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## Maneuvering Bilingualism: Long-Term English Learners

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**Maneuvering Bilingualism: Long-Term English Learners**

by

Abbey Leier-Murphy

A Thesis

Submitted to the Graduate Faculty of

St. Cloud State University

in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements

for the Degree

Master of Arts in English:

Teaching English as a Second Language

May, 2020

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## **Abstract**

Long-term English learners (LTELs) are typically described as English learners (ELs) whom have been in a limited English learning program for five or more years and who have yet to be reclassified into the general population of students. For many of these students, their conversational English appears nativelylike. However, their academic achievement is generally found to be lower than that of their monolingual peers. While many emergent bilinguals designated the LTEL label struggle academically, language, race, and class contribute to the systemic barriers placed in front of them. With consideration to negative labels and characteristics associated with LTELs, the purpose of this study is to investigate the linguistic choices that contribute the language repertoires of LTEL-labeled students. In doing so, a group of Hispanic/Latinx students at a suburban high school were surveyed within four domains and multiple variances in order to more fully give details to how, when, and why these learners use the languages in their arsenal.

## Table of Contents

	Page
List of Tables .....	5
List of Figures .....	6
Chapter 1: Introduction .....	7
Chapter 2: Literature Review .....	10
Two Worlds: Power of Language .....	10
One World: Maneuvering Bilingualism.....	12
Reclassification as a Barrier.....	19
Identities of LTELs .....	23
Research Questions.....	27
Chapter 3: Methodology .....	28
Participants.....	28
Materials .....	31
Survey of Language Use.....	31
Procedure .....	33
Chapter 4: Results .....	34
Domains of Language Use.....	41
Domain of Family .....	41
Domain of Friends .....	43
Domain of Social Media .....	44
Domain of Workplace.....	45

	4
Reframe, Re-envision, Reimagine .....	46
Limitations .....	48
Conclusion .....	50
References .....	51
Appendices.....	<b>Error! Bookmark not defined.</b>
Appendix A: Language Use Survey .....	56
Appendix B: Interview Questions.....	59
Appendix C: Informed Consent .....	60
Appendix D: IRB Approval .....	64

**List of Tables**

Table	Page
1. Summary of Participants.....	28
2. Non-US born participant demographic information.....	30
3. Dominance Configuration of English and Spanish.....	32
4. Dominance Configuration Scores and Averages from Language Use Survey.....	34

## List of Figures

Figure	Page
1. Language Choice and Code-Switching Map .....	16
2. Four sub-questions to ask about the classification of LTELs .....	18
3. Overall participant WIDA levels .....	29
4. Sample item from the language use questionnaire .....	33
5. Family domain average rating .....	36
6. Friend domain average rating .....	37
7. Workplace domain average rating .....	38
8. Social media domain averages .....	39
9. Speaking and writing variance average ratings .....	40

## Chapter 1: Introduction

*“Ni de aquí ni de allá”*

Annie Gonzalez, an actor and fifth generation American Chicana, describes how the phrase, *ni de aquí ni de allá* (meaning *neither here nor there*) represents the difficulties with navigating her Mexican identity as she coped with the social pressures from her Latinx community and the American society at large (Con Todo Netflix, 2020). Born and raised in Los Angeles, Gonzalez felt that growing up without the religious or linguistic practices that Latinx people generally are “boxed” into was a challenge for her, and she often felt like she “belonged nowhere.” Many other Hispanic/Latinx communities were raised in US education where English predominately makes up the structure of the school system and where many students, born in the US or not, become educated in ways that do not equitably view the experiences of black, indigenous, or other people of color (BIPOC). This educational experience can hinder the success and development of learners from non-white, multilingual, and multicultural backgrounds.

When a student registers to enter the US school system, they may be targeted as non-native English speakers and may be asked to fill out a *home language survey*. This survey is generally the front-line response of the system to identify students and English learners (EL). These students, having been born in the US or not, are then placed in programs for learners with “limited English proficiency” (LEP). These programs, even labeled so those participating are seen as deficient, house 10% of the US population of students (from the 2015-16 school year, United States Department of Education, 2018).

At the secondary level, Flores, Kleyn, and Menken (2015) describe ELs as being three main types of *emergent bilinguals*: 1) newly arrived with educational background 2) newly



arrived with limited or interrupted formal education (SLIFE), and 3) long-term English learners (LTEL, p. 114). Students with these labels have been given this label at the hands of policy makers at the district, state, and national level. For example, the American Federation of Teachers (AFT) and Every Student Succeeds Act (ESSA) require schools to report data on English learners as long-term ELs, which they designate as an EL who have “maintained” their status for five or more years. While language acquisition may take 5 to 7 years naturally, this group is marginalized for not having met unreasonable standards that monolinguals are not expected of achieving, or are praised for if attempted (Olsen, 2010). Thus, the LTEL label continues to be maintained.

However, when we take into account the experiences of people outside the hegemonic populace, we are able to learn the depth and vibrancy of their individual histories that has not and is not always acknowledged for the contributions their backgrounds offer, but for the lack of whiteness they contain. These stringent structural and societal rules create the “other” in which so many young people may identify as, feeling a lack of belonging as Gonzalez shared. It is the goal of this study to continue the work of inclusive literature that creates and offers space for learners of diverse linguistic and cultural experiences. Therefore, this study will investigate and describe the label of long-term ELs and their experiences with bilingualism. The participants in this study include Latinx students in a suburban high school in the United States who have been labeled as “long-term” according to national and state-level education policy. Through the scope of raciolinguistic theory, research regarding bilingualism that rejects the deficit ideologies of multilingual learners and the nuances of linguistic choices, these students and their experiences with bilingualism are intended to be additions to the academic conversation surrounding long-

term English learners, second language acquisition, and the educational policies that surround them.

## Chapter 2: Literature Review

### Two Worlds: Power of Language

In Grosjean's (1982) book, *Life with Two Languages*, bilingualism is given a comprehensive introduction. Amidst the plethora of information that Grosjean offers, one of the largest aspects of bilingualism to consider is the power of language and its sociocultural and political influences on how language has been maintained and shifted in certain communities and across the country and world. While there are a few true multilingual nations in the world, all countries have had implicating histories regarding language, race, and social class. Recurrently, nations have used language as a way to monopolize power and social mobility (e.g. Russia limiting the use of Ukraine prior to 1917, Grosjean 1982, p. 23). Despite attempts and ignorance in language policy to support minority languages, Grosjean stresses that all nations have bilingual presence in varying degrees and must be acknowledged.

Grosjean suggests that more often the smaller groups of language and linguistic communities have much higher levels of bilinguals compared to large language populations who are rarely bilingual. When these smaller populations are neglected as those in the U.S., minority languages in the country are left to fend for themselves in the preservation of language and culture. This form of neglect, and further, dissuasion, of language use outside the majority language implicates policy makers as reinforcers of epistemic racism and idealized monolingualism (Grosjean, 1982; Flores, Menken, & Kleyn, 2015).

Grosjean (1982) suggests that among the factors that affect language maintenance, three of the most influential that affect language shift in the US are educational policy, American nationalism, and American society's assimilative power (p. 110). These factors allow for society to view minority language users as inferior citizens, despite that their language abilities are far

superior to the hegemonic monolingual. While my own paternal grandparents were the first generation in their family to be born on American soil, their German language and German-Russian heritage was largely eliminated due to anti-German sentiments and educational policy in the United States during the time of their upbringing and schooling. They were forced to use English in their rural schoolhouse and were punished for using anything otherwise. While this tactic was not new in the world and continues to encroach on other minority language communities, it was largely effective. The few traces of my grandparents' L1 now exist only in short phrases and names of dishes that have been preserved through generational ties. While my family, Anglo-Saxon-skinned with fair eye color, have survived the overwhelming pressure to replace language and culture with only small nostalgic remnants remaining of their former linguistic identities, even greater challenges are presented to language communities who are further othered by race and class.

To situate the issues of linguistic singularity and lack of inclusivity for bilingual peoples and people of color (POC) in the United States, Rosa & Flores (2017) use a raciolinguistic backdrop. They suggest that the purposeful shifting of power in society and the boundaries created around race and language can be situated in a raciolinguistic perspective to explore the continued questioning and oppression of racial and linguistic authenticity and to find ways to deauthorize these ideologies in society. Rosa & Flores give an overview of the ways in which language and power have oppressed certain minority groups in the U.S., describing the epistemic overtake of indigenous, black, and other POC language and communities. The authors suggest that the colonial ideologies used to oppress these groups in language and perspective allowed them, even when they complied to European language and cultural expectations, to be seen as a racialized Other, never fully human (p. 625). After bending and assimilating to the larger

language and cultural population, multilingual minority communities have had their “version” of the majority language dialectized (Grosjean, 1982) so that it is still maintained as outside of the dominant language group (Chicano English, African American English, Indian English etc., Brooks, 2020). Flores & Rosa (2019) suggest that unseating the hierarchy and “deficit ideologies” of language and race involve the destructuralizing of large systems in which we all function:

“Importantly, these raciolinguistic ideologies are not the sole product of individuals who hold racist ideas. Instead, they are products of a long history of colonial discourses that have become entrenched in mainstream institutions and must be negotiated by people as they navigate these institutions and their interpersonal relationships within them,” (p. 148).

Without re-defining mainstream institutions and language policy, the risk is that minority language groups lose the support and confidence in using their L1 due to the pressures of the dominant group. Certain factors in the U.S. affect this maintenance. Hispanic/Latinx members of the U.S. are the largest population of minority language users and stand a fight to change the landscape of the monolingual ideologies and have made progress in recent history. While Rosa (2016) suggests that Latinidad is always framed as a population of future significance, despite their strong history in the Americas, predating even European colonies, Grosjean (1982) has hope for Hispanic Americans maintaining their L1 and looks to see what their linguistic future holds.

### **One World: Maneuvering Bilingualism**

Students with abilities in more than one language go through what Danzak (2011) calls a “rebirth” as they are integrated into the school system where they meet demands of academic

rigor and L2 instruction (p. 506). This *rebirth* may prove challenging to students who must balance new environments and bilingual abilities, particularly if the L1 is not supported appropriately. A rebirth insinuates a chosen path to venture upon with a positive connotation, whereas most English learners' education in the U.S. functions exclusively through the authority of English and without consideration to their previous and current language histories (Kibler & Valdes, 2016). This process can be regenerative and potentially grueling for language to endure in order to avoid the stunting of the L1 as shifts in acquisition occur.

Authors such as Harris (2012) advocate for dual-language programs in schools. While bilingualism is touted as being more advantageous to the growing mind, these programs are not always funded and are often the first to go when budgets need to be cut. Woumans, Surmont, Struys, and Duyck (2016) investigated the overall advantage that bilingualism has on cognitive development and intelligence in a comparative study with French L1 children entering kindergarten into two different programs: one a traditional monolingual French program and the other a Dutch immersion program. Woumans et. al. (2016) found evidence to support that bilingualism was associated with positive cognitive abilities that surpasses the monolingual kindergarteners. Their study concluded that these effects on cognition could be long-term and even extend beyond linguistic abilities. They end their article by suggesting that these findings are "extremely relevant for policymakers in education," (p. 87). This gives evidence that the LTELs within this study, particularly those who enrolled into a US school beginning in the primary grades, could have benefited from bilingual education.

This point is further exemplified in a study done by D. Baker, Park, S. Baker, Basaraba, Kame'eui, & Beck (2012) in which Spanish L1 English learners in earlier grades were organized into bilingual and monolingual reading groups. The bilingual reading group had profound growth

for the ELs participating in areas of reading comprehension and oral fluency. Baker et. al. (2012) found that learning to read in two languages similar in alphabet (i.e. Spanish and English) increased the reading skills and language acquisition in not only English, but also in the students' L1. The authors further suggest that implementing a school-wide reading model can help ELs who are "at-risk" for learning difficulties related to reading. This study shows, like Woumans et. al. (2016), that LTELs who had been given the opportunity to attend a school that provides a bilingual reading model and/or bilingual program would have helped prevent the label they now carry. However, it must be noted that many of these programs only extend through "transitional" periods, generally primary school, leaving many ELs without bilingual support in middle school and beyond. While there has been success with English learners in a bilingual instructional setting, those programs are limited and not always available to students in a lower socioeconomic class. American history is wrought with civil rights concerns over whether or not non-native English speakers require the support of their L1 in dual-language setting (Grosjean 1982). However, for those that cannot afford the privilege of a program that supports the L1, they cannot survive the blunt force that comes with an education in an L2 and language maintenance of the L1 changes drastically for learners.

Rosa & Flores (2017) suggest that due to effects of both Spanish and US colonialism, US Latinx populations historically have been stereotyped and seen as deficient in their English-Spanish bilingualism. Wei & Ho (2018) suggest that bilingual and multilingual persons hardly, if ever, show equal proficiency in all areas of the languages known, pressure on dual-language learners reinforces that an unattainable, idealized acquisition of *double-monolingualism* (Flores, Menken, & Kleyn, 2015) is obtainable and, in fact, expected of these populations.

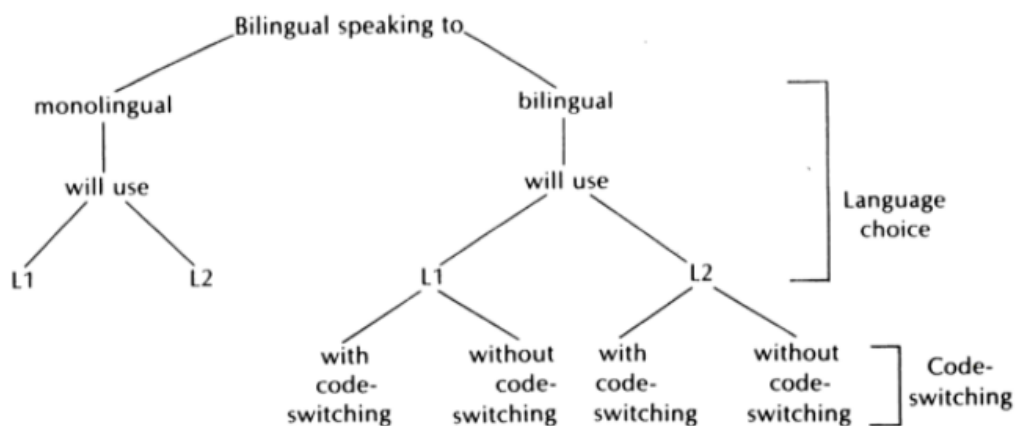
Flores et. al. (2015) suggest that even through the idealized monolingualism and epistemic racism that these long-term English learners must endure, they can negotiate in varying cultural settings and create fluid identities (p. 122). Bilingual students live between what Schuch (2018) claims are “two worlds,” and he suggests that they can become experts in working between the L1 and L2 effectively (p. 344). Flores. et. al. (2015) suggest that a crucial behavior of bilingualism is the “switching and mixing” they conduct among their known languages. This ability, also known as *translanguaging*, goes beyond the simplicity of codeswitching.

“Translanguaging is a process of sense making and meaning making that involves use of the learner’s linguistic repertoire in a dynamic and integrated manner without regard to the named languages individually and separately—that is, transcending the boundaries of named languages,” (Wei & Ho, 2018, p. 35).

Translanguaging offers the argument that languages are not separate entities in the human mind, but fluid among different modes and variances. Translanguaging offers a better conceptual and theoretical foundation to the previous narrow focus of language and acquisition that has been maintained for so long. It is not that bi- and multilingual persons live between two worlds that function on their own, but in one diversely linguistic world where choices of language use are fluid and dynamic.

Within and among language use, users must make choices on if/when/where to use a language (Fishman, 1965). Grosjean (1982, p. 129) suggests a simplistic view (Figure 1) of bilingual choices when codeswitching to assist in understanding the possibilities that they may have when encountering specific language users.



**Figure 1***Language Choice and Code-Switching Map*

The extent of these decisions cannot be described solely by Grosjean's map, but it can aid in the understanding of the choices bilinguals do make. When making these linguistic choices, Grosjean (1982) suggests that individuals may go through a series of factors to decide on how/when/where to use their language capacity: participant backgrounds (language proficiency, preference, age, sex, education, etc.); situation (location, monolinguals present, degree of formality/intimacy); content of discourse; and function of interaction (p. 136). Among other variances, Fishman's (1965) framework for how, when, and why bilinguals use their language arsenal, domain is included to properly address the sociocultural construct that is needed to address the matter of LTELs and language use. Figure 2 above displays all of the theoretical possibilities of media, role, situational, and domain variances that were included in a study of bilingualism according to Fishman. While not all of these variances will be included in the present study (see Methodology), Fishman provides a proper foundation for the present study.

**Long-Term English Learners: A Label**

Grosjean (1982) suggests that the United States has supported monolingual English education through language policy. Grosjean's (1982) suggestion that education policy has been turned in favor of supporting emergent bilingual and multilingual students in classrooms, labels of minority student language populations continue to prompt issues with equity and justice in schools communities. This can be found with the labeling of long-term English learners (LTELs) who are typically described as ELs that have been in an English learning program five years or more and have yet to meet the exit criteria of an English learning program. Menken and Kleyn (2009) describe long-term ELs according to New York and California state policy as students who are English learners that have been in an English language program for five to seven years, respectively. The WIDA Research Report (2018) defines *potential LTELs* as students with six or more years without reaching an overall composite score of 4.5 or higher in English language proficiency. Kibler & Valdés (2016) report that 59% of English learners in California were considered LTELs. These populations housed within English learner programs and services are not small, but indeed a large portion of programs that are traditionally intended to serve students who are new to the English language.

While the term LTEL may appear to serve as a means of identifying and aiding students of this population, Kibler & Valdés (2016) argue that this “manufactured” title for long-term English learners is detrimental to their success and achievement and is rooted in injustice:

“The category was created because policies, ideologies, and difficult pedagogical challenges come together during a period in which American schools are faced with an almost impossible task: accelerating the acquisition/development of (a) the English that is used by non-English background students to learn in school and (b) the English that

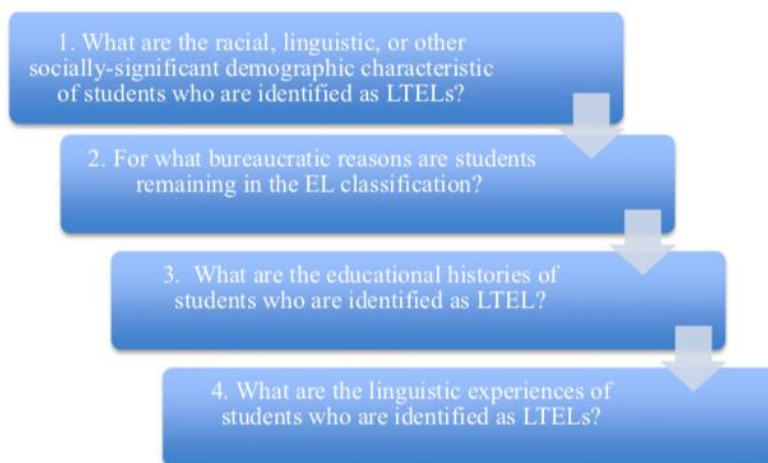
is used in standardized tests to measure both language proficiency and content area knowledge,” (Kibler & Valdés, 2016, p. 101).

Kibler & Valdés (2016) are not simply recommending that this term be removed as a label for policy makers, but they are demanding awareness that it affects their standings as students on the hard lines of achievement that are set by governments. The need to set limits on language acquisition is inappropriate without research to inform decisions of leaders in the educational system. Therefore, it is important to refute claims that learners are “long-term” in their process of language acquisition without proper knowledge of their complex and often misunderstood linguistic background.

In order to expand beyond erroneous stereotypes and stigmatizing labels, Brooks (p. 228, 2018) suggests that leaders ask four questions to help prevent from creating impossible or ignorant expectations for these learners (figure 2).

## Figure 2

*Four sub-questions to ask about the classification of LTELs*



The dominant narrative within literature reinforces descriptions of LTELs as deficient in linguistic, literate, and academic abilities (Brooks, 2020). While Brooks suggests that a growing

body of literature is fighting against the viewpoints of LTELs being a "singular normative linguistic and literate profile, "there are still those in education that are maintaining the rhetoric of LTELs being characterized by these deficiencies" (p. 4). By gathering all of the information these questions prompt, leaders will have a better understanding of who LTELs are and why they are not meeting levels of achievement set by governments. Their needs can be better met by including a thorough linguistic background of these learners rather than creating unreasonable expectations of their language acquisition without proper support in place. Answering Brooks' questions also leaves space for educators to reconsider and re-envision LTELs and the label that surrounds their educational history. Brooks (2020) asserts that the reframing of LTELs is about "the power of alternative frames to make discernible what has been rendered invisible by the predominate way of seeing," (p. 10). This means a closer look (with perhaps a different lens) into this population is necessary to begin unfolding what epistemic institutions have created.

For the purpose of this study and exploration of this growing population of students, we will refer to English learners with 5 or more years of instruction in an English learner program as *long-term English learners*. This label will be used to guide the study in order to help understand the questions that Brooks (2018) asks in regard to LTELs to better understand the linguistic complexities of students and to further develop conversation that denounces damage-centered narratives of this "invisible" population and to reinforce their belonging in all educational landscapes.

### **Reclassification as a Barrier**

As a means to understand how LTELs become the label they are designated, Brooks also prompts educators and leaders to understand the bureaucratic reasons in which LTELs remain in EL programs (2018, 2020). In order for English learners to leave their language

program, they must become *reclassified* out of their English learner program and into mainstream education. Delaying reclassification for ELs results in the label understood as long-term status (Estrada & Wang, 2018). This label can instigate negative effects and damaging perceptions of identity for emergent bilinguals as they strive to not only reach a threshold of academic achievement, but also to gain proficiency in both the L1 and L2. LTELs who are prevented from reaching these benchmarks reported feeling less confident and motivated to do well in school (Menken, Kleyn, & Chae, 2012). Alternatively, the expectation of monolingual Americans is not to show proficiency of any sort in an L2 to meet graduation requirements in the vast majority of American high schools. The Every Student Succeeds Act (ESSA) English Learner Toolkit (2015) describes ELs who have not exited from an LEP program in an appropriate amount of time as a “civil rights concern” as these students may be denied the same access to mainstream curriculum as other students which can lead to the disruption of academic growth. Further, exit criteria from ESL programs can be unreasonably strict and cause a lack of engagement leading to higher tendency of dropping out of school, particularly for LTELs (Yang, Urrabazo, & Murray, 2001). While the concern is commendable, education and language policy limits bilingualism and language acquisition, which in turn breeds disruption to the lives of these students labeled as LTELs.

A study by Umanksy & Reardon (2014) looked at a large population of Latino students in an urban setting regarding EL reclassification. In their study, they found that reclassification was unattainable to roughly a quarter of the students in the school (p. 902). They also suggested that due to a lack of rigorous academic instruction in middle schools, a larger body of students with lower English proficiency and academic skills were carried over into further secondary grade levels. These findings match Yang, Urrabazo, & Murray (2001) which found that students who

spent 7+ years in an ESL program did not improve in academic performance and also reached a “ceiling” of language proficiency level (p. 13). While these findings do suggest a deeper look into second language and bilingual pedagogy and instruction, more importantly, we must ask the question: What bureaucratic reasons are students remaining in the EL classification (Brooks, 2018, 2020)? In both examples, the authors gauge the success of the English learners based on their academic rigor, instruction, performance, achievement, and even consider a proficiency “ceiling,” but do not ask the question as to why these students had such impressionable results. While attempting to create more inclusive and understanding programs for ELs, we must endeavor to question the systems in which our students are consistently not meeting state and federal benchmarks. As testing is a significant barrier for ELs towards graduation and reclassification, it deserves to be put under a scope that considers other aspects of language and learning rather than the traditional monolingual student we often keep in mind when creating tests to show achievement.

The Every Student Succeeds Act (ESSA) suggests English learners should have more rights and awareness on a national and state level compared to the former education policy of No Child Left Behind (NCLB). As most standardized testing is created without English learners in mind, their progress being held under a microscope may not accurately depict their academic achievement nor the complexity of their bilingualism. Most often, standardized tests are made without the bilingual and linguistically complex learners in mind, but limited to their native-English, monolingual counterparts (Menken, 2008). Furthermore, standardized testing calls for particular types of question stems and vocabulary use in order to decode instructions and the performance task that many ELs do not have the linguistic experiences to match their English L1

peers. Wolfram & Schilling (2016) propose that standardized testing is a new formal written language that is exclusively used for assessments.

“In part, the language of test taking is based on a version of formal written language, but it is often more than that... Along with the specialized registers of language use in testing, it is important to understand that many tests rely upon particular metalinguistic tasks, that is, special ways of organizing and talking about language apart from its ordinary uses for communication,” (p. 321).

Because of the specialized language used in standardized testing, ELs and LTELs alike can struggle to show achievement as other populations of native speakers of English, despite content knowledge and diverse bilingual linguistic repertoires they do possess. As a result, Wolfram and Schilling (2016) developed the following hypothesis:

“The more superficial and limited the scope of language capability tapped in a testing instrument, the greater the likelihood that the instrument will be inappropriate for speakers beyond the immediate population upon which it was normed,” (p. 319).

This hypothesis suggests that assessments that do not keep specific languages, dialects, and varieties in mind are inappropriate for all learners. Acknowledging this hypothesis also ensures we ask the appropriate questions when faced with Menken’s (2008) finding that ELs perform 20-40 percent less on standardized tests than students within the general population. As these assessments are often intended as a graduation or reclassification requirement, their place in education policy must be questioned for equity and justice for learners who have different social and cultural experiences with English.

Cimpian, Thompson, & Makowski (2017) researched the policies of reclassification between different states and found that the states with different criteria for exiting an LEP

program greatly influenced if students would be reclassified, especially if there was more than one pathway in which students could meet expectations exiting (i.e. other records and data than a singular proficiency test). Bermudez, Kanaya, & Santiago (2017) found that strengthening communication between parents and the schools in which their LTEL child is attending is a helpful tactic in reaching classification as it provides a stronger sense of the needs that need to be filled. It is supported in literature that bilingual support, academic vocabulary, direct instruction, and literacy support will help increase proficiency, academic achievement, and higher chances of reclassification for LTELs (Umansky & Reardon, 2014; Olsen, 2010; Flores, Kleyn, & Menken, 2015; Menken, 2013, Krashen, 2018).

### **Identities of LTELs**

Decisions for this subgroup of English learners must include the linguistic experiences and histories of LTELs if we are to delegitimize and destigmatize the LTEL label (Brooks, 2018, 2020). LTELs are described as being verbally bilingual, appearing nativelike in both the L1 and L2 (conversationally), but lacking literacy skills due to inconsistent education and/or residence, and maintaining low academic performance, particularly in reading and writing (Menken & Kleyn, 2009). Consistent with Menken & Kleyn (2009), research shows that LTELs are stigmatized with being insufficient with academic English and having poor literacy skills in both languages (Kim & Garcia, 2014; Flores & Rosa, 2015). However, it is important to note that monolingual speakers of English in the United States may never master academic discourse but will not be considered ELs. Paradoxically, a bilingual student must show mastery in the academic discourse in their L2 in order to meet expectations of academic achievement (Flores et. al. 2015, p. 117). The deficit mind-set of the linguistic performance of these students is shrouded in lack of academic proficiency according to federal and state mandated assessments, as



described in the section on reclassification. However, if we investigate students' languages and linguistic repertoires, we are more likely to find that they are experts at maneuvering bilingualism dynamically and fluidly.

“Yet if we look at their complete linguistic repertoire across languages and varieties, it is highly likely that they [LTELs] would possess an even larger language base than many of their monolingual peers. But as it stands, the current categorization of these students as LTELs positions them as ‘languageless’ despite the fact that they would be considered proficient in either of their languages were they simply monolinguals,” (as seen in Flores et. al., 2015, p. 117).

To consider emergent bilinguals “languageless” is to consider their language experiences and histories as illegitimate with the current systems and policies in place even though they have more to offer linguistically than their monolingual peers. The label and damage-centered narratives associated with LTELs and emergent bilinguals only deepen without awareness of their true linguistic abilities and must be reframed and re-envisioned for the success of these experienced bilinguals (Brooks, 2020). Moreover, abilities of long-term ELs in their environments need to move beyond the limited view of achievement and what they showcase on standardized tests. In order to address this need for deeper narratives, the remainder of this section will draw on examples in literature that describe the perspectives of LTELs and their experiences with bilingualism.

While some researchers have found that the L1 for LTELs is academically weaker and used for vital communication with familial relationships (Jia, Kohnert, Collado, & Aquino-Garcia, 2006), the use and maintenance of their languages serve a much higher purpose than solely communication at home. Flores & Rosa (2015) state that the use of LTEL's first language

has the perception of being appropriate for home, but inappropriate for an academic or school setting which 1) undermines the linguistic practices of these learners and 2) does not allow for further development of their biliteracy within all aspects of their language environments. In their study, Jia, et. al. (2006) found that lexical skills in noun and verb processing developed slower after children began to quickly gain proficiency in the L2. The adjustment of becoming bilingual may show a shift in the strength of the L1 and L2, with the L2 becoming more dominant the earlier the language is acquired due to the social and academic L2 environment (Jia et. al. 2006, p. 598). A study completed by Haller & Repetti (2014) regarding Italian Americans and bilingualism found that many of the participants discussed having different phases of bilingual identity in their youth, from confusion during childhood to some writers concluding that both languages, meaning the L1 and L2, can maintain their own identities based on experiences, respectively (p. 246). In order to avoid the two issues presented by Flores & Rose (2015), a flexible approach on viewing linguistic backgrounds and acquisition of English learners is necessary, especially as their abilities are tied so closely to culture and identity. This means that the damage-centered narratives can only be opposed if practices and beliefs outside of the classroom in the larger scope of society also change.

According to Kim & Garcia (2014), long-term ELs felt that their English learner program was not designed for their needs, but instead intended only for new arrivals to the country (p. 306). The study also showed a large disparity between the goals and aspirations of the LTELs in comparison to their actual academic achievement. All students in their study expressed a desire to learn and to succeed in school. Many of the participants voiced interest in attending college or universities after high school, even. However, the participants histories showed the discrepancy of not passing state tests associate with reading and math and a lack of improvement of their

English proficiency which designated the students as having academic failures and lack of improvement of English proficiency. Kim & Garcia argue that this is due to inadequate rigor in the language support and expectations of these students. They also challenge the narrative by questioning whether staff in connection to these students were aware of their desires to go beyond high school and what they did to support them in those goals.

In an extensive study done on urban high schoolers by Moje, Overby, Tysvaer, & Morris (2008), the researchers delved into the contexts and experiences learners were having outside of school. The study gathered data regarding adolescent literacy and the what and why of reading and writing for fun. The study, which consisted of a Latino majority population, concluded that the participants were in fact reading and/or writing outside of school in many different contexts and capacities (Moje et. al., 2008, p. 12). The study included home language within student demographics but found no evidence of home language being tied to achievement. Further, Moje et. al. did not include language in the data they collected despite having 42% of participants list Spanish as the language used in their home (p. 116). Therefore, the students who were participating in reading and writing outside of the classroom may have been doing so in a language other than English. The study did not include the sub-groups, but the information they provide is hopeful in showing that LTELs can also have similar, yet biliterate, encounters like the students in Moje et. al. did. Furthermore, Danzak (2011) suggests that social identity leads to membership within the educational community in which LTELs belong to, thus creating space for improving L2 qualities and overall proficiency (p. 507). Danzak further asserts that a marriage is necessary between social identity as it influences skills in language, leading to higher levels of literacy.

We must consider the amount of negotiation and fluidity that LTELs have had to utilize in their language repertoires and everyday linguistic environment while seeking to comprehend and support their phases and growth into a more inclusive and supportive bilingual environment.

### **Research Questions**

In order to create a response to Brooks' (2018) question regarding the linguistic experiences and background of LTELs, we must learn more about how their bilingualism functions in settings beyond the classroom. This leads to the two questions the study hopes to answer:

- What do LTELs report as being their predominant language use among different domains?
- What do LTELs report as being their predominant language use among mode, production, and situational variance?

### Chapter 3: Methodology

#### Participants

This study aimed to gather information about long-term English learners and their navigation between their L1 and L2 outside of school, therefore candidates for this study were secondary LTELs (5 or more years within an LEP program). The suburban high school sample site, despite recent transitioning to Title 1, has been fully accredited since the 2017-18 school year, according to their school report card. Within the school, 37% of the population are English learners. The participants were in grades 9-12 and between the ages of 14-19 (see Table 1 below).

**Table 1**

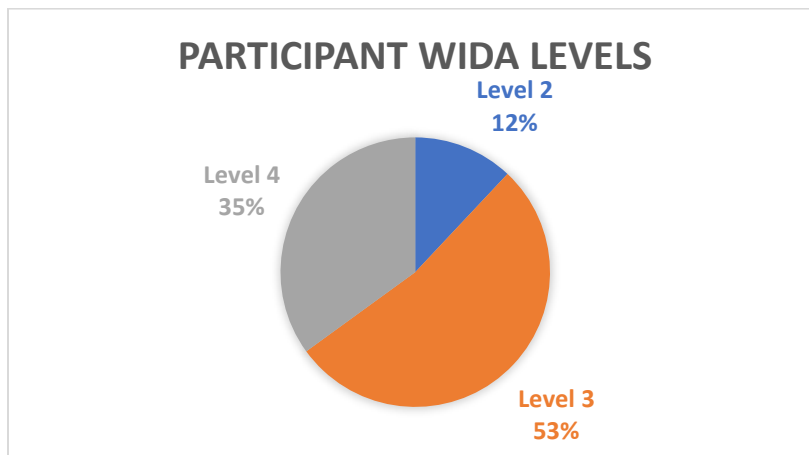
*Summary of Participants*

Gender		Age Range	Grade	Country of Origin	
Female	27	14-19	9-11	USA	37
Male	22			Other	12

The LTELs recruited for participation were of Hispanic/Latin American origin who have immigrated at a young age from their country of origin or were born in the United States but placed in an LEP program due to initial home language surveys done in their districts upon school entry. As discussed earlier, ELs within this district must take the WIDA ACCESS test annually to report English proficiency level. The exiting level in this district is a 4.4 overall composite score. The study participants WIDA levels are shown in Figure 3, highlighting that the LTEL students in the sample group were predominately at a level 3 overall score.

**Figure 3**

*Overall participant WIDA levels*



The majority of participants in the study were born in the United States, making up 76% of all participants. Students who immigrated to the U.S. came between the ages of 7 and 14 mainly from countries in Latin and South America: Bolivia, Guatemala, Honduras, Mexico, and El Salvador. Many of the American-born participants have parents who have immigrated from similar countries listed. Three participants are native to the island of Puerto Rico, a U.S. territory. Figure 3.2 below lists the students who were born outside the country by the years they have spent in the U.S. school system. It also includes their gender, age, and country of origin. The non-US born participants averaged 6 years of being in U.S. schools (see Table 2).

**Table 2***Non-US born participant demographic information*

Gender	Age	Country of Origin	Years of School in the US
Female	16	Honduras	5
Female	18	Honduras	5
Male	15	Honduras	5
Female	17	Honduras	5
Male	18	El Salvador	5
Male	19	El Salvador	6
Male	18	Bolivia	6
Male	16	El Salvador	6
Male	17	Guatemala	7
Female	15	El Salvador	7
Female	15	El Salvador	8
Male	16	Mexico	10
Average length of years in US schools			6

Overall, the participants chosen met the criteria of having spent five or more years in an LEP program in the United States, many going well beyond the minimum. These participants were selected based on information from school, district, and state records available. District data available to the researcher indicated student dates of entry into the country and into the state school system. These dates were used to filter long-term ELs using the first day of school in 2014-2015 school year as the cutoff for determining the students who meet the 5-year LTEL criteria.

Written assent from participants and written consent from parents/guardians was required for the study to be conducted (see appendix C). The students and their family were informed that the study is voluntary and for purposes of research only, with no grades or achievement marks assigned. Separate permission from the district was necessary for the researcher to conduct the study along with formal IRB approval (see Appendix D).

## Materials

This study was composed of two parts initially: 1) a survey and 2) a follow-up reflective interview regarding student responses to the survey. Data from school records regarding English proficiency, school and academic history, and other pertinent information was also be used to get accurate histories for student recruitment.

*Survey of Language Use* (Appendix A) The survey in the form of a questionnaire consisted of two parts: Part I contained participant demographic information regarding gender, country of origin and arrival to the U.S., and languages spoken and written; Part II contained 16 questions regarding particular language use and was written in English on paper-pencil and kept in a locked cabinet after completion. While using Fishman (1965) as a framework to build the survey, media, role, situation, and domain variance were used to investigate the who/when/where question of language use for bilinguals within the language survey. To address all of the theoretical possibilities of these variances is described by Fishman as being “exceedingly complex.” Therefore, limiting the variances of this study was essential: mode to only speaking and writing; role to only production; situation to include formal, informal, and intimate; and the domains to include family, friends, workplace, and social media. While social media is not addressed in Fishman’s study, it is an appropriate domain to include in the digital age. As I was seeking to know the capacities and language shifting that occur outside a school setting (and as Fishman noted how influential topic is on language choice), topics regarding school-themes will be excluded from the questions in the student survey. Table 3 below shows the variations chosen for this study and includes the prompts for each domain. While Fishman (1965) found the patterns of language dominance for Yiddish and English use, the same patterns will be applied to a Spanish and English population.



**Table 3***Dominance Configuration of English and Spanish*

Sources of Variance			Domains of Language Behavior			
Mode	Role	Situational	Family	Friends	Workplace	Social Media
Speaking	Prod.	Formal	-	-	Formally greet customers at work	-
		Informal	Ask a family member about their day (at work, school, etc.)	Ask a friend about their day (work, school, etc.)	Ask a coworker for a ride home	Share audio/video to a single person or group of people asking about their day
		Intimate	Speak to a family member for personal advice	Speak to a friend for personal advice	Ask coworker for advice about a personal issue	Share audio/video to a single person or group of people of something happening around you
		Formal	-	-	-	-
		Informal	write a grocery list for household needs	Write an invitation to a friend for a gathering	Write your schedule and availability down for your manager/boss	Write a comment replying to a funny meme someone tagged you in
		Intimate	Write a letter or card to a close family member	Write a card or letter to a close friend	-	Write a private/direct message to someone close to you

Fishman (1965) suggested that the dominance configuration was created as an attempt to link the domains of language behavior and the sources of variance. The table goes beyond the more simpler characteristics of language use and allows for deeper analysis of how, when, and where bilinguals use language.

The language use questionnaire elicits responses on a rating scale of 0-5, 0 being most likely to choose English for the prompt and 5 being most likely to choose Spanish. Figure 4 below shows the prompt and scale from 0-5 and English to Spanish.

**Figure 4**

*Sample item from the language use questionnaire*

Ordering a McChicken at McDonalds	0	1	2	3	4	5
	ENGLISH		ENGLISH & SPANISH		SPANISH	

**Procedure**

The researcher initially recruited students from sheltered English Language Arts classes within the English learner program. The researcher visited classrooms and gave consent forms to potential candidates with a brief verbal description regarding the study. The surveys were then planned and were completed on a rolling basis in a classroom familiar to the participants.

After handing out the surveys, participants were instructed to complete the demographic information in part I of the survey. The teacher introduced examples of what part II of the survey would be like and explained the instructions. The students then completed part II of the language use survey, shading in their language choice for each prompt. The participants responded by marking on a scale of numbers which language they would most likely use for each situation. The results offered the researcher the ability to aggregate data based on the binary responses and the level in which they selected on the rating scale.

The teacher read out loud the questions to participating groups and treated the sessions like a normal classroom activity. Following the completion of the surveys, they were stored in a locked cabinet. Groups of LTELs participating were between 4-10. The survey took approximately 20-30 minutes for each group to complete.

## Chapter 4: Results

Across the entirety of the survey responses, English was the predominant language of use. The family domain had the highest rate of Spanish used for all variances, particularly in the mode of speaking. However, dominating English was preferred in the afforded specifications, Spanish was used for particular variances, especially for participants who had lesser amount of time since arrival to the U.S. The following results (Table 4) show scores of the family, friends, workplace, and social media domain with each of the variances included within. Following, significant results regarding the variances outside of domain will be presented.

**Table 4**

*Dominance Configuration Scores and Averages from Language Use Survey*

Sources of Variance			Domains of Language Behavior				Average
Mode	Role	Situational	Family	Friends	Workplace	Social Media	
Speaking	Productive	Formal	-	-	2.2	-	2.2
		Informal	3.7	0.7	1.6	1.0	1.8
		Intimate	3.3	0.7	1.7	1.0	1.7
Writing	Productive	Formal	-	-	-	-	-
		Informal	2.3	0.8	1.5	1.2	1.5
		Intimate	2.9	0.9	-	1.3	1.7
Average			3.1	0.8	1.8	1.1	

(In each cell, max = 5; Closer to 1 = English while closer to 5 = Spanish)

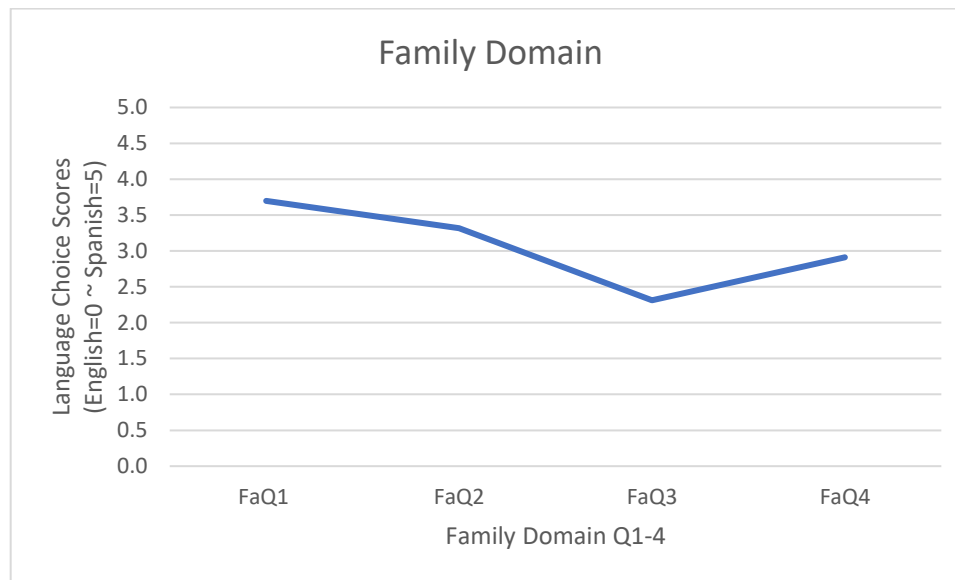
Table 4 shows the sources of variances (mode, role, situational) and the four domains used in the survey (family, friends, workplace, and social media). Each domain includes average rating scores for the variances. The averages for each domain and variance are then listed in outlying column/row around the table. In summary of Table 4, the speaking responses versus the writing responses showed little difference, 1.9 and 1.5, respectively. The overall average of the modes further influenced the little difference among situational variances. The only situational variance that showed a significant difference was the formal variance in the workplace domain, however, with only one question in the survey regarding this variance pattern, it provides little

significance to the overall results. The mode of speaking and writing showed significant differences across each domain and will be included in the results and discussion below.

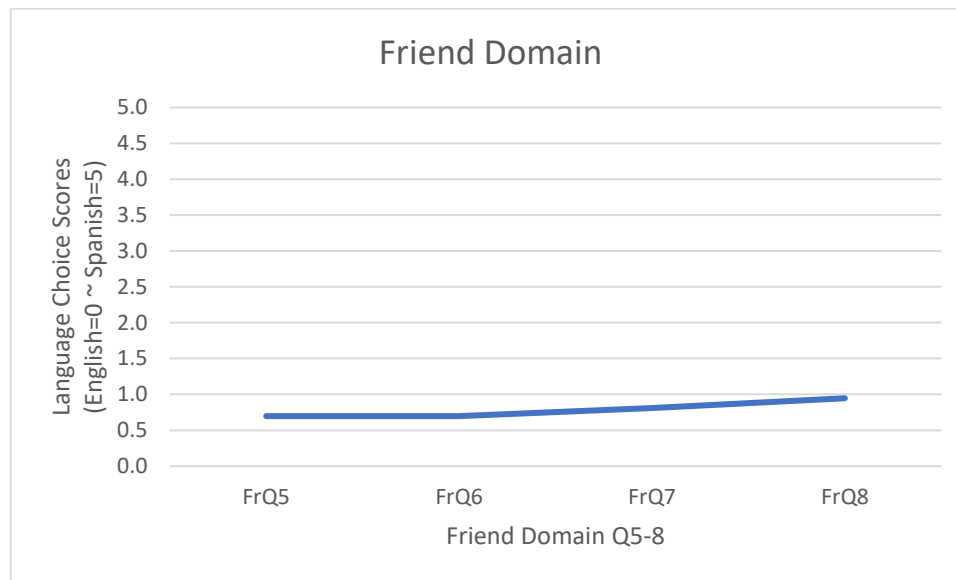
**Domain of Family** In the domain of family, students responded on average with a 3.1 on the binary scale, favoring Spanish as the language of at-home use. While the two speaking variances showed higher scores favoring Spanish (averaging a score of 3.5), the writing variances in this domain scored lower (2.6), favoring English. However, students who came to the U.S. as in their youth rather than U.S. born had greater inclination to use Spanish and English equally or favoring Spanish for the writing variances. The formal versus informal variance of speaking showed little difference, formal averaging 3.7 and informal 3.1. Three participants did not respond to question 4, disclosing that they did not normally do this activity and did not have an answer. One participant responded to questions 1-3 by shading in both number's 2 and 3 signifying both languages were used equally. For this student and those following this example, a score of 2.5 was used during data analysis to symbolize "both" as the rating. Figure 5 below shows the average scores across the questions in the family domain.

**Figure 5**

*Family domain average rating*



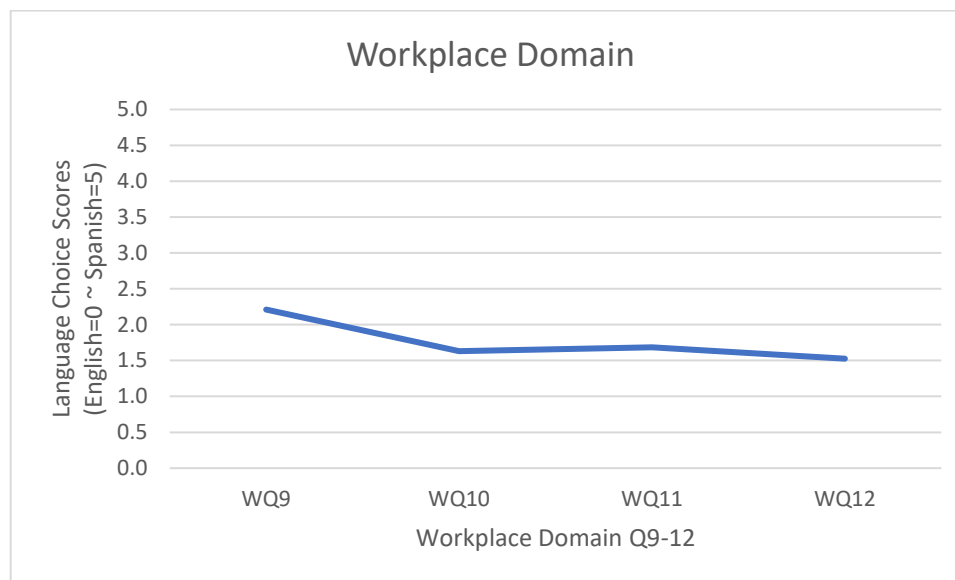
**Domain of Friends** In the domain of friends, scale selections were drastically different than family and homelife. The majority of students responded with 0 or 1 (English) in this domain. Again, students who are newer Americans showed inclination to respond with a mid-range score signifying both languages or moving further on the spectrum toward Spanish in this domain than the American-born LTELs. Only one student used a score of 5 (FrQ7-8) in this domain, otherwise the students predominately chose 0-1 as their response. Overall, the average score was 0.8. Figure 6 below shows the average scores across the questions in the friend domain.

**Figure 6***Friend domain average rating*

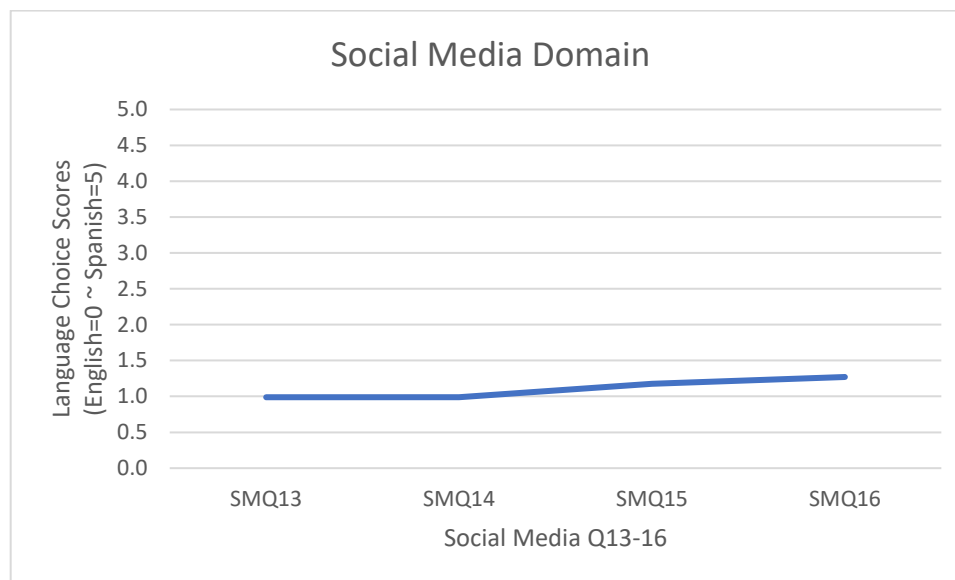
**Domain of Workplace** The workplace domain was varied due to the younger students having never maintained a job yet. Of the 68% of students who did respond, they averaged a 1.8 for this section. While this indicated a preference and need for English use, students vocalized their ability and comfort in using both in the workplace. There were small differences here between the responses from speaking, writing, formal, and informal. The speaking variances averaged a 1.9 and the writing variances 1.6. Figure 6 below shows the average scores across the questions in the Workplace domain.

**Figure 7**

*Workplace domain average rating*



**Domain of Social Media** The chart below in figure 4.4 shows the averages across each question in the social media domain. The domain of social media had an average score of 1.1, favoring English. The speaking production variance averaged 1.0 while the writing was 1.2, again, favoring English. The informal and intimate variances were nearly the same: 1.1 and 1.2, respectively. One student selected both numbers in the middle to signify “both” languages in response to SMQ12-15. One student chose not to respond to SMQ14. Figure 8 below shows the average scores across the questions in the Social Media domain.

**Figure 8***Social media domain averages***Speaking and Writing Variances**

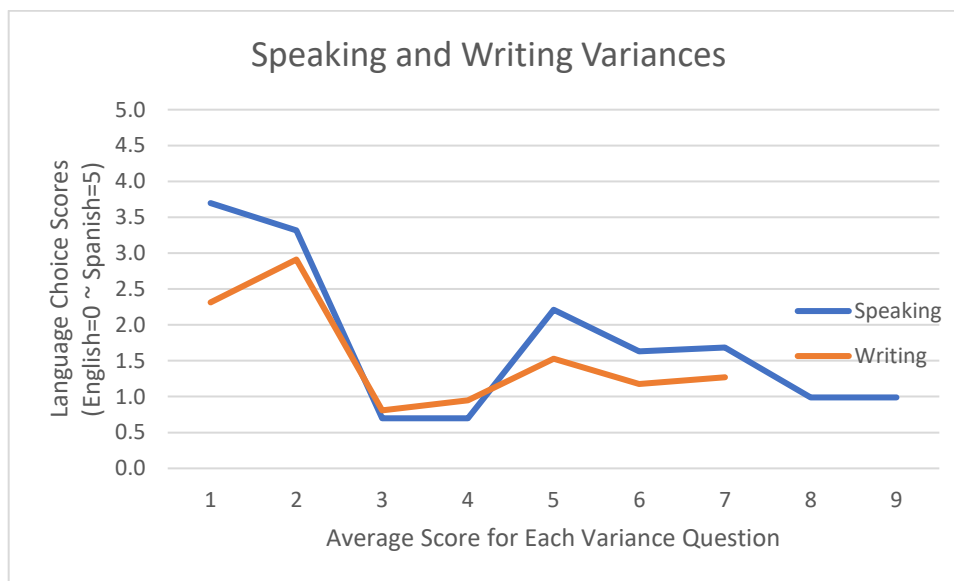
While the situational variances did not provide significant results, the speaking and writing variances had diverse responses, particularly for participants who responded to the workplace domain. In each figure below (Figure 4.5 and 4.6), the chart visualizes the response to each question that was categorized within the speaking and writing mode, respectively. While the family domain included the highest score in regard to use of Spanish, the writing mode resulted in lower scores than the speaking. While the workplace range included three questions that were in the mode of speaking, this domain also showed the greatest range between the averages of the questions. Question WQ10 had the lowest average in this domain (1.6) and was 0.6 less than the highest score in the domain of 2.2 (WQ9). Both the friend and social media domain had the same averages each question eliciting the speaking mode, 0.7 and 1.0, respectively. The consistency of those averages may show a stronger pattern of language choice



for LTELs. Figure 9 below shows the average scores across the questions for both the speaking and writing variances within the survey.

**Figure 9**

*Speaking and writing variance average ratings*



## Chapter 5: Discussion

In an effort to re-frame the perspectives and conversations surrounding LTELs, I have investigated the label attached to this population and strongly suggest humanizing learners and participants by discussing the nuances of maneuvering that occurs in the linguistic experiences and histories of emergent bilinguals. The research in this study focused on a group of Latinx learners with the LTEL label in a US high school and elicited responses regarding when and where they used English and Spanish. The *Survey of Language Use* (Appendix A) questionnaire offered results that indicated that English was the predominant linguistic choice for the domains and variances presented, but it also indicated moments that give us further insight to the choice of LTELs.

### Domains of Language Use

Results from the study, as stated before, showed a strong inclination for the use of English among this population, especially away from familial connections. It can be argued that age contributes as a large factor to the linguistic choices of LTELs, among both speaking and writing variances. The following sections of this chapter will discuss the significant patterns found across each of the four domains and prominent findings among the variances used in the survey.

### Domain of Family

The domain of family had the most significant use of Spanish across all of the domains with the ratings averaging at 3.1 overall. While this finding was expected due to the large support in literature, the individual prompts offered furthered insights to the linguistic choices made within the family. The first question of this domain had the highest score out of all 16 questions that made up the questionnaire. The question #1 (*Ask a family member about their day [at work,*

*school, etc.]*) had an average score of 3.7, with 23 students selecting their rating as 5-signifying mostly Spanish. With 23 students being nearly half of the sample, it shows that a significant amount of LTELs are using the L1 (Spanish, in this case) for informal conversations among family. The second question (*ask a family member for advice on a personal problem*) was categorized as intimate. The score with this variance change resulted in a 3.3 average, dropping 0.4 from the first question. It can be assumed that the topic, as noted by Fishman (1965) can greatly change the linguistic choices made for that situation. It should be noted that three students in the sampling selected a score of 5 for each question in the family domain, showing that for the variances selected in this study (and perhaps beyond the scope of this study), they would solely use Spanish. Curiously, these three students were all native to the United States. This may indicate for those families that they have worked diligently to maintain their L1 and culture associated instead of showing significant attrition as many others do in a society where the L2 is dominant.

As the questions shifted into the writing mode, the average scores lowered (Q3-Q4, 2.3 and 2.9, respectively). Students who had selected four or five for the speaking questions then chose lower ratings associated with English. Question #3 held the lowest average score in the domain of family (*Write a grocery list of household needs*). It was not clear if the students who scored towards English did not normally complete this task at home, but all students answered and did not pursue clarifying questions with the researcher. However, for question #4 (*Write a letter or card to a close family member [non-electronic]*), three students chose not to answer as it was a task that they did not do.

### **Domain of Friends**

This domain had the lowest average scores out of all four sections across each variance, indicating an exclusive preference for English. The average scores of each question in this domain did not reach 1.0, giving strong inclination that English is the predominant language of choice when speaking to friends.

Brooks (2020) highlights how bilingualism can shift depending on linguistic situation that learners are in. For example, an EL in this study who came to the United States at the age of 14 may complete a home language survey that indicates Spanish as being the verbal and written language of correspondence. However, after living in a largely monolingual society and with the implications of education in English, the linguistic situation has most likely changed. This emergent bilingual may use English predominately with their peer group, especially as they are associated with school, where English is used and taught (unless in a bilingual education program, which was not the case for the students in this study). Many students in this sampling entered U.S. schools in primary grades on the basis of a home language survey that fit the situation of the family and student at that time. Moreover, as they have continued to maintain EL status and thus given the manufactured label of being an LTEL, their home language environment has most likely changed and is situated in a different linguistic situation than when they first began school in the U.S. This also reinforces Haller & Repetti's (2014) suggestion that there are stages in bilingualism that develop and become more/less fluid as acquisition occurs. It may be beneficial to ELs who maintain status, especially for five or more years, to revisit the home language survey based on their own interpretations. This document can be revised and used by educators and administrators who program these learners just as frequently as proficiency tests (i.e. WIDA ACCESS) are given.

## Domain of Social Media

Aside from the domain of friends, social media was the lowest average (1.3) of the four domains. The scores average for each question in this domain ranged from a 1.0-1.3. This indicates there was little fluctuation overall in the linguistic choices made on this medium. The speaking mode questions had the same average (1.0) and the written/typed scores were 1.2 and 1.3, respectively, showing a very minimal difference. Since social media does not require a physical presence to acquire membership to online communities, learners may feel less obligated to follow the orientation of English. Flores, Kleyn, & Menken's (2015) series of interviews showed that LTELs do not make clear differentiations of their use among English and Spanish, particularly for digital entertainment and spaces. Below is an excerpt of a transcript from an interview with an LTEL that highlights this point:

“Researcher: Do you text, email, visit internet sites, or IM in English or Spanish?”

Celia: Both.

[R]: *How much of each?*

[C]: English more. English more on everything . . .

[R]: *Are there times when you mix English and Spanish?*

[C]: On Myspace and AIM...

[R]: *Why is that?*

[C]: Because sometimes it just comes out.

[R]: *That's just how it happens?*” (Flores et. al., 2015, p. 123)

While the student responded that the language used is “English more on everything,” they also add that there are times when the experiences on these platforms may intermingle languages in no particular order or importance. Shin (2018) argues that the use of social media for language learning creates a “social agency” and situates acquisition in a sociocultural setting. As language is a social practice in essence, this may indicate that emergent bilinguals use social media to express their linguistic choices in more extensive and complex ways than the other domains.

This may be an area where further research is needed to explore the ways in which bilinguals use social media and how it relates to their linguistic choices outside of those digital platforms.

### **Domain of Workplace**

As discussed in the results, 32% of students were not able to respond to this section due to their lack of experience in a job or workplace environment. While the domain average score was a 1.8 overall, this category was an indicator to the flexibility of bilingual abilities in the group who responded. Additionally, this domain had the second highest average score. The highest average in this set of questions was question #9 (*Formally greet customers at work*) with a 2.2 average. First, this question was the only prompt in the survey that was categorized as formal and contributed to the overall average of speaking and formal variances. Second, writing did not include the formal variance, so the two scores cannot be held in comparison. Further, the higher rating of a formal workplace speaking task indicates that the situational variance being formal could have indicated the more balanced use of English and Spanish, or it could show that the workplace is an environment where students maintain a stronger membership to Spanish. This, of course, depends on the location and environment of the workplace. Schuch (2018) suggests that Hispanics, people living in high-poverty neighborhoods, and people in cities are more likely to use network contacts to find employment. This would suggest that learners fitting these characteristics may reach out to people within known networks—family and friends—to find employment. While Schuch lists other factors that affect employment for immigrants and generation 1.5 youth (i.e. discrimination, language, education, etc.), the majority of Hispanic/Latinx turn to family before looking elsewhere (e.g. the internet). This network will most likely hold similarities in language and culture to the employment seeker allowing for the likelihood of a larger L1 use in this domain and a greater overall balance of language use.

The other factor that may have contributed to the higher score in this section was that three prompts were created under the speaking mode variance with only one written variance. The other domains included two of both speaking and writing variance prompts, respectively. Question #12 (*Write your schedule and availability down for your manager/boss*) resulted in an average score of 1.5. This score still superseded the averages of any question in the friend and social media domains, so it could be assumed that the workplace domain influence linguistic choice stronger than the mode (that is, in this particular situation).

### **Reframe, Re-envision, Reimagine**

This study of emergent bilinguals with the manufactured LTEL label offered the opportunity to investigate the linguistic experiences of LTELs. This survey offered a snapshot into the choices that LTELs make within the limited domains and variances presented. To consider the implications of the study we must return the questions that Brooks (2020) proposed about exploring the LTEL label. While we have explored the histories and linguistic choices LTELs make, it is important to note that this study does not describe the experiences of all Hispanic/Latinx LTELs. Further, we cannot consider their experiences without rationalizing them within the socio-political context and by considering the raciolinguistic histories of Hispanic/Latinx populations within the US. It is clear that the educational system in which these LTELs exist is intended to other them by language, race, and class (Flores & Rosa, 2015; Rosa, 2016; Rosa & Flores, 2017). Through standardized testing and reclassification, the power of English and the white gaze are maintained as the hegemonic expectation (Rosa, 2016). While literature notes the detrimental effects of lengthening EL classification (see Yang, Urrabazo, & Murray, 2001; Menken, Kleyn, & Chae, 2012; Estrada & Wang, 2018), the majority of the participants in this study were US-born citizens. Lastly, in analyzing the linguistic choices of

learners based on this study, it should be reasserted once again that dynamic bilingualism is the goal for emergent bilinguals. The goal is to investigate the nature in which emergent bilinguals use their languages and why they may make these choices, and further, what can we do to support dynamic bilingualism and translanguaging (Wei & Ho, 2018; Brooks, 2020).

It should be noted that the trends of the linguistic choices did show that the language maintenance of these LTELs and their heritage language were greatly affected. Grosjean (1982) suggested that the major factors (education policy, American nationalism, and American society assimilative power) disrupt language maintenance at length. He further suggests that first generation Americans commonly become bilingual as they enter the dominant-English speaking society. However, Grosjean also recognizes that there are few (“few” being relative) who have no way of maintaining their L1 may lose their native language or further, reject it due to desires of assimilating quickly (p. 104). It can be assumed that the linguistic choices of LTELs are hampered with the major factors of language maintenance but are also affected by the inward motivation to remain linguistically tied to the culture of their parents. While LTELs in this study chose to speak English predominately with peers in their friend group and even through social media platforms, it can be anticipated this was a specific choice related to not only a desire to assimilate to the dominate society, but I also posit that this linguistic choice was made due to the assimilative power in American society in relation to the social and academic environments of the L2 (Grosjean, 1982; Jia, Kohnert, Collado, & Aquino-Garcia, 2006). This, again, ascertains the power of English of a particular variety as a dominant figure in the choices and successes of long-term ELs (Brooks, 2018; Brooks, 2020; Flores, Menken, & Kleyn, 2015).

In order to imagine a future that would change the static profiling of LTELs, I suggest not only answering Brooks’ (2020) questions about exploring students with the LTEL label, but I



further offer the channel of reimagining what their educational experiences can and should look like. Rooted in constructionism and critical design, Holbert, Dando, and Correa (2020) developed an approach to give students the opportunity to rebuild the world as they would like to see it. The approach, coined the Critical Constructionist Design Practice, is intended to create a space for youth of color to connect to past histories, question existing inequitable systems, and to project and create futures that better fit their own hopes and needs (Holbert et. al., 2020, p. 2). Using this approach, the study gave learners the opportunity to create and imagine their own futures in a project titled “Remixing Wakanda.” While Holbert et. al. (2020) center their work around the Black experience and Afrofuturism, this framework could easily be applied and replicated to all of Latinidad. The authors suggest that giving learners the opportunity to imagine their own visions of the future is necessary because without their voice others will do it for them “thus perpetuating current unequal power structures,” (p. 3). By following the Critical Constructionist Design Practice, voices of emergent bilinguals have the opportunity to come to the forefront so that their achievements are not based solely on deficiencies but instead powerful and dynamic narratives that they create for themselves.

### **Limitations**

Naturally, there were limitations that came from this study during the process of data collection and analysis. The first should be noted that the population size and demographic of this sample were limited to a specific group of LTELs. Future research should focus on looking at other populations of LTELs outside of Hispanic/Latinx groups and include various schools and educational histories. Next, the amount of questions in the survey may have limited the results and general patterns, especially as certain variations used to find language dominance were

singular. It can also be added that the intimacy of some of the prompts can also be critical to how students responded for the situational variation.

The largest implication to the depth of this study was the removal of the reflective interview that was intended to follow the language use survey. The interview entailed 10 follow-up questions to the questionnaire (Appendix B). A standard set of interview questions was used. During the interview, a recording device was used. Due to school closings in spring 2020 caused by the Covid-19 pandemic, this part of the study was not able to be completed. As only one interview was conducted, the study did not include the interview in the results or discussion. The lack of interview responses hindered the ability for the researcher to learn more about the language experiences and histories of the LTEL participants in the study.

## Conclusion

As populations of English learners grow around the country, it is important that these populations are not labeled and cornered into bureaucratic boxes that prevent the growth and flourishing that all emergent bilinguals are capable of. This study has reviewed the importance of acknowledging and investigating the reasons for these labels, but also to explore the dynamic and complex systems of bilingualism occurring behind each multilingual student. This study has also highlighted the variations of linguistic choices that long-term English learners make depending on different domains and variations in a limited survey response.

While assumptions can be drawn about the particular preferences emergent bilinguals may have for a domain, each of the variances show us that there are a multitude of factors that affect how, when, and why a bilingual will choose to use one of their known languages. By using a raciolinguistic backdrop to guide the understanding of emergent bilinguals under the LTEL label, we discover the systems of oppression that these learners must navigate. The ideologies and beliefs associated with LTELs can be eradicated deepening the knowledge that educators and leaders in education and policy have in regard to the language and experiences of these students. In order to successfully bring students away from the spaces in which they feel *neither here nor there*, our understanding and advocacy must grow to successfully help emergent bilinguals from all walks of life to be successful.

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## Appendix A: Language Use Survey

### Part I: Background

1. What gender do you identify as?  

**Male**
**Female**
**Other Orientation**
2. What is your current age? \_\_\_\_\_
3. Which country were you born in? \_\_\_\_\_
4. If born in another country, how old were you when you came to the U.S.? \_\_\_\_\_
5. Have you been in an ESOL program since beginning school in the U.S.? Yes No
6. Languages known: (circle whether you can speak and write/read in each language listed)
  - a. \_\_\_\_\_ speak write/read
  - b. \_\_\_\_\_ speak write/read
  - c. \_\_\_\_\_ speak write/read
7. I would be open to a follow-up interview with the researcher: Yes No

### Part II:

#### Language Use Questionnaire

Select a number on the scale which best describes the language you use in each context. Shade in the number you choose.

*Example:*

Ordering a McChicken at McDonalds	0	1	2	3	4	5	<i>I chose 0 because I never use Spanish to order food at McDonalds (or other fast food places)</i>
	ENGLISH	ENGLISH & SPANISH			SPANISH		

Sending an e-mail to a coworker	0	1	2	3	4	5	<i>I chose 1 because I most often use English in written correspondence at work, but may occasionally use Spanish</i>
	ENGLISH	ENGLISH & SPANISH			SPANISH		

---

**Family**

1. Ask a family member about their day (at work, school, etc.)	0	1	2	3	4	5
	ENGLISH		ENGLISH & SPANISH			SPANISH

2. Ask a family member for advice on a personal problem	0	1	2	3	4	5
	ENGLISH		ENGLISH & SPANISH			SPANISH

3. Write a grocery list for household needs	0	1	2	3	4	5
	ENGLISH		ENGLISH & SPANISH			SPANISH

4. Write a letter or card to a close family member (non-electronic)	0	1	2	3	4	5
	ENGLISH		ENGLISH & SPANISH			SPANISH

**Friends**

5. Ask a friend about their day (work, school, etc.)	0	1	2	3	4	5
	ENGLISH		ENGLISH & SPANISH			SPANISH

6. Ask a friend for advice on a personal problem	0	1	2	3	4	5
	ENGLISH		ENGLISH & SPANISH			SPANISH

7. Write an invitation to a friend for a gathering	0	1	2	3	4	5
	ENGLISH		ENGLISH & SPANISH			SPANISH

8. Write a card or letter to a close friend (non-electronic)	0	1	2	3	4	5
	ENGLISH		ENGLISH & SPANISH			SPANISH

**Workplace** (if you have no work experience, skip this section)

9. Formally greet customers at work	0	1	2	3	4	5
	ENGLISH		ENGLISH & SPANISH			SPANISH
10. Ask or offer a coworker a ride home	0	1	2	3	4	5
	ENGLISH		ENGLISH & SPANISH			SPANISH
11. Ask coworker for advice about a personal issue	0	1	2	3	4	5
	ENGLISH		ENGLISH & SPANISH			SPANISH
12. Write your schedule and availability down for your manager/boss	0	1	2	3	4	5
	ENGLISH		ENGLISH & SPANISH			SPANISH

**Social Media** (Including but not limited to: Facebook, Instagram, Snapchat, Twitter, WhatsApp, TikTok)

13. Share audio/video to a single person or group of people asking about their day	0	1	2	3	4	5
	ENGLISH		ENGLISH & SPANISH			SPANISH
14. Share audio/video to a single person regarding a personal issue	0	1	2	3	4	5
	ENGLISH		ENGLISH & SPANISH			SPANISH
15. Write a comment replying to an image/photo someone tagged/mentioned you	0	1	2	3	4	5
	ENGLISH		ENGLISH & SPANISH			SPANISH
16. Write a private/direct message to someone close to you	0	1	2	3	4	5
	ENGLISH		ENGLISH & SPANISH			SPANISH

## **Appendix B: Interview Questions**

### **Reflective Interview Questions**

1. Do you feel connected culturally to a certain language?
2. Do you socially identify with a certain language more than the other?
3. What language do you feel you use the most outside of school?
4. Do you feel pressure to use a certain language outside of school?
5. Are there specific places that you use a certain language more?
6. Are there specific activities you do in a certain language?
7. What is the language used in your home the most often?
8. Is there a place where you never use a certain language?
9. Is there a group of people you never feel comfortable with using a certain language?
  - a. Why don't you feel comfortable?
10. Which language do you feel most comfortable using?
  - a. Where do you feel the most comfortable using that language?

## Appendix C: Informed Consent

### Long-term English Learners Navigating Bilingualism Parent/Guardian Consent Form

My name is Abbey Leier-Murphy and I am a graduate student at St. Cloud State University and teacher at your child's school. This form is being sent to ask your permission to allow your child to participate in a study about how long-term English learners (students who have been in an ESOL program for 5 or more years) use Spanish and English outside of the school setting. The purpose of this form is to ask for your permission to allow your child to participate in this study which is required to obtain my Master's degree at St. Cloud State University. **Both parent and child consent forms must be signed and returned to me before participation in the study is allowed.**

**Procedures** If you agree to be part of the research study, your child will be asked to participate 1) in a brief survey about how your child uses Spanish and English outside of an academic setting 2) follow-up interview to discuss their responses on the survey and perceptions of language use (only a handful of students may be asked to participate in this portion of the study).

**Benefits of the Research** The study will provide those in education with more knowledge regarding long-term English learners and bilingualism.

**Risks and Discomforts** There are no foreseeable risks associated with participation in this study.

**Data Collection** Data collected will remain confidential using anonymous coding and aggregated group data. Audio recordings collected and used from the interview will be strictly confidential. The student's name will not be disclosed nor will direct quotes be identified. A transcript of the interview will be provided upon request by the participant or parent. Along with these tasks, the researcher may also use school records and data to provide background on the learners in the study (date of entry to the U.S., dates of entry into English learner program, age, grade, etc.)

**Voluntary Participation/Withdrawal** Participating in this study is completely voluntary. You and/or your child can withdraw at any time without any penalty. The decision whether or not to participate will not affect your or your child's current or future relations with St. Cloud State University, Prince William County Schools, or the researcher.

If you or your child have questions about this research study or are interested in the results, please contact the researcher.

Abbey Leier-Murphy  
Researcher  
agleier@go.stcloudstate.edu

Dr. Choonkyong Kim  
Faculty Advisor  
ckim@stcloudstate.edu

*Your signature indicates that you and your child have read the information provided here and have decided to participate. You or your child may withdraw from the study at any time without penalty after signing this form.*

\_\_\_\_\_  
Student Name (Printed)

\_\_\_\_\_  
Parent(s)/Guardian(s') Name (Printed)

\_\_\_\_\_  
Parent(s)/Guardian(s') Signature

\_\_\_\_\_  
Date

## Estudiantes de Inglés a largo plazo navegando por el bilingüismo Formulario de consentimiento del padre/tutor

Mi nombre es Abbey Leier-Murphy y soy estudiante de posgrado en la Universidad Estatal de St. Cloud y maestra en la escuela de su hijo. Este formulario se envía para solicitar su permiso para permitir que su hijo participe en un estudio sobre cómo los estudiantes de inglés a largo plazo (estudiantes que han estado en un programa ESOL durante 5 años o más) usan el español y el inglés fuera del entorno escolar. El propósito de este formulario es solicitar su permiso para permitir que su hijo(a) participe en este estudio que se requiere para obtener mi maestría en la Universidad Estatal de St. Cloud. **Los formularios de consentimiento de padres e hijos deben firmarse y devolverse antes de que se permita la participación en el estudio.**

**Procedimientos** a seguir si acepta ser parte del estudio de investigación, se le pedirá a su hijo(a) que participe 1) en una breve encuesta sobre cómo su hijo(a) usa el español y el inglés fuera de un entorno académico 2) entrevista de seguimiento para discutir sus respuestas sobre la encuesta y percepciones sobre el uso del lenguaje (solo se puede pedir a un puñado de estudiantes que participen en esta parte del estudio).

**Beneficios de la investigación** El estudio proporcionará a aquellos en educación más conocimiento sobre los estudiantes de inglés a largo plazo y el bilingüismo.

**Riesgos e incomodidades** No hay riesgos predecibles asociados con la participación en este estudio.

**Recolección de datos** Los datos recolectados serán confidenciales utilizando codificación anónima y datos grupales agregados. Las grabaciones de audio recopiladas y utilizadas en la entrevista serán estrictamente confidenciales. El nombre del alumno no se revelará ni se identificarán las citas directas. Se proporcionará una transcripción de la entrevista a solicitud del participante o padre. Junto con estas tareas, el investigador también puede usar los registros y datos de la escuela para proporcionar antecedentes sobre los estudiantes en el estudio (fecha de ingreso a los EE. UU., fechas de ingreso al programa de estudiantes de inglés, edad, grado, etc.)

**Participación/retiro voluntario** La participación en este estudio es completamente voluntaria. Usted y / o su hijo(a) pueden retirarse en cualquier momento sin ninguna penalización. La decisión de participar o no, no afectará las relaciones actuales o futuras de usted o de su hijo(a) con la Universidad Estatal de St. Cloud, las Escuelas del Condado de Prince William o el investigador.

Si usted o su hijo tienen preguntas sobre este estudio de investigación o están interesados en los resultados, comuníquese con el investigador.

Abbey Leier-Murphy  
Investigador  
agleier@go.stcloudstate.edu

Dr. Choonkyong Kim  
Asesor de la Facultad  
ckim@stcloudstate.edu

*Su firma indica que usted y su hijo han leído la información provista aquí y han decidido participar. Usted o su hijo pueden retirarse del estudio en cualquier momento sin penalización después de firmar este formulario.*

Nombre del estudiante(letra impreso)

Nombre del padre(s)/tutor(s) (letra impreso)

Firma del padre(s)/tutor(s)

Fecha

## Long-term English Learners Navigating Bilingualism Child Assent Form

---

My name is Abbey Leier-Murphy and I am a graduate student at St. Cloud State University and teacher at your school. This is an invitation asking you and other long-term English learners to participate in a study about how you use Spanish and English outside of the school setting. This study will help researchers know more about long-term English learners.

**Procedures** In this study I will meet with you twice. First, you will take a short survey asking you whether you use English or Spanish in certain settings outside of school. Second, I may also ask you to be interviewed by me about your responses to the survey, which will be audio recorded. Each part will take approximately 30 minutes.

**Benefits of the Research** The study will provide those in education with more knowledge about long-term English learners and bilingualism.

**Risks and Discomforts** This is not a test of ability, so there are no known risks with this study.

**Data Collection** Data collected will be private and confidential. Your name will not be shared during any part of study.

**Voluntary Participation/Withdrawal** Your participation in the study is your decision. If you choose to not be a part of the study, you can withdraw at any moment. This will not affect your relationship with me, your school, or St. Cloud State University.

If you have questions about this research study or are interested in the results, please contact the researcher.

Abbey Leier-Murphy Researcher agleier@go.stcloudstate.edu
---

Dr. Choonkyong Kim Faculty Advisor ckim@stcloudstate.edu
--

*Your signature indicates that you have read the information provided here and have decided to participate. You may withdraw from the study at any time without penalty after signing this form.*

---

Student Name (Print)

---

Student Signature

---

Date

## Long-term English Learners Navigating Bilingualism Child Assent Form

---

Mi nombre es Abbey Leier-Murphy y soy estudiante de posgrado en la Universidad Estatal de St. Cloud y maestra en su escuela. Esta es una invitación que le pide a usted y a otros estudiantes de inglés a largo plazo que participen en un estudio sobre cómo usa el español y el inglés fuera del entorno escolar. Este estudio ayudará a los investigadores a saber más sobre los aprendices de inglés a largo plazo.

**Procedimientos** En este estudio me reuniré con usted dos veces. Primero, realizará una breve encuesta que le preguntará si usa inglés o español en ciertos entornos fuera de la escuela. En segundo lugar, también puedo pedirle que sea entrevistado por mí sobre sus respuestas a la encuesta, que se grabará en audio. Cada parte tomará aproximadamente 30 minutos.

**Beneficios de la investigación** El estudio proporcionará a aquellos en educación más conocimiento sobre los estudiantes de inglés a largo plazo y el bilingüismo.

**Riesgos e incomodidades** Esta no es una prueba de habilidad, por lo que no existen riesgos conocidos con este estudio.

**Recopilación de datos** Los datos recopilados serán privados y confidenciales. Su nombre no será compartido durante ninguna parte del estudio.

**Participación/retiro voluntario** Su participación en el estudio es su decisión. Si elige no ser parte del estudio, puede retirarse en cualquier momento. Esto no afectará su relación conmigo, su escuela o la Universidad Estatal de St. Cloud.

Si tiene preguntas sobre este estudio de investigación o está interesado en los resultados, comuníquese con el investigador.

Abbey Leier-Murphy  
Investigador  
agleier@go.stcloudstate.edu

Dr. Choonkyong Kim  
Asesor de la Facultad  
ckim@stcloudstate.edu

*Su firma indica que ha leído la información proporcionada aquí y ha decidido participar. Puede retirarse del estudio en cualquier momento sin penalización después de firmar este formulario.*

---

Nombre del estudiante (letra impresa)

---

Firma del estudiante

---

Fecha



## Appendix D: IRB Approval



### Institutional Review Board (IRB)

720 4th Avenue South AS 210, St. Cloud, MN 56301-4498

**Name:** Abbey Leier-Murphy  
**Email:** agleier@go.stcloudstate.edu

### IRB PROTOCOL DETERMINATION: Expedited Review-1

**Project Title:** Maneuvering Bilingualism: Long Term English Learners

**Advisor:** Choonyong Kim

The Institutional Review Board has reviewed your protocol to conduct research involving human subjects. Your project has been: **APPROVED**

Please note the following important information concerning IRB projects:

- The principal investigator assumes the responsibilities for the protection of participants in this project. Any adverse events must be reported to the IRB as soon as possible (ex. research related injuries, harmful outcomes, significant withdrawal of subject population, etc.).

- For expedited or full board review, the principal investigator must submit a Continuing Review/Final Report form in advance of the expiration date indicated on this letter to report conclusion of the research or request an extension.

- Exempt review only requires the submission of a Continuing Review/Final Report form in advance of the expiration date indicated in this letter if an extension of time is needed.

- Approved consent forms display the official IRB stamp which documents approval and expiration dates. If a renewal is requested and approved, new consent forms will be officially stamped and reflect the new approval and expiration dates.

- The principal investigator must seek approval for any changes to the study (ex. research design, consent process, survey/interview instruments, funding source, etc.). The IRB reserves the right to review the research at any time.

If we can be of further assistance, feel free to contact the IRB at 320-308-4932 or email [ResearchNow@stcloudstate.edu](mailto:ResearchNow@stcloudstate.edu) and please reference the SCSU IRB number when corresponding.

**IRB Chair:**

Dr. Benjamin Witts  
Associate Professor- Applied Behavior Analysis  
Department of Community Psychology, Counseling, and Family Therapy

**IRB Institutional Official:**

Dr. Latha Ramakrishnan  
Interim Associate Provost for Research  
Dean of Graduate Studies

#### OFFICE USE ONLY

SCSU IRB# 1942 - 2505	Type: Expedited Review-1	Today's Date: 2/20/2020
1st Year Approval Date: 2/20/2020	2nd Year Approval Date:	3rd Year Approval Date:
1st Year Expiration Date: 2/19/2021	2nd Year Expiration Date:	3rd Year Expiration Date: