A sample of 15 eighth-grade Hispanic students in a bilingual classroom were used for a descriptive analysis of students' writing samples to compare their growth between pre- and post-writing samples in Spanish and English. This was accomplished by juxtaposing English and Spanish pre- and post-tests using the same holistic rubric developed by the school district for reevaluating the writing samples. Findings suggest that development of literacy skills for bilinguals follows a normal progression. The results also suggest that a holistic technique intended not only to complement a process approach to writing, but to focus on a global impression of students' ability to communicate ideas effectively, is not sufficient to ensure fairness in evaluation. It is noted that poorly developed holistic rubrics, which do not detect important gains or differences in writing levels, frequently mask academic potential in bilingual students and are generally biased in favor of English. To guard against these inherent biases, school districts should use more caution in assessing the academic skills of bilingual students, ensuring that they are given credit for knowledge and acquisition of skills even if these skills are not in English. (GLR)
Comparison of L1 and L2 Pre and Post Writing Samples of Bilingual Students

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The author is indebted to Roberta Flexer, University of Colorado at Boulder for her assistance and invaluable comments on the contents of this paper.
Comparison of L1 and L2 Pre and Post Writing Samples of Bilingual Students

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Introduction

The process approach to teaching writing is currently receiving much attention in classrooms across the nation. Its popularity may be attributed to both an attempt to empower and motivate students to communicate their own ideas without teacher imposition (Atwell, 1982, 1984, 1987; Calkins, 1983; Delpit, 1988; Graves, 1983) and to a desire to follow a more natural, holistic approach to the acquisition of literacy (Goodman, 1986; Newman, 1985; Smith, 1986) where the focus is on the message rather than the form (Fox & Allen, 1983; Graves, 1987). An emphasis on writing content has forced school districts to shift from quantifying spelling, punctuation, grammar, and capitalization errors to examining new ways of measuring writing progress that provide useful information about students' strengths and weaknesses. Some school districts, for example, are recommending that language arts teachers keep a writing portfolio for each student in order to track their progress throughout the academic year. Others are attempting to measure writing growth by collecting pre and post writing samples at the beginning and end of the year.

For native English speaking students, the focus on writing process, i.e., fluency, organization and construction of ideas, and development of writer's voice appears to be contributing to gains in conventional spelling, grammar, and other mechanics of writing (Atwell, 1987; Calkins, 1983; Graves, 1983; Hansen, 1987). For limited English proficient (LEP) students in bilingual education programs, however, the benefits of the process approach are not so clear and holistic assessment of their writing growth as it is conducted in
many school districts does not appear to be an effective measure for determining growth. The importance of literacy and the large increase of Hispanic students in schools warrants attention to this critical issue.

The purpose of this study was to compare Hispanic students' growth between pre and post writing samples in Spanish and English. This was accomplished by juxtaposing English pre and post tests and Spanish pre and post tests using the same holistic rubric developed by the school district for re-evaluating the writing samples.

Data/Method

A sample of 15 eighth grade Hispanic students in a bilingual classroom were used for a descriptive analysis of students' writing samples. These samples were part of a larger writing assessment database of a school district in the Southwest. The writing samples consisted of a Spanish and an English pre writing sample conducted in October and a Spanish and English post writing sample collected in May of the same academic year. For each student, there were four writing protocols, yielding a total of 60 pieces of student writing.

Procedure. The Department of Bilingual/ESOL Education instructed teachers not to give both the home language and the English writing sample in the same week. Interviews and conversations with the Bilingual Program personnel at the district office and teachers at the school site from where the 15 samples originated, reported that many teachers did not follow the district's recommendations. Dates on most writing samples revealed that the English and Spanish pretests were administered on the same day. The same was true of the post tests.
The stimulus for both the pre and post writing samples was a xerox or ditto picture of a town or village (see Figure 1). In the foreground of the picture is a large body of water. To the right are mountains with trees, a pier, and a few houses on the water's edge. Some people can be seen fishing along the shore and off the pier. In the background is a bridge and behind it a city skyline with some skyscrapers. The people and the objects in the picture are too small to show details.

The pre and post tests consisted of two parts, an oral discussion of the picture by the teacher and students, and a 20-minute writing period. Classroom teachers administered the writing tests to whole classrooms at a time. The writing prompt simply directed teachers to say: "Today you are going to write about this picture." Some sample questions for discussion were included in the instruction sheet (see Figure 2a and Figure 2b). Directions were provided in the same language that the writing sample was to be written.

Analysis

The writing samples were collected by the school district office and were scored during the summer by classroom teachers who were provided some training on holistic scoring on the same day of the actual evaluations of student papers. Each paper was scored by two raters following an established interrater reliability. A 6-point holistic rubric with level 1 as the low score and level 6 as the highest score was used (see Figure 3). The rubric was described by the district as one "based on descriptors which reflect a developmental language acquisition sequence" intended to correspond with the six levels of the district's second language proficiency continuum. The writing samples for each grade from the same school were grouped together.
Pre & Post Writing...

and scored randomly. There was no attempt on the part of the district evaluators to match pre and post writing samples of students to compare growth of individuals between pre and post tests in either the Spanish or English writing samples.

Re-Analyses. Rather than treating each sample individually, the pre and post tests (English pre/post and Spanish pre/post) for each student in each language were matched to compare within subject growth using the district’s writing rubric. Case studies of fifteen (n=15) eighth grade samples are reported here. In addition to matching the pre and post protocols, the analyses also focused on primary writing traits (narratives, compare/contrast, etc.) and other features of writing considered good indicators of writing skills for bilinguals (Edelsky, 1986) such as organization of ideas, construction of meaning, stylistic devices, spelling, grammatical structures, vocabulary usage, T-units (Hunt, 1978), and length of entry. For reliability, each set of writing samples was analyzed and scored by two bilingual examiners. The interrater reliability between these examiners (Rescorers) on the four writing samples ranged from .92 to .99. These correlation coefficients are significant from zero at the .001 level.

Results

In addition to the descriptive analysis of the writing samples, three dependent t-tests were conducted a.) to examine differences between the District and the Rescorers’ scoring, b.) to examine growth between the prewriting and post writing samples, and c.) to determine whether students scored better in Spanish or English. Although students scored slightly higher in the evaluations by the Rescorers than the District, the results of paired t-
Pre & Post Writing...

tests comparing differences in scoring between the District and the Rescorers (see Table 1) revealed that there was a significant difference only in the scoring of the Spanish post tests, with the District Mean at level 2.8 and the Rescorers Mean at level 3.4. In the paired t-tests to determine growth between pre and post tests (see Table 2) both the District's and the Rescorers' evaluations indicated significant growth in the English samples. In the Spanish writing samples, however, only the Rescorers found significant growth (Mean = 3.4) between Spanish pretests and Spanish post tests. By contrast, the District (Mean = 2.9) showed a decline in the Spanish post writing samples. The significant gains between the Spanish pre and post tests may have gone unnoticed in the District's evaluation because of two reasons. First, the writing rubric clearly stressed mechanics over content. Second, the rubric was designed to reflect the District's second language acquisition continuum, thus favoring English skills. Furthermore, since instruction took place only in English, transfer of mechanics to Spanish writing was unlikely given the differences in punctuation and grammar between the two languages. Primary writing traits (e.g. drawing inferences, using compare and contrast techniques, use of supporting arguments, etc.) which may have been taught in English, however, could have transferred over to Spanish writing. That would explain why the Rescorers who were mainly focusing on content found growth in Spanish, but the District did not.

The third paired t-tests comparing Spanish and English writing samples revealed that bilingual students were more effective in controlling the writing task in Spanish than in English, especially when they organized their writing ideas around culturally relevant and familiar themes such as extended family, life on a ranch or in a rural setting, immigration issues, recency of
life in the U.S., the virtues of country living over city living, and other similar topics. This simply indicates that students were more proficient in Spanish than English. The Spanish protocols utilized narrative and descriptive forms, compare/contrast, and poetic devices. Students demonstrated ability to draw inferences and conclusions and frequently set themselves as the focal point for the reader as they described events and objects in the picture.

In English, few specific themes were evident; instead, bilingual writers resorted to labelling items and events as a way of controlling the writing task. Construction of meaning was a more difficult task and many "strained against their level of competence" (Bartholomae, 1980) to fill a page of English words. The common stylistic devices that assisted their success in English writing included: codeswitching, assigning names to persons in the picture ("Mr. Rodríguez"), use of story structures ("once upon a time..."), use of slang as cohesive devices (e.g. "cruising with the girls"), and the use of simple pattern sentences (e.g. "The people are fishing. The people are happy.")

Additionally, the re-analyses of the data revealed three major problems with the school District's assessment procedures. One was the fact that the same rubric was used for 1st to 12th grades. The second was related to the random evaluation of the writing protocols and the third was related to the differential use of the holistic rubric for scoring English and Spanish writing samples. To illustrate the general inadequacies and pervasive problems with assessment of bilingual writers, the four unedited writing protocols of one writer, Juan, are used here.
Figure 4. English Pre writing Sample

One day my freinds and I go to New York.

We came see san people fishing. They said
do you what fishing. My freinds and I said yes
We can see how many fish we have. I said
we have 0 fish and old day. My freind hes
have 0 because I am excelent.

[Totals: 53 words, 6 sentences, 7 T-units, mean = 7.57,
4 spelling errors; District Score = 2.]

It is evident from this English pretest that Juan is a limited English speaker, yet he has a good grasp of what constitutes a complete sentence. To maintain cohesion in his writing, Juan uses a common narrative device, "One day..." and introduces a fishing event with some friends but is unable to develop a complete story. His narrative contains an introduction, setting, goal (to catch fish) and a problem (zero fish), but no reaction and solution. His attempt at writing a story ends abruptly as he struggles to control English writing.

There is, however, striking attention to writing mechanics: correct capitalization, spelling (except for "excelent", and "freinds" which is misspelled three times), and punctuation. Juan uses dialogue in his writing, but is unable to set it off with correct use of quotation marks. This is a common source of difficulty even for native English speaking writers because punctuation for dialogue is more complicated than other punctuation. For a Spanish speaker, this task is compounded by the fact that the use of punctuation for Spanish dialogue is quite different than for English. Using
the descriptors in the district's rubric, this passage was re-evaluated and scored a level 3.

Figure 5. English Post writing Sample

This picture looks like evry
buthie have a work to do
after this city gro up I think the he
was only a forest this picture looks
like El Paso.

[Totals: 30 words, 1 sentence, 3 T-units, mean =10.0,
3 spelling errors; District score = 2.]

In the English post writing sample, Juan again appears to be "straining" to make some speculations and arrive at some inferences about people's lives (e.g. it looks like everybody has a job to do) and the condition of the city in the picture before it was developed and populated ("after this city gro up"). He begins to compare it with El Paso but gives up, and again ends suddenly. The task of writing a hypothetical commentary on the picture is obviously more cognitively demanding than an attempt at a simple narrative, as in the pretest. This is suggested by Juan's seeming inattention to form. His struggle in communicating complex ideas consumes all his attention, leaving little for the mechanics of writing. Note, however, that for both the pretest and the posttest, Juan received a level 2 in writing. One can only surmise that in the post test he got credit for attempting complex ideas, but did not make gains because of lack of form. Juan also received a score of 2 in the re-evaluation because there was not enough language to sustain his ideas.
In the Spanish pre writing sample, Juan also scored a level 2 in spite of the fact that he has written not only a longer, but a more complex passage on a highly personal and relevant topic to him: discrimination in the United States. Unlike the English writing samples that lack authenticity, this sample reveals a strong writer’s voice which comes from Juan’s expertise on, and experience with the topic. We can see that in addition to dealing with an abstract issue, Juan utilizes a compare/contrast technique, a more difficult writing form requiring ability to analyze similarities and differences in a topic. Juan accomplishes this with a great deal of success in his comparison of Mexico and the United States. In essence, he argues that Mexico is prettier (i.e., more pleasant place to live) than the United States. He defends his thesis
by comparing the treatment of Mexicans and Americans in both countries. He says, "here in the U.S., there is discrimination, not in Mexico." In the U.S., Mexicans are called "wetbacks", but gringos are not called derogatory names in Mexico. Americans are free to travel in Mexico, but Mexicans are restricted in their travel to the U.S. There are more drugs in the U.S. than in Mexico because Americans get paid with U.S. dollars and can get the drugs while Mexican pesos can't buy much. In the end, he confesses that he also likes Mexico better because he has many friends there, suggesting that he does not have very many friends in the U.S. and misses his country and his friends.

Although the passage ignores correct writing form, it is a powerful piece of writing that develops a mood of nostalgia and pain. It is successful in eliciting empathy from the reader. The treatment of the topic and the development of ideas in this Spanish writing sample is qualitatively superior to the English writing samples. Even without punctuation, his writing in Spanish is fluent, making his English samples appear even more limited and immature, yet Juan's score (again a level 2) is no better than his English scores. Using the District's rubric and descriptors, Juan should have scored a level 4 in this writing sample. The qualitative difference in Spanish writing, however, was impossible to observe when the language samples were treated in isolation from each other. The important point is that, like other bilingual writers, Juan's ability to express himself goes unnoticed when only English writing skills are valued.

Often, LEP students' growth in fluency is masked by a deterioration, or seeming inattention, to form as they struggled to gain control of meaning. In other words, when students are constructing more personal and complex ideas, they appeared to ignore the mechanics of writing. In both English and
Spanish, for example, some words were spelled correctly in the pretests when the content was easier or based on patterned writing ("The river is big.", "The bridge is big."). but misspelled when they were struggling to write more meaningful ideas ("The river under the bridge looks pacific.").

**Figure 7. Spanish Post Writing Sample**

Todas estas personas que están en el paisaje están haciendo una actividad.
Yo pienso que antes de que este paisaje fuese hecho solo era una selva o un paisaje de puros arboles y plantas.
Yo creo que con el paso del tiempo este pueblo se irá haciendo más grande o se aumentara la población.
Este hermoso paisaje me hace recordar a un pueblo que conoci y en el cual dure barios años viviendo.

[Totals: 73 words, 4 sentences, 5 l-units, mean = 14.6; 2 spelling errors; District score = 3.]

Juan's Spanish post writing sample gives an idea of what he was attempting to say in his English post writing sample. The difference is astonishing. In his native language, Juan is articulate as he speculates and imagines what the scene might have been like before the land was developed. He says, "I believe that before this scene (illustration) was made, this location was probably a jungle filled with just trees and plants. I believe that with the passage of time this town will grow larger or its population will be augmented. This beautiful
scene reminds me of a town which I once knew and in which I lived for many years."

The entire paper is focused on the illustration. Juan draws inferences on what might have been and makes predictions on how the place may change. His control of Spanish grammar (present, past, subjunctive, future, etc.) and vocabulary (e.g., paisaje, hermoso fuese hecho, selva, aumentara) is above average. He expresses his ideas easily, intelligently and maturely, demonstrating that he is in full control of the writing task. Without the heavy cognitive demand of constructing ideas in a second language, Juan appears to be able to attend to correct form. Using the district's rubric, Juan should have scored at level 5.

Discussion and Implications

The findings from this study strongly suggest that development of literacy skills for bilinguals follows a normal progression, and like good writers who struggle to construct meaning, they temporarily ignore form. The results also suggest that a holistic technique intended not only to complement a process approach to writing, but to focus on a global impression of students' ability to communicate ideas effectively, is not sufficient to ensure fairness in evaluation. In the case of this pre and post writing evaluation of bilingual students, it was inadequate to provide an accurate picture of students' writing skills in their first and second language.

The use of holistic evaluation instruments for English and native language writing, at least as they are used in some districts, are problematic. Poorly developed holistic rubrics that do not detect important gains or differences in writing levels, frequently mask academic potential. When
Pre & Post Writing...

these assessment instruments are designed for native English speakers they can prove inadequate for evaluating and scoring academic performance in native and second language tasks, and may be biased in favor of English. The political climate sparked by the Official English movement, unfavorable views on bilingual education and doubts about its efficacy together with the primacy of English instruction in schools, and the shortage of bilingual teaching personnel all contribute to the deficiencies and biases in the assessment of bilingual students' academic performance. For example, even when the process approach to literacy is taught in the native language, students' writing or reading skills in the native language are seldom acknowledged or valued (see Moll, 1989; Diaz, Moll & Mehan, 1986; Reyes, 1984; Trueba et al., 1980). Worse yet, native language proficiency in academic subjects is rarely used as a basis for reporting academic performance, leaving the impression that bilingual students have serious intellectual deficits.

In analyzing bilingual writers' native and L2 writing samples, it was evident that the length of the English samples and the ability to use correct form were more important to the District evaluators than the ability to develop fluent, coherent ideas. The failure to match the pre and post samples and to compare Spanish and English writing, made it impossible to measure actual growth over time and to observe qualitative differences between L1 and L2 writing. Gains were masked by random and separate scoring of individual students' writing samples. In many cases, Spanish language samples that were significantly superior in both content and form were scored lower or the same as English language samples that lacked fluency and complex ideas. The re-analyses revealed biases against native language skills although not likely intentional on the part of the evaluators who were themselves fluent in both
languages. The predominance of English skills even in bilingual classes and the inordinate fear that language minorities will not learn English fast enough, or well enough, create an implicit and pervasive preference for English. This perpetuates the impression, or belief, that literacy is synonymous with the ability to read and write in English.

To guard against these inherent biases, school districts should use more caution in assessing the academic skills of bilingual students ensuring that they are given credit for knowledge and acquisition of skills even if they are not in English. Academic achievement in subject areas where native and English are used for instructional purposes should be made public so as to provide a more accurate representation of LEP students. In the area of writing, the use of writing portfolios for assessment might be a more effective way of measuring gains in writing because it permits an on-going monitoring of real growth over time and a comparison of an individual's writing samples in both languages. At the same time, school districts will begin to redress the inadequacies of reporting the intellectual potential of bilingual Hispanic students.
References


Figure 1. Visual Stimulus for Writing Sample.
Figure 2a. Instructions for Writing Samples (English)

DIRECTIONS:

There are two parts to administering this writing sample.

ORAL DISCUSSION OF THE PICTURE (Students & Teacher)

WRITE FOR 20 MINUTES (Students only)

Say to the students:

"Today you are going to write about this picture." Show the students the picture. You may wish to make enough copies of the picture to give each student a copy, or you may make a transparency and put it on an overhead projector.

"Before you start writing, let's look at the picture together. As I ask you these questions, think to yourself about the answers then we'll discuss them."

What do you think is happening in this picture?  
What occurred before this picture was taken?  
What will happen after this?  
Did this picture remind you of anything?

Student discuss what they thought about, using the questions as a stimulus.

"Now that you have had time to discuss the picture and think about it, it's time to write."

Repeat some of the main ideas that the students have brought up in their discussion.

"You will have 20 minutes to write. Concentrate on getting your ideas down on paper."

"Give students a clean piece of paper have them legibly head the new sheet with:

Name:
Student Number:
Teachers Name:
Date:
School:
"Write your whole name on the paper, then begin writing. If you don't want to write about any of the ideas discussed, write about an idea of your own."

"Be sure your writing relates to the picture. You have fifteen minutes to write."

At the end of 20 minutes say, "Finish your idea then stop writing." Collect the paper and write the students number. Check to be sure that the student write the name which she/he is registered by.
Figure 2b. Instructions for Writing Sample (Sr-nish).

MUESTRA DE ESCRITURA

INSTRUCCIONES:

La aplicación de esta muestra de escritura consta de dos partes:

DISCUSIÓN ORAL DE LA ILUSTRACIÓN (Estudiantes y Maestro)

ESCRIBIR DURANTE 20 MINUTOS (Estudiantes solamente)

Digale a los estudiantes:

"Hoy ustedes van a escribir sobre esta ilustración." Mústreles la ilustración e incluso podrían hacer suficientes copias de ella para darle a cada estudiante una copia, o bien, usted podría hacer una transparencia y ponerla en un proyector.

"Antes de que ustedes empiecen a escribir, miremos la ilustración todos juntos. Amedida que yo vaya haciendo estas preguntas, piensen para ustedes mismos las respuestas y después las discutiremos."

¿Qué piensan ustedes que está sucediendo en esta ilustración?
¿Qué ocurrió antes de que esta ilustración fuese hecha?
¿Qué ocurrirá después de esto?
¿Te hace recordar de algo esta ilustración?

Los estudiantes discutirán sobre lo que han pensado, usando las preguntas como estímulo.

"Ahora que han tenido tiempo para discutir la ilustración y pensar sobre ella, ya es tiempo para que empiecen a escribir."

Repitan algunas de las ideas principales que los estudiantes han sacado a relucir en su discusión.

"Tendrán 20 minutos para escribir. Concéntrense poniendo su ideas en el papel."

Déle a los estudiantes un papel en blanco y hágales que encabecen la nueva hoja con letra clara:

Nombre del Estudiante:
Número del Estudiante:
Nombre del Maestro/a:
Fecha:
Escuela:
"Escriban su nombre completo en el papel y empiecen a escribir. Si no quieren escribir sobre ninguna de las ideas que se han discutido, escriban sobre una idea propia."

Asegúrense que lo que escriban esté relacionado con la ilustración. Tienen veinte minutos para escribir.

Al final de los veinte minutos diga, "Terminen su idea y después paren de escribir." Recoja el papel y escriba los números de los estudiantes. Revise para asegurar que el estudiante escribió su nombre con el cual fue matriculado/a.
Figure 3. Writing Sample Rubric

**Mechanics**

2 - Invented spelling used
   - Inconsistent use of capitalization and punctuation
   - Repeated sentence patterns

3 - Common words standard spelling
   - Emerging rules evident for capitalization and punctuation.
   - Verb tenses inconsistent
   - Attempts paragraphing
   - Sense of struggling with language mechanics

4 - Spelling consistently standard
   - Punctuation and capitalization consistent
   - Paragraphs evident
   - Syntactic variation at the beginning of sentences

5 - Command of mechanics but some errors which do not interfere with meaning

6 - Dependent and independent clauses evident
   - Varied sentence structure
   - Command of mechanics
   - Sense of paragraph

**Content**

1A - Draws a picture only

1B - Draws a picture and writes own name

1C - Draws a picture

1D - Lists of isolated words or repeated phrases

2 - Some Action
   - Rudimentary prose. Beginning voice is emerging but there is not enough language to carry it.
   - An introduction and body
   - Sentences not necessarily related, serial sentences.

4 - Define story development
   - Voice evident
   - Time sequence
   - Definite beginning, middle and end
   - Speculation, prediction, conclusion and inference begins to appear

5 - Entire paper develops one central idea
   - Expresses abstract or figurative ideas some use of dialogue, includes quotation marks.
   - Setting established
   - Descriptive style

6 - Creative expression of theme
   - Developed elements of literature-character, plot, setting, voice
   - Length 1 1/2 pages
   - Revising process in place
   - Organization - thoughts connected
   - Recognize genre
Pre & Post Writing...

Figure 4. English Pre writing Sample

One day my freinds and I go to New York. We came see san people fishing. They said do you what fishing. My freinds and I said yes We can see how many fish we have. I said we have 0 fish and old day. My freind hes have 0 because I am excelent.

[Totals: 53 words, 6 sentences, 7 T-units, mean = 7.57, 3 spelling errors; District Score = 2.]
This picture looks like evre
buthie have a work to do
after this city gro up I think the he
was only a forest this picture looks
like El Paso.

[Totals: 30 words, 1 sentence, 3 T-units, mean =10.0,
4 spelling errors; District score = 2.]
Pre & Post Writing...

Figure 6. Spanish Pre writing Sample

En México esta más vonito que aquí
aqui hay mucha descriminacion aya no si haya
ba un gringo no le andan diciendo mojado
en cambio si uno de México viene aquí
si le dicen mojado los de aquí pueden
ir a México cuando eyos quieren y los de
aya no. aqui hay mas drogas que haya sera
por que aqui las puede comprarr uno y luego es
por que les papa uno dolares y haya en dinero
mexicano. es mas
I like Mexico because deere I have
to mash a frends

[Totals: 78 words, 2 sentences, 12 T-units, mean =7.41;
9 spelling errors; District score = 2.]
Todos estas personas que estan en el paisaje estan haciendo una actividad. Yo pienso que antes de que este paisaje fuese hecho solo era una selva o un paisaje de puros arboles y plantas. Yo creo que con el paso del tiempo este pueblo se ira haciendo mas grande ose aumentara la poblaciOn. Este hermoso paisaje me hace recordar a un pueblo que conosi y en el cual dure barios anos viviendo.

[Totals: 73 words, 4 sentences, 5 T-units, mean = 14.6; 2 spelling errors; District s're = 3.]
Table 1. District's and Rescorers' Mean Scores on Writing Samples

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Table 2. Comparison of Growth between Prewriting & Post Writing Samples:

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Table 3. Comparison of Mean Scores on Spanish and English Writing Samples

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<td>3.50 * (&lt;.01)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Significant*