Swadener, & Cannella, 2014; McCarty, 2013; McCarty, Romero-Little & Zepeda, 2011, 2006; McCarty et al., 2014; Soto & Swadener, 2005; Wiley, 2014, 2005, 2004). Because much of the produced academic research furthers adult interpretations of youth, rather than youth accounts of themselves, I aimed to learn from youth's emic view. I hold

the conviction that children have the right to a voice in matters that concern them (Mirón & Lauria, 1998; Scott, Straker, & Katz, 2008). Accordingly, the central component of this study is participant discourse, rather than classroom observations and subjective interpretations of youth behaviors. Like Bourdieu (2000) I believe that speech *is* action. It follows that this dissertation should resonate with spoken examples from youth's lived experiences pertaining to language, learning and positioning within the context of high school in Arizona. Broadly, my queries in this study sought to elicit student perspectives on the various ways the implementation of the school language policy held sway over their lives, and how they asserted their agency as actors interacting, interpreting, and perhaps subverting and reshaping its meanings. The participants are introduced, through their personal narratives, in Chapter Four. The narratives of these young multilingual people, who are indeed linguistic virtuosos, serve as a rich data source. Their voices reverberate through audio recordings documenting their encounters, feelings and opinions and the influences de jure educational language policy and concomitant language ideologies (Urrieta & Quach, 2000).

Caveats. Aiming to position youth voice at the center of research *about* youth, I am aware of the danger of essentializing young people as a homogenous group, (especially in light of phenomenology's aim to get at the essence of an experience or experiences). Youth identities, like those of their adult counterparts, are negotiated and

vary in situation-specific ways as individuals interpret and respond to the conditions around them (Rampton, 2006, p. 19). In this dissertation research I followed the approach of listening attentively to youth, the approach modeled by scholars such as Blanchet-Cohen, and colleagues (2013); Bertrand (2013); Buchlotz (2011); Lundy & Swadener (2014); McCarty (2013); McCarty and colleagues Romero-Little & Zepeda, 2011, 2006); Paris, 2011; Rampton (2006); Swadener, 2008, 2013; and Wyman (2012, 2009) who “humanize” research with young people by positioning them as knowledge-holders and informants, not subjects (see Paris & Winn, 2014). This dissertation is thus composed of the voices of students who have for the most part been left out of the chorus in scholarly works on the topic of bi/multi/plurilingual youth, specifically those who are classified as “LEP” and living under a restrictive language policy (Gándara & Hopkins, 2010).

While endeavoring to portray immigrant youth as productive agents, *not* as agentless victims (Blanchet-Cohen & Brunson, 2014; Lundy & Swadener, 2014; McCarty, 2013; McCarty et al. 2014; Wyman, 2012, 2009), I must acknowledge the hurdles immigrant youth have had to jump (Qin-Hilliard, 2003). “Compared with native-born youth, immigrant youth face more risk factors due to multiple losses and stress related to immigration, including family separations, loss of extended family and friends, acculturation stress, and language barriers” (Qin-Hilliard, 2003, pp.103-104). Refugee youth in particular have surmounted tremendous obstacles in their young lives.

Research Questions

Bilingualism/multilingualism is not considered an educational asset for learners in Arizona viz. the implementation of the English-only curriculum and restrictions placed

on bilingual education brought about with passage of Proposition 203 (Nov. 7, 2000), as I have described earlier.

Intent on centering the voices and views of multilingual students who came to the United States as refugees and were placed in SEI classes, I listened and learned to the ten resilient and gracious participants. As my queries tapped participants' experiences, ethnographically-informed research methods were most suitable. I began with one overarching research question that generated a subset of more specific questions as follows:

1. How do youth understand and navigate the school language policy, practices and discourses that position them?
 - a) How does being identified as an "English Language Learner" interact with participants' construction of academic and social identities?
 - b) What observations and insights about group affiliation/belonging have youth made?
 - c) How do participants describe their use of and feelings about their home languages? In what ways has attending high schools where English is the language of instruction influenced students' relationship to their home languages.
 - d) What additional issues do students raise? What are their concerns?

Organization and Goals of Each Chapter

In this introductory chapter I have sketched the background and aims of this work. Because this study is one involving human subjects, it is populated with real people who bring it to life. Their life stories do not end with this write-up, though this dissertation work will come to a close. I hope this study succeeds in representing the vitality,

strength, and resilience of the youth who have made it. Like a living entity, the study revealed more than I could ever have planned or predicted. The young people and the adults in the communities supporting them taught me much more than I ever imagined learning about positivity, gratitude and hope. The light that emanates from these powerful young people has illuminated my world.

Chapter Two situates the study in time, space and theory. I locate the contemporary Arizona context through a historical overview of educational language policy and its many contestations. This chapter also takes a retrospective look at how youth have been construed by those in power in the “West.” I present the theoretical foundations underpinning my stance as a researcher, and discuss related language ideologies and policy. I conclude this chapter with a discussion of *positioning* - the conceptual framework I used both as a heuristic and a schematic to decipher the information collected in my fieldwork and elucidate the analysis.

Chapter Three describes the ethnographically-informed research methods that informed the design of this qualitative study. I detail the research activities and analysis processes and the rationale for the choices I made.

Chapter Four introduces the study participants at the heart of the study, and begins the presentation of the findings from my analysis. The reader will learn about the multiple layers of identities the focal youth inhabit. Some of these identities, have been inherited or thrust upon them. Yet the participants create, shape and claim the identities they want to have.

Chapter Five presents findings related to language policy, including but not limited to the structural enactments of a restrictive educational language policy in

practice in school. This chapter also illustrates the ways the study participants create their de facto language policies inside and outside school with friends and family.

Chapter Six presents a web of intersecting, interacting factors that contributed for better or worse, to the participants' sense of belonging in the school setting. Contextual variables contributing to one's ability to have a voice, as well as obstacles, are topics discussed in this chapter.

Chapter Seven closes the recounting of this study with a discussion of its implications for policy and practice. I summarize the findings in relation to the research questions, and situate the study within the existing literature. Apropos my intention to amplify the seldom-heard voices of refugee youth, this chapter includes a list of recommendations for improving the experiences of refugee students in school. Finally, I reflect upon my role as researcher, and the lessons learned along this dissertation journey

CHAPTER 2

IMPORTANT ANTECEDENTS: SITUATING THE STUDY IN PLACE, TIME AND THEORY

To look at a contemporary context only in terms of its present manifestations without accounting for its precedents is to gaze at a shadow without noticing what has cast it. This study took place in the state of Arizona and concerned the convergence of educational language policy and multilingual youth.

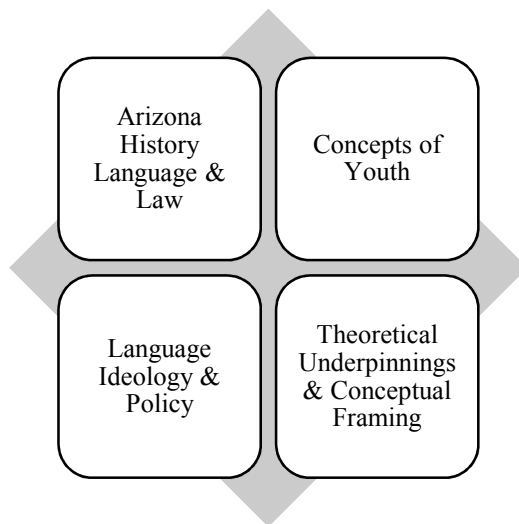


Figure 1. Literature Review Topics

This chapter digs down to glimpse the intertwined roots where theories germinated and some took hold; and from which this study and my approach to it sprouted. Aiming for clarity, I have apportioned this chapter's content into four sections or branches (to stretch a metaphor to its breaking point). In Part One I revisit the past, with an eye on the place in which I conducted the study. I begin with an abbreviated history chronicling educational language policy development and its contestations over time in Arizona. The purpose of doing so is to shed light on the evolution of attitudes,

and the ensuing legal maneuvering concerning language, both of which have helped shape the education landscape today. Part Two follows with a focus on conceptualizations of youth. Hindsight is instructive here as well in situating how youth, the focal group in this study, have been socially constructed in the “West” over time. This retrospective is again intended to assist in enhancing understanding of the present circumstances. I continue in this section with a summary of influential studies in the literature that have informed my thinking about adolescent youth engagements in high school settings. In Part Three I return to the topic of language ideologies, which are the clusters of beliefs that undergird and produce language policy. I then segue from language ideology to the mutually constitutive language policy. In doing so my theoretical grounding and alignments with the work of other scholars becomes evident through discussion of the literature. Part Four, the last section of the chapter presents my application of positioning theory and the conceptual framework I used to frame my analysis.

PART 1: ARIZONA HISTORY, LANGUAGE AND LAW

Lush Linguistic Resources in a Hostile Desert Climate

A state with a rich multilingual history, Arizona was originally populated with speakers of multiple Indigenous languages and later with an influx Spanish-speaking settlers who resided on this land long before it was ceded to the United States in accordance with the Treaty of Guadalupe Hildago in 1848 (Powers, 2008). In more recent times, according to the United States’ 2010 Census report, over a quarter of the people living in Arizona (27.9 % of the population) above the age of five speaks a language other than English at home and more than one out of five people (21.7%)

speaks Spanish at home. Yet language diversity has not been embraced as an asset for the state and its inhabitants. To the contrary, language is currently, and has been historically, a divisive, politicized issue (Wiley, 2014; Wiley, Garcia, Danzig, & Stigler, 2014; Wiley & Lukes, 1996; Wiley & Wright, 2004; Wright, 2006).

Throughout the 1800s and early 1900s, as White settlers moved to the region, the federal government began forcibly removing Native children from their families and placed them in English-only boarding schools in an attempt to sever the natural generational transmission of language and extinguish cultural ways (McCarty et al., 2014; Wolfe, 2016). White settler colonialism also had a devastating impact on the Mexican population living on the land now known as the state of Arizona. Indigenous people and Mexicans share a history of stolen land, broken promises and cultural degradation at the hands of the White settlers, and their languages have not been impervious to this assault (Powers, 2008).

English Language Teaching in Arizona: A Much Litigated History

More than sixty years ago in 1951, Arizona received its first federal court ruling on what has become a perennial topic. The case, *Gonzales v. Sheely (1951)* addressed Arizona's practice of segregating Latino students in separate schools and declared the practice illegal. Gándara and Orfield (2012) cite a most salient section of the court's decision:

...children are retarded in learning English by lack of exposure to its use because of segregation, and commingling of the entire student body instills and develops a common cultural attitude among the school children which is imperative for the perpetuation of American institutions and ideals. It is also clear that the methods

of segregation prevalent in the respondent school district foster antagonisms in the children and suggest inferiority among them where none exists. (*Gonzales v. Sheely*, 96 F.Supp.1004 D.C. Ariz. 1951).

Still, in 2016 the practice of segregating students based on language is alive and well, and state-sanctioned. The 1951 decision directly acknowledged the complexity of social issues inherent in segregating children in schools based on language or ethnicity and addressed the potential ramifications such linguistic segregation could have on children.

Challenges to the education rights of minoritized students in Arizona did not abate in the half-century following the *Gonzales v. Sheely* (1951) decision. In 1992, another important case for student rights was filed in Arizona. Miriam Flores filed a class action suit against the state of Arizona for failing to provide English Language Learners in the Nogales Unified School District with the effective educational programs required by the Equal Educational Opportunity Act. In 2000, some 18 years after the initial filing, the U.S. District Court ruled the state was indeed in violation of the EEOA because it had not allocated sufficient resources in order for English Language Learners to master the “essential skills” as specified by the state (see *Flores v. Arizona*, 2000; Rios-Aguilar & Gándara, 2012; Lawton, 2012; Gándara & Hopkins, 2010; Wiley, Castro, & deKlerk, 2005). In fact, the court determined that funding was so inadequate it was arbitrary. The state did not appeal the court’s decision, nor did the state follow the court’s mandates. The U.S. District Court held the state of Arizona in civil contempt, yet the state still did not comply with the court’s ruling and accrued more than \$20 million in fines. In 2006,

dubious as to whether the funding allocations would bring the state into alignment with the court orders, Governor Janet Napolitano allowed a funding bill (Arizona House Bill 2064, 2006) to go through without her signature. In 2007 the U.S. Court of Appeals for the 9th Circuit ruled the state was not in compliance as it had failed to demonstrate the relationship between the funding and the actual costs of providing instruction to ELLs (*Flores v. Arizona*, 2007). On appeal, the U.S. Court of Appeals for the 9th Circuit held up this decision affirming that H.B. 2064, 2006 was inadequate and upholding fines of \$2,000,000.00 per day.

Proposition 203 English Language Education for Children in Public Schools

In the midst of the court wrangling, while the state's failure to comply was being litigated, a ballot initiative restricting access to bilingual education for children and youth known as Proposition 203 English Language Education for Children in Public Schools was passed by Arizona voters on November 7, 2000. The passage of Proposition 203 led to a state mandate that all public school instruction be conducted in English, and required the establishment of an intensive one-year English immersion program. The state however, did not fund the measure. In September 2007, the Arizona State Board of Education adopted Structured English Immersion (SEI) model, also known as the "four-hour block" proposed by the Arizona ELL Task Force.

The contested issue of equal opportunity in education for English Language Learners in Arizona ultimately made its way to the U.S. Supreme Court, with Secretary of Education Tom Horne as the plaintiff. On June 25, 2009 (17 years since Miriam Flores filed her class-action lawsuit) Justice Alito delivered the Supreme Court's opinion

in *Horne v. Flores* (2009) overturning the two lower court decisions. Writing for the majority, Alito stated the two lower courts had:

Focused excessively on the narrow question of the adequacy of the State's incremental funding for ELL instruction instead of fairly considering the broader question whether, as a result of important changes during the intervening years, the State was fulfilling its obligation under the 2589*2589 EEOA by other means. The question at issue in these cases is not whether Arizona must take "appropriate action" to overcome the language barriers that impede ELL students. Of course it must. But petitioners argue that Arizona is now fulfilling its statutory obligation by new means that reflect new policy insights and other changed circumstances. (*Horne v. Flores*, 2009)

The “new means” Justice Alito cited referred to Arizona’s having established:

- The Arizona English language learners task force
- The Office of English language acquisition services
- A uniform and mandatory training program for all SEI instructors

The court’s decision also lauded the establishment of the SEI program (the outcome of Proposition 203 and subsequent Arizona English language learner task force). Despite the fact that university faculty had deemed the SEI program to be pedagogically unsound and not grounded in research (Faltis & Arias, 2012), Justice Alito erroneously noted it to be “significantly more effective than bilingual education.” (Research cited in amicus briefs filed by political action groups presented this view. See Brief for American Unity Legal Defense Fund et al. as *Amici Curiae* 10-12, 2009.)

Effect on curriculum. In the 2008-2009 school year the Department of Education required all school districts to implement the SEI model. In practice students who are designated English Language Learners (ELLs) or “LEP” are required to spend four hours of every school day in an English language class with other multilingual students (Arias & Faltis, 2012; Lawton, 2012; Menken & García, 2010; Rios-Aguilar, González Canché, Sabetghadam, 2012; Lillie & Markos, 2014). During this four-hour period classes are taught only in English, and are meant to focus exclusively on English language skills acquisition, rather than on content such as science, math, history, or any other subject in the mainstream curriculum (Gándara & Hopkins, 2010; Lillie et al., 2012; Lyster & Ballinger, 2011; Short, Echevarría, Richards-Tutor, 2011; Wiley, Castro, & deKlerk, 2005). With little fanfare, modifications to the four-hour mandate were approved by the Arizona State Board of Education on December 8, 2014 and are officially allowed to be implemented as of the beginning of the 2015/2016 school year. For the secondary school student population the refined SEI model allows for ELL coordinators and/or teachers to reduce the number of required hours spent in SEI from four to two hours for students who are in their second year of SEI and whose AZELLA test scores fall into the intermediate level.

Identification process. In current practice, the process of student segregation begins with questions posed on the school enrollment form and Home Language Survey. Both forms include the following questions:

- What is the primary language used in the home regardless of the language spoken by the student?
- What is the language most often spoken by the student?

- What is the language that the student first acquired?

If parents/guardians respond to any of these questions with a language other than English, the child automatically must take the Arizona English Language Learner Assessment (AZELLA) test to substantiate her English language proficiency or be placed in the level of English Language class deemed appropriate. The Arizona Department of Education's use of these questions to identify students reflects a monolingual bias and lack of knowledge regarding bi/multilingualism and plurilingualism. The questions are based on a presumption that a child who has learned a language other than English first, or uses a language other than English at home, cannot be proficient in English as well. An insidious message is conveyed to parents and guardians of children whose first language is not English that they cannot be trusted to make decisions about their child's education and therefore the child must be tested.

The Home Language Survey makes sense to those who ascribe to the nativist propaganda that immigrants "don't want to learn English." Countering this false assumption, Suárez-Orozco, Suárez-Orozco, and Todorova (2008) cited a study by Portes and Rumbaut (2006), who found 40% of second generation children of immigrants in the United States ($n=5000$) reported they no longer considered themselves competent in their parent's language, while 95% described themselves as English dominant (Suárez-Orozco, Suárez-Orozco, & Todorova, 2008). Contradictions abound in current education language policy in the United States. While seven states have English-only education policies in place, many other states require students to study a foreign language in order to graduate. "English speakers are encouraged to learn Spanish and Spanish speakers are forced to forget it" (Brisk, 2005, p. 570).

The preceding overview chronicles a tenacious ideology of language as a representation of national identity (a topic I will return to in Part Three; Blommaert, 2006; Schildkraut, 2013) and the persistent pursuit of litigation to assert the dominance of the English language above all others in Arizona (Wiley, Castro, & deKlerk, 2005). History has shown that such thinking is not newly arrived in the state of Arizona. Rather beliefs that position English as *the* legitimate language and other languages as problems are deeply rooted in this dusty soil (Ruiz, 1984). In the next section I turn to the verdant topic of youth, a period in the lifespan teeming with possibilities.

PART 2: CONCEPTS OF YOUTH

It is apropos to discuss the social constructions of youth, as enduring conceptualizations of youth can, and often do, remain unquestioned in many locales. The aphorism “Children should be seen and not heard” sums up in a mere seven words the positioning of children and young people in “Western” societies for much of recorded history (although it originally was used in reference to women; ca. 1400; Shapiro, 2006). I used this axiom of suppression as a point of departure from which to explore the ways in which conceptualizations of and concomitant expectations for youth, have evolved in small degrees over time.

Youth Agency and the Law

When I embarked on a literature review on this topic, a groundbreaking case of public discourse about whether children/youth should remain silent observers, or should have the right to active expression came to light. It was brought to the fore in the United States by a Supreme Court case, heard in 1968 and decided in 1969. The case concerned three high school students who in 1965 went to school wearing black armbands to

symbolically protest the Viet Nam war and were suspended from school by the Principal. In its decision in favor of the students, the Supreme Court pronounced: “It can hardly be argued that either students or teachers shed their constitutional rights to freedom of speech or expression at the schoolhouse gate” (*Tinker v. Des Moines Independent Community School District*, 1969). The Tinker case serves as a touchstone, affirming youth’s right to expression, whether voiced verbally or symbolically. The Tinker case teens who stood up and asserted the right to express their antiwar position affirmed that children should be seen *and* heard (Chemerinsky, 1999). This affirmation undergirds the rationale for this study, as well as my approach and methods.

On an international scale, a hugely significant milestone on the road to conceptualizing children as people with inalienable rights came about in 1989 with the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC, UN, 1989). Swadener, Lundy, Habashi, and Blanchet-Cohen (2013) described the CRC as “a touchstone for children’s rights throughout the world, providing benchmarks and standards across most aspects of children’s lives that are widely supported, relevant and easily understood” (Intro, np). In addition to providing many protections for children, the UNCRC, which took effect in September, 1990, affirms their *rights*. One such right is the right to freedom of expression as stated in Article 13:

“1. The child shall have the right to freedom of expression; this right shall include freedom to seek, receive and impart information and ideas of all kinds, regardless of frontiers, either orally, in writing or in print, in the form of art, or through any other media of the child's choice.”

Article 13 echoes the ruling in the 1969 Tinker case. Regrettably, the United States signed the CRC on February 16, 1995, but has never ratified it.

Developmental Constructions of Children and Youth

The notion of “child” and “childhood” is construed as distinct from the concept of “adult” and “adulthood” in the human lifespan throughout the world, though with variation in the parameters of said categories. The CRC defines the child in chronological terms as someone under age of 18 years. Within the “Western” academy considerable work has been done to understand child and adolescent development. The works of Piaget and Vygotsky (DeVries, 2000; Piaget, 1983; Vygotsky, 2004), in particular have spread beyond the confines of the academia to playgrounds and classrooms in many parts of the world. However, a conceptual slippery slope of sorts can lead from a focus on the dynamic developmental processes of childhood and adolescence to a view of youth as unfinished or incomplete versions of adults. The conceptualization of the “developing child” has been critiqued as underestimating the competence of children (James, 1995) and failing to account for the ecology of children’s environments—the physical and social contexts of their lives. Geography, economics, politics, belief systems, health, security, to name a few of the influences beyond biology, factor into the equations of children’s lives (see Soto and Swadener, 2005). The Reconceptualizing Early Childhood global “movement” of scholarship has critiqued the overuse of developmental theory and argued for more culturally nuanced and critical understandings of childhoods (Bloch, Swadener, & Cannella, 2014; Kessler & Swadener, 1992; Swadener & Kessler, 1991). Specific to this study, a developmental view does not account for the differences between

a child who grows up in a refugee camp and a child who grows up in a middle-class home in the United States for example.

Critical Paradigm Shift

Stereotypes of youth (see Conchas & Perez, 2003) perpetuate unexamined, overgeneralized beliefs, many of which are disproved by the in-depth research. A number of researchers have debunked stereotypical views of youth, particularly teens, as disaffected, indifferent to things besides their handheld devices, or the more romantic construction of youth straddling a liminal netherworld between adolescence and adulthood. Recent studies focused on youth language, culture, and interaction, studies in which researchers connected directly with youth participants, have shown that children and adolescents are not passive observers stranded between two worlds, but shapers of their current worlds (McCarty et al., 2011; McCarty et al., 2014; Paris, 2011; Swadener, 2008; Swadener, Lundy, Habashi, & Blanchet-Cohen, 2013; Wyman, 2012). Two revered researchers working collaboratively with children and youth are my dissertation co-chairs Professor Teresa McCarty, Kneller Chair in Education and Anthropology at University of California Los Angeles, AW Snell Professor Emerita of Education Policy Studies at Arizona State University, and Professor Elizabeth (Beth) Swadener, Professor of Culture, Society and Education, and Justice and Social Inquiry, in the School of Social Transformation at Arizona State University.

Teresa McCarty (2006; 2011), along with co-researchers Romero-Little, and Zepeda, approached the study of language shift and maintenance amongst American Indian youth in the southwestern United States with the aim, not simply to document the state of language use at one particular moment in time, but to learn from youth about

their language practices and ideologies, the contingencies that impacted their language choices, and the ways in which they navigated the wave of educational reform washing over them (McCarty, Romero-Little, and Zepeda, 2006, cited in McCarty, Romero-Little, Warhol, Zepeda, 2011). Such a shift in approach to research may seem subtle at first glance; however the difference marks a significant move in how youth are conceptualized, valued and treated in the context of research. McCarty and colleagues construed the youth with whom they worked as active users and producers of language, not casualties of circumstance, nor mere embodiments of language. Professor Beth Swadener is renowned as: “a key figure in the critical paradigm shift in childhood education” (Kincheloe 2005, p. xii). This shift has been a move to characterizing children and youth as persons in the present, rather than persons in the making.

Framing of “Kids Today”

The inevitability of misunderstanding between adults and teenagers has been construed and normalized in popular U.S. American culture as a typical period in the lifespan. Misinterpretations can be heightened when cultural and language maintenance is a stake. Generational differences between elders’ views of youth attitudes regarding cultural and language maintenance and continuance, and the views expressed by the youth themselves have been well documented (McCarty et al., 2011; McCarty et al., 2014; Wyman, 2012). When interviewing Indigenous community members to learn about heritage language loss and recovery, McCarty and her co-researchers found the sentiments youth expressed about their heritage languages and life ways contrasted sharply with many adults’ pictures of them as indifferent. Youth painted complex and nuanced portraits of themselves in relation to their heritage language, culture and identity

(McCarty et al., 2014). The Yu'pik elders in Wyman's (2012) ethnography saw the younger generation's language usage as a watered down, much less resplendent version of the "pure" language, devoid of the nuances of meaning that are closely connected to the environment and cultural practices the language has historically been used to connote and transmit. They did not see, nor appreciate the youth's creative heteroglossic construction of a blended form of Yupik and English, which the youth used to suit their own purposes.

Immigrant youth as well are often framed by adults as abiding in between cultural worlds. Such positioning is founded on a false dichotomy: for immigrant youth "back home" and the new country of residence are juxtaposed, and for Indigenous youth "traditional" and "modern" are presented in opposition. These dualistic constructs typically depict youth as floundering between two temporal-spatial worlds, or more romantically, in a liminal state, which McLaren (1993) described as a sort of cusp between two realities, a place in ritual where shamans abide. Such imagery of being lost or stretched precariously between two worlds presents youth to be mired in a limbo-like state of agentless passivity. I reject such views in favor of acknowledging youth as engaged in processes of creative and productive hybridity (Canagarajah, 2013, 2011; Paris, 2011; Wyman, 2013).

Language Use

Wyman (2013) described the Yup'ik youth with whom she worked in Alaska as performing what she calls "linguistic survivance – the use of languaging and /or translanguaging to creatively express, adapt and maintain identities under difficult or hostile circumstances..." (p. 2). Also writing of the productivity of youth, Paris (2011)

shared what he observed during a year spent in an urban high school located in a California neighborhood where a demographic shift from a majority African American population to a majority Latino/a population had occurred over the two previous decades (Paris, 2011). This demographic shift resulted in a language shift as well; Spanish, rather than African American Language (AAL), had become the majority language spoken in the homes of 70% of the community (Paris, 2011). Pacific Islanders who did not speak Spanish attended the local school as well. In this potentially fraught environment, students negotiated their positions and creatively co-constructed with their classmates a vibrant youth culture unified by their shared use of AAL and affinity for hip hop music and style. The students in the “multi-ethnic youth cultural space” actively created and maintained linguistic hybridity by way of AAL as a cultural bridge (Paris, 2011, p. 10). Though it remained important for youth to maintain their cultural identities as Latino/as, Pacific Islanders, African Americans, the students demonstrated a tacit understanding of the importance of reaching across difference in their shared youth space.

Social Grouping

There is no universal pathway by which teenagers navigate the cultural and linguistic terrain of U.S. American high schools. In fact, Mary Bucholtz (2011) also conducted a study at an urban California high school where the climate could not have been more different from the climate at the school in Paris’ study, had the two schools been located in different hemispheres, rather than in different parts of the same state. These two studies were however, conducted during two distinctly different time-spaces (Blommaert, 2015); Bucholtz spent a year from 1995 to 1996 exploring the nuances of youth stylistic language choices in detail, while Paris conducted his fieldwork in the

2006-2007 school year, more than a decade later. In Bucholtz's chronicle the very productive and constantly negotiated constructions of identity and group membership were often arduous processes in the youth space. Young people were drawn together and separated based on factors such as: coolness, nerdiness, athleticism, drug-use, hip hop and preppy styles. Buchlotz (2011) uncovered how the social categories in the high school where she did her fieldwork were more complex than a mere label. "... they are ideological bundles of labels, descriptors, activities, stances, and practices that allow for the classification of persons into social types that may then be discursively interpreted and evaluated" (Bucholtz, 2011, p.66). The young people in her study played very active roles, every day, maintaining their in-school identities. Unlike the students in Paris' (2011) study, the youth in Bucholtz study used language as a symbol to mark group affinity and to police group borders. These discoveries echoed earlier findings in work by Penelope Eckert (1989) who documented a continuum of the social categories "nerds" and "jocks" in a high school; Michelle Fine (1991) who detailed the framing of "drop-outs" and Paul Willis (1977) who chronicled how "the lads" performed their identities within and outside school. These studies depict real-life manifestations of the words of Pierre Bourdieu who said: "Just as physical space ... is defined by the reciprocal externality of positions.... the social space is defined by mutual exclusion, or distinction, of the positions which constitute it, that is, as a structure of social positions..." (Bourdieu, 2000, p. 134).

Group affiliation thus plays an integral part in the identity construction process of adolescents. Erikson (1968) stressed the significance of the social realm for youth when he put forth the psycho-social view that identity construction in adolescence occurs

through ongoing interactions between person and context. While depicting how youth encounter and maintain various sub-divisions, the aforementioned studies highlight the significance of *belonging* for high school students (Bucholtz, 2011; Bucholtz & Hall, 2008; Chikkatur, 2012; Eckert, 1989; Fine, 1991; Paris, 2011; Rampton, 2006; Willis, 1977). Thus far in this chapter I have discussed the past events in Arizona and the changing constructions of youth. I turn now in Part Three to a discussion of language ideologies and language policy.

PART 3: LANGUAGE IDEOLOGY AND POLICY

Language Ideologies

Language ideologies are situation-dependent—that is, contingent upon the here and now context out of which they arise. By “context” I include, to borrow from Holland and Lave, (2001) one’s “history in person”. The sum of an individual’s prior experiences, cultural and familial legacies, are embodied and brought to each new setting (Holland & Lave, 2001). Beliefs and practices emanate in certain contexts as a result of “habitus”—the “patterns of perception, thought and action” that have constituted one’s lived, social experiences (Bourdieu, 1990). Of course, settings vary widely. With transnational youth in particular one can see that language and culture “flows” and is permeable (Ibrahim, Alim, & Pennycook; 2008). Super-diversity and connectivity by way of the internet (for some, but certainly not all) has enhanced youth capacity to access, share and modify aspects of language and culture as they find useful (Blommaert, 2011; Vertovec, 2007). Language is no longer widely considered to be relegated to a specific place (Blommaert, 2011). In fact language never was *naturally* confined to one locale except when inhabitants were geographically isolated in extremely remote regions and constrained by

physical limits to mobility. From the time that humans migrated, their languages have travelled with them, coming into contact and evolving across the earth and through millennia¹.

Ideologies and Language Practices: Implicit and Explicit

A tacit ideology that a normative, standard way of speaking and being indexes belonging to a nation-state permeates “mainstream” U.S. - American discourse today. This ideology of English as dominant or the de facto official language is made explicit in education, immigration and naturalization policies and laws. But the current in the mainstream has not always run this way, nor this forcefully; the United States has not always supported language hegemony. As Hornberger (2002) has noted, the federal government has endorsed opposing language ideologies through legislation in recent history. An ideology of unity: one people, one language, lies at one end of the ideological spectrum, with the principle of pluralism: many peoples, diverse heritage languages, at the other (Hornberger, 2002).

Presently in 2016, the language ideology de jour is that English proficiency is indicative of belonging. The message conveyed to newcomers and to Indigenous people alike is that in order to “fit in” and succeed in the system of the dominant culture, one must learn English and assimilate. This view in turn perpetuates the associated social

¹ Language movement and contact has been limited *unnaturally* however, e.g. the Great Wall of China.

construction of “insider-outsider” status and undergirds the ideology of English as the language of power in the United States. I will describe how this ideology has been reified in these domains, beginning with education in the following paragraphs.

Public Education. In recent decades the English-only movement, also known by a duplicitous moniker “English for the Children” has been one of the most visible public displays of ideology masquerading as educational reform. This initiative, which led to the passage of Proposition 203 in Arizona discussed in the first section of this chapter, was funded primarily by millionaire Ron Unz, who vowed to use his own wealth to dismantle bilingual education in California. After succeeding in California with the passage of Proposition 187, he took his lobbying and funding campaign to Arizona (Proposition 203) and then went on to Massachusetts (Question 2) (González, 2008). Unz’s fervor and wealth prevailed and an ideology of English language supremacy was enacted in policy and practice in these three states. By the 2008-09 school year, seven states, listed in Table 2, had restrictive education language policies for the teaching of English Language Learner (ELL) students in public schools in place (Quality Counts 2009).

Table 2.

States with restrictions on the teaching of ELL students in 2008–09

State	State Bans or Restricts Native Language Instruction
Arizona	Yes
Arkansas	Yes
California	Yes
Connecticut	Yes
Massachusetts	Yes
New Hampshire	Yes
Wisconsin	Yes

SOURCE: *Quality Counts 2009: Portrait of a Population*, Editorial Projects in Education Research Center, Education Week, 2009.

Implications of the ideology that English is superior to other languages are not confined to the language classroom; rather such beliefs seep into other discourses of schooling and taint the way multilingual children and youth are perceived. Evidence of “ideology creep” can be found in talk that conveys multilingual learners as having “deficits”, being “at risk” or “limited” as the label “Limited English Proficient” explicitly asserts. These labels, applied to learners who often speak two, three, or more languages, are illogical (Booher-Jennings, 2008; Solano-Flores, 2006; Skutnabb-Kangas, & McCarty, 2008; Valencia, 2010). In the context of a monolingual school environment, the superior linguistic knowledge and skills multilingual students possess are attributed little, if any, value. One has to wonder how, in such an inclement climate, multilingual learners are meant to thrive and learn.

Citizenship. The ideology of English as dominant or the de facto official language of the U.S. did not originate with “English for the Children,” nor has its application been restricted solely to U.S. education policy. The status of English as the unofficial, official language is evident in U.S. immigration law as well viz. the stipulation that applicants for U.S. citizenship must possess “an understanding of the English language, including an ability to read, write, and speak words in ordinary usage in the English language” (Immigration and Naturalization Act, 1952). Blommaert, Leppanen, and Spotti (2012) characterize the U.S. immigration policy on language as “a form of modernist linguistic border control in which “modern” (and thus essentialist) regimes of identity attribution are central...” (Blommaert, Leppanen & Spotti, 2012, p.3).

Ruiz (1984), in his seminal article linking what he called “language orientations” to language planning, identified three common ways people conceptualize language: 1) language as problem, 2) language as right and 3) language as resource. Arizona policymakers construed languages other than English to be a problem getting in the way of English language acquisition, rather than as a right and a resource. In stark contrast to the United States, the European Union’s official language policy states: “The goal is a Europe where everyone can speak at least two other languages in addition to their own mother tongue.” Multilingual families are referred to as “a linguistic treasure for Europe” (European Commission Directorate, 2008). Clearly linguistic hegemony is not universal, and there is thus nothing intrinsically human, nor right about monolingualism. Officially at least, in Europe, languages (*plural*) are a right and a resource.

The foregoing discussion of language ideologies is foundational to understanding language policy. The background I have provided thus far has included historical details of how the language policy for education in Arizona came to be. At this point I turn to a discussion of what language policy means, specifically the interpretation of what it means in regards to this study.

Language Policy

Following McCarty (2011), I have adopted a critical sociocultural theory of language policy, which considers language policy *not* simply as an artefact, documented and sedimented into a permanent, immutable state. Rather policy is construed as an active process constantly negotiated, produced, and reconceptualized in obvious and less obvious ways in public and private spheres. Borrowing from Heath, Street and Mill’s, 2008 account of what culture means, Professor McCarty (2011) interprets the word *policy*

to function as a verb rather than a noun. In this sense policy *does* rather than *is*. In the introduction to her edited volume on this topic, *Ethnography and Language Policy* (McCarty, 2011), McCarty encapsulates the substance of the questions considered by the contributing authors as queries addressing: "... what language policy would 'look like' if we investigate policy as a practice of power that operates at multiple, intersecting levels" (2011, p.3). Viewed through such a lens, I adopt the interpretation of language policy as more "alive" than predetermined written laws meted out on communities and nations, (though such laws are indeed examples of one kind of policy, and it was this very sort of policy that positioned youth in the study outside the "mainstream"). The de facto kinds of language policies, those not set in law, can be created and enacted a variety of contexts—in people's homes: when multilingual parents make choices (explicit or unstated) about the language they use to speak with their children, for example; or when brothers who are trilingual code-switch between languages because the word in one lexicon suites their purposes better than another word in another language. They do so without ever saying "okay let's agree that when we talk we can use Arabic, English and French." Such agreement is an implicit *policy* in the sense that it regulates language choices and practices. Alternatively, tacit language policies between certain family members may be contested by others within the family, as was the case of three Somali brothers in this study, two of whom spoke English with each other, but spoke Somali with the third brother, who interpreted their use of English as an intentional means to exclude him. Thus language policy is not only a top-down edict; it is also a dynamic bottom-up, creative and contested process. "From a sociocultural perspective, language policy

involves the everyday social practices that make, legitimate, and challenge de facto and de jure language policies” (McCarty, 2012).

The youth in this study experienced Arizona’s official, education language policy in school. The policy is undoubtedly an overt policy, evidenced by a very public demonstration of a majority of voters casting their ballots and passing Proposition 203. However, one could also argue that the policy is *covert*, according to Wiley’s description of what a tacit or covert language policy is. Wiley says: “They may be cloaked in lofty goals aimed at helping linguistic minority groups to assimilate, even as these groups are being systematically excluded...” (2004, p. 321). The language policy for Arizona schools then is an overt policy, with covert motivations scaffolding it beneath the surface.

I examined, and will describe in detail in Chapter Five some ways the participants responded to de facto language policy in school, and how they developed multiple situated language policies of their own in response to the interactional demands of different moments in particular time-spaces.

PART 4: THEORETICAL UNDERPINNINGS AND CONCEPTUAL FRAMING

Theoretical Underpinnings

I have been influenced by a number of scholars’ perspectives and would describe the theoretical underpinnings to my work as transdisciplinary. When I spent extended periods of time (months or a year) in other countries, I discovered the notion of “common sense” to be a fallacy premised on an assumption of shared prior experience and background knowledge that does not exist throughout the world, nor in diverse multicultural settings such as the United States. Bourdieu’s concept of *habitus*, which he

defines as: "... the structures characterizing a determinate class of conditions of existence produce the structures of the habitus, which in their turn are the basis of the perception and appreciation of all subsequent experiences" (Bourdieu, 1990, p. 54) accounts for the situated and historical embodied nature of knowledge - that which is erroneously referred to as a universal "common sense." (Bourdieu, 1990, 2000).

Embodied knowledge in interaction. The influences that culturally and individually unique prior experiences have on one's modes of thinking, acting, and being in the world are embodied and thus deeply rooted and lasting. Therefore, I reject epistemologies that construe language as simply a code to be cracked because they fail to account for the interface between one's prior experiences engaging in communicative endeavors and one's present efforts to negotiate meaning in a new contexts. The false division of language and its use, as in Saussure's distinction between *langue* and *parole* does not account for the novel ways interlocutors engage, calling upon their range of linguistic and multimodal strategies to make meaning together (Canagarajah, 2013, 2011; Foster & Ohta, 2005; Pennycook, 2007).

Miles, Huberman and Saldaña (2013) profess similar views to Bourdieu's, affirming they "... agree with interpretivists who point out that knowledge is a social and historical product..." (p.7). I would add to this view that a person's life is subject to interactions with institutions - structures that have emerged from the subjectivities of others and have been passed down and sustained throughout history by those in power and the rest who accept (either consciously or unconsciously) the status quo as reality. Thus an individual's social world inevitably interacts with the institutional world and this interface positions the individual in particular ways. In this dissertation study I examined

how students understood and responded to the discourses about language *learning* and language *learners* produced by institutions, namely the state and the school (the producers and enactors of the restrictive educational language policy in place for K-12 public schools in Arizona). It is in this context I examined events on the local level in specific time-spaces or *fields* (Bourdieu, 1977). A “field” according to Bourdieu is a social space comprised of different positions structured by access to different levels of capital (cultural, social, economic, symbolic ---the material or non-material resources that confer social power to the carrier. Bourdieu used the concept of positions or social positions to account for the possible places one could occupy in a particular field. A social actor’s position then is not inherent, nor intrinsic, but constructed through interaction in the particular milieu in which s/he is situated. In this sense Bourdieu acknowledges the power of institutional structures, while in no way succumbing to the view that individuals are incapable of enacting agency to contest their situations even in small ways.

Social Positioning

Positioning theory (Davies & Harré, 1990; Harré, 2010) is a productive construct for investigating the intersections of youth, situated identities, language, and exclusionary school practices that have resulted from a restrictive educational language policy. Professor Doris Warriner, of Arizona State University, shared with me this theory in response to my grappling with a means to investigate the identity construction processes of youth. Looking at the ways youth were positioned and how they positioned themselves was a much finer-grained way of investigating and gaining understanding. At its most basic, positioning conjures visual imagery evoking both literal and figurative

locations and postures. A person can literally stand in the “next-in-line” position in the school cafeteria, or one can be figuratively positioned next-in-line for a promotion at work. Positions, however, can only be meaningfully described and understood in relation to other positions as points of reference, so positioning theory is inherently a social theory (Davies & Harré 2001, 1990; Eckert, 1989). It addresses how people position themselves and others, and are positioned by themselves and others in particular contexts (Davies & Harré, 2001, 1990; Harré & Moghaddam, 2003). The actors can be individuals interacting with one another in close proximity or individuals interacting with institutions that are more removed and less tangible, though still producers of impactful discourses. Legal discourse for example instantiates particular positionings of individuals, institutions and the law (Harré, Moghaddam, Cairnie, Rothbart & Sabat, 2009).

Macro-level positioning occurs at the societal, political, policy levels and can be found in the “Big D-Discourses” (Gee, 2011) that promulgate master narratives. Macro-level positioning establishes a prefabrication or stereotype that positions individuals in a particular storyline. For example, multilingual students are located in the storyline of schooling in Arizona as deficient, rather than “gifted.” Prepositioning, like stereotyping, ascribes certain attributes, skills, and characteristics a priori. Holland and Leander (2004) note that subjectivities, which they define as: “...actors' thoughts, sentiments, and embodied sensibilities, and, especially, their senses of self and self-world relations” (p. x) are formed by experiences of being positioned. According to Holland and Leander, being positioned in particular ways has lasting consequences not bounded to the time-space in which the positioning occurred. Thus past experience influences future responses to

experience, just as Bourdieu put forth in his explanations of the concepts habitus and field (Bourdieu, 2000,1977)

Conceptual Frame

The concept of positioning is central to the human experience in the universe. Where are the planets in relation to the sun? Where are the stars in relation to one another? Humans by discerning the relative location of celestial bodies became capable of determining their own physical position on earth in relation to the position of the stars; they could then navigate on land and sea and change the course of history. These monumental discoveries all had to do with understanding positioning.

Perhaps the intrinsic human urge to understand our position in the world is the reason why so many metaphors in U.S. American life, the *Metaphors We Live By* (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980) have to do with position and location (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980; Johnson, 1987). A person can describe emotional states as *feeling up*, *feeling down*, or *feeling centered*. The common trope most pertinent to this study's research problem and its participants is *In* or *out*. One can be an insider or an outsider, as well as literally inside or outside a place such as a classroom. I was drawn to the physicality of the concept of a position because it enabled me to visualize intangible things. I thus relied on positioning as a social theory and conceptual framework to examine discursive interaction, and hierarchies of power. I used this framework to deconstruct how in the midst of dynamically unfolding social episodes recounted by the study participants, people asserted and refuted positions. *Positioning* is also fluid and variable, so entails the potential for movement and agency (Davies & Harré, 1990; 2001). That is to say a person has the capacity to assume the subject position when positioned as an object (by another

person or institution) and thereby shift power. Davies and Harré adopted the term “social positions” to convey this sense that a person is not relegated to a single position; In the midst of an interaction, interlocutors accept or reject, or are interpreted as having accepted or rejected certain positionings. One can present divergent positions within a conversation, in different venues with assorted interlocutors. This dynamic flexibility led Davis and Harré (1990) to posit that the very *self* is situation-dependent:

Accordingly, who one is always an open question with a shifting answer depending upon the positions made available within one’s own and others’ discursive practices, and within those practices, the stories through which we make sense of our own and others’ lives (p. 52).

Adolescents work hard discerning the positioning of social and institutional actors within their sphere, and decoding what Davies and Harré described as the “rights, privileges and responsibilities” afforded by assorted positions (Davies & Harré 2001, 1990). Recall the entreaty of Drogba to *imagine*, on the opening page of this dissertation. Imagine, if you would, how much more difficult figuring out social positions and their concomitant “rights, privileges and responsibilities” might be for refugees for whom every single thing in the place where they have resettled is new.

Positioning as a conceptual frame provided me a fine-grained way to understand the participants’ narrative accounts of people and institutions participating in discursive acts (Davies & Harré, 1990; 2001; Harré & Moghaddam, 2003; Harré et al., 2009; Harré & van Langenhove, 1991, 1999; Holland & Leander, 2004; Howie, 1999, Howie & Peters, 1996).

Chapter Summary

In this second chapter I have set the scene by detailing historical and current events related to multilingual youth and the Arizona education language policy responsible for creating the structural and by extension, the resulting social context of school life. In presenting these topics and discussing language ideologies, and language policy, I have established theoretical alignments with the scholars whose work I respect and whose views resonate with my own beliefs about being in the world (ontology) and how we come to know what we know, or think we know (epistemology). In the final section of the chapter I shared my interpretation and application of social positioning as the tool that I relied on to construct meaning, and share it in a way that is comprehensible and revealing.

Looking ahead. In Chapter Three I explain my research methodology and the rationale behind the choices I made in designing a study that would achieve the research goals. I describe the research setting and recount my initial introductions to the study sites and the people who inhabited them. I continue with an account my analyses: how it was informed and guided by the wisdom of others and how I went about the multiple tasks of discerning what counted as data, and making assertions as to what I found to be significant.

CHAPTER 3

RESEARCH DESIGN, METHODS, AND ANALYSIS

In this chapter I detail the design, methods and analysis I employed in the study. My affinities for and expertise in certain methods of inquiry and discovery directly influenced the design of the study. My choice of design, methodology, and analysis reflects a coalescence of my stance in theory, my intentional focus on perspectives and interpretations of individuals in interaction with their worlds, my commitment to amplifying youth voices, and my own life history (Creswell, 2014; Erickson, 1986; Miles, Huberman, & Saldaña, 2013). I considered the restrictive educational language policy (described in Chapter Two) that has positioned multilingual high school students in Arizona in particular ways, and the historical context of a state with a legacy of asserting the English language as a tool of dominance (Gándara & Orfield, 2012; Gándara & Hopkins, 2010; McCarty, 1993; McCarty & Wyman, 2009; Powers, 2008). I then went about determining what modes of investigation I would use and what tools I would need to learn how real people, subjected to these conditions, experienced them in their day to day lives.

In the first section of the chapter, I attend to my methodical decisions and the rationale behind the choices I made. I share the difficulties I encountered in my efforts to access youth participants, and the positive outcomes that resulted from this resistance. I describe the first encounters I had with the wonderfully welcoming people at the ethnic community based organizations (ECBOs) and follow with details of the research-planning stages such as: participant selection, consent process “data”- collection methods. In Part 2 of the chapter I describe my data analysis processes, and the influence of people

and events that informed how I proceeded. I begin now with a question that elucidates and supports the path I took in pursuit of this inquiry.

“Is Storytelling Science?”

Irving Seidman (2013) posed this question when asserting the legitimacy of interviewing as a mode of inquiry. An admirer of human’s capacity to express experience through language, Seidman, in his own writing, treated the words of others with fidelity. Accordingly he cited the following response by Peter Reason (1981) to the question “Is story-telling science?”

The best stories are those that stir people’s minds, hearts, and souls and by so doing give them new insights into themselves, their problems and their human condition. The challenge is to develop a human science that can more fully serve this aim. The question, then, is not “Is story telling science?” but “Can science learn to tell good stories?” (p.50).

I conducted this research grounded in the belief that as social beings individuals interact with the people, institutions and landscapes of the past, present and future in a dialogic dance of making sense of the world and one’s positions in it. Accordingly, I designed this as first and foremost an interview study to investigate how students felt about their social, cultural and academic lives within the context of linguistic segregation. I wanted to understand, beyond the confines of the school, how their experiences in school influenced other aspects of their lives regarding their interactions and connections to family, to language(s) and to the cultural ways of their respective ethnic communities. I

interviewed the student participants, visited their community centers and in the family apartment of the Iraqi participants. The ten participants were refugees with ties to either Somalia or Iraq; the individual differences in their life experiences and responses to those experiences set each person apart, so preclude my neatly categorizing this study as a case study. Bogdan and Biklen (2007) define a case study as a “detailed examination of one setting, or a single subject, a single depository of documents, or one particular event” (p. 59). The common experience all ten participants shared was attending Arizona high schools that adhered to the state’s English-only mandate. They also shared the same U.S. residency status as refugees, displaced by war. All had been deemed to possess a level of proficiency using the English language as in need of remediation.

I came to this work with strong opinions about, and enormous appreciation for, the demanding intellectual and emotional work entailed in learning to function in a new language in a new country. My admiration for those who have done so in their teenage years drew me to this work and will surely be discernable to the reader as the story of this study unfolds.

In-depth Phenomenological Interviewing as Primary Research Method

In-depth phenomenological interviewing ascribes significance to a person’s past, present, and future, and in so doing complements the work of narrative scholars who, by analyzing people’s stories, have shown that time and space are embodied (de Fina, 2003; Georgakopoulou, 2006, 2003; Mishler, 2006). This concept of embodied lived experience is particularly relevant to people who have undergone significant change such as moving to a new country, or fleeing one’s home country as was the case for the families of all the participants in this study. Though the physical and social environment in the present time

may be vastly different from the circumstances and lived experiences of the past, the two periods are not severed. People carry their “history in person” (Holland & Lave, 2001), their habitus (Bourdieu, 2000, 1977), and cultural schemas (Quinn, 2005) with them. The sum of an individual’s prior experiences, cultural and familial legacies are embodied and brought to each new setting (Bourdieu, 2000, 1977; Holland & Lave, 2001; Quinn, 2005). Committed to learning from the perspectives of young people (high school students) directly encountering Arizona’s restrictive educational language policy in practice, I used a focused three-part in-depth phenomenological interviewing protocol (Seidman, 2013) as the primary method of data collection. This method also complements narrative approaches. “Telling stories, Mishler argues, is one major way that human beings have devised to make sense of themselves and their social world” (Seidman, 2013, p.122).

Phenomenological interviewing thus supported my study goals and my epistemological view that individuals have the most intimate knowledge of their own lives--- the ways they have positioned themselves and been positioned by others (Harré & Langenhove, 1991; Talmy, 2011), and the experiences they have used as building blocks to construct particular identities in specific situations (Bourdieu, 1977; Creese & Blackledge, 2015; Menard-Warwick, 2005; Mortimer & Wortham, 2015; Norton, 1997; Wortham, 2006).

In the three-part interview structure, the first set of questions addressed a focused life history vis-à-vis language use, language learning, and school; the second on the details of present experiences related to these topics; and the third part provided an opportunity to reflect on meaning. These three foci correspond to a temporal-spatial framing of certain periods of a person’s life. (The complete Interview Protocol can be

found in Appendix A). The first two themes do so quite explicitly. Life history taps into the past, while the second theme explores the details of the here and now – the present. The third segment of the interview sequence, serves as an opportunity to reflect and make meaning of the substance of the two previous interview themes. This putting-it-together phase - the consolidation of where one has been, what is going on in the present, and what it all means - has implications for the future. The usefulness of the entire three-part interview process was made transparent for the youth with questions that prompted them to draw connections between the meanings they have made and their plans for the future. *Where do you think you will be using language X five years from now? What will you be doing after high school?* The narratives evoked by use of this protocol in sum transcended the confines of space and time and underscored the interconnectedness of different chapters of a person's life. I had previously used this interview format in a pilot project I conducted under the supervision of Teresa McCarty and found that organizing interviews in the aforementioned fashion provided a solid structure to conceptually frame the dialogue.

Ethical Considerations

Dialogic interactions constitute our lives (Soto & Lasta, 2005). Though we engage in discourse routinely, I am ever mindful of the potential to do good, as well as to do harm with the words we choose and the messages we convey. Such awareness is especially important when conducting research that asks people to share details of their lives. I explicitly stated in consent/assent forms that participants could opt out of the study at any time, they could stop the interview at any time, and that they did not have to answer any question they did not want to answer. All participants had come to the United

States as refugees, so lowering the affective filter of these young people who had bravely and generously volunteered to share personal life histories with me was a high priority. I was cognizant (as a result of prior training with the International Rescue Committee (IRC) with whom I had worked as a volunteer) that refugee students should not be made to feel compelled to talk about their pasts. I was thus highly sensitive to this concern during our interviews. (Qualitative research does not advocate coercive elicitation techniques under any circumstance.) While adhering to the conceptual frames of focus of the three-part in-depth phenomenological interview protocol, I was ever mindful that participants' well-being was more important than my need to obtain data. In other words, I aspired to decolonize my research (Mutua & Swadener, 2004; Smith, 2012), acknowledging to myself, as Seidman has done, that "the interviewing relationship is fraught with issues of power" (Seidman, 2013, p. 101). So, as I engaged with the each participant in talk about his/her life, I aimed to create a relaxed conversational context by following the interest and energy of the interviewee. I digitally recorded the interviews using an Olympus digital voice recorder (DS-40) in order to focus on listening and interacting as naturally as possible, rather than note-taking, and to allow for post-interview transcription and analysis (Bogdan & Bilken, 2007; Seidman, 2013). As an outsider to both the Somali and Iraqi communities, mindful of the limitations of a white western female researcher to ever fully "decolonize" research, I remained cognizant of indigenous researcher Linda Tuhiwai Smith's (2012) reminder that "research is not an innocent or distant academic exercise but an activity that has something at stake and that occurs in a set of political and social conditions" (p. 312).

Additional Sources of Information

This study was first and foremost an interview study. As I have described elsewhere, my goal was to listen to and learn from the youth participants. However, in order to support my assertions (gleaned from the collected data) as far as possible (Emerson, Fretz & Shaw 2011; Erickson, 1986) I made use of the following information sources in addition to individual and focus group interviews with youth:

- Informal interviews with cultural informants at the Somali Americans Together Community Organization (SATCO) of Arizona, and the Iraqi American Community Council (IACC)
- Field notes from observations during home visits and community center visits
- Analytic memos
- Policy Artifacts and Descriptive Statistics Data

Access and Recruitment

Recruitment for the study was more challenging than I had anticipated. I originally conceived this study to be school-based; however, I encountered pervasive resistance in my efforts to gain entry into eight different school districts that included high schools with 50 or more students designated as English Language Learners enrolled. I provide details of these endeavors in the following paragraphs.

District Blockades

In this section I chronicle the obstacles I encountered attempting to obtain permission to conduct this study within a high school in the Phoenix region, and share my views on the possible reasons for such resistance. Neither the members of my dissertation committee, nor I, had anticipated encountering such barriers. It is worth documenting for the record, as this tale of resistance may be instructive for others attempting to conduct

student-centered research in a school context. These obstacles were frustrating and time-consuming, but did prompt me to think deeply about resistance, and its potential sources. I entertained two possible explanations for gatekeepers' rejection of my proposed study, though these remain speculative. Firstly, I made my forays into school districts in the midst of an era of school and teacher surveillance. The lingering mandates of No Child Left Behind (2001) required schools to meet Annual Yearly Progress (AYP) goals and Value-Added Models (VAMS) to measure teacher performance according to student performance on standardized tests had proliferated. Not all districts had formal request to conduct research procedures in place and those districts that did, required an explanation of how the district would benefit from the proposed research study. Since SEI is a state-mandated program in Arizona, decision-makers in the school districts might have assessed there to be little value in further research with the potential to spark discussion of the SEI policy's efficacy (see Arizona Project). The second explanation I entertained was that gatekeepers might have been wary of the outcomes a forum for listening to the perspectives of youth regarding their school experiences might produce. I suspected that learning about the views of students who are in compulsory SEI programs might not have been construed as beneficial.

I initially had two school districts in mind as possible sites for the study. I had conducted a pilot project in a high school west of Phoenix a year earlier with Professor Teresa McCarty as the Primary Investigator (PI). This high school district is in a large suburb with 9,391 students enrolled. For this initial project I obtained Arizona State University's (ASU) Internal Review Board (IRB) approval and the school approval was handled by the District Superintendent. In the pilot project I interviewed students,

whereas in the dissertation study I planned to observe focal students' interactions in classrooms and in non-academic settings such as the cafeteria, the media center, and courtyard, as well. When I submitted a written request to the Superintendent, she sent me a follow-up query seeking explanation about my reason for observing students. She wrote: "I would need more information on what you hope to accomplish by observing students in other classes and at lunch" (personal email communication, April 22, 2014). I composed a careful reply describing the rationale behind my intention to observe students. With the intention of assuaging any fears that I would be evaluating teachers or critiquing the curriculum, I employed some of the very same sentences from the dissertation proposal. The text of my email response follows.

My reason for including observations in my study is this: During adolescence group affiliation is a key factor in students' social positioning. Though acts of acceptance and rejection are typical among adolescents, language differences can accelerate quick decision-making about who is in and who is out. Since students who are dominant in languages other than English spend most of the school day in classes with other English Language Learners, they have limited opportunities to interact with their "mainstream" peers. I am interested in observing how ELL students engage when they are in "mixed" environments, such as in non-ELD content classes, as well as in unstructured contexts, such as at lunch. How do English Language Learners negotiate across difference? Do they engage in legitimate peripheral participation? What learning and social strategies do they employ?

The Superintendent decided I could not conduct observations of students at school. She also added that I would need to schedule interviews with students before or after school. These parameters were not conducive to a school-based study. Though I was surprised by this outcome, at the time I was not terribly disappointed because I was excited by the prospect of learning about students in a new and different school environment.

I had been very interested in another school district and had in fact initiated contact with the superintendent prior to getting in touch with the district I discussed in the foregoing paragraph. This district served 13,834 students and in an area described as a midsize city locale. The superintendent of this district had earned his doctorate at Arizona State University in the Education Leadership and Policy Studies program, the very same program in which I was enrolled, so I naively thought obtaining approval to conduct my study at a school within this district would be a seamless process. In a reply to an email request, the superintendent referred me to the person in charge of research approval for the district. This person instructed me to complete an application to conduct research located on the district website. The application was lengthy and broader in scope than my university's IRB application. I was taken by surprise when I received notification that the school district had not approved my study because they: "are focusing on the implementation of the Common Core Standards." This district's response was my first major disappointment, and was prescient of rejections yet to come.

Another school district in the metro Phoenix region with the largest population of students learning English as an additional language, and a majority Latino/a student population was one in which I had worked as a volunteer in the summer of 2014 in an

English as a Second Language (ESL) program for high school students who had come to the United States as refugees within the previous 11 months. These students had come from a number of different countries including: Afghanistan, Burma, Congo, Iraq, Sudan, Somalia, and Uganda. The program was sponsored by the International Rescue Committee (IRC), run by the school district, and housed at one of the district's high schools in the central Phoenix area. In addition to meeting many students, I became acquainted with a number of the teachers and staff who worked at different schools throughout the district. I had been a volunteer for the IRC since the previous January and had been working at a K-8 elementary school in a first, a fourth and a seventh/eighth classroom. The IRC education coordinator was arranging for me to continue my volunteer work with students learning English at a particular high school in North Phoenix; however as school was about to begin the 2014/15 school year an employee of the district office contacted me to tell me I had to go through a district background check. I was taken aback by this news since I had been volunteering in the district for the previous seven months, held a current Arizona Educator fingerprint clearance card, and had gone through a very extensive background check with IRC.

Eventually I did receive permission from one large school district, but by the time I was informed of this news I had already embarked on an alternate path to connecting with youth. By virtue of an introduction by Dr. Barbara Klimek of the College of Public Programs and the School of Social Work at Arizona State University (ASU), I had been heartily welcomed to work with the youth at two Ethnic Community Based Organizations: the Somali Americans Together Community Organization (SATCO) of Arizona, and the Iraqi American Community Council (IACC). Nevertheless, likely

attributable to its elusiveness, the value of a district this district approval had appreciated substantially in my estimation, so I did follow up. One high school in the district had a diverse population of students designated as English Language Learners, while the other schools served mainly Latino students in their SEI programs. I contacted the principal of the selected school by email, introducing myself and mentioning that the research committee of the school district had approved the study. The principal never responded to me directly, but instead contacted the district Director of Research and informed him she did not want her school to serve as a study site. She claimed the school had had recent issues with confidentiality regarding ELL students. So despite having the coveted approval in hand, I curtailed my efforts at this district and turned my focus exclusively to the community centers where I devoted my full attention to people who were enthusiastic about the study.

Three degrees of separation. I had made contact with the community centers via a chain of connections. Professor Beth Swadener had put me in touch with Dr. Barbara Klimek, who, as mentioned earlier, worked within the School of Social Work at ASU. Dr. Klimek had been doing ongoing work with five “Ethnic Community Based Organizations” in the Phoenix region. After my initial meeting with Dr. Klimek, she graciously made email introductions on my behalf, and thus paved the way for my working with the students who participated in the study. I received email messages expressing interest in participating in the study almost immediately from the CEO of the Somali Americans Together Community Organization of Arizona (SATCO) and the Youth Program Coordinator at Iraqi American Community Council (IACC). I contacted them

and scheduled individual meetings to discuss the purpose and parameters of the study. Prior to these meetings I sent a written synopsis of the study as an email attachment.

Setting

Of the 5,130,632 people reported to live in the state of Arizona 3,072,149 reside within Maricopa County (Census 2010). According to the Arizona Department of Education Office of English Language Acquisition Services, September 12, 2013 (citing the SDELL71 Report) approximately 83,000 students were designated as English Language Learners in the state in that year. The vast majority of these students attended elementary schools, grades K-5 (81%), with the remainder distributed almost evenly between middle (10%) and high schools (9%). Three quarters (76%) of these students were instructed in Structured English Immersion (SEI) classrooms, for most of the school day. So 63,000 students in Arizona were removed from the general population for the majority of the school day during the 2012 school year. These students were deprived of all but two hours of subject area instruction, as the SEI program was required to include four 60-minute periods devoted to Reading, Writing, Grammar, Oral English (Conversation and Vocabulary).

“Different kinds of settings give rise to distinctive patterns of role activity, and relation for persons who become participants in these settings” (Bronfenbrenner, 1979, p. 109). In the foregoing I have recounted the difficulties I met with when attempting to obtain school district approval to conduct research with students in their schools. Following Bronfenbrenner (1979) and Labov (1972), whose work revealed the significant effects settings bring to bear on individual behavior and performance when, for example, in a laboratory, school or home, I ultimately came to appreciate the advantages of

conducting this research with students in settings that were relaxed for them, where other community or family members were just outside the door, and where I, not they, were the minority.

The study took place in Phoenix, Arizona, a locale with restrictive educational language policy that influences the school life of the high school students in the study. In Chapter Two I detailed the history leading up to the creation and implementation of the current policy regarding English language instruction. In the following paragraphs I describe my first meeting at the SATCO Center, the setting where I spent the majority of my time during the six months of data collection. I include this narrative reconstruction of that day in hopes of conveying the ambiance of the place and the hospitality of the people. After this account of my initial visit to SATCO, I recount my first visit to the IACC Center and the subsequent first meeting with the family of the two Iraqi participants in the study.

A warm welcome at the Somali Americans Together Community

Organization (SATCO). When I first went to the Somali Americans Together Community Organization of Arizona (SATCO) on October 10th, 2014, I thought I was going to meet the director to discuss my study and hopefully convince him of its merits. I had hit many roadblocks with school districts unwilling to consider any type of research study at all, or districts adverse to research involving students and school-based observations, so I was prepared to be persuasive.

The SATCO center is located in an urban district of Phoenix on a busy thoroughfare. I would not call the location a strip mall exactly, but rather one long, two-story building with a mix of office and retail space. The SATCO center is on the second

floor of the building above a Quinceañera dress shop where mannequins wearing vibrantly colored, frilly dresses pose in the window. The juxtaposition of the Quinceañera shop below, and the Somali center above created a kind of iconography of the multi-cultural flavor of the space and the surrounding neighborhood.

The door to the entrance of SATCO was adjacent to a large horizontal picture window that reflected the bright sun. When I entered, squinting through eyes adjusting to the change in lighting, I saw three or four other men sitting behind a long folding table. Arranged along two walls were additional chairs, upon which three women dressed in long skirts, sweaters, and head scarfs were seated. One very tall, thin man dressed in a suit immediately jumped up. When I told him I was there to see Dr. A., the man I came to know as Mohamed, along with everyone else, seemed to know exactly who I was and why I had come. Mohamed led me through what seemed a bit of a maze---down a hallway to another room from which we accessed another short hallway that led us back to the front of the building and to Dr. A.'s office.

A man with a broad smile on his face came over, shook my hand, and welcomed me enthusiastically to the center. This was Dr. A., the President and CEO of SATCO. He personally gave me a tour of the center, and told me all about the many programs they run to assist refugees. I arrived assuming I would encounter some resistance. Instead, I was welcomed like a guest or relative who had not been seen in a long time. I was served coffee and introduced to Directors of the Youth Development and Educational Programs; Job Readiness and Transition Programs; and Refugee Empowerment for Self-sufficiency and Women's Empowerment Programs, and eight to ten youth who were willing and ready to participate in the study. I talked about the project with everyone and answered

questions. Then to my surprise, I was served dinner - a feast of Somali dishes. After everyone had a plate of food, we sat and ate together. When we were finished eating I was served sweet tea. Before I left for home, Dr. A. informed me he would call a meeting with parents the following week, and get the consent forms signed, scanned, and sent back to me. I came away from this first encounter stupefied with gratitude. Thereafter, every time I went to the center, I was greeted with the same warmth and smiles, and always a steaming cup of take-out coffee from Starbucks. Dr. A. and the others supported and assisted me at every turn with this study.

Iraqi American Community Council (IACC). I only visited the Iraqi American Community Council (IACC) Center on two occasions. The first time was to meet with the Youth Program Director. Our meeting was not awash with dramatic surprise as the first meeting at SATCO had been, but was rather subdued. The element of surprise in the IACC narrative was yet to come. We met at midday when only one other person was in the building, so it was quiet. The Youth Director and I sat in a wide open room at a round table and talked about my study and about the services the IACC provided for Iraqi refugees. She was very eager to have community members take part in the study and already had one family with two high school-aged girls in mind. One of the girls was struggling in school and the father was looking for someone to tutor his daughter. In the spirit of reciprocity, I had stipulated in my research plan that I would offer to tutor participants as a means of thanking them for their participation. For this reason the director felt certain the family would be eager to participate.

Shuttle diplomacy. One week after meeting with the Youth Programs Director, on a Sunday morning in October, I drove 34 miles northwest once again to the Iraqi-

American Society for Peace and Friendship to meet two sisters, both teenagers who had agreed to participate in the study. The previous day, Saturday, October 25, I had received a call from the elder of the two sisters telling we could not meet on Saturday as originally planned because the IACC Center was going to be closed. So we switched out plan to meet on Sunday instead. When I arrived in the parking lot at the center, I saw two girls and two adults who I correctly presumed to be the girls' parents standing outside the glass doorway to the center. Like the SATCO center, this space too could either be used as retail or office space. One of the daughters told me the center was closed and they had been trying to reach the Youth Director, who had arranged our meeting, by cell phone. It turned out that Saturday was Muharram, the Islamic New Year holiday, but since this holiday was not widely celebrated, the family did not understand why the center was also closed on Sunday. The family members and I talked (the two teenagers serving as interpreters) about where we could go to do the interviews since we could not get inside the center. The mother suggested we go to their apartment and I agreed, after which the mother and father spoke briefly in Arabic and then the mother and the two sisters unexpectedly followed me to my car. One of the girls told me they would come with me, and their father was going to go to the market. The four of us got in the car and I asked them to put on their seatbelts. As we pulled away, I thought: "This is certainly not in my IRB! What if we get in an accident and they are not supposed to be in my car?" The tension between my proclivity to "play by the rules" and my desire to "make this work" pulsed through my arteries as I nervously drove on. This episode illuminated in an instant how a study, particularly one using ethnographically-informed methods, can be

full of surprises with the potential to inform and expand understandings of the subject and the self.

Participant Selection Criteria

Students who were fluent speakers of languages other than English, who were designated as “English Language Learners” (ELL) and had been tracked into SEI at some point since their entry into the U.S. school system, and who were currently attending high schools where the language of instruction and extra-curricular activities was English were invited to participate. In order to take part in a study examining the opinions of youth who had tracked into an SEI program, participants clearly had to have lived this experience. Thus, only adolescents currently or recently enrolled in Structured English Immersion classes at a high school in the Phoenix metro area were eligible. Some of the students I met at SATCO on my first visit were either too young, or too old to participate. One young woman I met that day had never been in an SEI class since she had immigrated to the U.S. at the age of three. Potential participants needed to be able to carry on a conversation in English, as the individual interviews and focus groups were to be conducted in English.

Consent Process

At each initial meeting at the SATCO and IACC centers I shared all recruitment documents, including the child recruitment script, minor assent forms (see Appendix B), a parent/guardian recruitment information letter and consent forms (see Appendix C, Parental Letter of Permission) to be signed by a parent or guardian, all of which had been approved by the Institutional Review Board (IRB) and I carefully explained procedures to protect confidentiality. With the assistance of the Directors at the SATCO and the Youth

Programs Director at the IACC, I recruited eleven high school students from SATCO and two from IACC. (IRB approval can be found in Appendix D, and approval continuation in Appendix E.)

When I met the students, I went over the child recruitment script with them, described who I was, why I was interested hearing youth stories, and the purpose and details of the study. I did so at SATCO, and at the apartment of the Iraqi sisters with their mother present. I had each adolescent sign a minor assent form, and told them of their right to withdraw at any time, that their participation was strictly voluntary and that their responses would in no way impact their participation in any school activities. Youth responses during interviews I assured them would be confidential and independent of their parents. In the spirit of reciprocity, I offered participants one hour of tutoring per hour of interview/focus group participation. No student without parental consent or confirmed proof of being 18 years of age was allowed to participate in this study. I invited youth to ask questions and to contact me by phone or email if they wished to. I highlighted that participation was strictly voluntary and they could change their minds at any time.

Building Trust

I built trust with the Somali and Iraqi community members through candor about my intentions. Though not a member of either community, I may have benefited from a quasi-insider status as my extended family members are Moroccans who are Muslim and speak Arabic. I am not a fluent Arabic speaker, but I can readily use a few stock phrases, and individual words; I can understand more than I speak. The Somali language is somewhat similar to Arabic, so I enjoyed discussing these similarities with the adult

Somalis. With the mother of the Iraqi girls, I shared what little Arabic I could. I am not a Muslim, but I am very familiar with the religion and have more knowledge about Muslim holidays and practices than most Americans I know. The Somali Community members and the Iraqi family seemed gratified that I knew something about, and was respectful of their religious and community lifeways.

Data Collection

As interviews with youth were at the heart of the study, I handled both the process and the product of each interview with great care. The interview protocol I used to guide the interviews was vetted for neutrality by my committee co-chairs prior to receiving IRB approval to use this instrument. Regarding the collection of observational data, I aimed to be unobtrusive, noticing while in the setting and reflecting and jotting down notes afterwards. When I engaged in informal interviews with other members of the community, I sometimes took notes and other times just engaged naturally.

Interviews

I conducted every individual interview privately with each participant in a room with closed doors, with adults present in the community center or in the apartment. I digitally recorded each interview and at the beginning of every interview I reminded the participant that s/he could ask me to stop the interview at any time; I also reiterated that s/he need not answer any questions that s/he was not comfortable answering. I condensed Seidman's recommended 3-part framework into two individual interviews, to minimize the time commitment a participant would need to make in order to take part in the study. I included the option of participating in a focus group as well.

The length of each interview depended on the individual participant, but averaged 30-40 minutes. I conducted a total of 23 individual interviews and 1 focus group session which lasted one hour and 15 minutes. I conducted the interviews in English, as I do not speak fluent Somali, Arabic, or any of the other languages the participants spoke. Thus, one criterion for participation mentioned earlier was that individuals be able to speak enough English in order to converse. As I was previously an English as a Second/Foreign Language teacher in the U.S. and abroad for many years, I possessed a skill set (e.g. paraphrasing, reiterating, simplifying, pausing, monitoring speech rate, checking comprehension, using and noticing non-verbal cues) that helped when interviewing. English was also the language of instruction at all the high schools the participants were attending at the time of the study. For the most part, language did not pose a barrier to the interview process. Two young women I interviewed once had to be excluded from the study because they could speak too little English. Of the remaining ten students, eight were able to communicate in English and two were hindered by the English language medium in the interview process.

At SATCO I used one of three rooms, but I primarily used a room that served as the center's classroom. At the family apartment of the two Iraqi participants, I conducted interviews in a bedroom. The youth and I were given privacy at both locations. The only time anyone else came into the room where I was interviewing was to offer me refreshments. At SATCO, Ali, the person who made all the scheduling and transportation arrangements with students on my behalf, would knock on the door and enter with a Starbucks coffee for me every time I was interviewing at the center, no matter how much I protested. At the family apartment the participants' mother would also knock gently and

bring in a tray with juice, water and cookies. In both contexts, I was welcomed and treated with warm hospitality on every visit.

Logistics. After our initial meeting at IACC, the Iraqi sisters and I met at their apartment for the remainder of the study. For Neda and Alexis, this arrangement worked well. If I visited on a weekday, I would arrive after they had come home from school on the school bus. The logistics involving the Somali participants were more involved than I originally knew. The eight Somali students attended three different high schools. One of the men at the center, usually Ali or Mustafa would drive to the participants' school and bring him/her to the center. Ali also drove to one family's home to arrange appointments because the family did not have a telephone. My own commute to both locations was lengthy, as the Iraqi family apartment was a 71 mile round trip drive from my home and the SATCO center was a 48 mile round trip. The Phoenix region is quite spread out; in total I drove 1,100 miles in order to complete the student interviews. Our meetings were typically scheduled after school, which also happened to be the beginning of rush hour on the local freeways. Nevertheless driving to both locations provided the opportunity to familiarize myself with the neighborhoods surrounding the community center and the Iraqi family apartment--- to be in the field as it were. I would often stop at a local grocery store to purchase a treat to bring to the SATCO Center, or stop and pump gas near one of the two research sites.

When refugee families first arrive in the U.S. they receive assistance getting situated by government subcontracting organizations in the region, such as the International Rescue Committee (IRC) or Lutheran Social Services. Upon arrival therefore most families with school-aged children are given housing in apartment

complexes within walking distance to an elementary school. After the families in this study got acclimated the Phoenix area, many of them moved to different locations within the city or adjacent cities for a variety of reasons, often to be closer to extended family or to a workplace.

Transcription. I was the grateful recipient of a Graduate Research Support program grant sponsored by ASU's Office of the Vice President for Research and Economic Affairs (OVPREA). This financial support allowed me to employ a professional transcription service. I employed a company called Rev, which provides secure handling of files over the internet (<https://www.rev.com/transcription>). This grant also provided reimbursement for my mileage. This is the reason why I know exactly how many miles I traversed.

Call me Ismail. Students chose their own pseudonyms to mask their identities. Though seemingly a minor detail, the name-choosing was fun for the students. Two females chose male names, Mohamed and Ilias. One male chose to be known as a world-famous soccer player, Drogba. Only the two youngest participants in the study chose typical Anglo-American names, James and Alexis. On one occasion, a participant and I had a good laugh when he began answering the interview questions during our first session as if he were in character as his fictional pseudonym. He began by telling me he was a different age and was born in a different country than he actually was. This exchange only lasted a minute when he asked me to stop the recorder. We stopped and clarified he was to answer truthfully about himself, that the pretend name was just to protect his true identity. The pseudonyms continued to be a source of amusement throughout the study. One female participant speculated on the reasons why two sisters

chose male names. The males all admired, with a hint of envy, the choice of the famous soccer player Drogba as a pseudonym. I came to know the participants by their fictitious names more so than their real names. This circumstance too became a catalyst for more laughs with my primary liaison at SATCO, Ali, who scheduled the dates and times of the interview sessions. For the two of us it seemed as if there were 16 instead of eight Somali youth in the study – the individuals and the aliases.

Voluntary participation. Youth controlled their involvement in the study by virtue of self-selection. They also chose what to tell, and how to construct their stories. I shared the transcripts of our first interview sessions with each participant when we met for the second interview so they had the opportunity to clarify, correct, or change anything in the transcript. Doing this member check, reinforced my position as someone who truly cared about what they had to say, and about making sure I got it right.

Offering Reciprocity

I stated previously that I had offered to tutor the youth participants. The only student I did tutor was one of the Iraqi sisters with whom I spent approximately fifteen hours in person at their apartment, and provided additional support with her work through texting. My son also helped her via texting with her World History course. I did not tutor any of the Somali students, though I did gather and summarize college level English course requirements and procedures for applying for one student who was a senior in high school. I did assist at SATCO in other ways, however. I collaborated with Dr. A. on letter writing. We worked on a statement of intention for a grant proposal, and a formal invitation letter to directors of other community centers. I also consulted with the

directors and a volunteer teacher at SATCO on curriculum development for the English Language Program for adult refugees.

Other Research Activities

In addition to center and home visits, where I observed participants and adult members of the community or members of the immediate family, two rounds of interviews and a focus group comprised of five Somali participants, I reviewed content on national, state, and school district websites, including data on the schools the student participants attended. I examined Arizona Department of Education policies, procedures, legal codes, and informational documents; I sifted through national demographic and Refugee Resettlement data and conducted a historical review of litigation pertaining to educational language rights in Arizona. I also attended a World Refugee Day celebration with a number of the people from SATCO.

Design and Methodology Summary

In this section I have endeavored to provide for the reader an account of the steps I took along this research journey, steps which traversed the lives of the youth participants, as well as the adults with whom they were closely connected. I aimed to tread softly into the terrain of their lives, yet as for my own life, my encounters on this exploration have left indelible impressions. I turn now in the following section to a discussion of the analysis processes I employed.

Analysis Processes

In data analysis, as with data collection, I drew from traditions of phenomenology by looking at data “thematically to extract essences and essentials of participant meanings” (Miles, Huberman, & Saldaña, 2013, p. 8) and ethnography by focusing “on

individuals' perspectives and interpretations of their worlds" (p. 8). Following Seidman's (2013) approach to data analysis I was committed to using verbatim transcriptions of interviews with students because "To substitute the researcher's paraphrasing or summaries of what the participants say for their actual words is to substitute the researcher's consciousness for that of the participant" (2013, p. 117). I employed a transcription service, Rev in order to expedite the process of transforming recorded audio interviews into written text. I listened to each interview recording to check each transcript for accuracy. On only one occasion was I dissatisfied with the accuracy of a transcription, and the company immediately had the transcription redone by another transcriber.

Data collection and analysis were interwoven. I began analyzing data concurrently with collecting it for the practical reason of making meaning from the information I had gathered while the interactions were fresh, and to inform my data collection process going forward. Doing so served as a "methods check" as I could notice whether or not I was gathering the information I was seeking. I used field notes throughout as tool for summarizing, reflecting and questioning what I was observing in the settings. Field note writing morphed into jottings, and analytic memos and served as a heuristic for reflecting on what I was learning about the lived experiences of the youth in the study.

The use of phenomenological interviewing as method was quite evocative. After interview sessions engaging with participants and listening to their stories, I could not help but think about the young tellers and their tales. For me this engagement with individuals is the quintessential allure of qualitative research. These teens were no longer just a statistic, they were *qualitatively* distinct individuals with unique experiences and

perceptions, some of which they had just shared with me. During post interview time, I often found myself: awash in gratitude to these youth for trusting and confiding in me; ruminating about privilege---my own, and that of my son, an adolescent of similar age to teens in the study. If to analyze is to think deeply, then inevitably analysis and field work should (and did) go hand in hand.

Coding Transcriptions

I initially read through the first set of interview transcripts and engaged in what Saldaña calls “eclectic coding” using “first-impression” codes (Saldaña, 2013). I generated codes related to what I read and developed more codes based on topics that had arisen multiple times across a number of participants. As I read through transcripts, I generated codes related to what I read, and codes that triggered other codes based on themes/topics that had come up multiple times across a number of participants Like Saldaña (2013), and Miles, Huberman & Saldaña (2013), I considered the process to be a generative one – codes spawned more codes, as I read freely.

Table 3

First Round Code Book

A = Agency	LA = Language Affect (feelings of embarrassment, shyness, confidence, anger...)
AZL = AZELLA test	LM = Language-related misunderstandings
Act = Activities outside school	LO = Language Other than English (or native language)

CW = Creative work-around of school system P = Persistence/Perseverance

F = Friends/friendship

T+ = Positive experience w/teacher

G = Groups/groupings

T- = Negative experience w/teacher

My code-generating and first-round coding processes were not entirely organic, as I also used social positioning as a unit of analysis and looked specifically for segments of talk during which participants communicated awareness of positioning within the context of the institutional positioning they were subject to in school. I looked for bits of discourse related to how participants perceived being positioned by others (students, teachers, counselors) and how they positioned themselves and others in their talk. In concert with the study's overarching objective of centering youth voice, I looked for examples indicative of the ways in which participants made sense of their new school environment(s), and how languages use factored into their daily lives. Table 3 shows the codes I used when I initiated the coding process. These codes served as merely a starting point, the purpose being to focus the early stage of analyzing the interview discourse. Shortly I will relate my encounter with Dr. Frederick Erickson and the influence his instruction had on my analytic approach.

I crafted narrative portraits or vignettes of the participants in their own words for the purpose of introducing the participants to the reader directly, much in the same way they introduced themselves to me. Following Warriner (2003) I present these biographical vignettes to acquaint the reader with the individuals behind the categorical

labels of participants, refugees, students. These introductions open the Findings Chapter Four.

Seeing Biodata at a Glance with a Spreadsheet

Ten adolescents participated in the study, though 13 youth participated in the first round of interviews. (I discuss the reasons for this attrition in Chapter Four the Findings Chapter.) The paths of the 10 remaining participants traversed five different countries in total prior to touching and continuing on U.S.-American soil. The participants' life histories, like all life histories, are diverse. They came to the U.S. at different ages; some knew life in just one country, others in three countries; they had disparate educational experiences and spoke multiple languages. Some remained in Structured English Immersion classes at the time of the study, others had worked their way out. All but one participant had a sibling or siblings in the study. In order to organize the varied particulars of each individual, I created an EXCEL spreadsheet as a visual tool – a graphic organizer as it were. Arranging the biographical information in this way, I could see at a glance the range of experiences the 10 individuals had lived. It is for this reason that I consider this step to be part of the analysis process, rather than merely an administrative task. (This information is presented in Table 4, in the forthcoming Chapter Four, along with participants' narrative introductions.)

A New Way of Noticing (for Me)

My approach to data analysis shifted dramatically when I participated in a two-day intensive workshop with Dr. Frederick Erickson in February, 2015. Dr. Erickson made two points clear: information (as in all the material researchers collect, e.g. field notes, interviews, observations, statistics, and so on) is not necessarily data, and

things/findings do not *emerge*. I will briefly discuss each of the two points beginning with his distinction between *information* and *data*.

In Erickson's view the initial step, vital in the analysis process, but often bypassed in qualitative research studies, is the work of sorting through information sources, looking for ideas about qualitative distinctions in order to identify what will count as data (personal communication, 2015). According to Erickson, data identification involves finding an information bit in an information source and connecting that bit to a research question. He cautioned against coding transcripts prematurely. Erickson advised making tentative assertions about the data by writing assertions and finding evidence to support the assertion.

As for the second of the two points Erickson indelibly impressed upon me, I was initially unable to reconcile why *emerge* was not a robust descriptor for what occurred during the process of "data" analysis. The qualitative research literature is rife with its usage, and I had a fondness for using the word to describe the instance when clues, patterns, themes, trends, seemingly significant things, bubbled up to the surface and caught my eye. *Emerge* however, is an agentless verb, and as such, inappropriate for referring to the intensive work of analysis conducted by researchers who make agentic decisions about the collected information. In Erickson's view, *emerge* suggests a mystical conjuring, as if a *thing*, whatever that thing might be, miraculously appeared like a rabbit pulled from a magician's hat. (The analogy is his.) However, nothing *emerges* from the data; the researcher is the agent who systematically combs the sources of information with research questions guiding the process. I invoked Erickson's rephrasing of Bateson's (1973, p. 428) definition of information as: "What we are trying to notice is the

differences in things that make a difference within a system....” (Personal communication, 2015) during subsequent stages of analyzing the information I had gathered during this study.

Listening to notice. Transcripts of recorded interviews are often divorced from their audio sources after fieldwork. When working with transcripts rather than audio the written word gains primacy over the spoken word. Without a doubt, with the loss of the rhythms, tones, cadences of conversation, shades of meaning are often lost as well. So I listened to the interviews multiple times and each time enjoyed reengaging with the youth voices, now suspended in time, while making notes on the transcripts. I listened for specific instances in our dialogues when the student seemed especially animated or had a lot to say. I call these moments that exude importance in student talk “hotspots”— a borrowed bit of terminology from process-writing heuristics. (See Elbow, 1983, 1998). These generative instances in interviews were often more discernable in the voice than in the transcription of recorded talk.

Discrepant case analysis. Following Erickson (1986), I understood the importance of looking for disconfirming evidence in the data. I had entered this study with the presupposition that the enactment of the SEI mandate was, in the main, negative for immigrant students. Rather than searching the data only for evidence that supported this thesis, I looked for evidence that countered this stance as well. Doing so, I was able to chisel away at the simplistic dichotomy that SEI is either good, or SEI is bad for students, to get at a more nuanced understanding, based on the youth’s expressed perspectives. Participants’ narrative descriptions of their school experiences complicated

this dualistic construction of SEI as either support or barricade. I will return to this topic in detail in the forthcoming chapter discussing findings, Chapter Four).

An Atypical Tool

After reexamining the first and second round interviews and focus group interview using Erikson's (1986) approach, that is by reading and listening, making preliminary assertions, determining if I had sufficient examples to support the assertions and taking the "narrative plunge" (Erickson, 2015) to explain to check that my findings were indeed warranted, I used a corpus analysis toolkit developed for concordancing and text analysis called AntConc. This is an easy-to-use program that has been made available as a free download by its developer by Laurence Anthony, who is also Director of the Centre for English Language Education, at Waseda University, Japan. (<http://www.laurenceanthony.net/>). With AntConc, I could easily conduct searches for key words in context (KWIKs). For example I had discovered through data analysis that "friends" was a particularly salient topic for many of the study participants. With AntConc after uploading transcript files (converted to txt format) I could enter the keyword "friend" and see the frequency with which the word appeared as well as the context in which it was used as shown in figure 2.

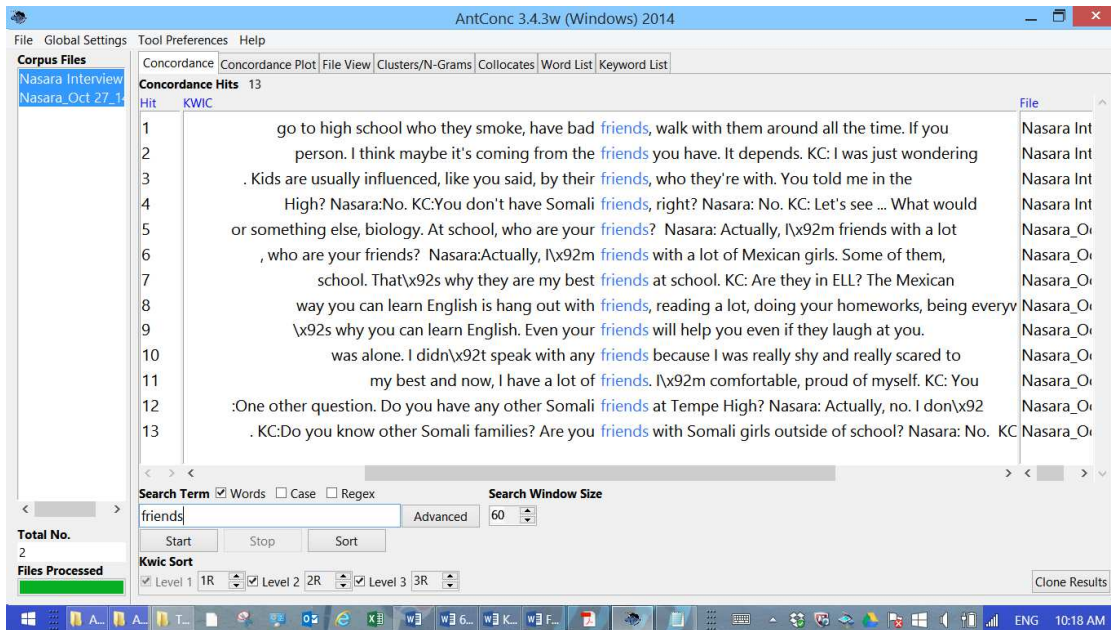


Figure 2. Screenshot of KWIK search for “friends” in Nasara interviews

The results view allowed me to see which speaker used the focal word. A simple frequency count would not show whether I had used the word 12 times and the participant used it only once. An additional feature of the AntConc’s KWIK search useful for my analysis was the ability to select and click on an occurrence of the selected word on the KWIKs result screen and be taken to the text view of the occurrence in context. This functionality made it easy for me to toggle back and forth.

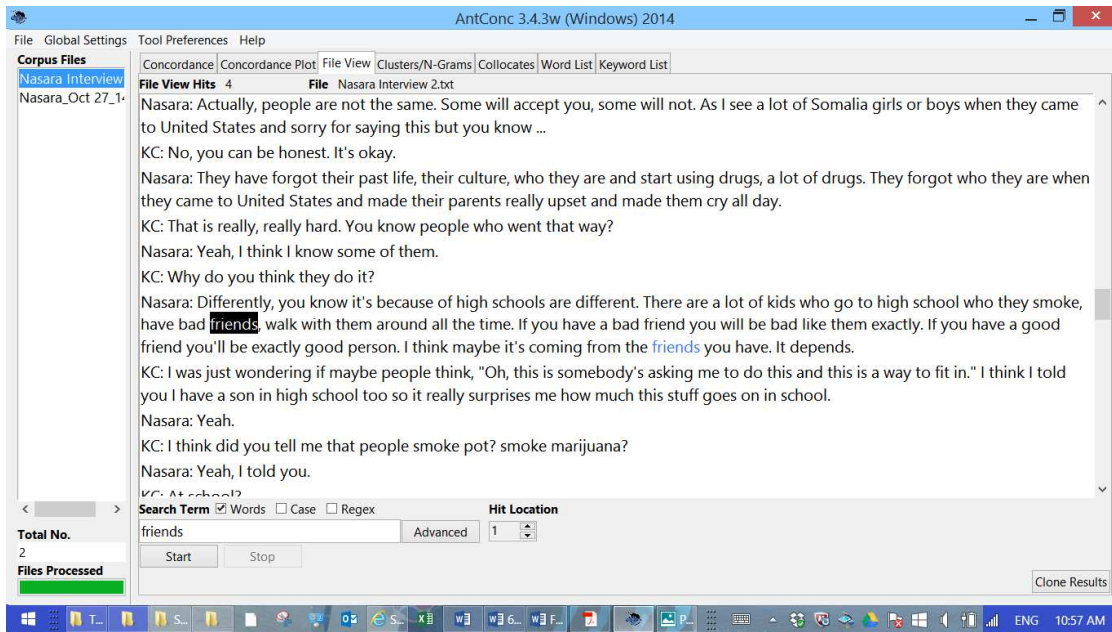


Figure 3. Screenshot of file view of use of “friends.”

I converted all interview transcripts into text format files and ran the same searches on all transcript files. Using AntConc, I checked the legitimacy of my assertions, while also checking for instances of dialogue I might have missed otherwise. I did member checks with participants to check for accuracy of the first interview transcript before the start of the second interview. Unfortunately, I had not planned, and thus they had not committed to a third individual meeting with me, so I was able to get the Somali participants’ feedback on the second round interviews. I continued to tutor one of the Iraqi sisters after data collection, so I did have the opportunity to check both rounds with them.

Treatment of Other Information Sources

I used the informal interviews with cultural informants at SATCO, IACC, and at Iraqi family apartment and field notes from home visits and community center visits as a

way of coming to know the participants and the context of their lives. Throughout the study writing analytic memos prompted me to refine what I had come to know or thought I knew. Collection, review and analysis of policy artifacts and descriptive statistics informed me further about the field (Bourdieu, 1977) and the participants' place relative to others positioned in the space and time (Einstein, 1940) constructs of age, grade level, and education attainment.

Chapter Summary

I position myself as the deliberate constructor and implementer of systematic processes of analyzing and interpreting information, and acknowledge that my own subjectivities are inextricably intertwined with my findings. I have aimed in this section to provide a window through which to see how I conducted the analysis.

Though Erickson cautions against depictions of data analysis (especially coding) that connote a kind of magical emergence, I must confess I have been enchanted by the ways ethnographic research methods have enabled me to learn much more about the youth than I had anticipated. Despite all my systematic planning, data collection and analysis, the thrill of discovery is, I dare say, a magical feeling.

In Chapter Four the reader will at last meet the study participants as the chapter opens. I then describe findings related to the participants' multiple identities and the life circumstances that have thrust particular identities upon them.

CHAPTER 4

FINDINGS RELATED TO IDENTITY

This chapter reports findings that deepened my understanding of the study participants and their situated identities. Chapter Four is divided in two parts. Because interviewing is a process of co-creation between interviewer and interviewee (Seidman, 2013), Part 1 is an essential component containing introductions of my co-constructors, the study participants, in their own words. Part 2 presents the identity categories participants claimed or were ascribed, those which preceded their interactions as students in Phoenix-area high schools.

On a methodological note, as an outcome of using Seidman's in-depth, phenomenologically based interviewing approach (2013, p. 14), this account of findings begins at a point in the participants' lives before they encountered the language policy in Arizona schools. Had I not asked the participants' about their life histories, I would have missed out on their narrative retellings of episodes and people meaningful to them. Had I used an interview approach focusing exclusively on the here-and-now, and on what I considered important for me to know, rather than on their lived experiences and what was important for them to tell, I would have learned much less. Thus, this first findings chapter is a prelude to what I learned about the participants' experience of the restrictive language policy in Arizona schools. I suspect Paris and Winn (2014) would applaud Seidman's influence on "humanizing" this research.

PART 1: MEET THE PARTICIPANTS

In keeping with my intention to privilege the voices of multilingual youth who speak English as an additional language, I begin this chapter with introductions of the study participants, who introduce themselves in their own words. Throughout this work, I aimed to position students as the authorities on their own lives, to highlight and honor their voices, not to reify others' interpretations of them (Soto & Lasta, 2005; Swadener, 2008; Swadener, Lundy, Habashi, & Blanchet-Cohen, 2013). To "hear" the unique voices of these young people without actually listening to the audio recordings, one needs to read the participants' words in the original form. Like Seidman who retrospectively recounted he "first came to see stories and the details of people's lives as a way of knowing and understanding" (2013, p. 1) while he was working as an English teacher, I too became captivated by the remarkably diverse real-life narratives of the students from all over the world whom I taught English as an Additional Language. Following Warriner (2003) I chose to present authentic biographical sketches primarily to honor the voices of the speakers, and secondarily to affirm the legitimacy of plurilingualism, defined by the Council of Europe (2001) as: "a communicative competence to which all knowledge and experience of language contributes and in which languages interrelate and interact" (p. 4). One does not need to speak the dominant variety of English perfectly in order to be understood or to demonstrate communicative competence (Habermas, 1970; Holmes, 2014; Hymes, 1967).

Using an abbreviated version of Seidman's (2013) participant profiles, I have excerpted the following introductions from my initial interview with each participant. I wanted to remain true to their individual voices and words so I searched the transcripts of

our first one-on-one interviews when we were getting acquainted for segments of talk that served as self-description. These are composite profiles, rather than full-blown narrative profiles. A narrative profile true to Seidman's method would be a profile crafted based on connected, recurring themes across participants. The theme connecting the profiles that follow is simply introductory self-description. I have reordered the sequence of talk, but have not modified the content. The sentences appear *without* grammatical correction. However, for the sake of clarity in a few instances, I have inserted a word or two, and have indicated such insertions with the use of brackets. The narratives presented herein are not meant to convey the entirety of information the youth shared with me throughout the course of the study. Participants' feelings, beliefs and experiences specific to certain times, spaces, and themes, infuse the subsequent findings sections with life. Please meet the extraordinary youth who generously participated in this study and shared their life stories with me (presented in alphabetical order).

Ahmed

I was born in Somalia. I was born January 1st, 1998. I went to Kenya, like one month, I think. After that I went to Uganda. And then after Uganda we came to the U.S. I finished until 8th grade; then when I came here I started in 8th grade. Then I went to high school. I learned English when I was in high school. [In Uganda] they mostly speak Swahili. The teachers used English. We mostly explain it in Swahili.

Now I go to English, four hours of English. First hour is English, second hour is English, third hour is English, and then my sixth hour is English. Then I go to Earth Science; then I go to Math. It's getting harder to understand what the teacher is saying [in Math and Science]. Sometimes I have a difficult time. So when I don't get the question I

got to go and ask the teacher what the word means or how do we do the work and she explains it to me. [With other students] it's kind of hard to communicate. I had a friend that speaks Somali and he was good at English, so he helped me. I learned English when I was in the other school. My friend is Somali, he helped me with the words I didn't understand and he told me what it means, so I kind of learned them like that. Most of them [students in ELL classes] are Mexicans and a guy, one from Thailand, and a girl that came from France. I eat lunch with the boy [from Thailand]. He doesn't have anyone to speak with, so he speaks English with me. So I eat with him.

Aisha

I am twenty... We left our country in 2006; there was a war. Everyone was running and our father died and then my mom took seven of us – my mom and six. We have six children. She took us and we came to Kenya. Then we stayed like one week and then we moved to Uganda... My father died and three of my [siblings] we don't know where they are. We don't know. We don't have no idea where they are, whether they are alive or— don't know. It is my sister and my two brothers. I was around 11 or 12. I never went to school [in Somalia]. [In] our refugee camp we had schools like the primary schools, secondary schools, and they used to give us scholarship if we do better. I also one time got scholarship as a senior. I got scholarship because my mom could not afford to take me to high school. It was expensive. They speak English, and so I had English – okay English is the first language and then Swahili is the second language. I can also speak the language of Uganda called Luganda. I came to U.S. in 2013, July 6th I think. I was 19. It was not easy for someone like me to go to high school and I'm almost finishing, almost - December– this December coming.

Alexis

[I was born] 2000, January 18th. In Iraq I have two sisters and one brother over there. There's a lot of stuff I don't remember. I get into an accident and I was crying a lot, so I think it's from that. I don't know. I got burn. Here. I was like, cooking and the hot oil, it like went into my face. I cried a lot, but now I think it's funny because I didn't cook. I'm not good at cooker.

I don't know. Maybe because I cried a lot. Because after that, some stuff I forget. [In Iraq] I have a lot of friends and I was like studying. I went to school and that was called Smart Student School. You have to take a test. It takes like three hours. If you pass the test, you can go. When you pass it, it has to be an A. If it's a B, you can't go into the school. I have all my friends, I still talk to them when I came here. They are still on Facebook and I call them and stuff.

Drogba

I was born in Ethiopia, but my mom and dad came from Somalia. They flee from Somalia to Ethiopia during the civil war. They have been 20 years in Ethiopia. I was born in 1996. In there, you don't go to school until you finish the Koran and all that. They'll first teach you the Koran and then take you to school. My mom didn't take me to school at that time. One of my sisters, she said that I'm going to do both the Koran and the other education at the same time. That's when I started school. I was eight years old. My sister she was smart. She was in high school at that time. I always see her doing math, like she's writing on the ground and all that. She was very, very concerned about her education. She used to always give me the basics. My favorite subject, it was math, but

the problem was when I first got here, the English I knew and this English wasn't the same. It was different, like the African and all that.

Ilias

[A female who chose a male pseudonym.] My dad, my mom, they're from Somalia. I'm from Ethiopia. I'm Somali. I'm come in...I don't know, maybe December? December, 2012. I'm refugee. I'm not going like my country's school. I'm helping my father and my dad and my friend. Just I'm coming, like America, I'm going. I like coming to the school, the American school. [I] like Math. It's not easy. It's very hard. You have to first go to an Algebra. Yeah, I like that. You don't have to pass it, like pass it, you don't have to graduate high school. I want to pass the Algebra. I'm Junior. I'm going like (name of school). [My friends] they're from like...do you know Burmese, Korean? Korean, like Japan, some people from China, and some people from... do you know Mexico and Guatemala? Yeah. That's my friend. The people, like girls and boys are friend.

James

I was born in Ethiopia; it's part of Africa, January 1, 2000. I have three brothers and two sisters. Wait. Actually I have three. One is younger than me and then two are bigger than me, and then there's two other sisters. They're the oldest. One is 22, I think, and the other one is like 25 or 27. The younger is here and the other one is in Africa, in Ethiopia. In my school it was different. This one is for people that lived in the refugee camp and the other one is for the people that lived in the city. After you finish sixth grade, you're going to go to the other one which you're going to learn with Amharic people, and different people, not only Somali. First, we used to wake up at 5:00. We used

to go to the Koran, and then at 7:00, we used to go to school. Then, when we come back from school, we're going to eat and then, we're going to go back to Koran. I study social studies, math, Somali, English, and Amharic which is the language of Ethiopia. When I got to the fifth grade and I start it, I barely start that language, the Amharic, and then we came here.

Mohamed

[A female who chose a male pseudonym.] I was born in Ethiopia. My birthday is January 1st, 1996. My mom and my dad, they are from Somalia, but I'm from Ethiopia. I'm coming here 2012, December 18th; on Wednesday night, I'm coming here. I remember. One year, 10 months, 12 days. When I come in America, I don't speak English. I don't know [the] language. Then when I come in America, then I go to school. I don't speak English right now, well a little bit. I have two sisters and three brothers. My sister, she's older than me. She's get married. She's 21 years and she has four kids. Then I'm second, then my sister, and then two brothers, and my dad and my mother. My brother, the first one brother, he's named [Ali]. He's 13 years old. The second one, he's 12. No, he's not 12. He's 11. The third one, the young, he's 10 years old - 13, and 11, and 10. [My sister] She's 17 years old; I'm 18. I'm a junior [in high school]. My mom...she's very, very sick. I will help my mom. When she's go in the hospital, then I go hospital. The school, I tell the people at school. I said 'my mom, she's sick, she needs help.' They say "ok." Then they give it to me, off. When I help my mom - my mom - when she's coming home, then I'm back to the school. It's okay.

Nasara

I was born in Somalia, Mogadishu. I was born January 1st, 1996. My mother was born in Mogadishu too and my father. My father is no longer alive right now. I have one brother – he goes to the same school with me - and two sisters. The two little girls they go to the same school too. One is in seventh grade and the other one is fifth grade. Actually I came from Uganda to the United States. We came to Uganda around 2008, I think. I don't remember. I don't remember much of Somalia. I was little and I didn't go to school because there was a war. I couldn't go to school out of the house because it was really dangerous. That's why I couldn't go to Somalia school. I learned Swahili in Kenya because when I was coming from Somalia, we came to Kenya first. We stayed in Kenya for about 10 days and I learned only a little bit of Swahili. Before I came to the United States I was speaking English too. That means I speak three languages – Somali, Swahili and English, probably.

Neda

I was born in Iraq on April 23, 1996. They [parents] speak Arabic and they just study English in school in the past. My mother is a teacher. My dad is an artist, but he works like artist and he's a carpenter at the same time. My parents' parents – my grandfather he's nurse or something. My grandmother – she just stay at home. She do study sometimes, but after that she got married and other stuff. It's my mother's parents, but my father's parents I don't know. But my father's father, he was a carpenter. My father, he loves to be an artist. He's an artist now and he's a carpenter at the same time. My first language is Arabic. I have two older sisters and one older brother and my younger sister. My two older sisters, they are married and they have a child. One of them

want to come here but she's just waiting for the immigration. My brother, he came here with us. Then, he went back over there and he get to come here after one month after.

Said

I was born in 1998 in Ethiopia. I grow up there and then I come to the U.S. in the end of 2011. I was 13 years old. My parents are from Somalia, and then they went to Ethiopia. My father went to school, Islamic school, but he didn't go to like regular school. My mom, she has never went to school. My grandparents, they were born in Somalia and they are from Somalia. I don't know much about them. I've never seen them. I have two sisters. They are older than me. I have my brother who's older than me. Then I have two younger brothers. My sister is in Ethiopia. She want to come, but she was pregnant, so they separate her from us. So she will come later. She has another baby, so the process is going to take a lot of time. In Ethiopia we were in the refugee camp. My mom had a coffee shop. My dad was used to - he didn't do much. He was just in the house. When I came to the U.S. I was 13. I came here in December. Then I went to school in January. I just took half of my freshman year, one semester of my freshman year. Then I went to summer school and then I took online classes and that's how I catch up. My favorite subject is, I like math, but my favorite subject is economy. So I'm going to take that next semester. I can't wait for that class.

Family connections. All but one of the participants had a sibling or siblings who also participated in the study. Ahmed and Nasara are brother and sister. Nasara is four year older than Ahmed. Aisha has no family members in the study. Her siblings are older and were placed in Job Corp, rather than school when they arrived in the United States. Alexis and Neda, the only Iraqi participants, are sisters. Drogba, Said, and James, are

brothers – each brother is two years older than the next. Ilias and Mohamed are sisters, who each chose a male name as a pseudonym. Table 4 provides a summary of biographic information on the youth in the study. (Linguistic biographical data will be presented in Table 7, in Part 2 of this chapter.) Three other young women from Somalia also volunteered to take part in the study and I interviewed each of them once. None, however, could remain in the study for reasons related to the participant selection criteria. Maya had come to the United States at the age of three, spoke Standard English and had never attended Structured English Immersion classes. I knew this information from the start, but because Maya is a highly-valued member of SATCO, an active volunteer tutor, and was insistent that she have the opportunity to be listened to, I obliged. H-Nasara had only been in the United States for two or three months at the time of our first interview, after which she and her family moved to Minnesota to be near relatives. Nahawa had just arrived in the United States a week prior to our interview, and because I do not speak Somali and she knew very few words of English, we could not communicate sufficiently. Prior to the interview, the literacy program director had suggested we use a translator. Both Dr. A., the CEO and director of the center, and I rejected this idea, though for different reasons. I simply needed to adhere to the study design. Dr. A. wanted me to interview the newly arrived Nahawa, so I could appreciate the enormous challenges facing an adolescent refugee who does not speak English. Nahawa embodied a starting point or baseline from which she, like so many refugee youth before her, would travel far.

All participants but James had immigrated to the United States in their teens (James was 11 years old). All save Aisha, who at the time of the study was 20 years old, are still teenagers. At the time of our first interview, the participants had been in the

United States for a period ranging between 11 months and 2 years and 11 months. Eight of the ten volunteers in the study describe themselves as Somali, while three of these eight, Aisha, Ahmed and Nasara were the only Somali participants who had ever lived within Somalia. When they fled Somalia these three went to Kenya briefly and then to Uganda where they lived in refugee camps.

The remaining five Somali participants, the brothers Drogba, Said and James, and the sisters who go by male names Ilias and Mohamed, were born in refugee camps in Ethiopia. The two Iraqi sisters are the only study participants who never lived in a refugee camp and never lived in a country other than their home country in which they were born prior to coming to the United States. All the participants have compelling life histories, as the violence of war has driven their families from their homelands.

Table 4

Participant Biographical Data

	Name	Gen- Der	Sibling With	DOB/Age	Age Came to U.S.	Month & Year Came to U.S.	Years/Months In U.S. (At Time of First Interview)	National Identity	Country of Birth	Country of Residence
1	Nasara	F	1 & 2	1/1/1996 - 18 Yrs.	15 or 16	July, 2012	2 Years, 3 Months	Somali	Somalia	Somalia Until Age 11 or 12 - Uganda in 2008
2	Ahmed	M	1 & 2	1/1/1998 - 16 Yrs.	13	July, 2012	2 Years, 3 Months	Somali	Somalia	Somalia Until Age 9 or 10- Uganda in 2008

Name	Gen-Der	Sibling With	DOB/Age	Age Came to U.S.	Month & Year Came to U.S.	Years/Months In U.S. (At Time of First Interview)	National Identity	Country of Birth	Country of Residence
3 Neda	F	3 & 4	4/ 23/1996 - 18 Yrs.	17	Nov. 26, 2013	11 Months	Iraqi	Iraq	Iraq
4 Alexis	F	3 & 4	1/18/2000 - 14 Yrs.	13	Nov. 26, 2013	11 Months	Iraqi	Iraq	Iraq
5 Aisha	F	N/A	20 Yrs.	19	July 6, 2013	1 Year 3 Months	Somali	Somalia	Somalia Until Age 11 or 12; Then Uganda in 2006
6 Ilias	F	6 & 7	1997 - 17 Yrs.	15	Dec., 2012	1 Year, 10 Months	Somali	Ethiopia	Ethiopia
7 Mohamed	F	6 & 7	1/1/1996 - 18 Yrs.	16	Dec. 18, 2012	1 Year, 10 Months	Somali	Ethiopia	Ethiopia
8 James	M	8, 9, 10	1/1/2000 - 14 Yrs.	11	Dec. 8, 2011	2 Years, 11 Months	Somali	Ethiopia	Ethiopia
9 Drogba	M	8, 9, 10	1996 - 18 Yrs.	15	Dec. 8, 2011	2 Years, 11 Months	Somali	Ethiopia	Ethiopia
10 Said	M	8, 9, 10	1998 - 16 Yrs.	13	End Of 2011	2 Years, 11 Months	Somali	Ethiopia	Ethiopia

PART 2

LIFE CIRCUMSTANCES

Begin at the Beginning

A findings chapter is often launched with the investigator's return to the study's research questions. Looking back to my central research question, *How do youth understand and navigate the school language policy, practices and discourses that*

position them?, I realized the findings in this dissertation required a prologue to share important aspects of participants' lived experiences in Somalia, Ethiopia, Uganda and Iraq. Fundamental experiences constituting participants' lives prior to their arrival in the U.S. needed to be acknowledged. So, rather than start this findings section with a focus on youth's experience attending high schools with a restrictive language policy in place, I begin by addressing the pivotal positioning that steered the course of their lives.

Refugees

As mentioned in the opening chapter, when I developed this study and received approval from my committee and the Institutional Review Board (IRB), I planned to recruit participants who were high school students, designated "English Language Learners" and enrolled in SEI programs. Students in such circumstances are usually recent immigrants to the U.S. I had not foreseen that the study participants would be refugees.

For the youth in this study, being or becoming a refugee was the most significant, life-altering event of social positioning they had lived through. The life experiences of refugees include macro-level positioning on an international scale - displacement, disruption and repositioning. The participants spoke in-depth of their lives as refugees prior to, and since coming to the U.S. As shown in Table 5, in 2014 most refugees entering the U.S. came from Iraq, while Somalis were the third most numerous group of refugees admitted.

Table 5

Median Age and Gender of Refugee Arrivals, Fiscal Year 2014

Rank (# of Arrivals)	Country of Origin	Refugees Admitted	Median Age	% Females	% Males
1	Iraq	19,769	28	46.73%	53.27%
3	Somalia	9,000	21	47.31%	52.69%

Source: Department of State, Bureau of Population, Refugees, and Migration, Refugee Processing Center

Geopolitical Identities

I use the term geopolitical to mean the confluence of geographic, political, and economic characteristics of a place that influence the lives of the people within, from, or with close ties to said place (Dijkink, 1996). The geopolitical identity of a nation has to do with the state’s interactions internationally, as conveyed, for example, by the phrase a “friend in the region”. An individual’s geopolitical identity then is an outcome of the actions of the nation/state/place from which s/he comes or to which s/he has familial connection. The geopolitics of Somalia and Iraq are thus responsible for the youth’s status as refugees. First I address the topic of national identity, after which I discuss the identity all ten youth shared in the international context - that of refugee.

National Identities

While the social groups with which one identifies may change according to the contingencies of different times and spaces, other categories of belonging persist, sometimes by choice and at other times by structural forces that sustain them. In the

following section I describe one common category of belonging each participant invoked when describing themselves, that of nationality.

All study participants, two Iraqi and eight Somali students expressed having a national identity. For the five Somali students who had never set foot in the country from which their parent(s) fled, this relationship was complex. Being Somali for these youth was an ethnic and cultural identity in everyday practice. As a national identity, being Somali was an abstract concept inherited in exile. Yet this legacy of national identity was the very thing that separated them from the surrounding society in the country of their birth during their growing-up-years prior to coming to the United States. Born as refugees to refugee parents in a refugee camp in Ethiopia, they did not possess a national identity of their host country; instead theirs was a heritage national identity kept alive living amongst other Somali families in the camp.

Country and clan. Shared refugee status amongst those whose families have fled the same country did not equate with a uniform national Somali identity however. The civil war in Somalia has been essentially a tribal war, as I learned from Dr. A., the CEO of SATCO, and my chief Somali cultural informant. Clan heritage is the primary group identity affiliation within Somalia. Dr. A. explained the embedded identity politics within Somalia as I sought to understand why some Somali students would not talk to other Somali students at school. Mohamed (a female) had indicated that belonging to the Somali diaspora was not sufficient criteria for establishing affiliation amongst the Somali students in her school. When I had asked her if there were other Somali students in her school and if they helped each other she responded to my query in the following way: “No, they not talk to me. I not talk to they. I don’t know why, but I’m not talk to they.

They don't talk to me." When I asked her whether or not she speaks to other students who are not in her SEI class, she said: "Yeah, American students and other countries, I'm talking. Somali, I can't talk. They don't talk to me. I don't know why."

Though Mohamed was the only Somali student who raised this topic, the issue was instructive, and worth mentioning here as it compelled me to dig deeper and deconstruct a false homogeneous identity category of "Somali Refugee" I might have otherwise unwittingly constructed. Such differences, as clan or tribal affiliation, may remain invisible to outsiders such as myself. (This example points to the challenges and limitations of decolonizing research when the researcher is an outsider.) Mohamed professed to *not* know why other Somali students would not speak to her and her sister in school; the clan bias may have been passed down as cultural inheritance and become normalized without her knowledge of its source, or if she did surmise clan differences as the root cause of the distance between the other Somalis and herself and Ilias, she may not have wanted to confide such knowledge to an outsider. Situated in a specific geopolitical location (Canagarajah, 2011) the context of the United States, the SATCO community leaders have worked to move beyond the destructive clan divides to create a community center that is a kind of third space where all Somali refugees (and those from other countries as well) are welcome.

"Let Me Talk about the Refugee Thing"

Drogba, whose voice figures prominently in this dissertation as he was a key participant who prolifically provided insights and observations throughout the course of the study said these words: “Let me talk about the refugee thing” as a preamble to asking me the evocative question: “Can you imagine being displaced in another country...?” So I will do just that in this section. I will talk about the refugee thing.

Two key descriptors the U.S. uses in determining whether or not an individual can be classified as a refugee are as follows. A refugee is someone who a) “is of special humanitarian concern to the United States” and b) “demonstrates that they were persecuted or fear persecution due to race, religion, nationality, political opinion, or membership in a particular social group” (U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services, 2015). My imagination is surely insufficient to the task of grasping the entirety of the experiences of the refugee youth I came to know. I do nevertheless imagine that the prior experiences constituting the personal histories of high school students whose families have met the foregoing criteria to be considered refugees are vastly different from that of most high school students who have been born and raised in the United States.

In fiscal year 2013 nearly 28% of all refugees resettled in the United States came from Iraq (as shown in Table 6.). Refugees from Somalia were the fourth largest group, making up just under 11% of the total number of people admitted as refugees.

Table 6

Refugee Arrivals by Country of Origin and Select Age Categories, Fiscal Year 2013

Rank # of Arrivals	Country of Origin	Arrival Number	% of Total	Under 5 Yrs.	School Age (5-17)	Working Age (16-64)	Retirement Age (=or > 65)
1	Iraq	19,488	27.87%	8.64%	24.07%	65.35%	5.05%

4	Somalia	7,608	10.88%	9.70%	31.56%	62.20%	0.95%
---	---------	-------	--------	-------	--------	--------	-------

Note. Data obtained from U.S. State Department.

In 2013 Arizona received 3,052 refugees; this figure represented 4.36% of the total refugees who were resettled in the United States that year. Of this 3,052 of refugees who came to Arizona, 1,201 were from Iraq and 543 were from the Somali diaspora (Department of State, Bureau of Population, Refugees, and Migration, Refugee Processing Center, May 23, 2014).

Life in a refugee camp. Many participants spoke about both positive and negative aspects to their lives living in their refugee camps. Aisha spoke nostalgically about enjoying the communal nature of the camp where she and her family stayed in Uganda: “It was open. This house here is open house, everybody comes see you, what are you doing; everybody can see you when you are cooking.” Nasara, who also was in a camp in Uganda, noted the lack of opportunity for any kind of future in the camp: “...Uganda there is refugees, not like town, refugee place, and actually you can't work in there.” She went on to explain how there was no employment because there were no employers to provide jobs. In Ethiopia as well, there were no opportunities for the future for those living in the camps. Drogba expressed his appreciation for the peace and safety afforded in the camp, but recognized there was no prospect of integrating into the Ethiopian society: “If you're a refugee, you're just going to stay there.”

Language and education in refugee camps. The youth participants came to the Phoenix, Arizona area from Iraq (2), Somalia via Uganda (3), and Ethiopia (5). All participants, except for the two Iraqi sisters, had either been born in, or resided in, United

Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR) Camps before their families became eligible for relocation and permanent settlement in the United States.

The brothers Drogba, Said, and James, and the female sisters, Ilias and Mohamed were born in UNHCR refugee camps in Ethiopia to Somali parents. The camps had their own schools, so refugee children did not attend school with Ethiopians in the city until they reached a level, comparable to junior high school/ 7th and 8th grade in the U.S. education system. (Ilias was the only participant who did not attend any school before coming to the U.S.) When it came time to integrate with Ethiopians in the “mixed” schools, the Somali students needed to learn Amharic, which was the language of instruction in the Ethiopian schools. Until this time their instruction in the camp schools was conducted in the Somali language.

Born in Somalia, Aisha, Nasara, and Ahmed lived in a refugee camp in Uganda after they fled the war in their home country. They too attended schools within the refugee camps, rather than schools with Ugandan children. The situation for the refugees in Uganda was quite similar to that of the Somali youth in the Ethiopian camps in terms of being separated from the larger society, and also in regards to differences in language of instruction in schools within the camps, and schools outside the camps for local Ugandans. Aisha, Nasara and Ahmed described a multilingual educational environment in the camp. In reference to her time attending school in Uganda, Aisha recounted: “they speak English and so I had English; Okay, English is the first language, and then Swahili is the second language.” She went on to say she could also speak “the language of

Ugandan school, Ganda.² Nasara reported speaking Somali, Swahili and English, but not knowing much about Ganda. Ahmed's description of language use in the camp school was intriguing:

KC: When you went to school in Uganda, your school used Swahili language?

Ahmed: No. The teachers used English.

KC: Oh, okay.

Ahmed: We mostly explain it in Swahili.

Thus students who attended schools within refugee camps whether in Ethiopia or Uganda were familiar with living set apart from the general society of the nation, and with the necessity of being multilingual. They were linguistically nimble, being accustomed to employing different languages in response to situational demands. Ironically these youth who were erroneously described in terms of what they were lacking - as Limited English Proficient or English Language Learner - instead of the assets they possessed spoke two, three and sometimes four languages when I met them. Their rich linguistic repertoires are shown in Table 7.

² According to the *Ethnologue* website Swahili is the “de facto language of national identity” (Lewis, Simons, & Fennig, 2015); English is the statutory national language as of a 2005 Constitutional amendment, while Ganda is the most widely spoken second language in Uganda besides English.

Table 7:

Participant Language Data

Name	1st Lang.	Additional Lang. /Not English
Ahmed	Somali	Swahili
Aisha	Somali	Swahili & Luganda
Alexis	Arabic	A Little Spanish
Drogba	Somali	N/A
Ilias	Somali	N/A
James	Somali	A Little Amharic; Currently Studying Spanish
Mohamed	Somali	N/A
Nasara	Somali	Swahili
Neda	Arabic	N/A
Said	Somali	Arabic (Read & Write)

Youth life, language and education in Iraq. As mentioned earlier, Neda and Alexis, the two sisters from Iraq, were the only participants who had never lived in a refugee camp and instead came to the United States directly from their home. Contrary to the images depicting the horror of war and destruction in Iraq, predictably presented in the U.S. media, the region where this family lived was, by their accounts, relatively safe and functioning. The girls had continued to attend school up until the point of their departure for the U.S. The life they described diverged from the images of devastation I had consumed and generalized to all of Iraq. Neda’s recent life history prior to leaving her country sounded to me very much like that of an active athletic high school student in the U.S. She excelled in volleyball and had travelled with her school team to compete in

Jordan. Neda and Alexis also shared the experience common to U.S. public school children of being sorted and tracked according to perceived academic ability. In their local education environment, school placement was based on examination scores. Alexis had been admitted to a school she said literally translated to “smart student school” in English. She had to earn an “A” on an entrance exam, (“not even a B” she recounted) in order to be admitted. Unlike students in the U.S. public school system, Alexis and Neda were accustomed to being assigned schools based on gender, as the schools in their region were either all-girl or all-boy schools.

The divides between Shia and Sunni Muslims in Iraq had not figured into Neda and Alexis’ personal lives while they were living in Iraq, though the civil war there is purported to be about difference between religious sects. Nevertheless, the war the girls said they had not witnessed prompted the uprooting of their lives and subsequent resettlement in the U.S.

Status unknown. No social stigma tied to being a refugee in the U.S. was ever mentioned by any of the youth in the study. To the contrary, many students spoke of a lack of recognition and understanding in the school context about the impact fleeing one’s home, or growing up in a refugee camp has had on their lives. They wanted peers, teachers and counselors to have a bit of knowledge and understanding of their prior experiences, and when so informed, to help them move forward. Nasara did not think the teachers even knew which students at her school were refugees. When I asked her what recommendations she would have for schools, Nasara said she thought the school principal should know who the refugee kids are! She and others shared their perceptions that few in their school settings grasped the extent of the challenges they faced as

refugees. Ever-eloquent Drogba, described schoolmates' lack of knowledge about refugees and then graciously excused them for their ignorance.

They [refugees] went through a lot of things – war, poverty, but people do not understand. They were not in this situation; they didn't experience it. But the kids is just kids; if they judge them [refugees] it's all right because they don't know about them. (Interview, 2014)

Looking forward. In the U.S. children are fed a steady diet of future orientation; they are routinely asked what they want to be when they grow up. I imagined that growing up in a refugee a camp with few messages of hope and little evidence of future prospects would dampen one's spirits. By the time I met the Somali youth in this study they were no longer living in refugee camps, so such conjecture is beyond the scope of this study. They were refugees resettled in the U.S. and were exceedingly happy to be so. They embraced this status for the time being, and spoke of big plans for the future - to be a cardiologist, a nurse, a lawyer, a teacher, a translator, and a professional soccer player.

Chapter Summary

In this first findings chapter, I shared how the ten participants described themselves when we first met. The inclusion of these introductions reflects my prime motive — to hear *from* youth, instead of *about* youth. Also, getting to know each other was crucial to establishing mutual trust. The second part of this chapter focused on the participants' connection to identity groups by way of birth and as a consequence of war. These positionings are inextricably tied to the happenstance of being physically located in certain space (in a war zone) and specific time (during conflict). Though they have

moved forward in time and out of war zones and refugee camps, the youth embody the lived experiences in memory, and inhabit the identity category of refugee in their current status. Encounters with harsh realities of war and displacement are not episodes typically found in the biographies of the majority of teens in U.S. high schools. These distinctions are noteworthy preludes to the next chapter of their lives and of this dissertation. In Chapter Five they engage with the newness of U.S. high schools, encounter a language policy that prompts their segregation, and develop language policies of their own.

CHAPTER 5

POLICY-RELATED FINDINGS

In this chapter I address the topic of language policy and discuss my findings, guided by the interpretation of language policy as a sociocultural process that takes various shapes and forms contingent upon the environment (McCarty, 2011). By way of introduction I begin with a recap my working definition of policy. Moving on to findings, I first discuss how the official education language policy and its implementation was understood or not understood by the youth and their families. Examples to this point illustrate the contradictory and often inverse positioning of parents and children that resulted due to the absence of translators with knowledge of the workings of the school system. I then describe how students navigated the ramifications and requirements of the *de jure* language policy (SEI). In the third section I analyze the intriguing and dynamic ways the youth created their own language policies and what those *de facto* policies looked like.

In public parlance policy is typically construed as a set of rules and regulations, directives that create the parameters governing behaviors in defined times and spaces. When written down policies become tangible, can be held in one's hand, and used as points of reference for instruction and enforcement of those who fall within its jurisdiction. This definition pertains to *de jure* language policies—those that are considered “official.” Social actors subsequently interact with and make choices (conscious or otherwise) about how to respond to official policies — whether to abide, enforce, flout, or transform them. According to McCarty, “the crux of the definition [of

language policy] is first, that policy is a regulatory mechanism, and second, that policies may be de jure and/or de facto, explicit and implicit” (personal communication, 2016). Recall McCarty’s (2011, p. 2) recommendation to think of the word “policy” as a verb, something that does, and is doing things, rather than a thing that simply “is.” To capture this sense of motion, I conceptualize “official” or “de jure” policy as a brief stop along a continuous timeline; a policy document thus is the articulation of the thinking and actions that led up to its articulation at a particular moment in time. The document itself then may be construed as an artifact of a historical moment, but the policy is not static because as soon as an official policy is disseminated it is interpreted, revised or amended in some way by living people within its purview. When policy is formalized, as when set forth in an official document (de jure policy), it is thus a catalyst for action, which may be conformist or divergent in nature.

What Language Policy?

In the course of data analysis I was reminded of Wiley’s description of a tacit policy as potentially a covert policy (2004, p. 321). Wiley pointed out how even an official policy could be underpinned by covert intentions. By way of example, Wiley described the situation in the 1880s of Native American schoolchildren required to attend boarding schools for the “official” purpose of teaching them the English language, the ways of the dominant culture (of the colonizers), and job skills. Yet the covert purpose behind this egregious policy, understood by members of the community, was to extinguish Native American languages and cultures.

In this dissertation study I discovered a rather confounding set of circumstances wherein the de jure or official language policy also functioned as covert policy. Covert in

this case does not refer to the intentions of the policy, nor its brokers (although covert intentions of cultural and linguistic erasure could certainly be argued in the case of Arizona). The policy that required multilingual students who did not pass the AZELLA to be placed in SEI was public knowledge and was explicit to school administrators and teachers who carried out the policy mandates. Yet for a number of the participants in this study the official language policy, along with its entailments were utterly unknown. The education language policy, and the relationship of SEI classrooms to the rest of the school, remained invisible to many of the students in the study and their parents for varying lengths of time. Excerpts from student interviews show how students often stumbled upon the discovery that the SEI classes were not “regular” school. The following excerpt from an interview with James who came to the U.S. at the age of 11 speaks directly to this circumstance.

KC: When you were in ELL, did you want to be in the ELL or did you want to be in the regular classes?

James: Actually, the first time in my 6th and 7th grade, I didn't know anything about the classes. I didn't know that it does matter about ELL. I thought the class also goes to be ...it was fun actually because it was easy work. The fun was to learn the English, so it was kind of easy and it was fun. Actually, I wanted it because I didn't know if there was a different class that I was supposed to take. I didn't know anything about it. I was just taking it. In my 8th grade, I realized that ELL was for the English language, and then I tried my best. My first and second quarter, the term, and my 8th grade, there

was a final test. I was supposed to get credits, but I didn't know anything about the final test. In my third quarter, they just told me that I have this credit. They said, "You have three credits," and then, I just got a little bit, and then I think about it, and they said "You need five to graduate."

This episode led James to an epiphany of sorts when he grasped significance placed on testing within this school system. James had said he "didn't know anything about the final test." In the continuation of the interview excerpt, James went on to say:

From that time, I learned that the final test is important and you got credit for it. In my 8th grade, actually, I graduated. I got the credits I was supposed to get and there was a gold rope. It was for the students that got a high GPA. I was one of them. I was so happy.

James' success clearly shows his capability, and the absolute necessity for school actors —administrators, counselors, teachers— to make the "hidden curriculum" (Giroux, 1978; Giroux & Purpel, 1983; Margolis, 2001) explicit.

Ahmed was another study participant who attended junior high school in Arizona prior to beginning high school. Ahmed was a sophomore when I met him. Like James, the SEI mandate was in place when Ahmed began school, but the experiences of the two were quite different. Both boys took the AZELLA test and did not pass it. However, because Ahmed was enrolled in a charter school, he was not automatically assigned to a four-hour per day SEI program. According to Ahmed he had no English Language Development classes during his first year of school in Arizona.

One might wonder how Ahmed could have attended school for an entire year without receiving four hours of English language instruction. Indeed, it is difficult for most adult speakers of English who are not new to this country to grasp the inconsistencies to be found in the language policy mandate. Examination of the educational language policy documentation reveals that the policy is demographically driven, not needs-based driven. According to the AZ DOE, “Schools with 20 or fewer ELLs within a three grade span (including kindergarten), may provide instruction through the development of Individual Language Learner Plans (ILLPs) created for each ELL” (AZ Department of Education, Office of English Language Acquisition Services, 2011). Charter schools and schools with small numbers of students designated “ELL” enrolled are supposed to provide students with ILLPs the same number of instructional hours (20) of English language, but they typically do not.

Returning to the primary research question this study was designed to investigate: *How do youth understand and navigate the school language policy, practices and discourses that position them?* I combed the data sources to learn about participants’ responses to the SEI policy governing the configuration of their schedule of classes and their lives at school. I had assumed I would learn a lot from students about how they responded to and navigated their circumstances. What I found, and is illustrated in both the foregoing interview excerpt with James, and the forthcoming interview excerpt with Ahmed is that *understanding* the policy aspect of my question was a more significant issue than I had expected it would be. In fact, I realized something fundamental, that is: a prerequisite to understanding *anything* is one must have knowledge of that thing’s existence. Before students could understand and navigate the policy, they needed to know

very existence. For James school was school. There was no difference between SEI and the other classes offered at school.

The following excerpt from an interview with Ahmed, when compared to James' circumstance, shows just how disparate newcomer students' experiences with language education can be in Arizona.

KC: No. OK. Have you taken the AZELLA Test?

Ahmed: Yeah, I took it.

KC: Yeah? Did you take it in 8th grade?

Ahmed: Yeah, I took in 8th grade and when I went to high school.

KC: OK. Which 8th grade did you go to? What school?

Ahmed: It's at Peach Tree Science Academy. It's in Chandler.

KC: OK. Science academy?

Ahmed: Yeah.

KC: Did they have ELL classes?

Ahmed: No.

KC: No, so how was that for you?

Oh, I had a friend that speaks Somali and he was good at English, so

Ahmed: he helped me.

OK. Then you went to high school.

KC: Yeah, then I went.

Ahmed: Did your friend also go to the same high school?

KC: No.

Ahmed: No. OK. When did you first learn English?

KC: I learned English when I was in high school. My friend is Somali,
Ahmed: [outside school] he helped me with the words I didn't understand
and he told me what it means, so I kind of learned them like that.

The differences in implementation of the education language policy demonstrated in the cases of James and Ahmed point to the fact that official policy is open to interpretation and thus malleable, not “static and text-driven” (McCarty, Romero-Little, Warhol & Zepeda, 2011; Stein, 2004). This study did not investigate the motivations behind particular schools’, nor individual teachers’ behaviors described by the student participants. I was interested in students’ experiences and how they made sense of those experiences. In the school situations James and Ahmed described, both were positioned in ways that put them at a disadvantage. In James’ case, he was placed in two contradictory positions. On the one hand, he was deemed to be a student who did not know sufficient English to participate in the general education curriculum, and on the other hand he was treated as a student who was supposed to understand the school’s graduation requirements. Ahmed’s position in his school was affixed to his Somali classmate. Ahmed described relying on his friend to translate for him as a means of

getting by. He was entirely dependent upon this friend to translate for him. Because of this positioning Ahmed reported he did not learn English until he moved the following year to a public high school where he had no other Somali students in his class.

That students and their parents, whom I will discuss in next section, were ill-informed about what SEI was, and how SEI classes fit within the sequence of courses necessary to graduate, proved to be a significant finding. Situated within the context of school, students were in a better position than their parents to figure out the puzzle of how the school system worked.

Translation Please

Davies and Harré state that a person’s sense of self depends on “the positions made available within one’s own and others’ discursive practices” (1990). Taking this view, I considered the limitations on the positions available not only to the youth in the study, but also to their parents, most of whom spoke little or no English. Since Arizona has been receiving Iraqi and Somali refugees who resettle primarily in Maricopa County (where this study was conducted) for quite some time (see Table 8), I assumed that school districts would have provisions for translation services for Iraqi and Somali parents in place. However I learned this was not the case.

Table 8

Refugee Arrivals to Arizona of Iraqi and Somali Nationality and FFY of Resettlement

	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	Total from 2005-2016
Iraq	24	27	179	1,152	1,522	1,316	589	808	1,201	1,144	741	33	8,736
Somalia	498	425	333	172	356	252	208	345	543	677	581	86	4,276

Source: U.S. State Department, <http://www.state.gov/j/prm/ra/>

In the following passage Drogba recounts going to school with his caseworker and his parents to register for school. (Refugees are assigned federally-funded caseworkers to assist with their resettlement during the first eight months in the U.S. and sometimes longer).

Drogba: When he took to the school for registration, we had to talk to the counselor, me and my parents together. They had to discuss about the ELL thing, ELL. Yeah, that's when I first met my counselor.

KC: Does your caseworker speak Somali?

Drogba: He was Indian guy, he used to speak English. But I could

KC: understand.

You could?

Drogba: Yeah.

KC: How about your parents though?

Drogba: They didn't. I had to translate.

KC: The school didn't provide a translator?

Drogba: No. They didn't.

No translator was provided either by the caseworker or the school despite the claim by the Arizona Department of Economic Security that their refugee resettlement services provide “Linguistically compatible and culturally responsive case management and employment services that support refugees with achieving economic self-sufficiency as quickly as possible after their arrival in the United States” (Retrieved

from: <https://des.az.gov/services/aging-and-adult/refugee-resettlement/case-management-and-employment-services> on March 6, 2016). Again this is a situation in which the student is simultaneously positioned in contradictory roles. Drogba was not old enough to make education decisions on his own behalf, so his parents had to be present at the school to consent when he initially registered for classes. Drogba was not considered to be proficient enough in English to participate in the full-range of general education classes, so he was required to enroll in SEI. Yet, Drogba was the one person all four adults in this scene relied upon to serve as the English-Somali translator. As a result of having no official translator provided, the positions of parent and child were reversed. Tales such as these were not isolated incidents. When Ahmed's mother, who does not speak English came to his school for a meeting with Ahmed's counselor, his older sister Nasara, who is also a student in the same school as Ahmed, was required to translate. "My sister, when we go to school, she translates." Drogba, Ahmed and Neda attended high schools in three different high school districts, and each one shared a story describing a lack of translation for their parents. In Neda's case, the example involved a letter sent from the school district to her parents written in English. I was visiting the family's apartment at the time, and Neda's mother brought up the topic of the letter.

Neda: Yeah. They said here, it's like, "If your daughter or son are failing, your students may need to take their classes online through our Valley Union Online summer school or in our traditional summer school. Each class will cost \$150."

The examples just recounted show the English language functioning not as a discourse of communication, but rather as a discourse of symbolic power (Bourdieu,

1991; Ricento, 2006). Occurrences such as these whereby children and youth use their skills in two languages and do the work of translator are common in immigrant families from non-English speaking countries.. Orellana (2009) refers to these processes as Natural Translation, family translation, language brokering and *para*-phrasing.

Language positions speakers in innumerable ways. In two of the aforementioned cases parents were required to present themselves in settings construed to be situations in which parents are meant to engage with representatives of the school (counselor or teachers) regarding matters concerning their children. But when no preparation or accommodation was made in advance to ensure these parents had an equal “place at the table,” that is to communicate that they were entitled to come away with a full understanding of the educational system and the options available for their children, these parents were positioned as somehow less than worthy simply because they were not users of the dominant language. These real-life cases neatly illustrate the following view expressed by Bourdieu:

Integration into a single “linguistic community,” which is a product of the political domination that is endlessly reproduced by institutions capable of imposing universal recognition of the dominant language, is the condition for the establishment of relations of linguistic domination (1991, p. 46).

Alternatively, one might argue a somewhat milder interpretation of the circumstances by which the parents of refugee students were left uninformed: that Arizona’s educational language policy was enacted without adequate, and responsible, planning. Irrespective of the causation - ideological or otherwise — the end results for families in exchanges such as these were the same. Parents were positioned as unequal

partners with school representatives, and youth had to fend for themselves, and at times for their siblings.

Throughout this study, I was impressed with the participants' problem solving and coping skills. I came away especially enamored by the ability of a number of students to articulate keen awareness and sensitivity to what had taken place in an interaction and its' repercussions. To close this section on the missing provision of full access for non-English speaking parents in the domain of public school and the educational lives of their children, I share James' spot-on summation.

Wait, like the parents are sending their kids to school to get knowledge, education, and then in their senior year, they're thinking that they will graduate. But then when it comes time to graduate, and then the teacher says, "They can't graduate because they was taking ELL that they missed this class, they have to take this class, this class." They don't know how the parents feel because they were thinking positively, not some stuff in four years or whatever they'll be in, in school. You know what I mean?

Even if actors in the school setting have the view that language is a problem (Ruiz, 1984), not a resource, nor a right for Somali and Iraqi families, such a presupposition does not excuse their failure to address and resolve the so-called language "problem" in meetings with parents.

Figuring It Out

I mentioned in the first chapter that due to the four-hour per day configuration of the SEI program, multilingual students who have not moved out of SEI fall behind their monolingual peers. The high school graduation requirement for the state of Arizona is 22

credits (See R7-2-302.02 Minimum Course of Study and Competency Requirements for Graduation from High School Beginning with the Graduation Class of 2013). Students allowed to take only two credit-gaining classes per year would accumulate eight credits in four years, or ten credits in five years. It is thus impossible for a student who has been in SEI for two years to earn enough credits to graduate in four years.

Even with the modification made in 2015 to the SEI mandate that currently allows students in SEI who test at the intermediate level, and receive a recommendation from the SEI teacher or SEI coordinator to reduce the mandatory ELL course load from four hours per day to two hours a day, a student in modified SEI can only earn four credits each year towards the general education requirements. So even with the new modification, students allowed to take four credit-bearing classes for four years would still earn only 16 credits and could not graduate in four years.

What was especially confounding to me was learning from Said and Drogba that once they moved out of SEI they were then required to take all four years of the general education or “mainstream” English in order to graduate. When I met them, they were both in their senior year and both were taking multiple “regular” English classes. Said told me:

Yeah, that's for English 7, for senior. Then, I'm taking English 5 because I didn't take English class in my junior year. I have to redo it, and my freshman year, since I was taking ESL, I didn't take English 1 and 2, so I have to do it summer school.

Neda, who attended school in another district, confirmed the same was true in her school as well. These students who had been labeled “*Limited English Proficient*” had

figured out the bizarre contradictions in the education language policy, and had done so *in English!* This is just one of the contradictions I learned from the participant informants regarding the ways the policy worked in practice.

The language of the SEI policy mandate, based on no sound second language acquisition research evidence, unrealistically states: “Children who are English learners shall be educated through sheltered English immersion during a temporary transition period not normally intended to exceed one year” (ARS 15-752). Another oddity about the language policy is that although students in full SEI are required to take SEI classes for four hours because they are considered “not ready” for a full-load of content courses, these very same students can take the additional courses they are deprived of during regular school hours on their own time, and in most districts they can avail themselves of this privilege at their own expense. Students who fully understand the system or who have an advocate who does, and also have the means (the cultural capital and the stamina) can take classes after regular school hours or in the summer. So in this context the word restricted does not necessarily mean prevented. The operative assumption is that students who have not yet passed the AZELLA test do not have sufficient proficiency in English to successfully master subject area course content. Students who *do* master this content after regular school hours and in the summer, disprove this premise. In such cases the mandated four hours of SEI does indeed appear to be more of a punitive, than a supportive measure.

These scenarios demonstrate the astute awareness of Said, Drogba and Neda regarding how they were being positioned by structural forces. They figured out the restrictions that were impeding them and then agentively crafted their own solutions. Said

in the passage that follows advocates for himself and contests quite adamantly the policy implementation he perceived as thwarting his progress.

Said: My junior year that was when I want to move from ESL. My counselor has told me since I did not pass the AIMS ... since I've never passed the AZELLA test, I have to take four ESL classes. Then I say, "I'm not going to do that." Then, we would discuss and then she say, "All right two classes." Then she will change the next semester for my junior year and then my second year ... the second semester of my junior year, I had one ESL class, my senior year, none. I have none.

Illustrative of the view that policies are not static and immutable, these student stories show policy as interactive, something with which they engaged and did not passively accept. The students were in a continuous process of figuring out, and then working around aspects of the language policy that impeded them. Policy as something to be negotiated is evident in these examples, especially in Said's narrative. He clearly asserted his position of non-compliance: "I'm not going to do that" thereby refuting the position the counselor attempted to put him in, and at the same time rejecting the asymmetrical power relationship that positioned the counselor as the person in control of how Said would spend his time at school (Ricento, 2006). In this narrative of bending and reshaping of policy, the policy's malleability was entirely context dependent. With different actors in another school this negotiation might not have been imaginable. So I surmise Said's counselor is someone willing to be flexible, and Said is a young man possessing the courage and ability to stand up for himself. Other students advocated for

themselves as well. It was evident that in one school district administrators were flexible in the implementation of the policy. The district I reference offers students online classes free of charge during the regular school year, not just in summer, so students can move more quickly towards graduating. These examples make visible that youth are makers and shapers of their worlds and not passive people in the making (McCarty et al., 2011; Swadener, 2008), as they construct their situated selves through ongoing interaction with their social contexts (Davies & Harré, 1990, 2001; Erikson, 1968).

In the following section I turn to another of my research questions: *How do participants describe their use of and feelings about their home languages? In what ways has attending high schools where English is the language of instruction influenced students' relationship to their home languages.* The narratives participants shared most closely related to this question had to do with the tacit language policies they developed and enacted.

Participants' Language Policies

Though study participants did not describe their communication practices as creating and abiding by language policies, the data showed them to be active producers of language policies. In the following pages I share cases to support this assertion. One illustrative example of intra-family language policy development can be seen within the family of three brothers in the study, Drogba, Said and James, and their accounts of language use with other family members and with each other. I specifically highlight their language policies with their youngest brother who was seven years old. Their unwritten language policies evolved in accordance with interlocutor-specific needs and objectives. As is often the norm within immigrant families, all three brothers reported

speaking their first language Somali with older family members such as their mother and uncle. “At home, if I speak English at home it wouldn't work, because my older sister, my uncle, my mom, they don't speak English, right? They would ignore me if I speak English, like, "What you're talking about?" (Said). However with each other and concerning their littlest brother who was too young to participate in the study, but whom I did meet and talk to, Said and James discussed how their de facto language policies varied. The first excerpt I examine is from my initial interview with James who described how he would get drawn-in to speaking English with his younger brother, despite his intention to speak in Somali. I, the researcher and interviewer am KC.

KC: With your family, with your brothers, what language do you speak?

James: Somali, sometimes English.

KC: Sometimes English?

James: Sometimes, the little one.

KC: Oh, yeah?

James: Yeah.

KC: How come?

James: Because he always talks in English, that's why.

KC:: Really?

James: Yeah. He's about to forget his own language.

KC: He's kind of forgetting?

James: It's kind of. I always talk to him in Somali, but he makes me do it [speak English], like I forgot it sometimes. He's going to ask a

question, I'm going to answer him, and then we're going to keep communicating, and then just going to like forget it.

In the last four lines that conclude this excerpt, James' final comment speaks to how tacit language policies can evolve with passive consent, rather than conscious intent. James described how he would begin a conversation with his little brother in the Somali language and not realize in the moment that they had switched to English. When his little brother posed a question to James in English, James would respond in English. James stated: "he makes me do it." Since James was fourteen years old and his little brother was seven, the little brother surely could not have enforced his policy of speaking English with James by coercion. Instead, what James described illustrates the goal-directed nature of communication, the primary purpose of talk being to make meaning with one another. This purpose superseded the choice of language with which to do so. So engaged in the act of communicating, James "forgets" that he has code-switched or has engaged in "translingual practice" to use Canagarajah's term (2013) and has begun speaking English rather than Somali. James called upon his communicative repertoire using languages as needed in the moment. For this multilingual pair of brothers the "code" became secondary to the message.

Said, who was 17 years of age at the time of this study, and Drogba, who was 18, are James' older brothers. In my first interview with Said, he too described their seven-year-old brother's use of English and Somali. He has noticed the younger child's use of English, but does speak of a desire to influence his communicative practices.

Said: The little one?

KC: Yeah. Does he speak English?

Said: He's very good at English. For the moment, he forgot maybe 25% of Somali. When he's trying to speak Somali, how do you say, he has, he tried to say something, like maybe two sentence he's going to pause for a second. He's trying to forget, he already forgot some of it.

Said was aware of his youngest brother's waning use of the Somali language and readily quantified his loss of the Somali language as "25%". But unlike James, Said did not convey concern about this perceived language attrition. Instead Said appeared to have a laissez faire policy regarding the youngest sibling's language practices. This relaxed acceptance was not the case, however, in Said's language policy with his older brother Drogba.

I have excerpted the following dialogue from the same interview with Said as the previous example. In this instance, when Said mentioned his "little brother" it was to indicate James with whom the reader is already familiar. James was a freshman in high school at the time and three years Said's junior; James was not the seven-year-old littlest brother. Drogba at 18 years of age was the eldest brother, just one year older than Said. Both Said and Drogba were in their senior year of high school at the time of study. They were taking some of the same courses at school, but were not in the same classes. I had asked Said, as I had asked all the participants, about his language practices at home.

- KC: What about with your brothers?
- Said: We speak in English, we're doing our homework, so we're like, "Listen, what is that word?"
- KC: You said "what's that word" in English?
- Said: Like, "Hey, what did you do for that class? What did you do for this class?" That's what we talked about.
- KC: You asked those questions in English? You don't ask them in Somali?
- Said: No, my little brother, we don't ask him a question because he's a freshman [James]. For the older one, we tried to speak English as much as possible.

Said and Drogba shared an explicit language policy between them. In this example Said reported he and his elder brother engaged in "speak[ing] English as much as possible" quite intentionally, unlike James and their youngest brother with whom James would find himself speaking English unintentionally, though rather naturally *translanguaging* (Creese & Blackledge, 2010; García & Li, 2014) shuttling back and forth between Somali and English. This excerpt showed Said and Drogba asserting their agency as actors deliberately choosing to engage in language practices intended to augment the construction of their student identities as proficient speakers of English (Blommaert & Varis, 2013; Erikson, 1968). Using English while doing homework together made sense to them because English was the language used in the school domain for academic and social discourse. Their agreed-upon language policy of using English "as much as possible" originated as a goal-directed, conscious strategy. The ease with

which they came to volley phrases such as “Hey, what did you do for this class?” back and forth while working side by side suggests that conducting school-related discourse in English had become somewhat natural for them. They had taken up their policy and subsumed it into their everyday practices.

Through Said’s candor and detailed responses, I understood him to be both mindful and pragmatic regarding his language choices. He described how he and his brothers also attempted to use English with friends:

Said: Outside of the home, when we are with our friends, we'd try to speak English.

KC: Even if your friends are Somali?

Said: If they know English, we'll try to speak in English, but a lot of them don't speak English, so there's no point in trying to speak English when they're around.

It was evident that Said understood the limits to his policy of using English “as much as possible.” It was also clear he believed to navigate the institutional systems within the United States, using English was a means of getting ahead, going to college, and making a better life than that which had been previously available to him while growing up in a refugee camp where he was destined to be a perpetual outsider since he was Somali and not Ethiopian.

Each of the ten students in this study was motivated and positive about learning English. Bonny Norton (1997) adopted the term and concept of language learner “investment” as an alternative to earlier constructs that distinguished integrative from instrumental motivation in learner attitudes towards learning new languages. To consider

how a person is “invested” in learning an additional language(s) requires one to examine the ways in which “the learner’s relationship to the target language is socially and historically constructed... An investment in the target language is also an investment in a learner's own social identity, which changes across time and space” (Norton, 1997, p. 411).

Learner investment, language policy as a sociocultural process, and youth agency were apparent in the patterns of language use amongst the brothers James (14), Said (17), and Drogba (18). Said and Drogba used English for specific purposes: to discuss school-related topics with each other, and to improve their English fluency through practice in multiple settings outside the home. But James who was three years younger than Said and four years younger than Drogba did not figure into his older brothers’ objectives. I had asked James:

KC: Do you ever speak English with your other brothers?

James: Yeah. Actually, I speak to them sometimes, but not that much.

KC: **No?**

James: They speak in Somali with me. They don't speak English.

Actually, they do, but they don't communicate with me, so we speak Somali together except the little one.

Said and Drogba spoke English with each other, but spoke Somali with James. Said reported: “No, my little brother [James], we don't ask him a question because he's a freshman.” According to Said, as far as he and Drogba were concerned, James did not have anything to offer them *in English* since he was three grades behind them. In their kinship relations, Somali was the preferred language of communication, the language the

entire family shared. Unless there was a discernable, instrumental purpose for using English rather than Somali, such as studying subject-area content for school, or increasing English fluency, Somali was the natural language for family communication because all members spoke it.

The examples cited thus far have illustrated the three brothers' sophisticated understandings about employing languages in particular contexts with certain speakers, for distinct purposes. These three were keenly aware of the situated nature of language and had become quite flexible and versatile in their "translanguaging" across different contexts and needs (Canagarajah, 2011; Hornberger & Link, 2012; Orellana, 2016). Creese and Blackledge (2015) make the point: whether researchers use the terms translingual practice, translanguaging, code-meshing (Canagarajah, 2011), the conceptual move inherent in all these terms is that languages are not to be construed as separate bounded systems, but fluid complimentary resources.

In the following example, Alexis describes moving between English and Arabic with no conscious intention to do so when talking with her sister Neda at home. A tacit language policy appeared to be in place. Alexis was unable to articulate any reason for the shift between languages in her talk with her sister. "It just happens" she repeats three times in this excerpt, as if translanguaging was innate.

KC: With your sister, you speak what language?

Alexis: Arabic. Sometimes English.

KC: Do you choose to speak English for practice, is that why?

Alexis: No, it just happens. I don't know how, it just happens.

KC: So, you mean, you could be talking in Arabic, and then you'll switch to English?

Alexis: Yeah.

KC: You don't know why?

Alexis: No, I don't know. It just happens.

I proffered an answer for Alexis in the foregoing exchange instead of using the typically preferred interviewing strategy of simply waiting for her to generate her own response. In this segment of our interview I had hoped to prompt her to explicate what transpired in these language switching events, but her replies indicated there was no language planning or conscious decision-making involved on her part. An implicit, de facto language policy between sisters might have been described as something like: “it’s okay to use whichever language you want.” Such a policy would essentially ratify translanguaging as the need and purpose arose.

When I interviewed Alexis’ sister Neda later that very same day I did not pursue the line of questioning about the sisters’ use of English with each other to the same degree. When asked about language use in the home Neda did of course mention her sister, but moved directly to explain her practices with her parents, her father in particular. In the excerpt from my interview with Neda, the distinction between natural language use for authentic communication, and language use for language acquisition is quite clear.

Neda: Here, with my sister, I speak English but with my parents sometimes, like I told them: "Do you know what this means?" I

told them some words, but most of the times, I speak in Arabic with them because they do not speak English as me and my sister.

KC: Right.

Neda: Yeah.

KC: Why do you do that? Are you doing that to help them learn?

Neda: Yes. Sometimes my father, he likes to learn English more.

Sometimes he just ask me to come and sit with him: "Tell me some word. How American English accents? How they say it?"

Yeah. Sometimes, I am just doing that.

All the study participants were, to use Norton's (1997) terminology, *invested* in learning English, as it was both a requisite and a means to completing their educations. I suspect that their positive attitudes regarding learning English also had something to do with the fact that English was the dominant language in the country that had offered them resettlement, beyond the asylum of living in a refugee camp.

Chapter Summary

The findings discussed in this chapter have been those specific to encounters with language policy. I shared my surprise upon discovering that absent for most participants was the knowledge that a school language policy even existed, and the corollary that SEI classes were not part of the general curriculum. Without this basic knowledge, participants obviously could not begin to understand and navigate the policy, practices and discourses that positioned them. Student narratives described the discovery of the academic consequences associated with their placement in SEI. This chapter also

addressed the linguistic environment that excluded students' parents and prevented them from participating in their children's schooling. The ways the participants developed their own dynamic language policies and practices filled the final pages of this chapter.

I have shared two findings chapters to this point. They have progressed from 1) youth identities to 2) encounters with language policy. The next chapter will look through the lens of social positioning at facets of a complex web of intersecting processes, influences, and outcomes as they relate to participants' self-construction, situated identities, and voice. In the second part of Chapter Six, I will discuss another education policy that impacted the lives of the participants.

CHAPTER 6

FINDINGS ON THE ROAD TO BELONGING

Before moving ahead to map the terrain to come in this findings chapter, I briefly retrace my steps over the ground I have covered so far. Chapter Four presented personal information participants shared through self-description and discussed the significance afforded youth's national identities and identities as refugees. The chapter conveyed who the participants are as individuals, or more accurately, as the selves they presented to me whilst using English. Chapter Five looked specifically at youth and family encounters with official language policy and ensuing practices, as well as the de facto language policies youth developed and employed according to situational needs. Essentially what I have presented in the two preceding findings chapters has aimed to establish a deeper knowledge of who this study is about, and the ways in which the focal youth creatively responded to language policies and practices.

In this chapter I examine a web of intersecting processes and conditions that contributed, for better or worse, to youth's sense of belonging. Fitting-in is a salient theme for high school students in general, and a poignant one for teenage refugees in particular. Ultimately youth's social well-being and contentment in the school environment was contingent on "belonging." The focus of this chapter is thus on the features in the school landscape that helped or hindered youth achieve the feeling of having a rightful, and a comfortable place in school. The schools they attended and all that unfolded within and related to these school contexts were situated in the broader setting of Arizona's restrictive educational language policy and dominant English-only ideologies. As elsewhere, I use illustrative small stories and excerpts garnered from

recorded student talk to present their perspectives and interpretations (Bal, 2009; Georgakopoulou, 2006; Georgakopoulou & Bamberg, 2008). Seidman, 2013).

Looking through the analytic lens of social positioning I observed the interplay and interdependence of context, situated identities, and voice on participants' self-construction and on the ways they were discursively constructed by others. I will discuss and offer examples of how these socially constructed and mutually constitutive themes played out, and include other relevant topics such as the roles of language, friends, and the SEI classroom. Figure 4 is my attempt to visually display the themes of Part One of this chapter. While wary about presenting a figure that ascribes a stasis I do not intend, I have aimed to represent the connections and overlap of these related processes and topics pictorially. This figure is meant to convey that context was the constitutive element affecting all other aspects of this study which was prompted by a policy. The participants construction of, and claims to, language, identity and voice, in general education or SEI classes, were influenced by context and augmented when they had the feeling of belonging. As with any visual representation, one could find multiple ways of depicting the interrelated themes that proved potent for the participants. In the spirit of Bourdieu's *Practical Reason* (1998), context was the playing field on which *policy* set the game in motion; *belonging*, was both a play-maker and the end goal. Whether situated in the realm of *SEI* or *Gen-Ed*, *language*, *identity* and *voice* were crucial elements influencing the outcome of every match. With this metaphor of life as a game of skills, on particular fields of play, along with the aforementioned caveats, I offer figure 4 with the intention it be understood as a concept map or graphic organizer, best envisioned with the circles as

imaginary bouncing balls in motion and in contact, not as an immutable hierarchy of the findings presented in this chapter.

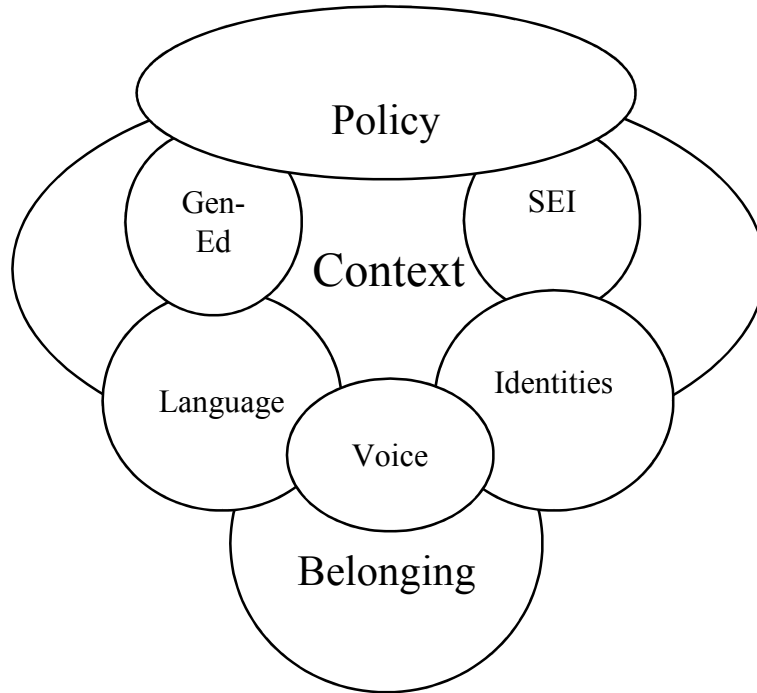


Figure 4. Contributing themes in the social positioning of study participants in school-from policy to belonging.

Finally, in Part Two I will discuss a policy finding that was unanticipated. This education policy is not specific to language, so might at first glance appear digressive. As stated from the beginning of this dissertation, my intention was to learn from a youth perspective what was significant to them and to provide a platform for sharing their concerns. This finding was of enormous significance in the lives of a number of

participants and concerns disrupted education, a common plight of countless refugee children and youth. Part Two speaks to Arizona's chronological age-based school admission policy and related grade placement practices. This section responds to the last of my research questions: *What additional issues do students raise? What are their concerns?*

I discerned the findings I convey, these “things that make a difference within a system” (Erickson, 1986) as a result of thorough analysis of all the information I had gathered over the course of study. I listened repeatedly to audio recordings of interviews, annotated and coded the written transcripts, reviewed my field notes and analytic memos, all the while relating this information back to my research questions and the information I had gathered from outside sources (such as artefacts including state education policy statements, reports and informational postings on the Arizona Department of Education web site; legislative documents such as House Bills and amendments pertaining to the population in my study on the Arizona State Department web site, and state and federal data, including descriptive data and reports on education, demographics and refugees from the U.S. Department of State.)

PART 1: A PLACE IN SCHOOL

Belonging or Not

The benefits of belonging were readily discernable in youth talk about school life. Conversely, not belonging and being “othered” was a powerful force as well, but as will be shown in forthcoming student stories, not a strong enough force to keep students down in the face of their resilience and prior experience. Scholars such as Eckert (1989), Bucholtz (2011), and Paris (2011) have highlighted the tremendous power and allure that

belonging and identification exude in the life worlds of teenagers in school settings. Borrero and colleagues (2012) describe schools as sites that function as “a powerful socializing agent” particularly in regards to “othering.” So what is meant by belonging and othering?

Davies and Harré (2001) asserted that an individual must have self-knowledge prior to determining if s/he wants to belong to, or already does belong to a group. The process of getting to know oneself, according to Davies and Harré, (2001, p. 263) involves a) learning about the existence of socially relevant categories; b) participating in discursive practices that instantiate and elaborate such categories; and c) positioning oneself in the categories and storylines one imagines herself to belong. This process is developmental in the sense that one stage precedes the next.

Kumashiro’s (2000) conception of *othering* refers to groups of people “that have been traditionally marginalized in society, i.e., that are *other than* the norm” (p. 26). By the act of “othering,” individuals or groups communicate to other individuals or groups the message: “you do not belong here because you are something different, other than we are.”

Identity Claims

Some study participants were keenly aware of the subtle, or at times blunt and derisive ways other students attempted to position them in school as not belonging. A small story shared by Drogba in a one-on-one interview and another told by James during a focus group illustrate the kind of interaction intended to signal a “you don’t belong here” message. Both Drogba’s and James’ encounters show how a linguistic exchange is an exchange of symbolic power “in which the power relations between speakers or their

respective groups are actualized” (Bourdieu, 1980, p. 37). These stories represent powerful responses to two of my original research questions: *How does being identified as an “English Language Learner” interact with participants’ construction of academic and social identities?* and *What observations and insights about group affiliation/ belonging have youth made?*

Are you in this class? The exchange Drogba describes in the following passage occurred with a General-Education (hereafter referred to as Gen-Ed) student enrolled in the same “mainstream” math class as Drogba. Harré (2010) explained how prior beliefs regarding the affordances of particular positions influence the meanings people make regarding actions carried out by those in such positions. The actions of the Gen-Ed student in this exchange suggest he held a set of beliefs about “ELL” students. The moves the speaker makes appear intended to signal to Drogba that the speaker is in the superior position of power. In his retelling Drogba conveys an astute awareness about his interlocutor’s objective.

Once upon a time, there was this guy. He was in my Math class, and he was like, "Do you study? Are you in this class?" I said, "Yes." He went like, "Oh, very good," sarcastically...he kind of put me down. I could tell by looking at his face. Then, I said, "Yeah," and then he just, "Oh, good." He just go like, "Very good," and then I just left because I knew what he meant though. He was being sarcastic.

Refuting his classmate’s positioning of him as not belonging in the same math class because he also takes ESL classes, Drogba quite literally repositioned himself by walking away. In his storytelling Drogba demonstrated an attuned interactional

perceptiveness (as well as an understanding of the canonical sequential structure demanded in proscribed high school English courses, as he actually began his telling with “Once upon a time...”). When narrating his story, Drogba conveyed his immediate recognition of the Gen-Ed student’s intentional use of irony to imply the opposite of what his words meant literally. The Gen-Ed student’s delivery, combined with his facial expression, insinuated to Drogba that *very good* was not meant to be interpreted as very good at all. Drogba’s recounting indicated the Gen-Ed student had assumed a position of superiority, and claimed an identity of judge with the right to determine that Drogba’s ELL status should preclude him from membership in this math class.

In all fairness, the differentness of “special populations” in school settings is not an attitude held exclusively by this one Gen-Ed student who was unkind; it is a view that has been manufactured and reproduced institutionally. Gen-Ed students witnessed the segregation of multilingual students from the rest of the student population for most of the school day — four of six hours of classes a daily. As a direct result of Arizona’s educational language policy, this structural difference in the education of the students in the school operationalized “othering” premised on the assumption that all multilingual students have a deficit that requires remediation. The actions of the specific Gen-Ed student in this interchange align with such an assessment and communicate his assumed position of superiority over Drogba. The student had inherited cultural capital as a first-language speaker of the dominant language, English. However, his behavior suggests he had overgeneralized the advantage of possessing this singular linguistic asset to extend to the capacity to master mathematics as well.

As was demonstrated here, every action, including speech acts, according to Bourdieu (1980), entails a series of causes. In other words, linguistic exchanges are present-time manifestations or exhibitions involving numerous precursors to the speech event itself. These influences include interlocutors' *habitus* (the structures and conditions in one's life that have formed the basis of perception and judgement; Bourdieu, 1990) in addition to the socially constructed nature of the linguistic environment in which the exchange occurs. People bring with them their prior experiences, their cultural schemas (Quinn, 2005) their "histories in person" (Holland & Lave, 2001) to new contexts. Davies & Harré's (1990; 2001) concur that the sequence of events, the sum of prior experiences that presage a conversational exchange, plays a significant role.

The next story, which is shared by James, details a multi-step chain of "othering" which culminated with the same implication as Drogba's story. In James' story the logic went something like this: "you are one of *them*, not one of us; therefore, you do not belong." This message was conveyed via an erroneous attribution of belonging to a group to which neither James nor Drogba belonged—in this instance a pariah group.

There's the Africano guy; he has Ebola. To be clear, in-group – out-group positioning is not always a simple binary. The next example shows multiple layers of positioning by association. In this episode James, Drogba's younger brother, related how African students were erroneously attributed membership in a group to which they did not belong. Schoolmates ascribed to the Somali participants a unitary group membership with all people from the African continent. In the following small story James discussed misattribution that occurred at his high school during the Ebola crisis in West Africa. Whether meant in jest or not, the taunt James related construed one part of West Africa to

represent the whole African continent. He shared this excerpt in the context of a focus group session.

You know Ebola is on the West Africa right? They think if you're African like - like whatever they believe, they believe that if you're African you have Ebola. Like I would say that's - I'm opposed to that strongly. I heard some students like when you're walking by them they're going to say like, mostly the Mexican people.

At this point James' brother Drogba interjected:

Mexican students, they always joke about it: "you have Ebola"; they make it out as a joke.

James then took back the floor and continued:

I would say, like if you're walking by them, they're going to say "there's the Africano guy, he has Ebola." I would say: "Ebola's not something to play with. It's a serious disease that's contagious and you could get infected by it."



Figure 5. Map of area of Africa referenced.

James did not accept the specious positioning of all African youth in the school as possible disease carriers. The Somali participants proudly positioned themselves as African, and were positioned by the other students as Africans as well; this group affiliation was accepted as true. However, another layer of positioning based on faulty logic was alluded to in the excerpted narrative. The talk of the students who James and Drogba identified as Mexicans implied that all Africans from anywhere on the vast African continent (11.6 million square miles) were as likely to carry Ebola as people living in the West African states of Liberia, Sierra Leon, or Guinea – the three countries hardest hit by the outbreak. (See figure 5). The source of the misappropriated metonymy – *Ebola for African* – might have been a lapse of logic, lack of geographic knowledge, or malicious teasing. Nevertheless, the act of positioning another as a potential health threat, even if done so in jest, is a powerful assertion of difference. Disease has throughout history been a powerful positioning force used to justify the separation and stigmatization of members from a society - from leprosy in ancient times to AIDS beginning in the 1980s and now Ebola (Barrett, 2008, p. 69). James stated in his telling: “I’m opposed to that strongly,” thus asserting his power to reject the positions assigned to him by others. He also presented a future hypothetical version of how he would respond: “I would say: Ebola’s not something to play with.”

Both stories, Drogba’s regarding the student in his math class and James’s about Africans and Ebola, exemplify the definition of *positioning* put forth by Wortham (2004) who described positioning as “an event of identification, in which a recognizable category of identity gets explicitly or implicitly applied to an individual” (p. 166).

Drogba and James played agentive roles in the foregoing two examples, as they both rejected being categorized according to false criteria. The stories recounted by Drogba and James depict identity work: the back and forth of identities being ascribed and in these cases, refuted. Set within their high school, the narratives show the interplay of positioning, identity, and belonging. In their seminal paper on positioning theory and the discursive production of selves, Davies and Harré (1990; 2001) argued that words alone do not have meaning, Meaning is made though the interaction of interlocutors who are positioned in particular ways and who negotiate or co-construct meanings through the course of their encounter (Davies & Harré, 1990; 2001; Oliver, 1998). The examples I have just shared show each brother asserting individual agency to preserve his identity.

Hijab and health. In a focus group session another example of high school students pathologizing difference was shared by Drogba.

Drogba Can I add one more thing?

KC: Yes, of course.

Drogba One more thing that I'd like them to know is you know our Somali girls, they wear this scarf and most of the students they always say, like they ask me, they question me why are they wearing this.

James: Hijab.

Drogba The hijab; I think ... This what they say; "They don't got hair that's why they're hiding their thing." I wanted them to know that that is not true.

KC: Wow.

Drogba: Yeah there's like multiple students that ask me that question.

This conversation continued for a bit with James chiming in about being asked the same questions regarding whether the female Somali students had hair or not. There were two females in the group, so I asked them.

KC: It's interesting that students would ask you because you're a male; do students ever ask you?

Nasara: About the hijab? Whether the hijab ... Well they ask me that question but the only answer I can give them is that it's part of our religion and our female must cover our hair. I guess that's the answer I could give them, yeah.

KC: Does anyone ever ask you if you have hair?

Nasara: No.

This talk about Somali women wearing hijab is fraught with issues of social positioning, group belonging, identity construction and maintenance. The question whether or not women have hair piqued Drogba to clarify and thereby challenge the positioning of women in his ethnic and religious group, a positioning that implied they are not normal or they are ill. The social categorizing that occurs when Drogba is asked this question by "multiple students" does not fit with the self-representation, Drogba wants to establish for himself and his Somali community. Secondly, how the question is framed, by whom and to whom, is significant. A question phrased as "Why do Somali girls (young women) wear scarves on their head?" is more likely to be interpreted as an authentic query; whereas, "Do Somali girls wear scarves on their heads to hide that they

don't have hair?" is not. In grammatical terms the first is a Wh-question, one that requests information; the second is a Yes/No- question, one that asks for confirmation or denial of an already established premise. Drogba interpreted the questions from his schoolmates as genuine. Neither Drogba, nor James gave any indication they thought the questioning about hair was being used as a means of teasing or "being funny" as was Drogba's assessment in the case of the Ebola narrative. They were of the opinion that the question was motivated by sincere ignorance rather than malice. Nasara laughed when she reported that no one ever asked her if she had any hair. The "true" objective of the Gen-Ed students' questioning is unknowable. The perspectives and responses of the study participants provides a snapshot of negotiating difference. I observed Drogba and James staunchly reject positioning that impinged on their individual and group identity claims. In a subsequent one-on-one interview with Drogba he returned to the hijab topic when I asked him what he thought would be helpful for Gen-Ed students to know about the students in SEI.

Drogba Yeah, I would say since the - we, the ELL students, do not understand them, they should respect them. I already mentioned that scarf thing.

KC: Oh, yeah. The head scarf.

Drogba: Most of the students they don't know why they're wearing them. They say, "They ain't got no hair," or something like that. Or, "Does she have cancer?" Or something like that. I would say, get to know them. Do not judge the book by its cover.

In the first scenario presented in this chapter Drogba rejected his positioning by a classmate and asserted his agency by physically removing himself. Yet the obvious (and thus observable) way of asserting one's agency is through using one's voice, which is the topic I turn to in the following section.

Voice

I have stated repeatedly my goal to amplify the voices of youth in this study, so I should begin by explaining how I use the term and how accessing and using one's voice was aided or hindered contingent on the context for the study participants. As there are multifarious interpretations and uses of the term *voice* in the scholarly literature, I begin this section by establishing my position regarding what it means to have a voice, after which I present illustrative examples from the data.

Bakhtin's (1981) notion of *voicing* posits that a person's speech is always an outcome of prior experiences with the speech of others. In the sense that *talk* in present time is dependent on past encounters, Bakhtin's construct of *voicing* aligns with concepts such as cultural models (Holland & Quinn, 1987), schemas (Ausubel, 1960; D'Andrade, 1991) and habitus (Bourdieu, 1991), in its emphasis on the influence of the past on the present. However, Bakhtin's investigation of language was grounded in literary text analysis and stylistics (Juffermans & Van der Aa, 2013), while my queries interrogate what voice means in interaction in vivo. Thus, in my analysis I follow a sociolinguistic interpretation of voice. Dell Hymes (1996) described his understanding of *voice* in relation to two kinds of freedom; first, to have a voice is to be free to do things

linguistically, and secondly, to have a voice is to be free to derive satisfaction in the use of language. These freedoms are complicated nevertheless by the linguistic milieu in which one finds oneself. The affordances of having a voice, as described by Hymes, are clearly attenuated by local contexts influencing the behaviors of actors in the space. I turn now to findings in the data that speak to this topic of voice, and its significance for students in the study.

Voice as a New Immigrant

A language learner cannot enjoy the gratification of self-expression described by Hymes (1996) in the new language until s/he cracks the linguistic code. However, when language is construed *only* as linguistic code, divorced from its social usage and purposes (Bourdieu, 2000), accessing one's voice is unnecessarily impeded. Fortunately, one's voice and the ability to have that voice be heard does not remain constant over time because context is not static (Juffermans & Van der Aa, 2013). The following examples speak to participants' perceptions and choices about having and using their voices, and the circumstances that exerted influence on their communication.

Silent Voices

Aware that moving to a new country presents challenges even for fluent speakers of the languages used in the new environment, I was not surprised when students spoke of the anxiety they felt during their first school days in the U.S. Mohamed was one among many participants who shared her trepidation with me: "When I go at school, I'm scared because I don't know the language, English." James, who exuded confidence using English, and was no longer in SEI by the time I met him, conveyed the emotion he felt

when he first started school in Phoenix: “Of course I was nervous, but I was ... I didn't know that much English. I just know ‘how are you’, ‘what's your name,’ little enough to communicate, I think.” Notice how James affirmed the legitimacy of his feelings with the insertion of the discourse marker *of course*, implying such sentiment should be understood given the circumstances. But the degree to which students felt comfortable using English was not influenced exclusively by a stable set of external factors, nor exclusively by their knowledge of the grammar and lexicon of English. Threats to one's presentation of self (Goffman, 1959) also have effects on the silencing of one's voice, as the following case illustrates.

“I was not happy to talk to the people who know English better than I do.”

Aisha (who spoke four languages) did not want to present herself to others in a diminished capacity, so self-censorship induced her silence initially. During our first interview she told me: “The first thing, when I came I was not, I was not happy to talk to the people who know English better than I do.” For Aisha, the English language presented a barrier that constrained her socially and emotionally. At the same time, her self-imposed silence also revealed the agentive role she took in managing how she was perceived by others. She elaborated candidly about her difficulties during her first few months in the U.S. “When I came to school, to class, I could not talk; I could not make friends, and then I was almost to getting problems.” Aisha's decision to remain silent rather than speak with people “who know better English than I do” allowed her to feel that by managing her presentation of self (Goffman, 1959) she had some control over the impression others had of her. But continuing with this strategy proved untenable. Not using her voice ultimately made her feel isolated and unhappy, so after three months'

time, she chose to summon the freedoms Hymes (1996) described as essential in order to have voice: “freedom to have one’s voice heard, and freedom to develop a voice worth hearing” (1996, p. 46). Both were necessary. Obviously no one could hear her voice while she remained silent, nor could she develop her voice without using it. She used Somali with her family and friends, so had access to her voice in contexts outside the realm of school. But in school, Aisha first needed to feel comfortable with the people in the setting in order to develop a voice *in English* that adequately represented the “who” she identified herself to be (Gee, 2011).

Nasara described emotions somewhat similar to Aisha’s. While Aisha spoke of consciously developing her own language policy (to remain silent), Nasara, like Mohamed, spoke of her own silence as a by-product of fear of being laughed at, and fear of the unknown. Though Nasara did not speak of intentionally safeguarding the identity she wished to project, her fear compelled her to stay silent in order to avoid the risk of being laughed at. She shared the following: “If you try to speak with them, you can’t, because if you say a word, maybe they’re going to laugh at you and something will happen. Actually, the first year I was alone. I didn’t speak with any friends because I was really shy and really scared to speak.”

To be sure, Mohamed, James, Aisha and Nasara expressed that knowing English was necessary for them to interact at school with confidence. However, it is important to bear in mind the distinction Ruiz (1991) made between having language and having voice. Language can be conceived as abstract, such as when language is reduced to structure, form and vocabulary, whereas voice, according to Ruiz is “particular and concrete” (p. 220). “To have a voice implies not just that people can say things, but that

they are heard (that is that their words have status, influence)” (p. 220). Thus to have a voice, one must have language, but having language does not ensure one will have voice.

Context

The ability of the students, whose words I have just shared, to use their voices was indeed tied to a sense of mastery with the language. But their interpretations of the situated context in which they found themselves wielded an equal, if not more powerful influence. Language divorced from context is knowable merely as a structural code, whereas language *in use* is embedded in context (and thus context exerts tremendous influence on one’s capacity to have a voice, and to have that voice be heard). Eight of the ten study participants had previously either studied or used English to varying degrees prior to coming to the U.S., so they had had some contact with the English language. But everything else in the new environment was utterly unfamiliar. In order to have a voice in the school context, these youth first needed the *strange* to become *familiar* (Spindler & Spindler, 2000).

Getting By with a Little Help from Their Friends

The antidote to students’ disquiet as newcomers in school was friendship. Having friends eased participants’ adjustment to the school environment and facilitated the acquisition of English as a medium of communication. Each of the ten participants in this study spoke of the positive influence friends had on their lives. For practicality’s sake I will cite only a few examples from participants’ talk that addressed how making friends ameliorated their feelings of discomfort: “Our first day, it was hard. Then, I meet a lot of friends there. It’s OK now. I have a lot of friends” (Alexis). To have friends is to be positioned inside, instead of outside. To have even one friend changes one’s position

from someone who stands alone to someone who is together with another. Friends were also important helpers and resources for refugee students: “I had a friend that speaks Somali and he was good at English, so he helped me” (Ahmed). Friends were often language brokers, helping newcomers with English, serving as interpreters, and instructing on school norms and protocols. In such instances friends provided the social capital necessary to gain entrée into the new school system and linguistic environment (Bourdieu, 1977; Delgado, Etekal, Simpkins, & Schaefer, 2015). Some students valued affiliating with friends with whom they shared a personal history, such as coming from Africa: “There's three Somali people and we have a lot of African people, too, so at lunch, I sit with [them]. We have a lot of friends” (Said). In fact, maintaining friendships with other youth with the same ethnic background has a positive influence on adolescent identity formation and social well-being. Within-group peers can be “...important role models for what it means to be an ethnic group member”(Munniksmäa, Verkuytenb, Flachea, Starkb, & Veenstra, 2015, p. 90). But the students in this study did not restrict themselves to making friends only with those with whom they had a shared background. Many described making friends with people from around the world. “Actually, I’m friends with a lot of Mexican girls” (Nasara). Ilias who listed the numerous countries from which her school friends came reported: “They're from like ... do you know Burmese, Korean? Korean, like Japan. Yeah. Like some people from China. Yeah. And some people from ... do you know Mexico, Espana? Yeah, Mexico and Guatemala?” (Ilias). These international friendships were in-part the result of participants being in SEI classes together with other immigrant students, in some cases for all four hours of SEI instruction. Friendships provide the feeling of belonging, and belonging, in turn, mediates

youth's adaptation to the cultural norms of school, according to Delgado and colleagues (2015). Studies investigating the relationship of school friendships, social networks academic performance have increased in recent years, many with an outcomes-oriented emphasis on academic performance. In one such study, Crosnoe, Cavanagh, & Elder (2003) analyzed data from 9,223 adolescents in the National Longitudinal Study of Adolescent Health, and found that students who had friends who liked school or had friends who did well in school, fared better than students who had friends who did not feel connected to school. For the refugee youth in this study, having school friends was the main ingredient to feeling they belonged. To have a friend is to not be isolated. In the next section I concentrate on the context that prompted this study—the segregated SEI classroom, which is where most of the youth's friendships began.

A Room of One's Own

Participants described many affective benefits of being in SEI, such as group affiliation, friends, fun. Some students expressed liking SEI classes because they were easy. By far the main merit of SEI was that it provided a safe haven. The students' discourse conveyed the importance of feeling good, and the value of laughter, comradery, and belonging in their SEI classes. I asked everyone in the study what they liked most about their high school. Said's reply encapsulated the sentiments shared by many participants about their SEI classes, so I include it here.

KC: What do you like most about your high school?

Said I would say it's ESL classes, because it's much fun than regular classes.

KC: Yeah?

Said: Yes, it is much, much fun. If I could graduate taking ESL classes, I would take all ESL classes.

KC: Really?

Said: Yes.

KC: Tell me what makes them fun.

Said: The ESL classes?

KC: Yeah.

Said: Their first language is not English, so sometimes they make a mistake you laugh. You make a mistake they laugh at you. We're making fun of each other, sometimes we're laughing together. It's fun, but in other classes, it's serious. They're all serious, they're not serious, but you don't understand them. For the most part, I don't understand them, they don't understand me, and then it's just—it doesn't feel good.

Said went on talking about how in "...ESL classes it's all friends, everybody is trying to learn." What he described is a sense of shared experience, mutual support and common goals – much like a community of practice (Lave & Wenger, 1991; Wenger, 1998). In the ESL classes Said felt a sense of belonging, but in the regular classes he felt he did not fit in. Clearly for Said the preferable position was to be inside, not on the outside looking in. At the time of our interviews Said was already out of SEI classes, and

taking general education classes, yet he still considered his time in ESL to be the best thing about his school.

Alexis, who was in her second year of SEI when we met told me she did not want to leave SEI because “They make it easier for me; like the teachers are nice. If I go outside the ELL, it will be hard.” She went as far as saying she did not want to pass the AZELLA exam, the test required to exit the SEI program. “I don't want to pass, so I can stay but I have to pass it. If I don't pass it, I don't go, to go fast. I won't graduate the year I want. That's what my teacher told me.” Alexis’ was positioned in the liminal state of enjoying the sanctuary of support afforded her in SEI, while recognizing that remaining in SEI would hinder her academic progress.

Ilias and Mohammed knew less English than the other participants in the study, so because I do not speak Somali I was limited in my ability to fully access stories of their lived experiences. Both sisters nevertheless, sang the praises of their English teachers. Ilias identified her English teacher as the “thing” that was most helpful to her at school. Mohammed in a separate interview shared the following: “At school, I love my teacher. She's name Mrs. C. She really, really, teach good. She's doing English. She's my teacher in English through 1st, 2nd, 3rd English. She's my teacher.”

Drawbacks

The resounding drawback to being classified as an “English Language Learner” was that spending four hours of every day in SEI thwarted students’ progress forward towards graduation. The recognition of this fact, articulated by Alexis in the foregoing excerpt, was reiterated by Drogba, Said, Neda and James. The participants did not express a desire to socialize with Gen-Ed peers as a reason to leave SEI. Because the SEI

program consumes four class periods of the six-period school day, students can only take two classes required for graduation per year. The minimum number of credits necessary to graduate high school in Arizona established by the State Board of Education is 22 credits (R7-2-302.02 Minimum Course of Study and Competency Requirements for Graduation from High School, 2013). Students allowed to take only two credit-gaining classes per year would therefore accumulate eight credits in four years, or ten credits in five years. It is thus impossible for a student who has been in SEI for even two years to earn enough credits to graduate in four years.

The operative assumption supporting the program design of SEI is that students who have not passed the AZELLA do not have sufficient proficiency in the English language to successfully master subject area course content. On the basis of this assumption they are restricted from taking a full schedule of courses required for graduation. However, students who fully understand the system or who have an advocate who does, and also have the means (the capital, and the stamina) are permitted to take classes after regular school hours or in the summer to gain some of the credits they are missing. This route is the one Drogba and Said had followed, and Neda and Alexis were planning to follow as well. Aisha had attended an alternative charter school where she was allowed to take as many classes as she wanted at an accelerated pace. It is difficult to reconcile why students are being prevented from taking necessary courses during regular school hours. Students who *do* master general education course content after regular school hours and during the summer, or in alternative settings disprove the premise that they cannot handle a full load of general education course content because

they do not know enough English. In cases such as these, the mandated four hours of SEI appears to be more of a punitive, than a supportive measure.

Section Summary

In Part One I presented illustrative examples of participants' agentic responses to social positioning in interaction in school. The language policy environment was the backdrop to scenes where difference was the focal point of interactions between Gen-Ed students and refugee students. Distinctions regarding multilingualism, nationality and religious/cultural customs were highlighted in youth accounts of social positioning. The conditions that influenced youth's ability to use their voices and to feel they belonged were made visible as a result of their candor and trust. In Part Two I address another education policy that played a prominent role in the lives of the refugee students that is the policy of age-based school admission (A.R.S. 15-821, Admission of children; required age).

PART 2: AGE AS OBSTACLE

When using ethnographically informed methods in qualitative research projects, researchers do not set out to prove a hypothesis, but to learn about a topic of concern in context and in nuanced ways. Like Canagarajah who shared with me his view that *surprise* is the beauty of qualitative research, I enjoyed the surprise of learning many things I had not anticipated throughout the course of this study (S. Canagarajah, personal communication, September 2015). When I posed the main research question, *How do youth understand and navigate the policies and practices that position them?*, I had Arizona's restrictive educational language policy context squarely in mind. As I

interviewed the students in the study I learned of another education policy impinging on their access to schooling in Arizona.

Investigating the intersection of educational language policy and youth, I had not considered the possibility that other education policies might play a significant role in the lives of refugee youth as well. In this section I discuss education policy regarding chronological age and consider the cultural relativity of age-based grade placement and the ultimate relativity of the very concept of time. To begin, I consider the very basis of the concept of time.

Time *Is* Relative

The ripple effects of using of time as measured in years— the construct of chronological age — to determine eligibility for educational opportunities have touched the lives of many of the youth in this study. Concerning youth who have had their lives disrupted by war, time, and thus age, is truly relative. Einstein’s Special Theory of Relativity (Einstein, 1920) and its specific meaning is instructive here, as one can glimpse how the laws of physics manifest in ordinary lives.

The special relativity theory achieved their logical reconciliation by making a change in kinematics, that is to say, in the doctrine of the physical laws of space and time. It became evident that a statement of the coincidence of two events could have a meaning only in connection with a system of coordinates, that the mass of bodies and the rate of movement of clocks must depend on their state of motion with regard to the coordinates (Einstein, 1920).

Einstein’s theory refers to physical objects, yet it holds true when applied to human interaction as well because dialogic interaction is embodied in the very humans who

engage in it. In other words, all interactions and the actors in these interactions are *situated* in a specific *time* and *space*. Meaning is derived from comparisons to other possible meanings as reference points or “system of coordinates.” Davies and Harré’s use of social positioning theory posits the very same notion — positions can only be construed relative to other positions (or coordinates). Bourdieu likewise addresses relativity when he posits that the various forms of capital — cultural, economic, symbolic — holds value relative to the fields in which they are found.

I was prompted to ponder the notion of relativity when considering the vastly different educational experiences children who have grown up surrounded by or displaced by war have had compared to children who have grown up in more privileged areas of the United States. The “state of motion” of refugee youth who have moved through physical space from one country to another, most often is not taken into account when educational institutions use time (the student’s chronological age) as the sole determinant in school and grade placement. The routine use of a refugee student’s age as the sole criteria for access to, and placement in, the U.S. public education systems reveals a cultural naiveté. The placement appears to be based on an assumption that education systems throughout the world operate on the same timescale as the U.S. system — admitting children at the age of five and promoting them annually. Most of the Somali students in the study began school at a much later age than U.S. American peers. Nasara, Ahmed, and Aisha the three Somali students who actually lived in Somalia, were unable to go to school in Somalia because of the war. That age-based grade placement has profound effects on refugee students’ education trajectories and subsequently their life-courses was a finding I had not anticipated.

Education as Production

Age-based grade placement was not always the norm in U.S. public education. Angus, Mirel and Vonovskis (1988) chronicled the evolution of public education from the one-room schoolhouse, through the development of a graded curriculum in mixed-aged classrooms, to the current system of age-based school grades. With the graded curriculum came the notion of efficiency, typically measured according to time, investment, and production. Public education funded by taxpayers is required to meet efficiency standards, and age-based grade-levels provide a rubric by which efficiency can be measured.

The U.S. public education system uses age as the criteria for grade entry when children begin school. Most states have a kindergarten cut-off date by which all incoming children must be five years old. The general rule in Arizona is a child must have turned five by September 1, or must wait until the following school year to begin kindergarten. Some families start their children in kindergarten as early as possible, while other families choose to hold their children back from starting kindergarten until they are six years of age. Choice regarding age and grade placement ends at the point the child enters the public school system, however. Thereafter children are meant to progress one grade per school year. The link between chronological age and grade-level has been normalized and is currently codified in Annual Yearly Progress reports.

What is School-Aged?

Age-based grade placement can be problematic for newcomer youth in a number of different ways. As shown in Table 9, five of the ten participants were 18 years or older at the time of this study. All eight Somali participants who came to the U.S. as

refugees have January 1 recorded as their “official” date of birth. Because the first day of the year in which someone was born is routinely used for refugees who do not know their exact birthdays, a person could potentially be up to 11 months younger than has been calculated. Since age is used for grade placement in U.S. schools, students could in fact be young for the grade in which they have been placed in U.S. schools.

Table 9

Participant Age and Grade at Time of Study

Name	Age	Grade in U.S. High School
Ahmed	16	Sophomore
Aisha	20	Senior
Alexis	14	Sophomore
Drogba	18	Senior
Ilias (f)	17	Junior
James	14	Freshman
Mohamed (f)	18	Junior
Nasara	18	Junior
Neda	18	Senior
Said	16	Senior

For Aisha and Nasara, the age factor concerning school entry affected them on the other end of chronological spectrum, being considered too old to enter school. Arizona law states: “all schools shall admit children who are between the ages of six and

twenty-one years, who reside in the school district and who meet the requirements for enrollment in one of the grades or programs offered in the school” (AZ START_STATUTE 15-821, Admission of children; required age). The last phrase “who meet the requirements” leaves room for a variety of interpretations. Students who are 18 years of age are often refused admittance to Arizona high schools.

Aisha, 20 years old at the time of this study, was 19 when she arrived in the U.S. with her family. She had been in the U.S. for 15 months when we first met. She had attempted to enroll in a number of different public high schools when she first arrived, but was told she was too old to register. She was determined to pursue her education and did not want to be placed in job corps as her older siblings had. Aisha spoke four languages and was interested in comparative religion and history. She had accomplished a lot academically in a short period of time. Until the age of 11 or 12, she lived in Somalia, where she never attended school. She started school for the first time in Uganda at the age of 12 or 13. Aisha was in her last year of school for which she had received a scholarship when the family received permission to come to the U.S. “...they used to give us scholarship if we do better —high school and primary school. I also one time got scholarship as a senior, as a high school I got scholarship.” She persevered in her quest to receive a high school diploma because she wanted to go to college in the U.S. She gained entry into a charter high school where students work online and can progress through required courses as quickly as they are able. Aisha finished her coursework in December, 2014 and participated in a graduation ceremony in May, 2015. Her story is one of persistence, of pushing back against the age-based admissions policy.

Eighteen-year-old Nasara's story presents a variation on the "too old to enroll" theme. Nasara was a high school junior at the time of the study. She and her family fled Somalia when she was 12 years old. Like Aisha, she never attended school in Somalia, and began her formal education in a refugee camp in Uganda. "I was little and I didn't go to school because there was a war. I couldn't go to school, out of the house because it was really dangerous. That's why I couldn't go to Somalia school." Both Nasara and her brother Ahmed attended a high school far from their home. During the 2 years and 3 months the family has been living in the Phoenix metro area, they had moved from one city adjacent to Phoenix to another, yet the Nasara and Ahmed had not changed high schools. The family feared that another high school in a different district would not admit Nasara as a transfer student due to her age. "My sister, she is 18 now, so if she got out of school, she wouldn't probably get in... We're waiting for her to finish the school, so we can move." The family managed the long commute with the help of their grandfather who drove them to and from school every day. The implications of being tethered to this one particular high school were multiple. Ahmed, whose aspiration was to become a professional soccer player, could not play on the high school team as he had done the previous year because he could not stay after school for practice; he did not have a means of getting home from school on his own. The situation was most burdensome for Ahmed. He had a difficult relationship with one of his SEI teachers, with whom he spent three of the four hours of required SEI every day. "She's still picking on me all this time... Last year was difficult. She's also giving me low points."

Nasara's age compelled her and her brother Ahmed to stay in this certain school for fear that Nasara would encounter the same difficulty Aisha had - not being accepted

into another school because she was considered too old. In the next example chronological age had a different effect; it was used as a criteria for grade placement, rather than to determine whether or not to admit a student as was the case for Aisha, and the fear for Nasara.

Chronological age was not a reliable indicator of Ilias' readiness to perform grade-level work. Ilias and her sister Mohammed were born and raised in a United Nations refugee camp in Ethiopia. The two girls were one year apart in age, and both were enrolled as juniors (11th grade) in high school in Arizona at the time of the study. Ilias' chronological age did not correlate with level of education because she had never attended school prior to coming to the U.S. Her sister Mohammed, on the other hand, had started school at the age of seven and attended continuously in Ethiopia until the family immigrated to the U.S., yet they were both placed in the same grade. Their situation demonstrates how age can be an unreliable measure on which to base grade placement. Instead prior educational experience would have indicated the two sisters did not belong in the same grade. Drogba, who was also born in UNHRC camp in Ethiopia told me during our first interview session: "It's not the same as here. If you don't know how to write and read, if you are illiterate, they're going to put you with five-year old kids even if you are 15 or 14." Because the age-grade-level correlation is the norm in the U.S., being considered too old for one's grade bears a social stigma, whereas in the refugee camps in Ethiopia and Uganda where the students lived, people were more accustomed to situations of interrupted and delayed education.

Section Summary

In Part Two I addressed an issue that responds to the research question: *What additional issues do students raise? What are their concerns?* I described how the use of chronological age in K-12 public school enrollment and placement constricted the educational opportunities of refugee students. The particular education policy prompted me to consider the relativity of time and space in general, and to recognize the cultural relativity of age-based school enrollment practices.

Chapter Summary

Schools were the wellspring from which the concerns addressed in this chapter sprung. Influences that helped or hindered participants' capacity to thrive within the school environ, issues to do with threats to one's identity, capacity to assert one's voice, and space for one to belong, were discussed Part One. Context, the all-encompassing *who*, *what* and *why*, situated in the *when* and *where*, saturated the landscape of youth interactions. Part Two took up chronological age as another policy-driver that had significant consequences for the lives of refugees, particularly those 18 years of age and above. Had the educational context been one in which the prior lived experiences of these young people had been taken into account, then the presumed correlation between chronological age and educational placement would have been understood as irrelevant.

Through the process of uncovering layers of challenges facing refugee youth and their families related to education and beyond, I have arrived at a number of implications and recommendations. I will share those specific to the school environment in the upcoming and final chapter of this dissertation.

CHAPTER 7

CONCLUSION AND IMPLICATIONS

Wondering what exclusion based on one's language feels like to a teenager; imagining walking the halls, sitting in the classrooms, eating lunch in the cafeteria of a high school in an unfamiliar country, I was drawn to this research. I found no singular answer to the question that catalyzed this study: *How do youth understand and navigate the school language policy, practices and discourses that position them?* Instead, a patchwork of qualitatively rich stories told by ten young people, together form a bricolage of understanding.

Revisiting my research questions, I now see from the vantage point of being at the end of the study how the primary question and the first sub-question, *a) How does being identified as an "English Language Learner" interact with participants' construction of academic and social identities?* functioned as heuristics, propelling this investigation forward, rather than queries that could have been answered directly or definitively. With hindsight, I notice also how the subsequent questions each led to methodological or topical entry points (youth observations, descriptions and concerns).

- b) What *observations* and insights about group affiliation/belonging have youth made?
- c) How do participants *describe* their use of and feelings about their home languages? In what ways has attending high schools where English is the language of instruction influenced students' relationship to their home languages.
- d) What additional *issues* do students raise? What are their *concerns*?

Chapters Four, Five and Six aimed to address these questions. In this closing chapter, I will revisit some of the many lessons I learned and insights gained from the study participants, situate these findings within the scholarly literature and share the limitations of the study I have detected thus far. Most importantly, I will pass on the study participants' recommendations about how to make things better for refugee youth in Arizona high schools. I will end this dissertation with my personal reflection regarding this research journey and conclude.

The significance of this research study will ultimately be for others to judge, but I believe its importance lies in part in its novelty, as it is the first qualitative research study to directly present the voices and views of refugee high school students who have participated in the mandated English language acquisition program (SEI) in Arizona. The lived experiences of the youth who contributed to this study are obviously not generalizable to the entire SEI high school student population; rather, the youth perspectives and issues raised herein should be considered *instructive*, not definitive, to policymakers and educators in a state that has failed to graduate 80% of its high school student population designated English Language Learners (ELLs; NCES, 2015).

This study has exposed contingencies inherent in the implementation of the SEI mandate on the lives of the ten focal multilingual, refugee students in Phoenix public high schools. The SEI program which came about as a result of the passage of Proposition 203 (Nov. 7, 2000) stipulated a sequestered educational environment in which multilingual students are expected to achieve proficiency in the lexicon, structure, and usage of English for Academic Purposes (EAP) within one year's time. The program was first implemented in the 2008-09 school year despite the objections of university

professors from each of Arizona's three public universities (Christine Faltis, Richard Ruiz and Norbert Francis), who argued that SEI was “theoretically unsound and pedagogically unsupported by any research conducted in the United States” (Faltis & Arias, 2012, p. 22).

Narratives recounting interactions at school showed how social worlds interact with institutional worlds and how this interface oftentimes positioned the study participants as outsiders. The institutional structure of separate classrooms and concomitant limited access to required courses for multilingual students who have not passed the state-produced standardized test of English (AZELLA) is founded on a language ideology that monolingualism (in English) is normative, and only one variety of English is acceptable (Blommaert, 2006; Blommaert, Leppanen & Spotti, 2012; Schildkraut, 2013; Wiley, Castro, & deKlerk, 2005). In this situated context or “field” as Bourdieu (1977) would describe it, the positioning of the study participants limited their access to cultural, social and symbolic capital—the resources Bourdieu (1977) described as affording social power to the carrier. Yet, as demonstrated by the young people in this study, an individual is not permanently confined to a singular position within a particular field (Bourdieu, 1977; Davies & Harré, 2001; 1990).

Positioning and Agency

Though positioning by powerful institutions, such as the Arizona Legislature and Department of Education (DOE) may appear incontrovertible, small acts of resistance are nevertheless possible and indeed were discernable in students' stories. One of Said's narratives (in Chapter Five) for example, depicted such contestation against the four-hour SEI mandate of the DOE. When told by his counselor he would need to take four hours of

SEI, Said responded: “I’m not going to do that.” His counselor, by acquiescing and reducing the number of hours Said was required to spend in SEI from four to two, also resisted the mandate.

The study participants provided powerful examples revealing how they asserted personal agency to contest disagreeable positioning at the macro-level, as well as on the micro-level in one-on-one discourse. In Chapter Six, James’ story concerning Ebola vividly depicted the use of voice to assert one’s rights and manage how, in his case, he and other East Africans were positioned in school. This chapter also included Drogba’s example of physically removing himself from an interaction in order to refute a positioning he perceived as negative. Students’ talk of their lived experiences participating in the socio-cultural context of high school showed them to be keen observers, highly attuned to their surroundings and the actors within each setting. Thus the findings of this study concur with those of many scholars whose research has shown children and youth to be makers and shapers of their current worlds, not passive bystanders or “adults in the making” (McCarty et al., 2014; McCarty et al., 2011; Paris, 2011; Swadener, 2008; Swadener & Bloch, 1997; Swadener, Lundy, Habashi & Blanchet-Cohen, 2013; Wyman, 2012). Their stories reaffirm the conceptualization of youth as architects and builders who creatively produce hybridity in response to their environments (Canagarajah, 2013, 2011; Paris, 2011; Wyman, 2013). Like Eckert (1989), Bucholtz (2011), and Paris (2011), my work also confirmed the perennial significance of social categories in high school. Still youth actively engaged in repositioning themselves when they felt erroneously classified as a certain “type” by other students (Fine & Weis, 2003). They verbally challenged or physically removed themselves from positions that

did not mesh with self they wished to be. The following interview excerpt is an uplifting example to include in this closing chapter. It illustrates Alexis' prowess in challenging a stereotypical view of Iraqis promulgated by a friend's parents. Alexis' account also shows the strong bond of allegiance between her and her friend together rejecting unjust positioning. The friend told Alexis that his parents said "Iraqi people are mean."

Alexis: He was like, "I heard that." I was like, "Where did you heard that from?" He was like, "My parents. I told them there is Arabic girl, Iraqi girl that was like that." They told him Iraqi people are bad. So, it was like, "No." He was like, "I know."

KC: How did that make you feel?

Alexis: It was kind of bad, but because this one say, he's my friend, he say, "Iraqi people are not bad." Because I'm his friend, so it was kind of making me feel good. I don't care about his parents.

The allegiance affirmed in this narrative account is easy to visualize with social positioning theory (Davies & Harré, 2001, 1990) as shown in figure 6. By aligning himself with Alexis, the friend has done at least two things. He has rejected his parents' xenophobic ideology and established his position in opposition to them, not her. He has rejected the opportunity to position Alexis as an outsider in the social context of high school, because she is Iraqi (Davies & Harré, 1990; 2001; Harré & Moghaddam, 2003) and thereby solidified his relationship as friend and ally. When group affiliation was in concert with the identity one wanted to have and to project, such alliances played supportive roles (Erikson, 1968).

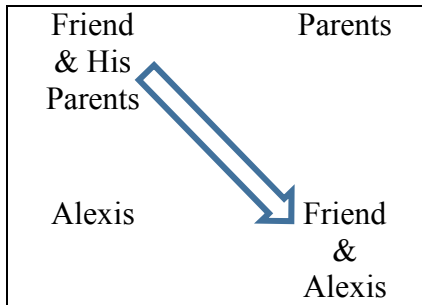


Figure 6. Positioning Allegiance

Youth interactions outside school, in the context of the ethnic-based community organizations (ECBOs) for example, bolstered the construction of an identity as someone who belongs. The support of the Somali and Iraqi communities in turn strengthened young people’s capacity to find belonging at school as well. Realignment in positioning such as this one point the dynamic nature of discursive interaction (Davis and Harré, 1990). Movement could also be followed as actors in the study engaged with language policy.

Policies and Identities in Motion

The results of this research support a critical sociocultural theory of language policy (McCarty, 2011) whereby language policies are not static, but are alive in everyday social practice—continuously interpreted, negotiated, revised and created by language users in situation-responsive ways. In the school setting the de jure educational language policy in Arizona compelled the participants to be set apart in special classes. Yet even this policy which appears quite rigid on paper was open to interpretation and resistance (as the reference to Said and his counselor cited previously illustrates). Another example of language policy as malleable is the case of Drogba who never did pass the AZELLA test, yet succeeded in completing his course work and graduating from

high school in the spring of 2015. Even at the state level, the restrictive educational language policy has been quietly modified. Students who have not passed the AZELLA, but who have tested at the intermediate level of English language proficiency, and are recommended by their ESL teacher or SEI program coordinator, are eligible to have their daily required time spent in SEI reduced from four hours to two as of the beginning of the 2015/2016 school year (approved by the Arizona State Board of Education on December 8, 2014). Though no admission of the failure of SEI as originally conceived and implemented has been made publically, there appears to be an acknowledgement of a need to modify the rigidity of the SEI program requirements.

Identities

The participants imparted the significance of multiple cascading identities; the national identity bestowed upon them at birth as Somali or Iraqi led in turn to the subsequent identity as refugee (discussed in Chapter Four). Their cases personify the situated-ness of identity on a global scale. Their physical positioning in the geographic, political world catalyzed multiple consequent positionings and identities—immigrant, foreigner, asylum seeker, English Language Learner, none of which would have been (predictably) ascribed had they been born and remained in places not ravaged by war.

Having come to the U.S. as refugees the participants then encountered the local English language policy for public schools in Arizona. The eight Somali participants, similar to my niece who was described in the preface of this document, were already accustomed to a multilingual environment whereby different languages were used in different settings, according to the needs of the situation and the interlocutors. In Chapter Five, youth described unearthing bit by bit the educational language policy governing the

schools they attended and gradually figuring out how language was being used to thwart their academic progress. Though disturbing to hear tales of school personnel failing to insure that youth and their parents understood the education system and programming, I was impressed by the ways participants pieced things together on their own and then forged ahead, showing strength in face of adversity.

Though this study had much to do with language as an index of difference, language was but one of the distinctions youth invoked to create harmony or strike dissonance in the dramatic production that is high school. The hijab worn by the female Somali participants, and simply being from the continent of Africa or from Iraq, were used by some actors in school to accentuate difference. Regarding policy, language was again not the only education policy impinging on the study participants. Chronological age nearly kept Aisha out of school. Age compelled Nasara's family to endure a long commute to and from school after they moved for fear of changing schools because Nasara was already 18 years old and they worried another school might not accept her.

I turn now to some of the limitations of this study. The limitations I delineate are in part due to unanticipated flaws and blind spots in my research design.

Limitations

Throughout this dissertation I have referred to the situated nature of language use, and the influence of contextual variables on communicative exchanges (Juffermans & Van der Aa, 2013). Indeed every encounter is shaped by the confluence of the environment, the actors, their social positionings, and the dynamic shifting of positions as interaction unfolds (Davies & Harré, 2001, 1990; Harré 2010; Harré & Langenhove,

1991). The mutual influence these elements exert when they intersect was instantiated during a focus group session with five Somali youth. I recap this event here because it highlights a glaring limitation of this study, my inability to communicate in the Somali language.

The participants who gathered with me at the SAUC Center for this focus group session included Nasara and her younger brother Ahmed; James and his older brother Drogba; and Ilias(f). All spoke Somali as their first language. Since I had successfully conducted one-on-one interviews in English with all participants, I failed to foresee the possibility that using English in the group setting might be problematic. Hence my surprise when three of the five participants who had previously been willing to speak in English when alone with me were constrained to the point of silence in the focus group setting with other Somali teens. Not recognizing the inherent incompatibility of using English as the discourse medium with these speakers and in this environment, I had unwittingly created an unnatural situation by asking youth, all of whom spoke Somali as their mother tongue, to articulate their thoughts in English, not for the purpose of authentic communication, but in order to meet the objectives of my research agenda. To my chagrin, this manufactured artificiality had a marked effect on the interaction that ensued.

Nasara, Ahmed and Ilias were reticent to speak in English in front of other Somali teens in the group. In fact, Ilias essentially refused to speak at all. Her choice to remain silent illustrated most dramatically the interplay of the setting, participants, and their position vis a` vis the imposed language “regime” I had constructed in the focus group design.

Ilias had acquired English to a lesser degree than all other participants in the study, and she was also the only student who had never attended school prior to coming to the United States. Though she struggled with communicating in English when alone with me, together we capitalized on our full range of communicative strategies and managed to make ourselves understood, whereas in the group setting she stayed silent. Her change in demeanor between the two settings initially troubled me, in part because I was frustrated that the session was not unfolding as planned. I was, after all, promoting the notion that youth voices should be heard! Yet by conducting the focus group in English, I had enacted a restrictive language policy that subsequently had a silencing effect. Ilias, like Aisha whose silence I described in Chapter Six, could not present herself as the self she and the other Somali youth knew through previous interactions in the Somali language when using English (Goffman, 1959). Regrettably, she was also the only one of the five in the focus group who did not have a sibling present to offer support, as her sister had had a scheduling conflict that day.

Nasara, the other female participant in the group of five, was unexpectedly reluctant to speak freely in English in this setting as well. She dutifully responded to questions when I expressly elicited her opinion, but she was not forthcoming otherwise. Her brother Ahmed, was also withdrawn during the focus group. He had been subdued, and seemed uncomfortable during our first individual interview, but he was surprisingly talkative throughout our second, elaborating in detail about his school environment, and in particular his troubles with his ESL teacher. Ilias, Nasara, and Ahmed were compelled to speak English throughout the school day with their friends because no other Somali

students were in their SEI classes. But together with me in the presence of other Somali teens, their voices were muted.

In hindsight I have come to view this focus group experience as a micro-level representation of the inhibiting effects the school language environment initially had on many students' capacity to use their voices. The distinct differences in the participation of these three students in the interview and the focus group settings underscored how situational factors contribute to one's capacity to make her/his voice heard. Referring to the co-constructed relationships of ethnographers and informants, Jufferman and Van der Aa (2013) offer an instructive reminder: "In the ethnographic process, however, we always risk silencing the voices we want to empower" (p.118). I had spent many afternoons at the Somali Center and had observed the youth – male and female - laughing and talking together *in Somali*. Had I been able to speak the Somali language I would have been better positioned to understand whether the quiet participants were silenced by the use of English in this context exclusively, or whether other complexities of the social setting were at play.

The image of my conducting a focus group with Somali youth in the English language due to my lack of Somali language proficiency begs the question: "what's wrong with this picture." This lopsided scene illustrates the challenges to decolonizing research, the topic I turn to in the following section. Aside from the language issue, I think I made a cultural assumption about collective sharing in groups. When I crafted the research proposal for this study I made clear that participation in a focus group would be optional. My concern, however, had to do with confidentiality. I recognized I could only discuss the importance of confidentiality with participants; I could not guarantee it on

behalf of others. In retrospect, if I were designing the study today, I would most likely omit a focus group. Yet I am glad I was afforded this opportunity to learn. In its wake, this focus group pushed me to think deeply about what had transpired and to critique my role and my assumptions.

Trying to Decolonize Research

Language must also be acknowledged as one among other impediments to decolonizing research when the researcher is English-dominant and U.S. born and the participants are Somali and Iraqi refugees, newly-arrived to the U.S. In Chapter Three, I acknowledged the constraints on decolonizing research despite good intentions when one is not a member of the community/communities to which the study participants belong. Yet the language in which research is conducted is a mitigating factor as well, one that is often minimized or overlooked.

Personal narratives... are the outcome of a process in which the teller remembers, interprets, constructs and reconstructs events in the outside world which have been subjectively experienced, events whose meanings are constructed using the language, discourses and discursive strategies which are available to the teller by virtue of her or his location in culture and history. (Day Sclater, 2001).

When compelled to use the language of the researcher, rather than her preferred language, the participant is undoubtedly restricted. Her narrative is told differently than it might have been in another language (Temple, 2008). This issue has been taken up more directly concerning the translation of interview transcripts when interviews have been conducted in one language and translated into English (see Lincoln, & González y

González, 2008). I raise the topic to acknowledge despite my aspiration to decolonize my research, I have not managed to do so.

The limitations I have noted thus far speak to the power of language to connect, as well as to separate. One final limitation I will mention, though there are likely more, has to do with youth participation.

Youth Participation

In regards to the participation of children and youth in research Batsleer (2010) has cautioned: “One of the biggest issues in participation is the risk of it being seen as “tokenistic,” both by young people themselves and by adults” (p.193). This point is one about which I was most sensitive throughout the course of the study. Soto and Lasta (2005) have argued that researchers must explore means of incorporating the perspectives of children and youth and affording “power to their voices, perceptions, and wisdom” (p.163). In-depth interviewing, the key methodological component of my research study design, worked beautifully as a conduit through which to listen and learn from the youth. The candor apparent in their stories is testament to the method’s success.

In an ideal world, I would have liked to engage in youth-led participatory action research (YPAR), a collaborative approach whereby young people identify the problems in their communities they want to solve; they engage in research to gain a deeper understanding of the problem(s); and they use their findings to advocate for change (Ozer, Newlan, Douglas, Hubbard, 2013). The limitations preventing me from conducting a YPAR study are twofold. 1) A researcher must have access to a group of youth, and have established trust prior to beginning a YPAR study that is sincerely based on youth concerns, rather than researcher interests. As I was not working as a high school

teacher or youth group leader, I had no such established relationships with potential immigrant youth participants. In Chapter Three I relayed the obstacles I faced in my vain attempts to gain entrée to local high schools. 2) University Institutional Review Board requirements for conducting research with human subjects, particularly those considered members of vulnerable populations, stipulate the inclusion of a fully planned research design together with research questions, inquiry methods, interview questions and the like. My status as a doctoral student thus precluded me from a YPAR approach to conducting research with youth, as I needed to follow the IRB and University protocols.

The recommendations the youth made and which I share in this final chapter bear similarities to what might be achieved at an earlier point in a YPAR study. Over the course of the time during this study, youth did describe their concerns and have made recommendations to address those concerns.

Recommendations from the Voices of Youth

As this study unfolded, I became aware that I was learning about issues of concern to the participants beyond the primary research I had posed. In this section I present a list of participant recommendations for how to create a better school experience for refugee youth. I then share excerpts from the participants themselves as a way of deepening understanding of their views by “hearing” in their voices how their lived experiences connect to the advice they give. These suggestions reiterate and consolidate topics addressed throughout earlier chapters of the dissertation, so they will not be reanalyzed here. However, three of the recommendations (numbers 3, 5, 6) have implications that warrant further explication.

Before turning to the recommendations, I would like to acknowledge my own evolution—an example of how a presupposition of mine was countered by the actual desires of the participants. When I began the study I was cautious about affixing another label on students who were already categorized in school as ELLs. Committed to a “people first” use of descriptors, I did not consider the study participants to be refugee students, but as students who came to the U.S. as refugees. I was intent about not defining these youth by their refugee status. Having worked as a volunteer for the International Rescue Committee, I was mindful of the advice provided by this reputable organization, *not* to probe refugee children and youth about their “refugee experiences,” advice meant to shield youth from unnecessarily reliving trauma. Besides, I was conducting a study about the repercussions of school segregation based on English language ability, not a study about refugees. Or so I thought. I came to understand from participants’ accounts how little their life histories were acknowledged, or for that matter, even known by the adults they interacted with in their schools. As discussed in Chapter Four, participants expressed the desire that their prior histories be acknowledged and accounted. They wished that actors in the school setting—principal, teachers, and students—had some awareness of how different their former lives had been from the current day-to-day life of high school in Phoenix. Thus these wishes constitute the first two participant recommendations listed in Table 10. This list of recommendations includes advice administrators and teachers could implement in schools, as well as suggestions requiring policy changes at the district and state levels.

Table 10

Participants' Recommendations for Educators and the People Refugee Youth Interact with in the Context of High School

1.	Know The Students Who Are Refugees (Principal and All Teachers).
2.	Introduce New Refugee Students to The Student Body.
3.	Provide Detailed Orientation To Refugee Students Including The Meta-Cognitive And Procedural Knowledge Regarding How School Works.
4.	Teach Culture, Cultural Relativity, and Cultural Awareness.
5.	Change Testing And Grading Practices. Consider How Much Effort Students Put into Their Work.
6.	Modify Course Requirements For Graduation For Students in ESL.
7.	Provide Translators for Parents to Understand Their Student's Pathway Through School.
8.	Allow Flexibility With Age-Based Admissions and Grade Level Placement Policies for Refugee Students.

The table lists the recommendations of the participants as I understood them. In this section I include quotes from the participants whose voices warrant attention, whose advice is pure and simple.

1) Know the students who are refugees (principal and all teachers).

“I would say the teachers should know refugee children; really they don't ... It's really hard for a refugee kid.” (Nasara)

“But now that I am in regular class, they don't even know if my mom speak English or not.” (Drogba)

2) Introduce new refugee students to the student body.

Explain that “they don’t know anything about U.S. high schools, and to not laugh at them or say bad things about them.” Ask students to imagine: “if someone go from U.S. to some other countries where they don’t know the language and they go to school, compare to yourself what you would be experience.” (Aisha)

“Let them try to understand the kid, he came from refugee and really scared that they don't know how to speak with their teacher because they're really scared or shy. Let them try to understand the kid and help them as much as they can.” (Nasara)

3) Provide detailed orientation to refugee students including the meta-cognitive and procedural knowledge regarding how school works.

“If the student is new at school, to show them where to get the food or how to participate in class, and to show them how to do homework. I’d like them to know that.” (Ahmed)

“Well, in school, one thing that happened to me when I first came here was, when I first went to school, in my math class we usually get homework, I never turn it in. I thought we just get the homework and then...” (Drogba) “Study it or keep it.” (James)

“I get a “D” so I wish somebody would have told me that.” (Drogba)

“When they used to give me the papers, the schedule, sometimes I used to left that at the class and then when I'm going to another class, I used to left on the other table. I was just kind of hard to get what's going on. I used to sit on separate table and I was just kind of nervous. I used to, didn't get it; that's why” (James)

[In Uganda] “We used to go one class a whole day. Teachers used to come in and out. Then when I come here we switch classes. This class and that class and it was confusing. I never knew where to go sometimes. I used to ask the teacher, what way am I supposed to go. It was hard.” (Aisha)

4) Teach culture, cultural relativity, and cultural awareness.

“Some people think, like Iraqi people are mean. But actually, we're nice. So, some people think like that, but we're not. (Alexis)

“The thing is that Somali culture is different like is differently like not the same as United States or other cultures. As a Somali, us, we pray like five times a day and we fast twice a year, I think. Yeah, twice a year. We fast as we call Ramadan. The other thing is the food, if I talk about the food, the food is not the same as other cultures what they eat. Us, we don't eat pork, pork food or shrimp, whatever. You people you eat not the same as Somalia cultures would.” (Nasara)

“One thing that I want them to know - in our culture we, there are certain things that we do not do for instance - Not in my culture but even my religion. You see pork, we don't eat pork. In school they give us pork, to me when I first came here it was very difficult to know which one is which and then I know. Yeah, that's one thing that I want them to know; yeah that's one thing.” (Drogba)

Of course, the interactions regarding Somali women and the wearing hijab (Chapter Six) were also indicative of the need for culture learning.

5) Change testing and grading practices. Consider how much effort students put into their work.

Said explained how in preparation for final exams teachers do a review and go over the review question verbally. In his view “ESL” students may be at a disadvantage.

“... if you're lazy, [you] just have to listen to her and just talk. And then for someone who is, for “ESL” students, who is putting a lot of attention, he might not get what teacher is saying. I would say it should be about how much effort you've put in than how much you get.” (Said)

6) Modify course requirements for graduation for students in ESL.

“Since we are taking all these classes, and then the requirement classes are different, since we don't have the chance to take these classes, I would say that I would change about the requirement classes. If you're taking all of these classes, since you are learning English, I would say it should count as the requirement English classes. All of my friends right now, my friend from Rwanda, he'd been going to school for four years, and then he put a lot of effort in passing the AIMS, and when he passed the AIMS, they told him, "You need to take three more English classes." (Said).

“When I came here, I just started. I took the AZELLA test and I didn't pass it. They put me as a freshman in “ELL” class. It was fairly hard for me. It's bad for a year. Then, I talk to them and they said, "It's just this year. If you pass the AZELLA test, you're going to be entering the classes." When I took the AZELLA test, I couldn't pass it. I was in as basic level. I took that ELL classes, it was really easy. So easy for me. I just get A in all my class. I didn't study anything. They said, "If you want that, your parents need to come here and there's a paper you

need to sign it. If you failed your classes, you're going back to ELL or you're going to go to community college." That's the difference." (Neda)

7) Provide translators for parents to understand their student's pathway through school.

None of the participants' parents spoke English. There was no consistency across schools as to whether the language differences of the participants' parents were accommodated. This topic was addressed in Chapter Five in which Drogba recounted how he translated for the counselor, the case-worker, and his parents, and Ahmed spoke about his sister, also a high school student functioning as the translator between school counselor and Ahmed's mother. An ad hoc practice whereby parents brought along other family members or friends as translators was most common. On a positive note, Drogba also shared the following about his previous high school:

Drogba: Oh, but there's sometimes when they want to ... when they send a letter, they translate in Somali.

KC: Oh they do?

Drogba: Yeah, they used.

KC: Oh, good. They used to? Do they anymore?

Drogba: No, they don't. My other school they used to send us ... they know, when I was ELL class they knew that we managed to speak another language and they had to ... my English teacher, she used to provide that.

8) Allow flexibility with age-based admissions and grade level placement policies for refugee students.

“When some students never went to school or they went to school, their grade level is lower than the grade level they were supposed to be in with. If the kid can be a freshman, maybe he was, back home in Africa, he is supposed to be primary level. Maybe seven or six primary level [or] elementary.” (Aisha)

When I began interviews with this group of refugee students in October, 2014, five out of ten were considered to be 18 years old or above. Aisha was 20; Drogba, Mohamed, Nasara and Neda were 18. (I used the tentative passive construction “considered to be” because all the Somali refugees were attributed the same birthday of January 1st, so their exact age was unknown.) In Chapter Six I discussed how the use of chronological age as the criterion for admission and grade placement in public schools was flawed when employed in the cases of refugee youth. Specifically, the cases of Aisha, who had been enrolled in her senior year of secondary school in Uganda prior to coming to the U.S., and Ilias, who had never attended school prior to leaving Ethiopia and arriving in Arizona, pointed to the inadequacy of using chronological age as the decisive factor in school/grade placement.

Implications Related to Recommendations Three, Five, and Six

Teachers and administrators’ failure to ensure participants possessed the basic meta-cognitive knowledge regarding how school worked in the U.S. truly astounded me. Admittedly, the acuity of my foresight was obscured by my own prior experience. Throughout my career working domestically and internationally, the recognition that societal norms and practices were culturally and situationally specific was well-understood amongst professionals. The examples cited by the students regarding gaps in

their knowledge of the routines and practices in school could have, and should have been avoided with proper orientation, or remedied with appropriate monitoring. These omissions might be construed as part and parcel of the “hidden curriculum” (Giroux, 1978; Giroux & Purpel, 1983; Margolis, 2001) of high school, except for the fact that the examples the students provided were by no means elusive social practices, but instead simple, overt procedural routines that should have been imparted. Giroux (1978) described the hidden curriculum as “those norms and values not talked about in teachers’ statements of objectives or goals, even though such norms and values are implicitly and effectively taught in their classrooms” (p. 148). In the participants’ examples, the norms regarding homework, handouts, changing classes are procedural practices taught explicitly in the early elementary grades in U.S. public schools. I see the meta-cognitive gaps that affected the participants’ acclimation and early success in Phoenix high schools as resulting from mono-cultural myopia on the part of the adults in these schools.

How difficult would it be to let students new to the U.S. know that homework assignments are meant to be brought back to school and turned in to the teacher? How hard would it be to inform these students that when a teacher distributes papers (handouts) the students are meant to take the papers with them, not leave them on the desk when moving to another classroom? The answer to both these questions is “not very.” Rather than give a new immigrant student a “D” letter grade at the end of the term for not turning in homework assignments, why would a teacher not check for student comprehension after two, three, four missing assignments? Since nothing I have mentioned thus far is complicated to comprehend, nor burdensome to ameliorate, I can only speculate that these oversights result from a parochial worldview, one that fails to

imagine people do things differently in schools in other countries, or in refugee camps. The preparation and professional development of teachers was not the focus of this investigation. Nevertheless, based on the stories shared by the student participants, I believe one implication this study points to is the need for education and training as to how to meet the needs of culturally and linguistically “diverse” learners.

The cultural centrism evident in teachers’ assumptions about, or inattention to, the norms and practices they expected in their classrooms is closely connected to a linguistic naiveté I suggest undergirds the complaints to be addressed in participants’ recommendations 5 and 6. In addition to cultural parochialism, linguistic naiveté regarding the role of languages in the world was made clear through the reported experiences of the youth. The policies and practices implemented in the wake of the passage of Proposition 203 advanced a view of language as an independent system consisting of a lexicon and a set of structural rules. The conceptualization of language merely as a code to be mastered was instantiated and promulgated by the use of a standardized examination of English - the AZELLA - as a gate-keeping mechanism preventing participants from accessing the full range of general education courses offered at their schools. Pennycook (2012) advocated for an alternate view of language: “To look at language not as a system but as a practice, allows for a view that language knowledge is grounded in and emergent from language use in concrete social activity for specific purposes that are tied to specific communities of practice” (2010, np), a view that has not been taken up in Arizona.

As discussed in Chapter Six, a number of participants found ways to access the general education course content they were excluded from during regular school hours,

by taking 8th hour after school classes and summer classes. They demonstrated their ability to comprehend and produce domain-specific academic language in English when they succeeded in these content courses. Still, these very same students were unable to pass the AZELLA. If language were understood as a process of co-constructing knowledge and understanding, a standardized test such as the AZELLA would have no place. Instead of testing discreet language skills---grammar, vocabulary, reading, writing, listening and speaking, Tomlinson (2010) recommended language tests should test what the learners *can do* with language. In the Arizona context, when policy, programming, implementation and individual student experience are considered, I can find no evidence of an awareness that English is a global language with multiple varieties of which U.S.-American English is but one, arguably a dominant one, but certainly, not the only one (Krachu & Smith, 2008; Pennycook, 2012). Yet Aisha, who began formal education at the age of 12 or 13 in a refugee camp in Uganda, possessed such awareness. She told me “I used to speak like British accent which is different like African accent. It is British system the way they study in Uganda, and that same time their own way they teach.” Drogba, who was born and raised in a camp in Ethiopia and knew no in other context prior to coming to the U.S., also possessed a heightened awareness of the contextual relativity of varieties of English and indeed, of ways of knowing as evidenced this excerpt: “...but the problem was when I first got here, the English I knew and this English wasn't the same. It was different like the African and all of that.”

I opened this dissertation with a quotation from the very same young man who voiced the entreaty to “imagine.” Befittingly, I near the close of this study with yet another astute summation from Drogba about the variety of English used in high school

in Phoenix as a variety that was different from "...the African and all of that." The acuity with which youth in this study discerned cultural and linguistic relativity, and responded to the situated demands they encountered accordingly, made me wonder if in the end if they might not be cosmopolitan ambassadors, posing as refugee high school students.

I now turn to my role in working with these students. After all, this dissertation like all other research studies does not reflect the world as it is, but my interpretation of what I understood I found in it.

Reflection: My Researcher Self

How *not* to exploit study participants, Seidman advised is to ask oneself, "... research for whom, by whom, and to what end" (Seidman, 2013, p.12). I tried to keep this simple, sage query in mind throughout conducting and writing up this study, and commit to do so in the future. Though my interests in how multilingual students experience high schools with Structured English Immersion programming in place are sincere and my connections grew deep and strong, I must be candid about my own self-interest. After all, this dissertation, as stated on its cover page, is in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy. In the spirit of reflexivity and reciprocity I will continue to work to assist the refugee communities that have given so generously of themselves to help me achieve this academic milestone.

In-depth phenomenological interviewing naturally taps an individual's lived experiences. Since five of the ten participants had been born in refugee camps and three others had fled with their families to camps as children, refugee camps were the settings where their life histories unfolded. Inevitably youth talked about their lives as refugees. I was initially vigilant to not identify participants by their status as refugees, but over time

I came to understand that being born as a refugee or becoming a refugee was integral to the stories of their lives. To deny this fact would be to deny their reality. I remained focused on seeking their views on language and learning, as this was the goal of the study and the very last thing I would ever want to do would be to provoke these volunteer participants to relive traumatic experiences as a result of participating in this study.

My way of being in the world, or as some would say my “nature,” is to engage and empathize with others. I thoroughly enjoy conversing and learning about people’s lives. Generally this characteristic is an asset in terms of establishing rapport with people I meet. When donning the hat of researcher, to avoid my tendency to fall into a well of empathy, I used the following quote from Bogdan and Biklen (2007) as a maxim to keep me focused: “I am here to collect data. How does what I am doing relate to that goal?” (p. 159). I printed it out and kept it on my desk as a reminder. Throughout the course of this research I have become more comfortable accepting that who I am---as a person who likes to find points of connection with those I meet—not only assists in establishing rapport, but also establishes trust and credibility to the people I work with. So I came to an equilibrium of sorts. I acknowledge that spending time simply “being there” experiencing and absorbing (and not “collecting”) is legitimate. I believe I ultimately came to a deep personal understanding of what Professor McCarty (2014) meant when she described the meaning of ethnography to our Ethnography and Language Policy class on September 20, 2012. She shared Harry Wolcott’s description of ethnography as a way of seeing and a way of knowing. But then went on to tell us that she has added another way to her definition— ethnography as *a way of being*. Three and a half years later, I get it, in my body, mind and soul.

Looking Ahead

The reflective voices of the youth in this study have at times revealed a wisdom and insight well beyond what might be expected based on their chronological ages. I catch this thought about age, and let it go, recalling how irrelevant chronological age is when compared to life experience.

Resilience and determination to seize every opportunity are the hallmarks of the study participants. I am pleased to say they are all looking ahead and I am happy to share their plans for the future (shown in Table 11).

Table 11

Participant Plans for the Future

Name	College	Career
Ahmed	Y	1 st Pro soccer player / 2 nd Engineer
Aisha	Y	1 st Lawyer / 2 nd Counselor
Alexis	Y	Lawyer
Drogba	Y	1 st Cardiologist / 2 nd Teacher
Ilias	-	Doctor
Nasara	Y	1 st Nurse / 2 nd Shop Owner
James	Y	Lawyer
Mohamed	-	Doctor
Neda	Y	Pharmacist
Said	Y	Nurse (Previously Airplane Pilot)

Look for them at universities, hospitals, and courtrooms, among other places; these youth are going places and will not be restricted by language policy, or much else, I suspect.

As for education researchers, policy makers, school administrators and teachers, it is time to look “...towards local, situated, contextual and contingent ways of understanding languages and language policies” (Pennycook, 2012, np).

At the end of writing this dissertation, full of thousands of words, and countless hours of contemplation, I have come full circle to a truth I knew at the beginning, but surely learned more deeply through this research process: The way to understand another human being is to listen. I will aim to follow the good advice of Dr. Fred Erickson (personal communication, February, 2015), to “keep telling good stories.” But first, in order to do so, I will be listening.

REFERENCES

- Angus, D. L., Mirel, J. E., & Vinovskis, M. A. (1988). Historical development of age stratification in schooling. *Teachers College Record* 90(2), 211-236.
- Arias, M. B., & Faltis, C. (2012). *Implementing educational language policy in Arizona: Legal, historical and current practices in SEI*. Bristol; Buffalo N.Y.: Multilingual Matters.
- Arizona Department of Education, 2015. Proposition 203 (November 7, 2000), (Section 15-752)
- Arizona Department of Education (2014). *Arizona's A-F Letter Grade Accountability System – ELL Point Criteria – FY 2014*, p.4. Author: Retrieved from <http://www.azed.gov>
- Arizona Department of Education (2014). *2012-2013 State report card*, p. 25 Author. Retrieved from <http://www.azed.gov/research-evaluation/files/2011/07/state-report-card-2013-final.pdf>
- Arizona Department of Education (2013). *Arizona's English Language Learners Boot Camp September 12, 2013*. Author. Retrieved from <http://www.azed.gov/english-language-learners>
- Arizona Department of Education Office of English Language Acquisition Services (2011). FAQs. Author. Retrieved from <http://www.azed.gov/english-language-learners/files/2012/10/illp-guidance-document-complete-revised.pdf>
- Arizona Department of Education (2011). *Primary home language other than English (PHLOTE) home language survey*. Author. Retrieved from <http://www.azed.gov/wp-content/uploads/PDF/HomeLanguageSurvey-English.pdf>
- Ausubel, D. P. (1960). The use of advance organizers in the learning and retention of meaningful verbal material. *Journal of Educational Psychology*, 51(5), 267-272. doi: 10.1037/h0046669
- Bal, A. (2009). *Becoming learners in U. S. schools: A sociocultural study of refugee students' evolving identities* (Doctoral dissertation). Retrieved from UMI.(Order No. 3361832.)
- Bertrand, M. (2013). Participatory action research and city youth: Methodological insights. *Teachers College Record* 115(10).

- Blanchet-Cohen, N., & Brunson, L. (2014). Creating settings for youth empowerment and leadership: An ecological perspective. *Child & Youth Services, 35*(3), 216-236. doi:10.1080/0145935X.2014.938735
- Bloch, M., Swadener, B. B., & Cannella, G. S. (2014). *Reconceptualizing early childhood care & education: A reader: Critical questions, new imaginaries and social activism*. New York: Peter Lang.
- Batsleer, J. (2010). Commentary: Methods and frameworks. In B. Percy-Smith & N. Thomas (Eds.), *A handbook of children and young people's participation: Perspectives from theory and practice* (pp. 193-195). London; New York: Routledge.
- Bateson, G. (1973). *Steps to an ecology of mind : Collected essays in anthropology, psychiatry, evolution, and epistemology* (p. 428). St Albans, Australia: Paladin.
- Blommaert, J. (2015). Chronotopic identities. *Tilburg papers in culture studies*, 144 Retrieved from: <https://www.tilburguniversity.edu/research/institutes-and-research-groups/babylon/tpcs/download-tpcs-paper-9.pdf.htm>
- Blommaert, J. (2011). Small print: Reflections on multilingual literacies in the global south. *Compare: A Journal of Comparative and International Education, 41*(2), 293-299. doi:10.1080/03057925.2011.547281
- Blommaert, J. (2010). *Sociolinguistics of globalization*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Blommaert, J. (2006). Language policy and national identity. In T. Ricento (Ed.), *An introduction to language policy: Theory and method* (pp 238-254). Oxford, UK: Blackwell.
- Blommaert, J., Collins, J., & Slembrouck, S. (2005). Spaces of multilingualism. *Language & Communication, 25*(3), 197-216. doi: 10.1016/j.langcom.2005.05.002
- Blommaert, J., Leppänen, S., & Spotti, M. (2012). Endangering multilingualism. In J. Blommaert, S. Leppänen, P. Pahta, & T. Räisänen T. (Eds.), *Dangerous multilingualism: Northern perspectives on order, purity and normality* (pp. 1-24). Retrieved from <http://www.myilibrary.com.ezproxy1.lib.asu.edu?ID=405078>
- Bogdan, R., & Biklen, S. K. (2007). *Qualitative research for education: An introduction to theory and methods* (5th ed.). Upper Saddle River, NJ. Pearson
- Borrero, N. E., Yeh, C. J., Cruz, I., & Suda, J. (2010). School as a context for “othering” youth and promoting cultural assets. *Teachers College Record, 114*.

- Brisk, M. E. (2005). Introduction. *Educational Policy*, 19(4), 567-571.
doi:10.1177/0895904805278069
- Booher-Jennings, J. (2008). Learning to label: Socialisation, gender, and the hidden curriculum of high-stakes testing. *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, 29(2), 149-160.
- Bourdieu, P. (2000). Bodily knowledge in *Pascalian Meditations*, (R. Nice, Trans.). Redwood City, CA: Stanford University Press.
- Bourdieu, P. (1990). *In other words: Essays towards a reflexive sociology*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.
- Bourdieu, P. (1977). *Outline of a theory of practice*. Cambridge, U.K.; New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Bronfenbrenner, U. (1979). *Ecology of human development: Experiments by nature and design*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Bucholtz, M. (2011). *White kids: Language, race, and styles of youth identity*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Bucholtz, M., & Hall, K. (2008). Finding identity: Theory and data. *Multilingua*, 27(1), 151-163. doi:10.1515/MULTI.2008.008
- Cabrera, N. L., Milem, J. F., Jaquette, O., & Marx, R. W. (2014). Missing the (student achievement) forest for all the (political) trees: Empiricism and the Mexican American studies controversy in Tucson. *American Educational Research Journal*, 51(6), 1084-1118. doi:10.3102/0002831214553705
- Canagarajah, A. S. (2013). Negotiating translingual literacy: An enactment. *Research in the Teaching of English*, 48(1), 40.
- Canagarajah, S. (2011). Translanguaging in the classroom: Emerging issues for research and pedagogy. *Applied Linguistics Review*, 2(1). doi:10.1515/9783110239331.1
- Chemerinsky, E. (1999). Students do leave their first amendment rights at the schoolhouse gates: What's left of Tinker. *Drake L. Rev.*, 48, 527.
- Chikkatur, A. (2012). Difference matters: Embodiment of and discourse on difference at an urban public high school. *Anthropology & Education Quarterly*, 43(1), pp. 82–100. doi: 10.1111/j.1548-1492.2011.01158.x.

- Conchas, G. Q., & Pérez, C. C. (2003). Surfing the “model minority” wave of success: How the school context shapes distinct experiences among Vietnamese youth. *New Directions for Youth Development*, 2003(100), 41-56. doi:10.1002/yd.62
- Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC; UN, 1989).
- Cornman, S.Q. (2014). *Revenues and Expenditures for Public Elementary and Secondary School Districts: School Year 2011–12 (Fiscal Year 2012)* (NCES 2014-303). National Center for Education Statistics, U.S. Department of Education. Washington, DC. Retrieved 11/15/2015 from <http://nces.ed.gov/pubsearch>.
- Creese, A., & Blackledge, A. (2015). Translanguaging and identity in educational settings. *Annual Review of Applied Linguistics*, 35, 20-35.
- Creese, A., & Blackledge, A. (2010). Translanguaging in the bilingual classroom: A pedagogy for learning and teaching? *The Modern Language Journal*, 94(1), 103-115. doi:10.1111/j.1540-4781.2009.00986.x
- Crosnoe, R., Cavanagh, S., & Elder, G. H. (2003). Adolescent friendships as academic resources: The intersection of friendship, race, and school disadvantage. *Sociological Perspectives*, 46(3), 331-352. doi:10.1525/sop.2003.46.3.331
- D'Andrade, R. (1991). *The identification of schemas in naturalistic data*. Chicago, IL, US: University of Chicago Press.
- Davies, B. and Harré, R. (2001). Positioning: The discursive construction of selves. In M. Wetherell, S. Taylor, & S. J. Yates (Eds.), *Discourse theory and practice: A reader* (pp. 261-271). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Davies, B. and Harré, R. (1990). Positioning: The discursive construction of selves. *Journal for the Theory of Social Behaviour*, 20, 43-63.
- Day Sclater, S. (2001, March). What is the subject? Paper presented at the Narrative and Psychology Symposium, British Psychological Association Centenary Conference, Glasgow, UK.
- Delgado, M. Y., Ettekal, A. V., Simpkins, S. D., & Schaefer, D. R. (2015). How do my friends matter? examining Latino adolescents' friendships, school belonging, and academic achievement. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence*, doi:10.1007/s10964-015-0341-x

- Delgado, R. (2012-2013). Precious knowledge: State bans on ethnic studies, book traffickers (librotraficantes), and a new type of race trial *North Carolina Law Review*, 91, 1513.
- Dijkink, G. (1996). *National identity and geopolitical visions: Maps of pride and pain*. New York: Routledge.
- Dotts, B. (2015). Education as instrument or as empowerment? Untangling white privilege in the politics of ethnic studies: The case of the Tucson unified school district. *Multicultural Education* 22(3-4), 35.
- de Fina, A. (2006). Group identity, narrative and self-representations. In A. de Fina, D. Schiffrin, & M. Bamberg (Eds.), *Discourse and identity* (pp.351-375). New York: Cambridge University Press.
- de Fina, A. (2003). Crossing borders: Time, space, and disorientation in narrative. *Narrative Inquiry*, 13, 367-391.
- DeVries, R. (2000). Vygotsky, Piaget, and education: A reciprocal assimilation of theories and educational practices. *New Ideas in Psychology*, 18(2-3), 187-213. doi: 10.1016/S0732-118X(00)00008-8
- Eckert, P. (1989). *Jocks and burnouts: Social categories and identity in the high school*. New York: Teachers College, Columbia University.
- ED Data Express: *Data about elementary & secondary schools in the U.S.* Retrieved from: <http://eddataexpress.ed.gov/data-element-explorer.cfm/tab/data/deid/3377/>
- Einstein, A. (1920). Time, space, and gravitation. *Science*, 51(1305), 8-10.
- Elbow, P. (1998). *Writing without teachers* (2nd ed.). New York: Oxford University Press.
- Elbow, P. (1983). Teaching thinking by teaching writing. *Change*, 15(6), 37-40.
- English for the Children, A.R.S. §§15-752(2000).
- Erikson, E. (1968). *Identity, youth and crisis*. New York: Norton.
- Erikson, F. (1986). Qualitative methods in research on teaching. In M. C. Wittrock, & American Educational Research Association (Eds.), *Handbook of research on teaching* (pp.119-161). New York; London: Macmillan
- European Commission Directorate-General for Communication Publications B-1049 Brussels (2008) *Speaking for Europe: Languages in the European Union*

- Luxembourg: Office for Official Publications of the European Communities.
Retrieved from: http://ec.europa.eu/education/languages/pdf/doc3275_en.pdf
- Faltis, C., & Arias, B. M. (2012). Research based reform in Arizona: Whose evidence counts for applying the Castaneda test to structured English immersion models? In B. M. Arias & C. Faltis (Eds.), *Implementing educational language policy in Arizona: legal, historical and current practices in SEI* (pp.21-38). Bristol: Multilingual Matters.
- Fine, M. (1991). *Framing dropouts: Notes on the politics of an urban public high school*. Albany, NY: State University of New York Press.
- Fine, M., & Weis, L. (2003). *Silenced voices and extraordinary conversations: Re-imagining schools*. New York: Teachers College Press.
- Foster, P., & Ohta, A. S. (2005). Negotiation for meaning and peer assistance in second language classrooms. *Applied Linguistics*, 26(3), 402-430.
- Gándara, P. C., & Hopkins, M. (2010). *Forbidden language: English learners and restrictive language policies*. New York: Teachers College Press.
- Gándara, P., & Orfield, G. (2012). Segregating Arizona's English learners: A return to the "Mexican room"? *Teachers College Record*, 114(9), 2.
- Gee, J. P. (2011). *How to do discourse analysis: A toolkit*. Abingdon, Oxon; New York: Routledge.
- Georgakopoulou, A. (2006). Thinking big with small stories in narrative and identity analysis. *Narrative Inquiry*, 16(1), 122.
- Georgakopoulou, A. (2003). Looking back when looking ahead: On adolescents' identity management in narrative practices In J. K. Androutsopoulos & A. Georgakopoulou (Eds.), *Discourse constructions of youth identities* (pp. 75-91). Philadelphia, PA: John Benjamins.
- Georgakopoulou, A., & Bamberg, M. (2008). Small stories as a new perspective in narrative and identity analysis. *Text & Talk: An Interdisciplinary Journal of Language, Discourse & Communication Studies*, 28(3), 377-396.
doi:10.1515/TEXT.2008.018
- Giroux, H. A. (1978). Developing educational programs: Overcoming the hidden curriculum. *The Clearing House*, 52(4), 148-151.
- Giroux, H. A., & Purpel, D. E. (1983). *The hidden curriculum and moral education: Deception or discovery?* Berkeley, CA: McCutchan.

- Goffman, E. (1959). *The presentation of self in everyday life*. Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday.
- González, J. M. (Ed.). (2008). *Encyclopedia of bilingual education*. (Vols. 1-2). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage. doi: 10.4135/9781412963985
- Habermas, J. (1970). Towards a theory of communicative competence. *Inquiry*, 13(1) np.
- Harré, R. (2010). Positioning as a metagrammar for discursive story lines. In D. Schiffrin, A. De Fina, & A. Nylund (Eds.), *Telling stories: Language, narrative and social life* (pp. 51-56). Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University Press.
- Harré, R., & Moghaddam, F. M. (2003). Introduction: The self and others in traditional psychology and in positioning theory. In R. Harré & F. M. Moghaddam (Eds.), *The self and others: Positioning individuals and groups in personal, political, and cultural contexts* (pp. 1-11). Westport, CN: Praeger.
- Harré, R., Moghaddam, F. M., Cairnie, T. P., Rothbart, D., & Sabat, S. R. (2009). Recent advances in positioning theory. *Theory & Psychology*, 19(1), 5-31. doi:10.1177/0959354308101417
- Harré, R., & van Langenhove, L. (1999). *Positioning theory: Moral contexts of intentional action*. Oxford, England: Blackwell.
- Harré, R. & van Langenhove, L. (1991). Varieties of positioning. *Journal for the Theory of Social Behaviour*, 21, 393-407.
- Holland, D. H., & Lave, J. (2001). *History in person: Enduring struggles, contentious practice, intimate identities*. Santa Fe, NM: School of American Research Press.
- Holland, D. H., & Leander, K. (2004). Ethnographic studies of positioning and subjectivity: An introduction. *Ethos*, 32(2), 127-139.
- Holland, D. C., & Quinn, N. (1987). *Cultural models in language and thought*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Hornberger, N. H. (2002). Multilingual language policies and the continua of biliteracy: An ecological approach. *Language Policy*, 1(1), 27-51.
- Hornberger, N. H., & Link, H. (2012). Translanguaging in today's classrooms: A biliteracy lens. *Theory into Practice*, 51(4), 239. doi:10.1080/00405841.2012.726051

- Howie, D. (1999). Preparing for positive positioning. In R. Harré & L. van Langenhove (Eds.), *Positioning theory: Moral contexts of intentional action* (pp. 53-59). Oxford, England: Blackwell.
- Howie, D., & Peters, M. (1996). Positioning theory: Vygotsky, Wittgenstein and social constructionist psychology. *Journal for the Theory of Social Behaviour* 26, 51-54.
- Hymes, D. (1996). *Ethnography, linguistics, narrative inequality: Toward an understanding of voice*. London, GBR: Taylor & Francis.
- Hymes, D. D. (1967). *Language in culture and society: A reader in linguistics and anthropology*: New York: Harper & Rowe.
- Ibrahim, A., Alim, H. S., & Pennycook, A. (2008). *Global linguistic flows : Hip hop cultures, youth identities, and the politics of language*. Florence, KY, USA: Routledge.
- Immigration and Nationality Act of 1952, Requirements as to understanding the English language, history, principles, and form of government of the United States. Sec. 312. [8 U.S.C. 1423]
- Johnson, M. (1987; 1990). *The body in the mind: The bodily basis of meaning, imagination, and reason*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Juffermans, K., & Van der Aa, J. (2013). Introduction to the special issue: Analyzing voice in educational discourses. *Anthropology & Education Quarterly*, 44(2), 112-123. doi:10.1111/aeq.12010
- Kessler, S. A. & Swadener, B. B. (1992). *Reconceptualizing the early childhood curriculum: Beginning the dialogue*. New York: Teachers College Press.
- Krachu, Y., & Smith, L. E. (2008). *Cultures, contexts and world Englishes*. New York: Routledge.
- Labov, W. (1972). Some principles of linguistic methodology. *Language in Society*, 1(1), 97-120. doi:10.1017/S0047404500006576
- Lakoff, G., & Johnson, M. (1980). *Metaphors we live by*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Lave, J., & Wenger, E. (1991). *Situated learning: Legitimate peripheral participation*. Cambridge England; New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Lawton, S. B. (2012). State education policy formation: The case of Arizona's English language learner legislation. *American Journal of Education*, 118(4), 455-487.

- Leander, K. M. (2004). "They took out the wrong context": Uses of time-space in the practice of positioning. *Ethos*, 32(2), 188-213.
- Lillie, K. E. C. (2011). *Giving the students a voice: Surveying students about Arizona's Structured English Immersion restrictive language policy* (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). Arizona State University, Phoenix, AZ.
- Lillie, K., & Markos, A. (2014). The four-hour block: SEI in classrooms. In S. C. K. Moore (Ed.), *Language policy processes and consequences: Arizona case studies* (pp. 133-155). Bristol, UK: Multilingual Matters.
- Lillie, K. E., Markos, A., Arias, M. B., & Wiley, T. G. (2012). Separate and not equal: The implementation of structured English immersion in Arizona's classrooms. *Teachers College Record*, 114(9), 6.
- Lincoln, Y. S., & González y González, E. M. (2008). The search for emerging decolonizing methodologies in qualitative research: Further strategies for liberatory and democratic inquiry. *Qualitative Inquiry*, 14(5), 784-805. doi:10.1177/1077800408318304
- Lyster, R., & Ballinger, S. (2011). Content-based language teaching: Convergent concerns across divergent contexts. *Language Teaching Research*, 15(3), 279-288. doi: 10.1177/1362168811401150
- Maira, S., & Soep, E. (2005). *Youthscapes: The popular, the national, the global* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Margolis, E. (2001). *The hidden curriculum in higher education*. New York; London: Routledge.
- McCarty, T.L. (2014). Ethnography in educational linguistics. In M. Bigelow & J. Enns-Kananen (Eds.), *The Routledge handbook of educational linguistics* (pp. 23-37). New York: Routledge.
- McCarty, T. (1993). Language, literacy, and the image of the child in American Indian classrooms. *Language Arts* 70 (3) Multiculturalism and the Language Arts pp. 182-192. Downloaded from: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/41482082>
- McCarty, T. L., Romero-Little, M. E., Warhol, L., & Zepeda, O. (2014). Genealogies of language loss and recovery: Native youth language practices and cultural continuance. In L.T. Wyman, T. L. McCarty and S. E. Nicholas (Eds.), *Indigenous youth and multilingualism: Language identity, ideology, and practice in dynamic cultural worlds* (pp. 26-47). New York: Routledge.

- McCarty, T. L., Romero-Little, M. E., Warhol, L., & Zepeda, O. (2011). Critical ethnography and Indigenous language survival: Some new directions in language policy research and praxis. In T. L. McCarty (Ed.), *Ethnography and language policy* (pp. 32-51). New York: Routledge.
- McCarty, T. L., & Wyman, L. T. (2009). Indigenous youth and bilingualism—theory, research, praxis. *Journal of Language, Identity, and Education*, 8(5), 279-290.
- McLaren, P. (1993). *Schooling as a ritual performance: Towards a political economy of educational symbols and gestures* (2nd ed.). London; New York: Routledge.
- Menard-Warwick, J. (2005). Both a fiction and an existential fact: Theorizing identity in second language acquisition and literacy studies, *Linguistics and Education* 16, 253–274.
- Menken, K., & García, O. (2010). *Negotiating language policies in schools: Educators as policymakers*. New York, NY: Routledge.
- Miles, M. B., Huberman, A. M., & Saldaña, J. (2013). *Qualitative data analysis: A methods sourcebook*. Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE.
- Mishler, E. G. (2006) Narrative and identity: The double arrow of time. In A. de Fina, D. Schiffrin, & M. Bamberg (Eds.), *Discourse and Identity* (pp. 30-47). New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Mirón, L. F., & Lauria, M. (1998). Student voice as agency: Resistance and accommodation in inner-city schools. *Anthropology & Education Quarterly*, 29(2), 189-213.
- Mitra, D. (2004). The significance of students: Can increasing" student voice" in schools lead to gains in youth development? *Teachers College Record*, 106(4), 651-688.
- Moore, S. C. K. (2014). *Language policy processes and consequences: Arizona case studies*. Bristol, UK: Multilingual Matters.
- Mortimer, K. S., & Wortham, S. (2015). Analyzing language policy and social identification across heterogeneous scales. *Annual Review of Applied Linguistics*, 35, 160. doi:10.1017/S0267190514000269
- Munniksma, A., Verkuyten, M., Flache, A., Stark, T. H., & Veenstra, R. (2015). Friendships and outgroup attitudes among ethnic minority youth: The mediating role of ethnic and host society identification. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 44, 88-99. doi:10.1016/j.ijintrel.2014.12.002

- No Child Left Behind Act of 2001, Pub. L. No. 107-110, § 115. Stat, 1425, 107-110 (2002).
- Norton, B. (1997). Language, identity, and the ownership of English. *TESOL Quarterly*, 31, 409-429.
- O’Leary, A. O., Romero, A. J., Cabrera, N. & Rascon, M. (2012). Assault on ethnic studies. In O. Santa Ana, C. Gonzalez de Bustamante (Eds.), *Arizona firestorm: Global immigration realities, national media and provincial politics* (pp 97-120). Plymouth, UK: Rowman and Littlefield.
- Oliver, R. (1998). Negotiation of meaning in child interactions. *The Modern Language Journal*, 82(3), 372-386. doi:10.1111/j.1540-4781.1998.tb01215.x
- Orellana, M. F. (2016). *Immigrant children in transcultural spaces: Language, learning, and love*. New York: Routledge.
- Orellana, M. F. (2009). *Translating childhoods: Immigrant youth, language, and culture*. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press.
- Orozco, R. A. (2011). “It is strange ...”: Attacks on ethnic studies and whiteness as property. *Journal of Educational Policy*, 26(6), 819-838.
- Ozer, E. J., Newlan, S., Douglas, L., Hubbard, E. (2013). “Bounded” empowerment: Analyzing tensions in the practice of youth-led participatory research in urban public schools. *American Journal of Community Psychology* 52, 13–26. doi: 10.1007/s10464-013-9573-7
- Paris, D. (2011). *Language across difference: Ethnicity, communication, and youth identities in changing urban schools*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Paris, D., & Winn, M. T. (2014). *Humanizing research: Decolonizing qualitative inquiry with youth and communities*. Thousand Oakes, CA: Sage.
- Pennycook, A. (2012). The future of Englishes. In A. Kirkpatrick (Ed.), *Routledge handbooks in applied linguistics: The Routledge handbook of world Englishes*. London, United Kingdom: Routledge. Retrieved from https://login.ezproxy1.lib.asu.edu/login?url=http://literati.credoreference.com/content/entry/routweng/the_future_of_englishes/0
- Pennycook, A. (2007). *Global Englishes and Transcultural Flows*. London: Routledge
- Piaget, J. (1983). *The child's conception of the world; translated by Joan and Andrew Tomlinson*. Totowa, NJ: Rowman & Allanheld.

- Portes, A., & Rumbaut, R. G. (2006). *Immigrant America: A portrait*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Powers, J. M. (2008). Forgotten history: Mexican American school segregation in Arizona from 1900–1951. *Equity & Excellence in Education, 41*, 467-481. doi: 10.1080/10665680802400253
- Qin-Hilliard, D. B. (2003). Gendered expectations and gendered experiences: Immigrant students' adaptation in schools. *New directions for youth development, 2003(100)*, 91-109.
- Quinn, N. (2005). *Finding culture in talk :A collection of methods*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Rampton, B. (2006). *Language in late modernity: Interaction in an urban school*. Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Rios-Aguilar, C., González Canché, M. S., & Sabetghadam, S. (2012). Evaluating the impact of restrictive language policies: The Arizona 4-hour English language development block. *Language Policy, 11(1)*, 47-80. doi:10.1007/s10993-011-9226-3
- Rios-Aguilar, C., & Gándara, P. (Eds.). (2012). Horne v. Flores and the future of language policy [Special issue]. *Teachers College Record 114(9)*.
- Rolstad, K., Mahoney, K., & Glass, G. V. (2005). The big picture: A meta-analysis of program effectiveness research on English language learners. *Educational Policy, 19*, 572-594. doi: 10.1177/0895904805278067
- Ruiz, R. (1991) The empowerment of language-minority students. In C. E. Sleeter (Ed.), *Empowerment through multicultural education* (pp. 217-228). Albany, N.Y: State University of New York Press.
- Ruiz, R. (1984). Orientations in language planning. *NABE Journal, 8 (2)*. 15–34.
- Sabetghadam, S. (2012). Evaluating the impact of restrictive language policies: the Arizona 4-hour English language development block. *Language Policy 11*, 47–80. doi: 10.1007/s10993-011-9226-3
- Saldaña, J. (2013). *The coding manual for qualitative researchers* (2nd ed.). Los Angeles: SAGE.

- Schildkraut, D. J. (2013). *Press ONE for English : Language policy, public opinion, and American identity*. Princeton, NJ, USA: Princeton University Press.
- Scott, J. C., Ed, Straker, D. Y., Ed, & Katz, L., Ed. (2008). *Affirming students' right to their own language: Bridging language policies and pedagogical practices*. Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group. doi:10.4324/9780203866986
- Seidman, I. (2013). *Interviewing as qualitative research; a guide for researchers in education and the social sciences*, (4th ed.). New York: Teacher's College Press.
- Shapiro, F. R. (2006). *Yale book of quotations*. New Haven, CT, USA: Yale University Press.
- Short, D. J., Echevarría, J., & Richards-Tutor, C. (2011). Research on academic literacy development in sheltered instruction classrooms. *Language Teaching Research*, 15, 363-380. doi: 10.1177/1362168811401155
- Skutnabb-Kangas, T., & McCarty, T. L. (2008). Key concepts in bilingual education: Ideological, historical, epistemological, and empirical foundations. In J. Cummins, & N. Hornberger (Eds.), *Encyclopedia of language and education* (2nd ed., Vol. 5, pp. 3-17). New York: Springer.
- Smith, L. T. (2012). *Decolonizing methodologies: Research and indigenous peoples* (2nd ed.). London; New York: Zed Books.
- Solano-Flores, G. (2006). Language, dialect, and register: Sociolinguistics and the estimation of measurement error in the testing of English language learners. *Teachers College Record*, 108, 2354-2379.
- Soto, L. D., & Lasta, J. (2005). Bilingual border-crossing children's ideological becoming. In L. D. Soto & B. B. Swadener (Eds.), *Power and voice in research with children*, (pp.154-164). New York: NY, Peter Lang.
- Soto, L. D., & Swadener, B. B. (2005). *Power & voice in research with children*. New York: P. Lang.
- Spindler, G., & Spindler, L. S. (2000). *Fifty years of anthropology and education, 1950-2000: A Spindler anthology*. London; Mahwah, N.J: L.Erlbaum Associates
- Stein, S. J. (2004). *The culture of education policy*. New York: Teachers College Press.
- Suárez-Orozco, C., Suárez-Orozco, M. M., & Todorova, I. (2008). *Learning a new land: Immigrant students in American society* (1st ed.). Cambridge, Mass: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press.

- Swadener, B. B. (2008). Children's rights, voices and allies: Stories from Kenya and the U.S.A. *International Journal of Equity and Innovation in Early Childhood* 6 (1), 42-55.
- Swadener, E. B., & Bloch, M. N. (1997). Children, families and change: International perspectives. preface to the special issue. *Early Education and Development*, 8(3), 207-218.
- Swadener, E. B. & Kessler, S. A. (1991). Reconceptualizing early childhood education: An introduction. *Early Education and Development*, 2(2), 85-94.
- Swadener, B. B., Lundy, L., Habashi, J., & Blanchet-Cohen, N. (2013). *Children's rights and education: International perspectives*. New York: Peter Lang.
- Talmy, S. (2011). The Interview as collaborative achievement: Interaction, identity, and ideology in a speech event. *Applied Linguistics*, 32, 25-42.
doi:10.1093/applin/amq027
- Temple, B. (2008). Narrative analysis of written texts: Reflexivity in cross language research. *Qualitative Research*, 8(3), 355-365. doi:10.1177/1468794106093632
- Tinker v. Des Moines Indep. Community Sch. Dist., 393 U.S. 503 (1969).
- Tomlinson, B. (2012). Which test of which English and why?. In A. Kirkpatrick (Ed.), *Routledge handbooks in applied linguistics: The Routledge handbook of world Englishes*. London, United Kingdom: Routledge. Retrieved from https://login.ezproxy1.lib.asu.edu/login?url=http://literati.credoreference.com/content/entry/routweng/which_test_of_which_english_and_why/0
- U.S. Department of Education Institute of Education Sciences National Center for Education Statistics (2015). *EdFacts/Consolidated State Performance Report, SY 2012-13*, Retrieved from <http://www2.Ed.Gov/Admins/Lead/Account/Consolidated/Index.Html>.
- Urrieta, L., Jr. (2009). *Working from within: Chicana and Chicano activist educators in whitestream schools*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press.
- Urrieta, L., Jr., & Quach, L. H. (2000). My language speaks of me: Transmutational identities in L2 acquisition. *The High School Journal*, 1, 26-35.
- Valencia, R. R. (2010). *Dismantling contemporary deficit thinking: Educational thought and practice*. New York: Routledge.
- Valdés, G. (2001). Heritage language students: Profiles and possibilities. In J. Peyton, J. Ranard & S. McGinnis (Eds.), *Heritage languages in America: Preserving a*

- national resource* (pp. 37-80). McHenry, IL: The Center for Applied Linguistics and Delta Systems.
- Vertovec, S. (2007). Super-diversity and its implications. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 30(6), 1024-1054.
- Vygotsky, L. S. (2004). Imagination and creativity in childhood. *Journal of Russian & East European Psychology*, 42(1), 7-97.
- Warriner, D. S. (2003). *Here without English you are dead: Language ideologies and the experiences of women refugees in an adult ESL program* (Doctoral dissertation). Retrieved from ProQuest Dissertations & Theses Global. (Order No. 305306434).
- Wenger, E. (1998). *Communities of practice :Learning, meaning, and identity*. Cambridge, U.K.; New York, N.Y.: Cambridge University Press.
- Wiley, T. G (2014). Diversity, super-diversity, and monolingual language ideology in the United States: Tolerance or intolerance? *Review of Research in Education* 38, pp. 1-32. doi: 10.3102/0091732X13511047
- Wiley, T. G. (2005). *Literacy and Language Diversity in the United States* (2nd ed.). Washington, DC: Center for Applied Linguistics and Delta Systems.
- Wiley, T. G. (2004). Language planning, language policy, and the English-only movement. In E. Finnegan & J. R. Rickford (Eds.), *Language in the USA: Themes for the twenty-first century* (pp. 319-338). Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Wiley, T. G., Castro, M., & De Klerk, G. (04). Editor's introduction: The condition of language-minority education in the state of Arizona. *NABE Journal / National Association for Bilingual Education*, 29(1),v.
- Wiley, T. G., Garcia, D. R., Danzig, A. B., & Stigler, M. L. (2014). Language policy, politics, and diversity in education. *Review of Research in Education*, 38(1), vii-xxiii.
- Wiley, T. G., & Lukes, M. (1996). English-only and standard English ideologies in the U.S. *TESOL Quarterly*, 30(3), 511-535. doi:10.2307/3587696
- Wiley, T. G., & Wright, W. E. (2004). Against the undertow: Language-minority education policy and politics in the “Age of accountability”. *Educational Policy*, 18(1), 142-168. doi:10.1177/0895904803260030

- Willis, P. (1977). *Learning to labor: How working class kids get working class jobs*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Wolfe, P. (2016). *Traces of history: Elementary structures of race*. London: Verso.
- Wortham, S. (2006). *Learning identity: The joint emergence of social identification and academic learning*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Wortham, S. (2004). From good student to social outcast. *Ethos*, 32, 164–187.
- Wright, W. E. (2006). The impact of language and high-stakes testing policies on elementary school English language learners in Arizona. *Education Policy Analysis Archives*, 14(13), 75.
- Wyman, L. T. (2012). *Youth culture, language endangerment and linguistic survivance* (Vol. 85). Bristol, UK: Multilingual Matters.
- Wyman, L. T. (2009). Youth, linguistic ecology, and language endangerment: A Yup'ik example. *Journal of Language, Identity & Education*, 8, 335-349. doi: 10.1080/15348450903305122

APPENDIX A

INTERVIEW PROTOCOL³ USED AS CONVERSATION PROMPTS

Part I: Focused Life History – Placing Youth Language and School Experience in Context	Part II: Details of Experience – Concrete Details of Youth Experiences with their Languages and School	Part III: Reflections on Meaning – Youth’s Intellectual and Emotional Connections to Language, School and Visions for the Future
<p>Please share what you feel comfortable sharing about your language, your culture, and your family background —</p> <p>Let’s start with your family and your growing up years. When and where were you born and where did you grow up?</p> <p>What about your parents? (& grandparents if you knew them). Did they come from the same place? What... language, culture, education, and professional backgrounds?</p> <p>What language do you remember speaking first? Second (etc.)?</p> <p>How about other family members...do you have any brothers and sisters? (are they older/younger?) What language(s) do they speak at home? How about with their friends? (explore.)</p> <p>What languages do you speak on a daily basis? (other languages you know?)</p>	<p>Please describe in as much detail as you feel you can—</p> <p>When and where is your native language used (by whom, and for what purposes?)</p> <p>When do you feel most comfortable speaking your native language? (with whom, where...?)</p> <p>When do you feel most comfortable speaking English? (with whom, where...?)</p> <p>Please tell me a little bit about what you do to learn English (explore specific activities, goals, projects.)</p> <p>What has been most important in helping you learn English? What kinds of things (strategies) work best for you?</p> <p>What surprised you about high school in the U.S.? ...about studying the English language?</p> <p>How did you learn the culture at your high school?</p>	<p>Thank you so much for telling me about your language and your school experiences. Let’s talk about what it all means for you....</p> <p>What would you like to tell other students about going to a high school where all the subjects are taught in English?</p> <p>What have been the hardest parts?</p> <p>What would you like to tell students who speak only English? Your teachers? The principal?</p> <p>What do you think about being in ELD (SEI) class?</p> <p>What would make high school better for you (and for students learning English?)</p> <p>What do you like most about your high school? What do you like least about your high school?</p> <p>What are you most proud of? What would you do differently?</p>

Part I: Focused Life History – Placing Youth Language And School Experience In Context	Part II: Details Of Experience – Concrete Details Of Youth Experiences With Their Languages And School	Part III: Reflections On Meaning – Youth’s Intellectual And Emotional Connections To Language, School And Visions For The Future
<p>What language(s) do you use at home with your parents?</p> <p>As you were growing up, who were your most important teachers (not exclusive to school)? What lessons did they teach you?</p> <p>Tell me a little about going to school (explore).</p> <p>What are your memories about first going to school?</p> <p>What language(s) were spoken at your first school?</p> <p>What subjects did you like best?</p> <p>Did you study other languages?</p> <p>What are your memories about learning English in school? (discuss/expand. When did you first learn English)</p>	<p>What activities do you like doing at school? (with whom?)</p> <p>How do you feel you are doing in school? (explore: academically? Socially?)</p> <p>Is it easy to make friends here? Tell me about your friends.... Do you do any clubs? Sports? Who do you eat lunch with?</p> <p>Who, (people & organizations) helps you be successful in school? What do they do?</p> <p>How is your family involved in your school life?</p> <p>What is the hardest thing about going to high school where the majority language is English?</p> <p>What subjects do you like best now? Why? Do you think your favorite subjects be the same if you studied them in your native language? (explore)</p> <p>What (and who) keeps you motivated? What else would you like to tell me about specific things (strategies or approaches) you do to succeed in high school?</p>	<p>How important is learning English to you? How important is your native language to you? Your family? Community?</p> <p>What do you plan for your future studies? Do you plan to graduate high school? Do you plan to go to college?</p> <p>What would you want others to know about your language and culture?</p> <p>Where do you see yourself five years from now? Ten years from now?</p> <p>Do you foresee yourself in a job where you can use your native language? English? Both?</p> <p>What else would you like to tell me?</p>

¹ Adapted from I.E. Seidman (2006), *Interviewing as Qualitative Research* (3rd ed.). New York: Teachers College Press, and T.L. McCarty (2012) Personal Communication

APPENDIX B
MINOR ASSENT FORM

STUDY TITLE: *Voices and Views of High School Students in Structured English Immersion Classrooms in Arizona*

The purpose of this study is to learn about what it is like to be a student in English Language Development (ELD) or Structured English Immersion (SEI) class.

I will be asked to take part in two interviews and one group interview (also called a focus group) to talk about my experiences learning languages, learning English in high school, and participating in school activities in English. The interviews will be done with just me and last for about one hour and will be audiotaped. The group interview will be with other students and will also be audiotaped and last about one hour. The group interview is a time to talk with other students in ELD about our school experiences and learning English. The researcher (Kathleen Corley) will tutor me for a maximum of three hours if I would like as a way to thank me for my participation.

I understand that the researcher (Kathleen) will be visiting some of the classes and the cafeteria at my school.

I can tell my teacher or the researcher (Kathleen) if I want to stop doing the study at any time.

My participation in this project is voluntary and I have been told that I may stop my participation in this study at any time. I understand that whatever I say or do is confidential. However, due to the group nature of the focus group, confidentiality amongst students cannot be guaranteed. The researcher will not tell anyone (my parents, my teachers) about what I say or do.

If I choose not to participate, it will not affect my involvement in school in any way.

Signing here means that you have read this form or have had it read to you and that you are willing to be in this study.

Signature

Printed Name

APPENDIX C
PARENTAL LETTER OF PERMISSION

Dear Parent:

I am a doctoral candidate in Educational Leadership and Policy Studies, conducting a dissertation study under the supervision of Dr. Beth Swadener, a professor in the School of Social Transformation, College of Liberal Arts and Sciences, at Arizona State University. As part of my dissertation, I am carrying out a study in order to understand young people's experiences and perspectives while learning English and attending high school in the United States.

I am inviting your child to participate in the study, which will involve two 1-hour interviews, and one optional 1-hour group interview. I will also be observing classes at your child's school. I offer to provide your child one hour of English tutoring for each hour of participation (maximum three hours). The interviews will be audio-taped. Your child's participation in this study is voluntary. If you choose not to have your child participate or to withdraw your child from the study at any time, there will be no penalty. Likewise, if your child chooses not to participate or to withdraw from the study at any time, there will be no penalty. The results of the study may be published, but your child's name will not be used.

All information obtained in this study is strictly confidential. However, due to the group nature of the focus group, confidentiality amongst students cannot be guaranteed. The results of this study may be used in reports, presentations, and publications, but the researchers will not identify you or your child. All information collected as part of the study will be coded to ensure participant confidentiality and anonymity and stored in a secure, locked file at ASU and a password-protected computer.

If you have any questions concerning the study or your child's participation, please call me at (415) 317-1738, or you can email me at <kmcorley@asu.edu>.

Sincerely,

Kathleen M. Corley, Educational Leadership and Policy Studies, Mary Lou Fulton Teachers' College, Arizona State University

By signing below, you are giving consent for your child, _____, to participate in the above study.

Signature
Date

Printed Name

If you have any questions about you or your child's rights as a participant in this research, or if you feel you or your child have been placed at risk, you can contact the Chair of the Human Subjects Institutional Review Board, through the Office of Research Integrity and Assurance, at (480) 965-6788.

APPENDIX D
INSTITUTIONAL REVIEW BOARD APPROVAL



APPROVAL: EXPEDITED REVIEW

Elizabeth Swadener
 Social Transformation, School of
 480/965-1452
 Beth.Swadener@asu.edu

Dear Elizabeth Swadener:

On 4/21/2014 the ASU IRB reviewed the following protocol:

Type of Review:	Initial Study
Title:	Voices and Views of High School Students in Structured English Immersion Classrooms in Arizona
Investigator:	Elizabeth Swadener
IRB ID:	STUDY00000934
Category of review:	(7)(b) Social science methods, (7)(a) Behavioral research
Funding:	None
Grant Title:	None
Grant ID:	None
Documents Reviewed:	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Swadener_Corley Parental Consent Letter 4_5_14 TIFFANY.pdf, Category: Consent Form; ▪ Swadener_Corley Minor Assent Form 4_5_14.TIFFANY.pdf, Category: Consent Form; ▪ Swadener_Corley IRB form 4-18-14 updated.docx, Category: IRB Protocol; ▪ Swadener_Corley Interview Protocol 4_5_14.docx, Category: Measures (Survey questions/Interview questions /interview guides/focus group questions); ▪ Swadener_Corley Participant Recruitment Script 4_5_14.docx, Category: Recruitment Materials; ▪ Swadener_Corley Parent Recruitment Script 4_5_14.docx, Category: Recruitment Materials;

APPENDIX E

INSTITUTIONAL REVIEW BOARD APPROVAL CONTINUATION



APPROVAL CONTINUATION

Elizabeth Swadener
Social Transformation, School of
480/965-1452
Beth.Swadener@asu.edu

Dear Elizabeth Swadener:

On 4/21/2015 the ASU IRB reviewed the following protocol:

Type of Review:	Continuing Review
Title:	Voices and Views of High School Students in Structured English Immersion Classrooms in Arizona
Investigator:	Elizabeth Swadener
IRB ID:	STUDY00000934
Category of review:	(7)(b) Social science methods, (7)(a) Behavioral research
Funding:	None
Grant Title:	None
Grant ID:	None
Documents Reviewed:	

The IRB approved the protocol from 4/21/2015 to 4/19/2016 inclusive. Three weeks before 4/19/2016 you are to submit a completed Continuing Review application and required attachments to request continuing approval or closure.

If continuing review approval is not granted before the expiration date of 4/19/2016 approval of this protocol expires on that date. When consent is appropriate, you must use final, watermarked versions available under the “Documents” tab in ERA-IRB.

In conducting this protocol you are required to follow the requirements listed in the INVESTIGATOR MANUAL (HRP-103).

Sincerely,

IRB Administrator