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Dual Language Bilingual Education Program Implementation, Teacher Language Ideologies and Local Language Policy

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Dedication

I dedicate this dissertation to my husband, Armando, and my parents, Marty and John Henderson. Without your support, this journey would never have been possible. Armando, thank you for always putting the doctoral program into perspective; my thesis is not as important as my family and health. Eres el amor de mi vida. Mom, thank you for your encouragement and years of copyediting. I follow my dreams because of the self-confidence you instilled in me as a young girl. Dad, your advice and mentorship were invaluable. You will not receive official credit, but you were the sixth member of my committee.

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Dual Language Bilingual Education Program Implementation, Teacher Language Ideologies and Local Language Policy

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In this dissertation, I investigated the top-down implementation process of a dual language bilingual education (DLBE) program in over 60 schools in a large urban school district in Texas to identify language ideologies and issues of language policy and policy implementation according to local participating educators. Drawing on a language policy framework and research in linguistic anthropology to define language ideologies, I employed a multi-method approach (survey (n=323 educators), interview (n=20 DLBE teachers) and observation (n=3 DLBE teachers)) to measure and better understand language ideology and its significance for local language policy. Analysis revealed ideological tension and multiplicity, within and across educators, within single statements and overtime. For example, during interviews most teachers expressed additive views towards bilingualism, but subtractive views towards non-standard variations of each language. Similarly, several teachers articulated additive ideologies towards bilingualism while articulating the relative greater importance of English language acquisition. These ideological tensions operated in distinct ways at the classroom level. One teacher strictly followed the DLBE policy in her classroom to support bilingual/biliteracy development, but she also discouraged certain students and families from participating in the program because of their non-standard language practices. This dissertation complicates traditional

understandings of the role of language ideologies within language policy implementation. Much research in our field discusses bilingual programs and program implementation in dichotomous terms (i.e. subtractive/additive). In contrast, I demonstrate how the multiplicity and complexity of language ideologies must be considered when trying to discuss the ideological struggle involved in implementing pluralist bilingual programs within an English dominant society. I present four potential models to conceptualize and analyze ideological tension as well as a discussion on the relationship between language ideologies and local language policy. Implications for teacher education, DLBE policy and future research are considered.

Table of Contents

List of Tables

List of Figures

Chapter 1: Introduction

The aim of this dissertation is to contribute to the discussion of bilingual education in the United States through an in-depth exploration of language ideologies and language policy in the implementation of dual language bilingual education (DLBE). In this chapter, a brief overview of the history of bilingual education programs and language policy in schools will contextualize this timely exploration of current DLBE program expansion. The historical perspective further highlights the critical role of language ideologies, grounding the centrality of this concept for the purpose of this study. The chapter will then address the current problematic state of educational services for emerging bilingual (EB) students (i.e. English language learners see García & Kleifgen, 2010 for explanation of terminology) within schools in the United States, motivating this investigation into bilingual programming and program implementation. The chapter will conclude with a focus on DLBE education specifically, and introduce the central research questions for this study on teacher language ideologies, local language policy and DLBE program implementation.

HISTORICAL CONTEXT OF BILINGUAL EDUCATION

An exploration of the history of bilingual education reveals the contentious nature of language ideologies and educational language policy. Restrictive language policy became widespread at the turn of the 20th century when free and compulsory education became more common (Tyack & Cuban, 1995). These policies reflected the emergence

of the dominant language ideology that English is the one and only language of American identity (Pavlenko, 2002). Following World War I, coinciding with increased propaganda for patriotism and nationalism, restrictions were placed on the teaching of languages other than English, and bilingual education became more and more unacceptable (Blanton, 2004; García, 2009, Kloss, 1998; Ricento, 2005). Indeed, school was considered a place to assimilate and "Americanize" immigrants (Tyack & Cuban, 1995; Schmid, 2000). Consistent with the increasingly entrenched language ideology of English dominance, assimilation translated into learning in English-only (Pavlenko, 2002).

In the mid to late 20th century, there was a shift in tolerance towards bilingual education. In 1968, the passage of the Bilingual Education Act (BEA), Title VII of the federal Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA) allowed schools to apply for funding to develop bilingual education programs. The BEA was critical for the expansion of bilingual programming, yet framed the programs and students in a deficit way (Blanton, 2004; Ricento, 2005). Two influential court cases followed: In 1974, a group of eighteen hundred Chinese Americans were represented in a civil rights suit claiming inequitable educational opportunities as non-native English speakers in San Francisco public schools. In this landmark court case, *Lau vs. Nichols*, the U.S Supreme Court ruled educators had a responsibility to provide "affirmative remedial efforts to give special attention to linguistically deprived children" (Lau v. Nichols 1974: p. 5). In 1981, Roy Castañeda, the father of two Mexican-American children filed a suit against the school district in Raymondville, Texas on the basis of discrimination and insufficient bilingual education programs. In the resulting *Castañeda v. Pickard* case, the court ruled in favor

of Castañeda, which instigated the establishment of specific criteria to assess schools and school districts in meeting the needs of linguistically diverse students. These victories forced schools to reflect on and address their emerging bilingual population in unprecedented ways including the development and implementation of bilingual programs (Ovando, 2003).

Starting in the 1980's movements against bilingual education re-surfaced, hampering the programmatic progress in bilingual education from the previous two decades. Anti-bilingual groups formed, including U.S. English, English-only, and English First, representing a monolingual and assimilationist ideology (Citrin, Reingold, Walters, & Green, 1990; Wiley & Lukes, 1996). Indeed, the Reagan administration represented this ideology and President Reagan himself stated, "It is absolutely wrong and against American concepts to have a bilingual education program that is now openly, admittedly dedicated to preserving their native language and never getting them adequate in English so they can go out into the job market and participate" (National Archives and Records Administration, 1981). Despite the increase in public anti-bilingual education sentiment, there remained an important advocacy presence (Ovando, 2003). In 1975, the National Association of Bilingual Education (NABE) formed, which remains active to the present, and in 1985 an organization called English Plus launched. Nonetheless, during this period these pro-bilingual organizations garnered less public support than their anti-bilingual counterparts.

The current state of bilingual education in the United States reflects its contentious history and remains complicated and even contradictory. On one hand, anti-

bilingual education sentiment and assimilationist policies persist. The BEA dissolved in 2002 and "English-only" schooling laws passed in California (1998), Arizona (2000) and Massachusetts (2002) (Ryan, 2002). Educational policy replacing BEA, including No Child Left Behind (NCLB), reflects an assimilationist ideology and prioritizes English-only (Evans & Hornberger, 2005). NCLB functions as a restrictive educational language policy (Menken, 2009) that often decreases the number of bilingual education programs, for example, in New York City (Menken & Solorza, 2014). At the same time, the overwhelming majority of empirical studies continue to report on the advantages of bilingualism and bilingual education (Adesope, Lavin, Thompson, & Ungerleider, 2010; Callahan & Gándara, 2014; Rolstad, Mahoney, & Glass, 2005). Building on this research, new pluralist discourses praising the benefits of bilingualism and bilingual education surfaced within the media, advocating for the cognitive benefits, including improvement of executive function and reduction of dementia (Martin-Rhee & Bialystok, 2008 as cited in Bhattacharjee, 2012; Craik, Bialystok, & Freedman, 2010 as cited in Sizer, 2011; McQuillan & Tse, 1996). Furthermore, alongside the passing of English-only laws, DLBE programs increased substantially (Center for Applied Linguistics, 2008; Wilson, 2011). For example, in Texas alone over 80 school districts (representing more than 600 schools) adopted district-wide dual language (Center for Applied Linguistics, 2008; Gómez & Gómez, 1999). In sum, the current ideological landscape appears highly polarized.

Yet, a polarizing depiction of the ideological landscape in the United Sates is insufficient to make sense of the impact of these ideologies on the schooling experiences

of linguistically diverse students at the local level. Despite historical trends, during every time period, conflicting language ideologies have co-existed (Ovando, 2003). Schools in particular remain a primary site of "language ideological combat" (Alim, 2007 p.163). More recent conceptualizations of language ideology recognize the multiple and even contradictory nature of language ideologies (Gal, 1998; Kroskrity, 1998; Woolard, 1998). Multiple, competing ideologies exist within the state (Freeman, 2004), school (Alim, 2007), district (Hornberger & Johnson, 2007) and even individual educator (Henderson & Palmer, 2015; Martínez, 2013; Martínez, Hikida & Durán, 2014). A meaningful exploration into bilingual education and language ideologies must consider more complex ideological relationships.

EMERGING BILINGUALS AND BILINGUAL PROGRAMS

The importance and need for investigation into the schooling experiences and mediating factors of linguistically diverse students is evident. It is estimated that one in five students in the United States comes from a home where another language is spoken (Crawford, 2000) and approximately 10% of students in schools are officially labeled as English Language Learners (ELLs) (García, 2005). Furthermore, this population is identified as the most rapidly growing student group (García, 2005). This population of students tends to be underserved by the educational system and perform at significantly lower levels academically than their native English-speaking peers (Valenzuela, 1999; Valdés, 2001). The systemic underperformance of this population is both a significant

economic and social challenge for the U.S. It is critical for this growing population, which includes a large number of immigrants, to have equitable educational opportunities to achieve individually as well as contribute to our society.

Investigations into bilingual programs and program implementation represent one key mediating factor and area for research. The influx of linguistically diverse immigrants to new areas in the country demands innovative programs and effective program implementation to help students in schools historically not equipped to meet their linguistic needs (Zúñiga & Hernández-León, 2006; Bohon, Macpherson, & Atiles, 2005). Arguably, the stakes are even higher in states with high concentrations of ELLs, including Texas where approximately 15% of students are identified as ELLs (García, 2005). In these contexts, effective bilingual educational programming and implementation impacts large numbers of students and is imperative.

Investigations into bilingual education programming can vary tremendously given the substantial variation in what is considered bilingual education. In contrast to many international contexts, bilingual education in the U.S. generally refers to the education of linguistic minorities. This can lead to confusion given that U.S. educational programs for language minorities include variations of English as a Second Language (ESL) and sheltered English instruction. As such, bilingual programs are more specifically defined as programs in which instruction is conducted in more than one language (García, 2005). The two principal umbrella terms for U.S bilingual program models are transitional bilingual education and dual language bilingual education (DLBE). These models have distinct goals. The goal for transitional programs is to transition students to all English

instruction, whereas the goals for dual language programs are bilingualism, biliteracy and biculturalism (Christian, 2011; García, 2005; Howard, Olague & Rogers, 2003).

Lambert (1975) provides a helpful framework to understand and make sense of varying bilingual programs. Lambert explored bilingual communities in different countries and found that in certain contexts, such as South Africa, Israel and Montreal, learning two languages had social value and respect, whereas in other contexts, such as Spanish-speakers in the United States, learning a second language implied forgoing the first. He defined the first context in which two languages were valued an "additive" form of bilingualism and the second context in which languages are foregone "subtractive" (Lambert, 1975). Researchers have drawn on this lens to label bilingual program models as additive or subtractive; transitional bilingual programs can be identified as subtractive, whereas dual language bilingual programs can be recognized as additive (Roberts, 1995; García, 2005). As such, dual language programs are a particularly important site for investigation given their potential to value and develop student bilingualism and biculturalism.

DUAL LANGUAGE PROGRAMS

DLBE is an umbrella term for programs that all share the same central goals and include developmental bilingual education (called one-way dual language in the DLBE model implemented in this study), two-way dual language (also called two-way immersion), heritage language immersion and foreign language immersion (Howard,

Olague, & Rogers, 2003). The differences in these programs are based on the population of students and percentage of classroom instruction in the minority language; however, it can be difficult to neatly classify a program as a particular subtype (Menken & García, 2010; Palmer, 2011; Olson, 2009). In addition to the programmatic goals, important commonalities between these four programs types include: 1) The academic content provided does not differ from any other educational program; 2) Instruction is provided in two languages and at least 50% of the instruction is given in a language other than the dominant language; and 3) The program length is a minimum six consecutive years (Howard, Olague, & Rogers, 2003).

Research associates participation in DLBE programs with high academic achievement (Thomas & Collier, 2002; Lindholm-Leary, 2001, 2005; Christian, 1994; Tong, Irby, Lara-Alecio & Mathes, 2008; Medina & Escamilla, 1992; de Jong, 2004). Furthermore, research suggests these programs can promote bilingual identity construction (Palmer, 2008; Potowski, 2004, Reyes & Vallone, 2007) and cross-cultural competence (Christian, 1994). Not surprisingly, given the plethora of empirical work indicating positive academic and social student outcomes, DLBE programs garnered much attention. DLBE has the potential to improve the educational experiences of emerging bilinguals, further motivating DLBE as a site for research.

However, the increased research focus on DLBE has simultaneously revealed potential pitfalls and concerns with common models and implementation. Addressing the two-way DLBE program specifically, Valdés (1997) sent a "cautionary note" to bilingual educators and researchers addressing the potential biasing of programs in favor of Anglo

students rather than their minority peers. She warned of a possible watering down effect on the minority language. Spanish speaking Anglos could be potentially disproportionately praised for their efforts to learn a second language while minority language speakers are still expected to learn English (Valdés, 1997).

Since Valdés' influential piece, multiple researchers explored these potential asymmetries (López & Fránquiz, 2009; Palmer 2008, 2009; Dorner, 2010). Palmer (2008) addressed issues of race and equality and recognized how the teacher plays a critical role in challenging classroom discourse and creating new scripts for all students. Dorner (2010) found that even if parents, administrators and teachers adopt the stated goals of a dual language program, students might still adopt the public's emphasis on the development of English skills. The additive ideological underpinnings of DLBE are promising, yet particular program models and program implementation could undermine its theoretical potential.

As such, in-depth empirical explorations of specific program models and implementation are timely. The urgency of high quality research is even greater with the rapidly changing landscape of DLBE and DLBE implementation. Historically, DLBE programs developed from grassroots movements often through teacher and parent initiatives. However, top-down DLBE program initiatives are surfacing across the country. For example, the Utah State Office of Education started a movement for statewide dual language immersion (USOE Dual Immersion Home, 2009). Furthermore, commercial DLBE programs are now available for purchase by individual schools and even entire school districts (Gómez & Gómez, 1999). While bilingual educational

consultants have long been available to support districts in developing and implementing a DLBE program appropriate for a particular context, consultants for these newer commercial programs require districts by contract to implement their model with fidelity (Gómez & Gómez, 1999). This combination of factors potentially changes the appearance and local meaning of DLBE drastically, yet empirical investigations are necessary to investigate these possible transformations.

Top-down implementation potentially opens a space for substantially more students to participate in an enrichment bilingual model in a shorter period. For example, the model for study in this investigation was first implemented in Texas in 1996 and is now implemented in 6 additional states, 43 complete school districts and a total of 633 schools (Gómez & Gómez, 1999). However, research identifies advantages of bottom-up over top-down policy initiatives (Darling-Hammond, 1990) including for implementation of DLBE programs specifically (Pérez, 2004; Freeman, 2004). Pérez (2004) described the process of bottom-up planning and implementation of two-way dual language strands in two schools in San Antonio, Texas. She found that the leadership and commitment to parent participation allowed for continual negotiation of the implementation process, ultimately resulting in a strong advocacy for the program across groups of people. The whole community coming together, including administrators, parents, teachers, researchers and students was critical for the process of dual language implementation and maintenance of the program (Pérez, 2004). These advantages might be lost in a top-down imposition of a DLBE program model. One goal of this dissertation is to complete an in-depth exploration of top-down DLBE program implementation to better understand

newer processes in the DLBE landscape.

THE STUDY

This study will investigate the top-down implementation process of a DLBE program in over 60 schools in a large urban school district in Texas to identify issues of implementation according to local participating educators. Previous research identified language ideologies as playing a key role in bilingual program implementation (Cummins, 2000; Freeman, 2004; Palmer, 2011, Stritikus, 2003; Varghese & Stritikus, 2005). As such, an investigation into the role of language ideologies within the more recent phenomena of top-down DLBE implementation is important and will be a central focus of the investigation. The central research questions guiding this study are:

1. What language ideologies do educators in a district that participate in a top-down mandated dual language program articulate and embody?
2. How do teachers describe and evaluate their experience with DLBE implementation?
3. What are the relationships between teachers' language ideologies and local language policy?

SIGNIFICANCE OF STUDY

Researchers need a more complex understanding of the processes occurring in implementation of DLBE programs to offer practical and theoretically grounded advice

for teachers committed to implementing additive programs and improving the educational experiences of emerging bilinguals. Currently, educational theory relating language ideologies and language policy is under-developed. Programs and teacher ideologies are often labeled in dichotomous or discrete categorical terms including additive/subtractive (Lambert, 1976), assimilationist/pluralist (de Jong, 2011) and/or representing a language as a problem/right/resource orientation (Ruiz, 1984). While these terms are helpful, building on new understandings of language ideologies, this dissertation will contribute to a more complex understanding of the relationships between teacher ideologies, language policy and the implementation of bilingual programs. Given that these relationships are under-theorized in the field of bilingual education, this dissertation makes a theoretical contribution to the field. Such theoretical advancement will ultimately serve in program development and implementation for educators committed to improving the educational experiences of emerging bilinguals.

The organization of this dissertation is as follows: Chapter 2 introduces the theoretical framework of the study and provides a synthesis of prior research. Chapter 3 details the methodology for the study, including the multi-methods approach for examining language ideologies. Chapters 4 and 5 present the findings of the study. Chapter 4 focuses on the findings from the interviews, specifically the teachers' languages ideologies and experience with DLBE implementation. Chapter 5 presents the findings from the three teacher case studies and considers each teacher's language ideologies and language policy revealed across the survey, interviews and classroom observations. Chapter 6 is a discussion chapter on what the findings mean for

understanding language ideologies and language policy. Finally, Chapter 7 describes the limitations of the study, implications for DLBE language policy and teacher education, and possible future research directions.

Chapter 2: Theoretical Framework & Review of the Literature

This investigation builds on a language planning and policy (LPP) framework and a language ecology perspective to explore DLBE, language ideologies and local language policy. This study aims to both uncover educator language ideologies and use them as a tool for analysis of classroom interaction and local language policy. Given the centrality of ideology, the concept of language ideology also theoretically frames the research.

The ontological positioning of the study is important for the aim of the research. I draw on a post-positivist realist perspective that is well summarized by Moya (2002):

> Broadly speaking to be a "realist" in a given domain is to believe in a "reality" that is, at least in part, causally independent of humans' mental constructions of it. Thus, while humans' (better or worse) understandings of their world may provide their only access to "reality," their conceptual or linguistic constructions of the world do not constitute the totality of what can be considered "real." Clearly then, when realists say that something is "real," they do not mean that it is *not* socially constructed; rather their point is that it is not *only* socially constructed (p. 27).

Moya is able to illustrate a realists' simultaneous belief in reality and social constructivism. This ontological grounding allows for an investigation that will provide practical recommendations for DLBE and DLBE implementation.

LANGUAGE POLICY

A language planning and policy (LPP) framework will be used for this dissertation to explore DLBE implementation and language ideologies. Beginning in the 90's and up until today, there is a renewed interest in research on language policy (LP), which has led to the development and advancement of LP frameworks and theory. Indeed, the new designation of the field as language planning and policy "LPP" occurred in the 90's and represents a paradigmatic shift to address both language planning *and* policy.

The approach for this investigation draws on the metaphor of an onion to investigate different "layers" of LPP (Ricento & Hornberger, 1996; Hornberger & Johnson, 2007; Hornberger & Johnson, 2011). The different layers of the metaphorical language policy onion include (from outer to inner) national legislation, states and agencies, institutions (i.e. districts and book publishers) and local practitioners. Each layer permeates and is permeated by the others; when language policy is passed, enacted or, in this case, mandated, the policy is reinterpreted and renegotiated by the local actors at each level (Ricento & Hornberger, 1996; Hornberger & Johnson, 2011). For example, the implementation of national language policy at the state level will look different based on the local state actors involved (Ricento & Hornberger, 1996; Hornberger & Johnson, 2011). This perspective affords researchers the tools for a multi-layered LPP analysis. With these tools, researchers make connections between different layers of language policy, for example between national language policy and state language policy (Gándara

& Baca, 2008) and between state language policy and local language policy (Marschall et. al, 2011; Johnson, 2010; Hornberger & Johnson, 2007).

An additional advantage of this framework is the ability to identify and locate tensions between the distinct LP layers. Macro and micro language-policy tension is perpetuated by the highly interpretive nature of much LP (Wright, 2004). Interpretability opens up space for local actors at all levels LP to defend or fight for their social, political and/or economic interests (Phillips, 2003; Ricento & Hornberger, 1996; Hornberger & Johnson, 2011). For example, Phillips (2003) argued that language policy in the United States in relation to foreign language programs has been haphazard, vague and/or indirect. As such, the degree and extent to which language policy affected the instruction of foreign languages in schools and universities has often been by chance or mediated through local actors. An additional illustration is the tremendous variation state-by-state and school-by-school in what was labeled "bilingual education" after the passing of the Bilingual Education Act in 1968 (Ricento & Hornberger, 1996; Hornberger & Johnson, 2011). The ideologies embedded in the policies interacted with the individual ideologies of the local state and school actors to produce tension that manifested in radically different policy implementation (Ricento & Hornberger, 1996; Hornberger & Johnson, 2011).

Thus, the agency of local actors becomes of critical importance. Research on teacher agency for local instructional decisions within a larger conflicting macro LP has mixed findings. For example, Palmer (2011) explored transitional bilingual educators and identified the tension between the teachers' ideological positioning towards additive

bilingualism and their program requirement to transition students to English. Despite their beliefs, teachers were pressured to transition and, ultimately, completely bought into the transition process as the ultimate goal. It appears that transitional Spanish/English bilingual programs can be a space where teacher and students' ideologies of English dominance overrun spaces for Spanish interaction.

On the other hand, Olson (2009) explored ELL language policy and teacher beliefs in California through an in-depth study of how two experienced bilingual teachers implemented reform. She found that teachers have agency to adapt policy to fit their ideological viewpoint. Similarly, Evans and Hornberger (2005) explored the legislation in No Child Left Behind (NCLB) pertaining to English language learners (ELLs) and how it was subsequently interpreted and (not) used at each additional metaphorical layer of LPP implementation. Among their many findings they revealed that teachers who had strong beliefs in the efficacy of their ELL pedagogy said they would not change anything in their local classroom language policies regardless of national policy, state demands and district requirements. The variability in teacher agency in local instructional decisions is an additional important factor when exploring micro/macro LP tension.

The framework or model is only half of what is needed to examine teachers' instructional choices embedded within multiple intersecting layers of language policy; the other half is an adequate theory. This investigation combines an integrative LP framework with a language ecology perspective to open spaces to interpret micro language policy in the context of macro language policy and simultaneously attend to the complexities of language diversity.

In contrast to a diffusion-of English paradigm that supports the spread of English for the economic gain of English speakers and English speaking countries, an ecology of language perspective promotes the preservation and diversification of languages (Phillipson & Skutnabb-Kangas,1996; Hornberger, 2002). A pluralist language approach is a viable, present and an active alternative to the one-nation-one-language standpoint (Hornberger, 2002).

To explore the language practices, including production and interaction, of teachers and students within DLBE classrooms, the investigation will also draw on talk and social theory posited by Erickson (2004) to support the primary framework. Language practices are defined as the local production of oral discourse, which is informed by non-local and prior processes (Erickson, 2004). Erickson's theory complements the LPP framework and is aligned with a language ecology perspective because it is based on the connection between micro local language practices and macro societal processes. He critiques both total voluntarism and determinism when examining local language practices and argues:

> Thus I conclude by restating as a best guess the two truths we have been considering, propositions which I believe must necessarily be held together in a tension of paradox: (1) the conduct of talk in local social interaction as it occurs in real time is unique, crafted by local actors for the specific situation of its use in the moment of its uttering, and (2) the conduct of talk in local social interaction is profoundly influenced by processes that occur beyond the temporal and spatial horizon of the immediate occasion of interaction (Erickson, 2004 p. 197).

He postulates that these macro and micro processes work together: Linguistic shifts or changes occur both from the top-down and bottom-up in terms of redefining the "structure" and "wiggle room" in local language ecologies. The combination of the LPP "onion" framework, a language ecology perspective and Erickson's assertion that "macro" and "micro" processes must be considered together provides the tools for an in-depth analysis of local language policy.

TEACHERS AS LANGUAGE POLICY MAKERS.

This investigation will target teachers who represent the center of the onion (Ricento & Hornberger, 1996; Hornberger & Johnson, 2011). The emphasis on local practitioners in determining language policy is a relatively recent phenomenon. Historical approaches in LP prior to the 1970's focused on language planning with little or no attention to the actual impact it had on practices (Hornberger, 2006). These approaches worked from a number of assumptions, including the idea that monolingualism or a language of wider communication is the ideal for social and economic development and the idea that language planning is a rational and objective activity (Ricento, 2006; Fishman, 1969). During this time, language planning entailed developing a standard grammar and dictionary for languages that did not already have them, which was generally only necessary for indigenous or non-dominant languages in countries making LP decisions based on factors other than operational efficiency (Haugen, 1959; Fishman, 1969). Overall, linguists at this time were concerned with trying to solve the "language

problem" in nation building particularly in developing countries (Ricento, 2000). As such, these early and historical approaches in language planning are not useful for trying to interpret local language practices within macro language policy; researchers did not attend or even consider local LP. On the other hand, drawing on the LP onion metaphor as a more integrative framework allows for an investigation that considers micro-level language policy decisions situated within multiple larger language policy contexts.

Substantial research reinforces a LPP framework that places local actors at the center; teachers have been identified extensively as critical language policy makers (Menken & García, 2010; Johnson, 2010; Marschall et al., 2011; Hornberger & Johnson; 2007; Stritikus & García, 2000; Skilton-Sylvester, 2003). For example, Skilton-Sylvester (2003) explored macro and micro language policy processes and its effects on Khmer language and literacy development and found that local teacher policy can contest subtractive, macro-level legal discourse and decisions. Similarly, Varghese & Stritikus (2005) identified the critical role of teachers in language policy through a cross-case study of bilingual teachers in two states. The authors argued that teachers, particularly teachers of ELLs, must be more educated and informed through teacher education on the role and impact of language policy. The present study builds on the recent body of research centering the role of the teacher to examine how teacher language ideologies and implementation of DLBE programs impact local language practices and ultimately make up local language policy.

LANGUAGE IDEOLOGIES

Language ideologies and implementation of language policy cannot easily be separated; language policy is ideological in nature. Hornberger (2002) described the implementation process of multilingual language policy in Bolivia and South Africa as an effort to "implement an ideology." She highlighted the challenge of these implementation efforts in light of conflicting local ideologies, namely the priority to learn the dominant or national language (Hornberger, 2002). Similar insights have been made about language policy in the United States. Researchers identified language-as-a-problem or assimilationist language ideologies in NCLB Title III (Evans & Hornberger, 2005). For example, the title of the section of this federal law that pertains to "limited English proficient" students changed from the "Bilingual Education Act" (BEA) to the "English Language Acquisition, Language Enhancement, and Academic Achievement Act." Eliminating the word bilingual and emphasizing English acquisition represents a subtractive ideology (Evans & Hornberger, 2005). In contrast, DLBE policy, which aims for biliteracy and bilingualism, has been identified as representing an additive or pluralist ideology (García, 2009).

Not surprisingly then, researchers exploring teachers as local policy agents often address and attend to teacher ideologies. Valdiviezo (2009) investigated the role of teachers in bilingual education policy implementation in Peru and found that teachers' beliefs were essential in both the reproduction and contestation of systematic inequalities. Teacher language ideologies may represent a wide spectrum of beliefs including language as a problem. Gkaintartzi & Tsokalidou (2011) explored micro-level ideologies

of four teachers in mainstream Greek schools through semi-structured interviews and observations. They found that teachers' responses could be placed on a continuum ranging from awareness of the importance of bilingualism and minority language maintenance to the absolute rejection of the minority language and the subtraction of bilingualism. Furthermore, a teacher's language ideologies are not necessarily aligned with their classroom language practices. Karathanos (2009) explored US mainstream teachers' perspectives on the use of the native language in instruction and found that teachers who generally supported L1 use in instruction tended to show stronger support for its underlying theory than for its practical implementation.

This investigation of the implementation of top-down mandated DLBE language policy will consider the role of language ideologies at multiple levels. It is thus critical for the framing of this project to be clear about how language ideologies are conceived, defined and measured. The ways in which the concept of language ideology has been used historically will be discussed before addressing how it will be used for this investigation specifically.

The concept of language ideologies has been most frequently used as an analytical tool in the field of linguistic anthropology, a hybrid field combining linguistics and sociocultural anthropology. Within this strand of research, scholars tend to be concerned with how sets of beliefs about language impact social interactions, social relations and speech patterns. Scholars could examine the privileging or oppressing of distinct language practices through the myth of language "standardization" (Lippi-Green, 1997). Scholars could also examine the embodied language ideologies in a speech

community. For example, Kroskrity (1998) explored language ideology in Arizona Tewa speech and found community members embodied kiva talk (the speech performed in religious ceremonies) in multiple naturalized ways to collectively serve as a dominant language ideology in the speech community. There is much debate in the field about the term "dominant ideology" (See Gal, 1998 for discussion). Here it is not used in reference to the ideology of the dominant group, but rather the flexibility of the ideology to change. In other words, given the ingrained naturalized nature of the language ideology, it was less flexible to change, thus called a "dominant ideology." As shown, scholars in the field of linguistic anthropology used the construct of language ideology to go beyond individual beliefs about language and explore how they function in society.

Given the complexity of language ideology as a concept, breaking the term apart and defining ideology first is a helpful exercise. Ideology is a multifaceted concept theorized by numerous scholars. Apple (1990) states that people generally agree ideology refers to "some sort of 'system' of ideas, beliefs, fundamental commitments, or values about social reality" (p. 18). However, Eagleton (1991), through an in-depth look at the history and use of ideology as a concept, argues that it is unproductive to conceive of any single definition; rather, competing definitions of ideology are useful for different purposes. Eagleton provides a list of fifteen distinct working definitions including "the process of production of meanings, signs and values in social life," "forms of thoughts motivated by social interests," "ideas which help to legitimate a dominant political power" and "identity thinking" (Eagleton, 1991, p. 1-2). Some of the definitions are not compatible with one another and challenge the existence of commonalities. Nonetheless,

Eagleton recognizes power and legitimization as central issues in most definitions of ideology.

Woolard (1998) provides an alternative perspective. She identifies four common strands: 1) ideology as dealing with consciousness; 2) ideology as connected to a particular social position; 3) ideology as connected to power and 4) ideology as a power-laden distortion. Woolard recognizes a split between the second and third strands, moving from a more "neutral" to negative view of ideology, acknowledging that scholars draw on both forms within the field of anthropology.

Trying to conceive of how definitions of language ideologies draw on these competing definitions of ideology is complex. To deconstruct possible uses, it is helpful to consider how scholars define and view power. Foucault's (1979) understanding of power as all-encompassing problematizes the term ideology as Eagleton (1991) explained, "For if there are no values and beliefs not bound up with power, then the term ideology threatens to expand to vanishing point" (p. 7). Indeed, certain scholars building on Foucault's understanding of power opt to use the term "discourse" in favor of ideology (Eagleton, 1991). However, Eagleton argues that, even from the perspective that power is everywhere, the term "ideology" can still be useful to differentiate between its centrality in a context or interaction. Ideology can even be defined as a set of discourses; yet, according to Eagleton (1991): "It may help to view ideology less as a particular *set* of discourses, than as a particular set of effects *within* discourses… effects, for example, of 'closure', whereby certain forms of signification are silently excluded, and certain signifiers 'fixed' in a commanding position" (p. 194). Here ideology moves away from

being a noun towards the effects of discourses in action. It is also possible that it would be most helpful to conceive of ideology as both.

Interestingly, turning the discussion back to language ideology, the possible definitions tend to mirror the debates in competing designations of ideology. Indeed, the use of language ideologies in contrast to ideology should not imply a narrowing conceptualization of ideology (Woolard, 1998). Despite wide variation in scholarship on language ideologies, there is a consensus that language ideologies are not just about language (Woolard, 1998). Language ideologies should arguably not be limited to spoken forms of communication; they should also include the ideological embodiment as shown in the previous work by Kroskrity (1998). Indeed, Kroskrity (1998) critiqued the study of language ideology at solely a metalinguistic level: "Any rethinking of language ideology that would exclude naturalized, dominant ideologies and thus analytically segregate beliefs about language according to a criterion of consciousness seems to me to be unwise" (p. 117). Kroskrity (1998) is arguing for a more complex, multifaceted understanding of language ideology that can be accomplished by a definition that is larger scope.

For this investigation, the scope and relation to power of the concept language ideology is examined across three definitions from scholars in the field of linguistic anthropology. The first definition of language ideology is a "set of beliefs about language articulated by users as a rationalization or justification of perceived language structure and use" (Silverstein, 1979, p. 202). This definition of language ideology is limited in scope because the word "articulated" requires some form of speaker awareness or

consciousness. The words "rationalization" and "justification" connect the concept with power, specifically the use of language to serve group interests. However, again these two words imply a level of consciousness.

A second possible definition of language ideology is "beliefs, or feelings, about languages as used in their social worlds" (Kroskrity, 2004, p. 498). In comparison to the first definition, this conceptualization is greater in scope because the word "used" allows for a multiplicity of potential practices. A language ideology could operate consciously or unconsciously and it could be used to silence, empower or oppress. With respect to power, this definition is not limited to uses that serve the dominant group in power, yet it implies that it is being used for some societal interest.

Finally, a third definition of language ideology is "representations, whether explicit or implicit, that construe the intersection of language and human beings in a social world" (Woolard, 1998, p. 3). This definition is broadest in scope. The word "representations" can include spoken, embodied or symbolic manifestations. The phrase "explicit or implicit" attends to the issue of consciousness and encapsulates expressions at all levels of awareness. This definition appears to de-center the issue of power by including all ways that language and human beings can intersect versus the ways language ideologies are "used" or "rationalized".

Eagleton (1991) argued that competing definitions of ideology are useful for different purposes and I argue the same is true for a different conceptualization of language ideology. This exploration uses Kroskrity's (2004) definition of language ideology as "beliefs, or feelings, about languages as used in their social worlds" for

multiple reasons (p. 498). First, it is not too narrow in scope to be limiting as an analytic tool. On the other hand, the definition is not too abstract to make it difficult to ensure the dependability of language ideology as a construct.

Second, this conception of language ideology allows for "uses" that are potentially hegemonic, counter-hegemonic (or both) as well as multiple and contradictory. Research exposes the multiple and contradictory nature of language ideologies. These inconsistencies can occur within a community of speakers. For example, Hill (1998) explored nostalgia expressed by Mexicano (Nahuatl) speakers as an ideological discourse. She found that while the nostalgia discourse was prevalent among older, high status males and younger males who worked outside of the community, women did not participate in the discourse. Rather, women engaged in oppositional discourses by addressing the nostalgia discourse and providing counter narratives or pointing out its paradoxical nature. The contradictions can also occur within an individual speaker. For example, Martínez (2013) explored the language ideologies of students toward Spanglish and found that students, when asked about their hybrid language practices, would initially and frequently provide a deficit rationale that indicated the students' internalization of dominant language ideology. However, upon further examination, Martínez found instances of students adopting what he called counter-hegemonic language ideologies. These ideologies included students' statements that Spanglish was normal, sounded better and enabled cultural maintenance. Similarly, Martínez, Hikido and Durán (2014) explored teachers' ideologies towards translanguaging in two DLBE elementary classrooms and found that the teachers'

perspectives reflected both ideologies of linguistic purism and counterhegemonic ideologies valuing bilingualism.

Given that this dissertation will attend to languages ideologies of teachers implementing a dual language program, this second point is important. Arguably, dual language bilingual programs represent a counter-hegemonic pluralist ideology in comparison to a more dominant assimilationist ideology in the United States (Lindholm-Leary, 2001; Freeman, 2004; de Jong, 2011). As such, how teachers' language ideologies, both articulated and embodied, align or misalign (or both) with the program's intended ideology might have important implications for classroom language policy. This understanding of language policy provides the space to critically examine ideological multiplicity and contradiction.

De Jong's (2013) distinction between assimilationist and pluralist discourse is an important analytic framework to make sense of the teachers' multiple language ideologies and their (mis)alignment with language policy. She defines discourse, drawing on Gee's (1996) understanding of Discourse as broader societal conversations. An assimilationist and pluralist discourse represents distinct perspectives on the value of language diversity, the view of bilinguals, the preferred program model and policy into practice (see de Jong, 2013 p. 99). On one hand, monolingualism as the norm, language variety as a problem, bilingualism from a fractional standpoint and transitional bilingual programs index an assimilationist discourse. On the other hand, multilingualism as the norm, linguistic diversity as positive, bilingualism from a holistic standpoint and DLBE programs index a pluralist discourse. This study draws on de Jongs's ideological

distinction as a framework to unpack teachers articulated and embodied language ideologies and this study contributes to theoretically extending this dichotomy.

Lastly and most importantly, Kroskrity's definition conceives of language ideology as an active process. The definition places less emphasis on the beliefs themselves (noun) and more on the use of the beliefs (verb) as a result of the phrase "as used." In this dissertation, I identity the language ideologies articulated by educators as well as how they are then embodied or "used" as local language policy. Fortunately, using the concept of language ideologies as an analytic lens has particular affordances. Gal (1998) wrote, "By starting with linguistic ideologies, one can highlight unexpected links, contestations, and contradictions among such organizations, thereby bringing them within a single theoretical purview" (p. 319). Gal is highlighting the analytic power of language ideology. The purpose of this dissertation is to explore language ideologies and top-down DLBE program implementation, which has multiple layers including district implementation, school implementation and teacher implementation (Hornberger & Johnson, 2007). As such, the LPP framework in combination with a language ideology analysis affords the researcher the ability to identify tensions, pull apart and make connections between the distinct layers.

Furthermore, language ideology as an analytic tool can capture wide variation. Kroskrity (2004) states, "It is more useful to have an analytic device which captures diversity rather than emphasizing a static, uniformly shared culture" (p. 496). Sample selection in this study will maximize variation. Using language ideologies as an analytic

tool will capture the potentially vast differences in practices, processes and beliefs within and across classrooms.

Finally, Gal (1998) provides another provocative answer to the question "why ideology" and writes:

> Language ideologies are doubly significant… because they participate in the semiotic processes through which ideas become naturalized, essentialzed, universalized, or commonsensical, ideas about language are implicated in the process by which *any* cultural ideas gain the discursive authority to become dominant (p. 321-322).

In my dissertation work, this logic has important implications. If we consider the classroom as a local site capable of forming its own dominant ideology, teacher ideologies will be "doubly significant." Not only will they impact local language policy, but also they will filter all of the cultural ideas in the classroom, which can or cannot achieve dominance.

DUAL LANGUAGE PROGRAM IMPLEMENTATION

The potential success of a DLBE program is contingent on its implementation. Prior research identifies multiple factors and potential challenges for "proper" DLBE program implementation (Linholm-Leary, 2001; Howard & Sugarman, 2007; Howard, Sugarman, & Christian, 2003; Freeman, 2004; Pérez, 2004). Practical implementation issues include having sufficient materials, sufficient professional development or DLBE training, adequate DLBE curriculum and a suitable student population (Lindholm-Leary,

2001). A unique aspect of this study is its focus on top-down implementation of DLBE programs. Wright (2004) posits that top-down language policy mandates are often motivated for political reasons rather than practical. As such, top-down policy implementations can lack the essential resources and funding.

A strong program model is also identified as crucial for DLBE implementation. Lindholm-Leary (2001) identifies features of a strong program model including: 4-6 years duration in program, exposure to optimal dual language input, constant language output opportunities, minimum 50% of instruction in target language, and literacy instruction in both languages. With regard to division of language of instruction, the two most common models are 90-10 and 50-50. Both of these models have been associated with high academic achievement (Collier & Thomas, 2004; Gómez, Freeman & Freeman, 2005). An additional controversial feature Lindholm-Leary (2001) describes is the strict separation of languages for instruction. Indeed, according to Lindholm-Leary (2001) a successful implementation of DLBE programs requires "fidelity to the model," which includes language separation. While advocates of strict separation of languages in DLBE programs contend that it is necessary for the protection of the minority language (Cloud, Genesee, & Hamayan, 2000), recent scholarship questions its artificiality and usefulness (García, 2009; Palmer & Martínez, 2013; Palmer, Martínez, Mateus, & Henderson, 2014). Nonetheless, the current program models available for implementation are embedded within a language separation paradigm.

One complication for DLBE program implementation is the current socio-political school environment that emphasizes standardized testing accountability. The

additive goals of DLBE, bilingualism, biculturalism and biliteracy can conflict with accountability pressure to perform well on monolingual exams (Palmer, Henderson, Wall & Zuñiga, in press; Pérez, 2004). Teachers become the key local language policy makers to negotiate this tension, and teachers can feel obligated to dedicate time to testing, taking away from content instruction (Pérez, 2004). At the same time, members in a DLBE community can simultaneously rely on the scores to provide legitimacy and future advocacy for dual language programs (Pérez, 2004).

Successful implementation of DLBE programs requires more than fulfilling the practical programmatic needs (Calderón & Minaya-Rowe, 2003; Cloud, Genesee, & Hamayan 2000; Lindholm-Leary, 2001, 2005; Howard & Sugarman, 2007). Lindholm-Leary (2001) provided a comprehensive review of necessary features for dual language implementation including effective leadership (administrative support and local educators knowledgeable of the program goals and model) and a conducive school environment (positive and additive bilingual environment, a reciprocal instructional style, and cross-cultural competence). Similarly, Howard and Sugarman (2007) assert successful implementation of DLBE programs requires more than a strong model:

> On their own, program models, curricula, and instructional strategies are necessary but insufficient means to achieve the goals of academic achievement, bilingualism and biliteracy, and cross-cultural competence in two-way immersion (dual language). Unless the program fosters empowerment and demonstrates respect for students, staff, and parents through cultures of intellectualism, equity,

> and leadership, good design alone will not lead to good outcomes for student achievement (p. 10).

This point demonstrates the high degree of buy-in from different interest groups at all levels of implementation. Calderón and Minaya-Rowe (2003) echo this point and argue for the importance of sharing information amongst stakeholders in the planning and designing of two-way DLBE implementation. At the implementation stage, the authors highlight the need for effective DLBE curriculum and instruction and parent involvement. The necessary attributes identified by researchers highlight the complicated and multi-faceted nature of "successful" implementation of DLBE programs implementation.

The complexity of implementing DLBE programs is connected to the crucial role of language ideologies (Cummins, 2000; Freeman, 1998, 2004; Palmer, 2011, Stritikus, 2003; Varghese, 2008, Pérez, 2004). Ideological multiplicity at the school-level can be a challenge for DLBE implementation. Pérez (2004) in her study of a DLBE program in southern Texas found that parent and educator ideologies were contradictory and complicated throughout the implementation process. Similarly, dominant language ideologies can interfere with DLBE program implementation. Freeman (1998) explored DLBE implementation at a two-way dual language school in Washington D.C. and found that the competing ideologies between the additive school discourse and subtractive societal discourse made it impossible for the DLBE implementation to reach its full pluralist vision. While the teachers at the school worked hard to create alternative discourses, English dominance seeped into the classroom. Freeman (2004) came to a

similar conclusion years later following a separate investigation of language policy and DLBE program implementation in Philadelphia. She described the role of language ideologies: "Local language ideologies strongly influence the ease with which a language plan can be effectively developed and implemented" (p. 81). She re-emphasized how the (dis)congruency of a program's ideological assumptions with the local language ideologies will impact program implementation.

Indeed, Freeman (2004) argues for what she views as the central issue for implementing the DLBE program: "The real challenge is destabilizing established language ideologies and replacing them with alternative language ideologies" (p. 82). Following this argument, Freeman appealed to local educators including administrators, parents, and teachers to be active in creating new language policy in line with the ideological underpinnings of additive programs.

A central aim of this dissertation is to extend previous work on DLBE to complicate our understanding of the role of language ideologies within implementation of DLBE programs. The multiplicity of ideologies must be considered when trying to discuss ideological struggles. We need to have a more complete and complex understanding of the ways ideologies work at the local level in interaction with dominant even hegemonic ideologies if educators are to be equipped with strategies to try and disrupt them. This dissertation aims to contribute both theoretically and practically in this direction.

Chapter 3: Methodology and Methods

Building on a prior language ideology study that surveyed a random sample of 1,460 educators (N=323 met inclusion requirement) in this Central Texas district, I conducted follow-up interviews with 20 willing participants for a more in-depth exploration of their language ideologies and local experience with DLBE implementation. Building on the interview outcomes, three teachers were selected purposively based on ideological variation as mini-case studies for classroom observations to examine how both language ideologies and DLBE experience influence local classroom language policy.

SELECTION OF RESEARCH SITE AND CONTEXT

This central Texas school district was selected as the research site for this study because of its involvement in district-wide DLBE implementation, affording a unique opportunity to explore top-down mandated DLBE. Furthermore, it provided a large sample of teachers who were in the process of implementing DLBE. Given that one aim of this study was to uncover teachers' experiences with DLBE, this site provided the ideal context.

THE TEXAS CONTEXT

This study takes place in an urban school district in central Texas. Texas, sharing a long border with Mexico, provides a distinct context for language practices. Current research is tracking unique features of the Spanish spoken in Texas and aim to provide a new baseline for which to assess student "Spanish" language development within this context (Toribio, 2012). Given the historically large numbers of Spanish speakers and diversity of language practices, the state of Texas has a rich and convoluted history of bilingual education. Blanton (2004) details this history, tracking the "Strange Career" of bilingual education in Texas from 1836-1981. Overall, the history of bilingual education in Texas mirrors the national trends of acceptance and rejection, yet the current state of bilingual education departs in some important ways from other parts of the country. Most importantly, while other states (including California which also has a disproportionately large percentage of ELLs) have adopted English-only state policies, official Texas education policy acknowledges the benefit of instruction in the native language, at least in elementary school (Chapter 89 of the Texas Ed Code). Moreover, state assessments, including those mandated by No Child Left Behind (NCLB), are in both Spanish and English for the elementary grades, which both echoes and reinforces a relatively bilingual policy dynamic. As such, Texas, as the site of countless bilingual programs with well over 600 DLBE schools, is an ideal context for an investigation into DLBE and implementation of DLBE programs.

Another key feature of Texas public education that affects this study is the entrenched nature of high stakes standardized testing. In 1993, the Texas state legislature

mandated the creation of an accountability system to measure students resulting in the Texas Assessment of Academic Skills (TAAS), which researchers quickly identified as harmful to multiple students including speakers of languages other than English (McNeil & Valenzuela, 2001). The Texas accountability system was later the model for No Child Left Behind (NCLB) passed in 2002 (Heilig & Darling-Hammond, 2008). In other words, in Texas, these annual high stakes exams and concomitant accountability consequences have been in place for nearly ten years longer than the rest of the US. The majority of the teachers in this study grew up with this type of high stakes accountability system and these teachers have never known anything else.

DUAL LANGUAGE BILINGUAL EDUCATION MODEL.

The dual language model explored in this dissertation is the Gómez & Gómez Dual Language Enrichment Model (Gómez & Gómez, 1999). Dual language models are often defined by the percentage of the day instructed in each language. In this case, the fully copyrighted Gómez & Gómez model, designed and propagated by two consultants from the Rio Grande Valley, is referred to as a 50-50 program indicating 50% of the instruction is in English and 50% is in Spanish. The most common model in contrast to the 50-50 is the 90-10 in which students receive 90% of the instruction in the non-English language for the first couple of years, with English instruction increasing gradually to 50% by fourth or fifth grade. Lindholm-Leary (2001) studied schools implementing both DLBE models and found that students in both programs outperformed native English

speakers on English and Spanish reading exams and students in the 90-10 program model outperformed students in the 50-50 program on Spanish reading exams.

However, closer inspection of the Gómez & Gómez model reveals that instruction time in the two languages is not always evenly divided 50-50 at all grade levels. The Gómez & Gómez model divides language instruction by content area with the goal to attain content-area biliteracy by 5th grade[1]. Math is taught in English, while science and social studies are instructed in Spanish. This remains consistent throughout the entire model from pre-K-5th grade. However, the model diverges for language arts instruction. In pre-K through 2nd grade, students receive language arts in student's native language (Gómez & Gómez, 1999). For native Spanish speakers, this means they receive approximately 70% of their instruction in Spanish (depending on the availability of specials instruction in Spanish). Native English speakers in the two-way DLBE language classrooms receive closer to 30% instruction in Spanish. Importantly, this means that for native English speakers in grades pre-K through 2nd grade, the model does not meet the Center for Applied Linguistics' minimum requirement to be considered "dual language," which generally posits that at least 50% of the instruction must be in the partner language (Center for Applied Linguistics, 2008). Nonetheless, the vast majority of the schools and classrooms adopting the Gómez & Gómez model in the district under study are implementing the one-way DLBE model serving only Spanish-dominant bilinguals, which meets the criteria.

[1] Some teachers critiqued the model for not having an elaborated plan for accomplishing content area biliteracy since students learn each content area in one language only throughout the grades

The Gómez & Gómez model also requires the use of bilingual pairs during content instruction and a period designated for bilingual learning centers (pre-K-2nd grade) or bilingual research centers (3rd-5th grade). In bilingual pair work, students are partnered based on language proficiency for peer interaction and scaffolding. The goal of the bilingual learning or research centers is to provide a minimum of 30 minutes a day for students to engage in self-directed learning or research activity (Gómez & Gómez, 1999). This aspect of the model, intentional group work, is aligned with a socio-cultural understanding of language and language development (Vygotsky, 1978) and ensures ample space for student language output and interaction, an identified crucial component of DLBE (Cloud, Genesee, Hamayan, 2000; Howard & Sugarman, 2007; Lindholm-Leary, 2001). Finally, the model establishes a "language of the day" for all non-instructional school language used throughout the day by all students, parents and school staff. In this way, the model is highly prescriptive, albeit more complex than many other models, about when and where students should speak each language, exemplifying a model of strict separation of languages.

THE DISTRICT'S PROCESS OF DLBE ADOPTION AND IMPLEMENTATION.

In the school district that is the site of this study, a new superintendent and advocate of DLBE was hired in January 2009. She felt DLBE was a solution to under-performing emerging bilinguals in the district. An outspoken constituency of community members mirrored the views of the superintendent, including teachers and parents

(largely English-speaking). The combination of community advocacy and a new superintendent resulted in the school board approving a "dual language initiative" in December 2009 and the investment in the Gómez & Gómez model.

The implementation process began with a campus selection process for ten "pilot" campuses. Schools had to apply to be considered for selection as "pilot" campuses, thus each pilot school included a community of DLBE advocates. Official implementation of the program began in August 2010 in pre-kindergarten, kindergarten and first grade in the selected pilot schools. Districts who invest in the Gómez & Gómez model are guaranteed a degree of support. The Gómez & Gómez team provided a three-day initial teacher training and a half-day administrator training prior to starting implementation. Teachers were then visited at least once (approximately 10 minutes each) throughout the school year for an evaluation of their fidelity to the model. Teachers received their evaluation and had a professional development session to ask questions and receive feedback. Additional professional development training opportunities were available for teachers in this district through both the district's professional development office and the Bilingual/ESL office, and local/regional opportunities such as the Texas Association of Bilingual Education (TABE) Conference and offerings through the Regional Education Service Center.

The following year, in August 2011, all other district bilingual campuses began implementation in pre-kindergarten, kindergarten and first grade, while the pilot-schools continued implementation into second grade. This included implementation in over 50 additional schools. These schools did not have to apply in order to be considered for

implementation; on the contrary, the program was imposed upon them, and principals were told to send their teachers to the three-day training institute. Ongoing professional development and leadership commitment to the program varied campus to campus. There was additional variation across the 60+ schools in the characteristics of the population (socio-economic status, languages present on campus), school size and nature of leadership including the relative amount of information each school's administration had about emerging bilingual students and DLBE. Data collection for this study occurred during the 2013-2014 school year. The pilot campuses implemented DLBE in 4th grade, while the remaining DLBE schools implemented up to third grade.

PRIOR STUDY

One advantage of this study was that it built on the findings from a survey (*Educators' Beliefs about Language*) of a random sample of 323 educators (Fitzsimmons-Doolan, Palmer & Henderson, in press). The survey instrument was designed to examine teacher language ideologies and experience with DLBE[2]. The survey included 31 items representing ideological statements about language and three open-ended comment spaces for participants to write about both their beliefs about language and their experiences with DLBE implementation. A factor analysis was completed to explore how the individual beliefs about language items clustered together. An eight-factor solution, accounting for 46.45% of the total variance in the data, was

[2] The ideology portion of the survey has been used and described in previous studies (Fitzsimmons-Doolan, 2011).

selected with each factor representing an ideology present amongst educators in this central Texas school district (See Appendix A for factor solution). A qualitative thematic analysis was completed on the open-ended comments, providing additional evidence for the eight ideologies, insight into additional ideologies and ideological complexity, and an understanding of prevalent DLBE implementation issues.

One important finding from the qualitative analysis was the presence of contradictions and misconceptions in the open-ended comments. These contradictory ideological statements and educator misconceptions could not be captured on the Likert scale set of questions in the quantitative analysis. While the open-ended comments provided additional nuance, they were still insufficient to capture the complexity of ideological variation; the 53.55% of variance unaccounted for in the factor solution merited additional investigation. The survey method approach was also unable to answer any questions about how these ideologies and expressed experiences with DLBE interact with and/or are reflected in actual school practices. As such, this study extended the findings from the original study through teacher interviews and three mini case studies to provide a more in-depth understanding of teachers' language ideologies, their experiences implementing DLBE in this top-down context, and their classroom language policies. In sum, a qualitative multi-method, interview (n=20) and case study (n=3) design was appropriate for this investigation that aimed to reveal complexity (Miles & Huberman, 1994).

The prior study informed the current study in three important ways. First, the sample for this study was selected from the original N=323 educators who completed the

survey and met the inclusion requirements. Second, the interview guide was designed, in part, based on the findings from the prior study. Finally, the analysis for this study was informed by the findings from the prior study. These strengths are discussed in more detail in the sections below.

SAMPLING STRATEGY

The final question on the *Educators' Beliefs about Language* survey asked whether or not the participant would be willing to be contacted for a follow-up interview. Of the N=323 participants who completed the survey and met the inclusion criteria in the study, N=115 agreed to be contacted. For the purposes of this study, the sample was further limited based on two criteria: (1) direct participation in the DLBE program; and (2) identification as "teacher" (as opposed to administrator). Of the N=115 educators willing to participate in the follow-up study, N=43 participants met these additional two criteria and of those 43 potential participants, N=20 were interviewed.

How did the final sample N=20 educators compare to the original random sample of N=323? Table 3.1 below compares the original sample (N=323), the potential sample of educators willing to participate in the follow-up interview (N=115), the sample meeting the criteria for this study (N=43), and the final sample that was interviewed (N=20). Overall, the three samples were similar in average age. The final sample in comparison with the original sample had a lower percentage of female participants (70% vs. 86.5%) with a few years less experience on average (8.3 yrs vs. 11yrs). By design, the

sample for this study was limited to teachers participating in DLBE, which contrasts with the original and potential samples in which nearly half were non-DLBE participants. One difference between the original sample and the potential sample for this study was the percentage of educators who speak English-only versus educators who speak a language other than English at home. While almost exactly half (49.7%) of the original survey participants spoke English-only, only 36.5% of those participants willing to participate in a follow-up interview spoke English-only. This was potentially a result of participants, who speak a language other than English, being more interested in discussions about language. Finally, in the final sample for this study, participants who speak a language other than English at home were even more over-represented with only 25% of participants speaking English-only. This drop was explained by the fact that active participation in DLBE was a necessary criterion; more teachers participating in DLBE speak another language in comparison to teachers not active in DLBE.

Table 3.1. Sample Comparison

	N	% Female	% in DLBE	% English-only	Mean Age	Mean Yrs Teaching
Original Sample	330	86.5	42. 7	49. 7	42	11.0
Potential Sample	115	80.9	48.7	36.5	43	10.2
Study Sample	43	79.1	100	23.3	42	9.3
Interview Participants	20	70	100	25	42	8.3

For this study, all 43 participants who met the criteria for this study were contacted for participation in a follow-up interview. Recruitment into the study was completed via e-mail (see Appendix B for e-mail script). Participants who did not

respond to the initial e-mail were sent a follow-up e-mail. Ultimately, I interviewed 20 participants. The additional 23 participants never responded to the e-mail. One reason was that some e-mail addresses were no longer valid. Additional reasons why the remaining participants did not respond are unknown, however lack of time is a likely explanation. One participant was an administrator (who responded by accident), but was a former DLBE teacher and was included for analysis. Table 3.2 lists the participants by psuedonyms, grade level, years of experience, language, gender and age.

Table 3.2. Participants

Pseudonym	Grade-Level	Years Teaching	Language	Gender	Age
Maria	Pre-K	9	English	Female	34
Irene	Pre-K	5	Bilingual	Female	52
Berta	Pre-K	12	Bilingual	Female	56
Marisol	Pre-K	8	Bilingual	Female	39
Sandra	Pre-K	5	Bilingual	Female	49
Jill	Pre-K	15	English	Female	59
Edward	K	20	Bilingual	Male	42
Susana	K	11	Bilingual	Female	52
Lucia	K	4	Bilingual	Female	27
Cathy	K	5	English	Female	33
Daniel	1st	1	Bilingual	Male	25
Gustavo	1st	N/A	Bilingual	Male	41
Chrissy	2nd	8	Bilingual	Female	48
Deina	2nd	3	Bilingual	Female	27
Samantha	2nd	15	English	Female	56
Mariana	3rd	9	Bilingual	Female	N/A
Tamy	3rd	17	English	Female	44
Michael	3rd	13	Bilingual	Male	37
Ramón	4th	6	Bilingual	Male	34
Uriel	Administrator	N/A	Bilingual	Male	54

Based on the interview data, three volunteer teachers were selected as case studies for follow-up classroom observations. Two sampling approaches were used for participant selection. First, a criterion sample was used; the teachers must have volunteered for observations in their classroom and not teach English-only (Miles & Huberman, 1994). At the end of each interview, the teacher was asked if he or she was willing to have observations in her or his classroom (See Appendix C for interview guide). All interview participants agreed to classroom observations. However, Berta only

agreed if I could not find anyone else and Uriel was an administrator. Consequently, both were not included in the sample for potential case studies. Furthermore, Samantha, Cathy, Jill and Tamy were not considered as case studies because they taught the English portion only of the DLBE program.

Of the 14 potential DLBE teachers, the three case studies were selected using a sampling technique to maximize the variation in the articulated teacher language ideologies (Miles & Huberman, 1994). Given that one central aim of this study was to connect language ideologies with DLBE implementation and local (classroom) language policies, conducting classroom observations of teachers with highly varying ideologies was a suitable approach. Following each interview, I wrote an analytic memo about the teachers articulated ideologies and a reflection on whether or not the participant would be a fit for classroom observation. The three participants selected were Michael, Marisol and Mariana. Michael and Marisol were selected because they articulated strong language ideologies, but in highly different ways. Michael articulated a pluralist orientation towards language variation, which made him a language ideological exception in the sample. Marisol articulated a strong opinion of language separation and linguistic purism. Finally, Mariana was selected because she articulated language ideologies that appeared in between Michael and Marisol and she frequently hedged her discussion of language ideologies.

SOURCES OF DATA

Interviews. Consistent with a post-positive realist perspective, interview data were treated as both socially constructed narratives and potentially valid accounts of reality. I assumed that the perspective of the respondent was meaningful and knowable (Patton, 2002). Respondents were viewed as constantly engaging in knowledge making of their own and other's action (Emerson, Fretz & Shaw, 1995). However, interviews were also treated, interpreted and analyzed as complex, social interactions; the data collected was partial and socially (co)constructed (Alvesson, 2003). Miller and Glassner (1997) argued for this theoretical standpoint on interviews and wrote, "While the interview is itself a symbolic interaction, this does not discount the possibility that knowledge of the social world beyond the interaction can be obtained" (p. 133). I treated interview data as an accurate representation of teacher experience alongside careful consideration of how my social interaction with the teachers influenced what they did and did not say.

The choice to use interviews as a primary form of data collection had multiple benefits. First, in comparison to a survey and questionnaire data, interviews achieved higher detail and greater depth of information (Mertens, 2009). Multiple subjects were interviewed to achieve a variation in meaning on the same subject or event (Emerson, Fretz & Shaw, 1995). In other words, the use of multiple cases allowed for across case comparison, which increased internal validity. Second, all interviews except three (who did not give permission) were audio-recorded and these audio recordings were transcribed. I took extensive notes during the three interviews in which I did not have

permission to record. The transcriptions and extensive notes were treated as a text and visited multiple times (Silverman & Marvasti, 2008). The ability to revisit and re-analyze data to check for consistency increased internal validity as well as the internal reliability. Furthermore, a second researcher was solicited to code, analyze and interpret the transcriptions and extensive notes. The process of analysis is described in detail below. Finally and most importantly, the qualitative interviews captured the voices and viewpoints of the participants allowing for an examination of the social world from varying perspectives (Alvesson, 2003). The authentic representations afforded different perspectives for meaning making in this context.

The interviews were guided by an interview protocol that asked open-ended questions about teachers' beliefs about language and experiences with dual language implementation (Patton, 2002; See Appendix C for interview guide). The language ideology portion of the interview guide was designed, in part, using the findings from the factor analysis completed on the survey. I asked open-ended questions that guided the participants to discuss their language beliefs associated with items from each language ideology identified in the factor analysis. Although the guide included questions about each of the ideologies identified in the quantitative analysis, the first portion of the interview protocol were scenarios in which the participants were asked to share what they would do in a particular classroom situation. This afforded insight into teachers' language ideologies before they were asked about them explicitly. The guide served as a checklist during interviews to make sure the participant discussed each point of interest.

Observation would be a highly unproductive method for this portion of data collection on articulated language ideologies given that it is uncommon for people to engage in conversations about their beliefs about language (linguists being a possible exception). The interviews provided a space to specifically capture teachers' metalinguistic views on language use. Additionally, language ideologies are complex and interviews afforded a space to potentially capture ideological complexity not afforded by a survey instrument. Indeed, the qualitative analysis of the open-ended comments in the prior study revealed a pattern of frustration with the survey instrument. Several comments suggested participants felt limited in their ability to express what they thought about language. The interviews provided an additional window into the complexity of teacher language ideologies. The interviews opened up a space for teachers to discuss and reflect on their language ideologies, particularly on what they felt was relevant and important to talk about (Alvesson, 2003).

I gave participants the choice to complete the interview in English or in Spanish, and deliberately asked this question in Spanish. Following each interview, I wrote an analytic memo, which served as an early stage of analysis. These analytic memos were helpful to identify recurring patterns and possible themes and to make modifications to the interview guide (Miles & Huberman, 1994). Only minor modifications were made to the interview protocol; I added additional questions upfront about the school and classroom context as well as a question asking the difference between one-way and two-way DLBE.

Classroom Visits. The three teachers selected for the case study were observed eight times each. Each teacher was first observed for two entire school days (7:45-2:45). The whole-day school visits allowed me to have an understanding of the division of language instruction throughout the day. I followed the teacher and not the students, as data collection focused on teacher language practices. The whole day visits also allowed me to determine which parts of the day would be most useful to observe for subsequent visit. I strategically observed all three teachers instructing during both Spanish and English instructional times, although in the case of Michael, language was never separated and I observed his morning and afternoon classes. The model prescribed strict separation of languages by content area, so teacher language choices and practices during different periods provided insight into local (classroom) language policy. Subsequent visits lasted for a minimum of two hours and often involved observing at two different times during the school day (i.e. one hour in the morning and one hour in the afternoon). For all three teachers, I also strategically planned a time during each observation when I could have an informal conversation and discussion with the teacher. For example, I ate lunch with all three teachers on almost every visit.

The decision to observe each teacher eight times served two additional purposes. The first five observations were done on every day of the week over the course of one or two weeks. Observing each day of the week increased the internal validity of the results by decreasing the potential of sampling bias. The additional three visits at different time points further increased internal validity of findings and, again, strategically allowed for observation on important days and times. For example, I learned that Fridays were

dedicated to exam preparation and practice in Mariana's classroom observations. Test preparation curriculum was highly scripted by the test-formatted curricular materials and involved rote teacher-directed instruction with little interaction. When students engaged in taking practice exams there was even less interaction. As such, I avoided completing an additional Friday observation.

I drew on ethnographic methods for data collection and analysis (Patton, 2002; Emerson, Fretz & Shaw, 1995). Sources for data included observations, field notes, informal interviews, audio/video recordings and artifacts. Multiple data sources helped triangulate findings and increased internal validity. A central goal of this study was to explore the embodied teacher language ideologies within a DLBE classrooms; drawing on ethnographic methods was appropriate for this study as it provided the tools necessary for an in-depth understanding (Patton, 2002; Emerson, Fretz & Shaw, 1995).

I participated minimally in the five observations. One important aspect of data collection was observation of teacher-student interactions, particularly the language choices and practices during these interactions. As such, minimal researcher participation provided increased opportunities for data collection. My presence nonetheless influenced classroom interactions and was considered for analysis. In appreciation for allowing me to observe, I offered classroom instructional support during follow-up visits. In all three classrooms, during the final three observations I aided the teacher by working with individual students and/or small groups during classroom instructional time. In the case of Marisol, I also created center activities for her to use after I finished my observations.

During observations, I took field notes following the guidelines outlined in Emerson, Fretz and Shaw (1995). I took jottings during classroom observations and expanded on field-notes as soon as possible—within 24 hours—following observation (Emerson, Fretz and Shaw, 1995). As noted, I had multiple informal conversations with teachers, particularly during lunch. Multiple times, I engaged the teacher in discussions as to *why* he or she was making the instructional choices in his or her classroom, particularly about language practices. Thus, these conversations often functioned as informal interviews and an additional source of data.

Within one week of completing my final observation, I met with each teacher for a final interview with participant retrospection (Martínez, 2014; Rampton, 2003). Based on my field notes and anecdotal memos, I compiled a list of classroom observations that were connected to the teachers embodied language ideologies and classroom language policy. In the retrospective interview, I shared the data with the teacher and asked him or her to reflect on their use of language.

I collected between 4 and 7 hours of video recording in each classroom. I did not video/audio record on the first whole-day visit. This allowed me to be a less intrusive presence in the classroom for the first meeting as well as strategically consider what parts of the day would be best to observe and/or video-record. My videos targeted teacher instruction in both languages as well as teacher interaction with students.

Finally, I collected classroom artifacts when possible and appropriate as a potential source of data to triangulate findings on teacher language policy. In particular, I took photos of each classroom and the environmental print on display. I also made copies

of student work with written teacher comments. In several instances, I took photos of what the teacher had written on the whiteboard.

DATA ANALYSIS

This project is in line with the reasoning that data do not exist objectively and data analysis begins alongside data collection and infiltrates all points of the research process (Emerson, Fretz & Shaw, 1995). As detailed in the previous sections, following every interview and observation, I wrote an analytic memo. These memos served as an early form of analysis to track patterns and potential emerging themes (Miles & Huberman, 1994). In addition, analytic memos were written during classroom data collection to further make sense of emerging patterns and inform data collection (Emerson, Fretz & Shaw, 1995).

The interviews were analyzed thematically (Miles & Huberman, 1994). TAMS Analyzer was used for data management. A second coder increased coding reliability. The additional coder was a doctoral student also familiar with DLBE and bilingual education theory. The coding process was a multiple-step process. First, both coders read the first five interviews and independently generated a code list. We met to discuss our independent code-lists to create an initial master code list. Next, we jointly coded two interviews. During this process, we discussed coding discrepancies and modified the master code list and code definitions, accordingly. We then went through three iterations of independent coding. After each independent coding, we met to further discuss, modify

and negotiate the master code list. The coding process is depicted in Hruschka et al. (2004, p. 311).

The final master-code list had 62 codes, 45 of which were global codes and could be applied anywhere over the course of the interview (see Appendix D for the entire master-code list with definitions). Inter-rater reliability was calculated for 25% of data (5 interviews) and was 61%. The 61% inter-rater reliability was below the target of 80% (Hruschka et al., 2004), yet given the complexity of the coding both in number and content, this level was understandable. Ultimately, discussion and analysis of discrepancies enabled a deeper insight to the data. Collaboration in qualitative coding is particularly helpful for broader theoretical constructs (Silverman & Marvasti, 2008). In other words, the multiple coding was not just motivated by inter-rater reliability but also by the ability to member check and co-construct meaning.

Case study analysis also involved multiple steps. Each video was logged in 30-second intervals. The log included a space to summarize what was happening in the video and a space for coding what occurred inductively and deductively (see Appendix E for an example of a video log). Eight language codes were identified in advance (i.e TEO; teacher English-only) and were applied to the 30-second intervals. An additional coder was solicited to ensure inter-rater reliability. Inter-rater reliability calculated for 125 coding instances and was 77%. Additional inductive codes were applied to the one-minute video segments and key segments connected to language ideologies and local language policies were selected for transcription. Similarly, the retrospective interviews were transcribed and parts of each interview were identified for analysis. In both cases,

the transcriptions were analyzed drawing on tools from interactional sociolinguistics and discourse analysis to examine the situated meaning of the utterance as well as making connections to larger societal language ideologies embedded in their explanations (Schiffrin, 1994; Erickson, 2004). This analysis was theoretically grounded in Erickson's (2004) theory of social interaction and talk, simultaneously attending to the micro and macro levels of discourse.

A NOTE ON RESEARCHER POSITIONALITY

My own individual language choices were informed by my background and personal language ideologies. I am a white, bilingual (Spanish/English), former elementary school teacher in a doctoral program in bilingual education. Importantly, I did not begin learning Spanish until I was in the 6th grade and I did not identify as a bilingual until after years of living abroad in Mexico. However, my marriage with an initially Spanish-dominant speaking Mexican citizen made bilingualism, biculturalism and biliteracy a normal part of my daily life.

I made several deliberate language choices in my interactions with teachers. My e-mails were sent in both English and Spanish and participants were given the option to conduct the interview in the language of their choice. When possible I tried to mirror the language choices and practices of the teacher and students when engaging with them.

I brought various lenses to my investigation, including personal, academic, and pedagogical. For example, I inevitably made judgments based on my experience as a

teacher and drew comparisons between the way students spoke to each other and the way my husband and I speak with each other.

SUMMARY

In sum, I employed a multi-method approach (survey (n=323 educators), interview (n=20 DLBE teachers) and observation (n=3 DLBE teachers)) to investigate the top-down implementation process of a dual language bilingual education (DLBE) program and identify language ideologies and issues of language policy and policy implementation according to local participating educators. Drawing on a language policy framework and research in linguistic anthropology to define language ideologies, I aimed to unearth ideological complexity and multiplicity, which was accomplished through a multilayered and collaborative data analysis. The next two chapters present the major findings. Chapter 4 focuses on the findings from the interviews including the language ideologies and language policy issues articulated by participants. Chapter 5 details the findings from the three case studies including the language ideologies revealed across the three methods: a) survey; b) interview; and c) classroom observations.

Chapter 4: Interviews

Thematic coding of the 20 interviews resulted in a master-code list of 62 codes, representing seven larger themes/categories: (a) language ideology; (b) language policy; (c) language policy implementation; (d) language use; (e) language acquisition; (f) miscellaneous; and (g) question specific codes. Appendix D provides the complete list of codes with definitions organized by theme. This chapter presents the findings from the themes language ideology, language policy and language policy implementation to address research questions 1 and 2:

1. What language ideologies do educators in a district participating in a top-down mandated dual language program articulate and embody?
2. How do teachers describe and evaluate their experience with DLBE policy implementation?

LANGUAGE IDEOLOGY

De Jong (2013) provides a helpful framework to discuss the array of language ideologies articulated by participants. She breaks down language policy perspectives into two categories: assimilationist and pluralist discourses. De Jong (2013) uses Gee's (1996) concept of "Discourse," which she summarizes as "beliefs or ideologies as broader societal conversations" (p. 98). Building on this framework, I consider the ways the

language ideologies articulated by participants within interviews are affiliated (or not) with these larger discourses.

I identified 11 codes pertaining to language ideology. Some of the codes directly represented language ideologies, while others connected to the concept indirectly. This section will present the language ideologies affiliated with assimilationist discourse, pluralist discourse, both, and ideological tension between these two extremes. Then I will consider deeply the implications of the final category "ideological tension." When each language ideology is introduced, I provide a measure of its frequency of occurrence in the data. Degree of support was defined as the following number of instances: Low= 0-9; Moderate= 10-19; High= 20 and above. A finding that occurred in low frequency was articulated by less than half of the participants, while likely all participants articulated a high frequency finding. The frequency measure was the average of the two independent coders, which in almost all cases were aligned already. In the few cases in which the two independent coders differed substantially in frequency (more than 5 instances) the code was re-visited for further analysis. The measure is imperfect; certain language ideologies were likely articulated more because they were prompted more. However, the codes discussed below were global codes and could be applied at any point in the interview, thus, the frequency of occurrence, despite its limitations, provides a helpful estimate.

LANGUAGE IDEOLOGY AND ASSIMILATIONIST DISCOURSE.

According to de Jong (2013), assimilationist discourses seek to streamline linguistic diversity often with an efficiency rationale. From this perspective, bilingualism

is fractured; language is understood as a discrete system and the acquisition of multiple languages results in linguistic interference. Assimilationist discourses are associated with subtractive educational programs in which the goal is monolingualism (Lambert, 1975). Three codes, representing distinct language ideologies, were affiliated with assimilationist discourse. Table 4.1 below presents each language ideology, the definition and the frequency of occurrence in the interview data.

Table 4.1. Codes Affiliated with Assimilationist Discourse

Language Ideology	Definition	Frequency in Interview Data
1. *LangIdeol> NonStandard*	Comments in which the participant expresses a negative view of non-standard English or Spanish. This includes instances in which the participant comments negatively about code-switching or the need to "correct" code-switching. This incorporates the view of code-switching or Spanglish as incorrect or as a crutch. This also includes teacher comments that he or she would "correct" non –standard Spanish and English by modeling standard English or Spanish or repeating a phrase all in English or in Spanish.	High
2. *LangIdeol> Alingual*	Comment which refers to someone as having no language or person is not strong in either	Low
3. *LangIdeol> Englishmoreimportant*	Comments which suggest that learning English is more important than learning Spanish, or that English is necessary for success	High

Participant responses articulating a negative view towards code-switching, non-standard English or Spanglish were labeled as *Langideol>nonstandard*. Participants discussed non-standard language use at multiple points in the interview, but two parts of the interview were central to gaining a measure of this language ideology. In the first part of the interview, I asked participants to respond to the following scenario:

> A student code-switches between English and Spanish and says "That was facil" or "Voy a lunch." Can you think of an example that occurred in your class? What did you do?

In a second part of the interview, I asked participants to define code-switching and Spanglish and give their opinion of it. Below are three illustrative examples of responses coded as *Langideol>nonstandard*:

> Trato de repetir la frase correcta para que el niño se dé cuenta que tiene que cambiar a la forma correcta. *[I try to repeat the phrase correctly so that the child realizes that he has to change to the correct form.]* (Irene, Pre-K)

> Lo entiendo pero no creo que es apropiado. Deberíamos de captar un idioma, tener una buena fundación y después agarrar el otro y así agarrar los dos, pero tener los dos muy bien porque suena feo cuando uno está hablando Spanglish. [*I understand it but I don't think it is appropriate. We should understand one language, have a good foundation and then get the other and in that way pick up both, but have each one really good because I think it sounds ugly when someone is speaking in Spanglish*.] (Marisol, Pre-K)

> I say no. Pick a language… it happens every day (chuckles). It could be that. They start explaining something in English and then they can't think of a word… You know, the more excited they are. All of a sudden, the English goes away. You know, they just, brain-fart is what we call it. (Samantha, 2nd)

In the first example, Irene framed non-standard language use as something that needs to be "corrected." Furthermore, she specified that she corrected non-standard language use "so that the child realizes he has to change." This highlighted the process of language standardization and its force: the child has no choice.

The second example shares a similar sentiment that non-standard language use is not "appropriate." Marisol explained that Spanglish "sounds ugly." She offered a solution that a person should acquire one language with strong foundation and then acquire the second. In this case, the non-standard language ideology was intertwined with misconceptions of language and language acquisition; here the participant is operating from the "two-solitudes" assumption (Cummins, 2008) or dual monolingualism (Fitts, 2006) where bilinguals are viewed as two monolinguals in one.

In the third example, Samantha expresses her strict separation of language policy: "Pick a language." She follows up this statement with an immediate recognition that this language policy is highly ineffective because bilingual students draw on both of their languages "every day." Samantha explains that this daily occurrence is because students "can't think of a word," which she dubs a "brain-fart." Indeed, she says that "brainfart is what *we* call it," implying that her students have been taught to identify language mixing

in this way. Interestingly, the Samantha recognizes that the students' level of excitement is associated with language use: "the English goes away." At some level, Samantha appears to understand that code switching is more than a crutch. It is connected with students' socio-emotional states, despite her articulation that it is a "brain-fart."

The language ideology captured within *Langideol>nonstandard* is highly problematic (Lippi-Green, 1997; García, 2009; Alim, 2007). In this context, non-standard language practices are often the norm within the students' homes and communities. The subtle and not so subtle messages that these language practices are wrong, not-appropriate, ugly, and indicative of low-intelligence function as micro-aggressions towards students.

The second language ideology affiliated with an assimilation perspective was *Langideol>alingual* in which participants articulated that students had no language or a closely related idea. There was no single question that prompted this response and it occurred in low frequency throughout interviews. Nonetheless, there were seven instances of this ideology by five different participants. Below are two illustrative examples:

> De hecho los niños, aunque su idioma sea el español, no saben hablar español, es un malentendido. Hay niños con mala pronunciación y los tengo que enseñar a pronunciar porque en su casa no les enseñaban. [*In fact the children, even though their language is Spanish, don't know how to speak Spanish, it's a misunderstanding. There are children with bad pronunciation and I have to teach*

them how to pronounce because in their homes they were not taught.] (Berta, Pre-K)

There's so much subtlety to language that, that is extremely complex. That's why if you just don't have much of either language, you don't really communicate well and, in the long run, you end up damaged. (Samantha, 2nd)

In the first example, Berta paradoxically states that children, whose language is Spanish, do not know how to speak Spanish. This belief that the child has no language connects with the non-standard language ideology; the child does not speak Spanish because they have "bad pronunciation." The "bad pronunciation" is likely a reflection of a non-standard variety or perhaps simply a different variety from a distinct Spanish-speaking country. Berta also connects the Spanish dominant child's "inability" to speak Spanish the result of the child's home. As such, Berta not only holds deficit views towards the child's language practices, but also the family members who expose the child to language in the home.

In the second example, Samantha is responding to the question, "Do you think language is a complex skill?" She feels that language is complex and articulates an alingual ideology that an individual can be "damaged" by not having "much of either language." This belief is connected to an outdated discrete and fixed view of language. It is only possible for someone to not have "much of either language" when language is viewed in this objective way, rather than language as practice (Pennycook, 2010). The dangers of an alingual ideology or what Rosa (2010) has called "languagelessness" are

multiple and severe in consequence; it perpetuates a deficit perspective of children and, in some cases, renders them voiceless.

The final language ideology affiliated with an assimilationist discourse was *LangIdeol>Englishmoreimportant* in which participants articulated that English was a more important language and reflect English dominance. These comments appeared at different times throughout the interview, but were often articulated in response to questions pertaining to language as a symbol of majority influence: "What do you think is the role of English?"; "Do you think it's important for the United States to have an official language?"; and, "How important do you think it is to speak English in the United States?" Below are two illustrative examples:

> El inglés es el lenguaje que al final los niños tienen que hablar si ellos quieren ser exitosos en la vida. [*In the end, English is the language that the children have to speak if they want to be successful in life*.] (Irene, Pre-K)

> I mean it is the language of America (English), supposedly. It's the language of success. Let's put it that way. It's the language of success. (Samantha, 2nd)

In both examples, the teachers viewed English as the language of "success." In the first statement, a person must speak English to have a successful life and, in the second statement, English is the language of success. The first statement also appears to reflect a transitional bilingual education mentality. The use of the phrase "Al final [*In the end*]" suggests that ultimately the goal is English language acquisition rather than bilingualism. This language ideology can be problematic for DLBE program implementation (Palmer,

2011). Palmer (2011) interviewed teachers in transitional bilingual education programs at 3rd and 5th grade in Texas and found that even as they articulated a theoretical support for bilingualism, teachers participated in what she termed the "Discourse of transition," viewing Spanish as a temporary bridge or crutch on students' way to mastering English. While this language ideology appeared infrequently among participants, it must be addressed for successful DLBE program implementation. In the second statement, Samantha questions whether English is the language of America by inserting the word "supposedly." However, the participant follows that statement by stating definitively that it is the language of success, positioning the large number of people living in the United States who do not speak English as unsuccessful.

Collectively, these language ideologies affiliated with an assimilationist perspective are problematic for DLBE program implementation, but for different reasons. The *alingual* and *English is more important* ideologies are in direct opposition to the additive ideology embedded within DLBE program models. On the other hand, the *non-standard* ideology in which non-standard varieties of Spanish and English are viewed negatively is more complicated. All DLBE program models are "additive" in the sense that they promote acquisition for more than one language, but the degree to which the program model addresses or supports language variation within each language is much less so (Flores, 2014; Gort, 2015; García, 2009). As such, while educators might work hard to promote English and Spanish acquisition, they might still view the language practices of their students and their community in deficit ways.

LANGUAGE IDEOLOGIES AND PLURALIST DISCOURSE.

Pluralist discourses promote bi- and multilingualism. Bilingualism is understood in a holistic manner and bilingual language practices are normalized (de Jong, 2013). Pluralist discourses are associated with additive bilingual programs (Lambert, 1975), with the aims of bilingualism, biliteracy, and cross-cultural competence (Howard, Olague & Rogers, 2003). Three codes, representing distinct language ideologies, were visibly affiliated with pluralist discourse. Table 4.2 below presents each language ideology, the definition, and the frequency in the interview data.

Table 4.2. Codes Affiliated with Pluralist Discourse

Language Ideology	Definition	Frequency in Interview Data
1. *LangIdeol> LangVariation Positive*	Language variation is positive, i.e., CS is hard or complex; it is part of the community; typical language practice of biilnguals; it's "normal." They have an opinion on language variation that is not disparaging. Language variation can be necessary. It's what facilitates communication. Language variation is great or interesting. CS is common.	Low
2. *LangIdeo> additive*	Positive comments about multilingualism. This includes language as a resource as well as bilingualism as normal.	High
3. *LangIdeo> Culture*	This includes comments about language, culture and identity as well as the importance of language for home/family/heritage/identity.	Moderate

In contrast with *Langideol>nonstandard*, participant responses articulating a positive view towards code-switching, non-standard English or Spanglish were labeled as *LangIdeol>LangVariationPositive*. Just as the *Langideol>nonstandard*, these comments frequently surfaced in the scenario asking teachers how they would respond to code-switching and non-standard language use in their classrooms as well as in the responses to the questions directly asking the participants to define and provide their opinion of code-switching and Spanglish.

> Yo creo que hacer el "Code-switching" es algo muy funcional, es lo que hace la gente bilingüe siempre cada día. [*I think to do "code-switching" is something that is very functional. It is what bilingual people do every day.*] (Michael, 3rd)

> Es su cultura, o sea, si el niño nació aquí y si es el español el idioma que sabe y todo lo que está aprendiendo es en inglés, pues va a hacer su "Code-switching.´´ Además hay varias cosas; una es la unión de cultura, o sea de raza, entonces ellos para identificarse con su grupo van a hacer "Code-switching´´ y van a usar su ´´spanglish.´´[*It is the culture, like, if a child was born here and Spanish is the language he knows and everything that he is learning is in English, well he is going to do "Code-switching," In addition there are many things; it is the unión of culture, or race, so in order to identify with a group they are going to do ""Codeosiwthing" and they are going to use their "Spanslish*] (Berta, Pre-K)

> I'm not like a big stickler for code-switching, because language has changed and developed. I mean, English is part, a romance. It has all this romance language words, and all these Anglo-Saxon words. If nobody is speaking whatever that equivalent of Spanglish was, we wouldn't even have English, we would have Anglo-Saxon and French, whatever. So, English came because of developing languages, so what difference does it make if everybody in Texas in four, five hundred years from now is speaking Spanglish. I think that will be fine. No problem with that, why are we so attached. Like, why does everything have to stay the same? Yeah, I have no problem with that. (Chrissy, 2nd)

The positive views on language variation articulated by participants occurred in low frequency. The vast majority of teachers articulated negative views towards language variation, specifically code-switching and Spanglish.

The articulation of an additive language ideology occurred in high frequency across interviews. Indeed, all participants said multiple statements that were coded as additive. One question asked participants, "What do you think of bilingualism?" and all participants responded positively. Similarly, all participants were asked what they thought about the pledge of allegiance being done in both languages, and all participants articulated positive views toward it. Two illustrative examples of additive include:

> Yo siempre les digo a mis niños que sabiendo dos idiomas pueden tener más oportunidades y que pueden avanzar mucho más en sus vidas, al tener dos idiomas los va a llevar a poder salir adelante. [*I always tell my children that knowing two languages, they will have more opportunities and they can advance*

much more in their lives. Having two languages will allow them to get ahead.] (Ramón, 4th)

(El bilingüismo es) maravilloso, pienso que simplemente te abre mayores oportunidades de trabajo de socializar, de enriquecimiento personal, de crecimiento, me parece maravilloso. [*(Bilingualism is) Marvelous, I think it simply opens more opportunities to work, to socialize, for personal enrichment, to grow. I think is it marvelous.*] (Sandra, Pre-K)

The final language ideology that can be categorized as affiliating with a pluralist discourse was *LangIdeo>Culture,* statements that recognized a cultural benefit of bilingualism and bilingual education. There were statements that addressed the benefit of speaking a second language to learn about that culture as well as statements that discussed the advantages of maintaining your native language to preserve your culture. Both of these advantages are addressed in the following statement:

Yo no nací aquí, yo vine a este país igual que muchos, entonces mi mamá quería que yo aprendiera dos idiomas, que no solamente aprendiera su idioma sino también la cultura del país… Los padres vienen a traer a sus niños para que tengan una mejor vida que ellos, que sean bilingües, que hablen los dos idiomas, entonces como maestro explicarles el ser bilingües no solamente es hablar inglés, es también leerlo, escribirlo, escucharlo para también aprender sobre la cultura que está aquí, y al mismo tiempo manteniendo la cultura. [*I was not born here, I came to this country like many others, so my mom wanted me to learn two*

languages, and not only would I learn the language but the culture of the country too. Parents come to bring their children so that they can have a better life than they did, that they are bilingual, that they speak two languages. So as a teacher, I explain to them that being bilingual does not just mean speaking English, it also means reading it, writing it, listening to it in order to also learn about the culture that is here and at the same time maintaining the culture.] (Uriel, Administrator)

What can be learned from these pluralist ideologies? The juxtaposition between the highly articulated additive perspective on bilingual education and the simultaneous low frequency of statements viewing code-switching and language variation in a positive way is important. It brings up an ideological tension between "additive" versus "pluralist" language ideologies, which is discussed at length in the ideological tension section below.

LANGUAGE IDEOLOGY AND BOTH ASSIMILATIONIST AND PLURALIST DISCOURSE.

Three language ideology codes operated in different ways, reflecting an assimilationist or pluralist perspective, depending on the participant and/or particular question in the interview. Table 4.3 below presents each code, the definition and the frequency in the interview data.

Table 4.3. Codes Affiliated with Both Assimilation and Pluralist Discourse

Codes	Definition	Frequency in Interview Data
1. *LangIdeo> Citizenship*	This includes comments about the role of language for civic issues or political issues.	Low
2. *LangIdeo> Globalization*	Any comment referring to another country e.g., participants comparing the United States to another country or language practices in another country; addressing or indexing the changing or shifting role of English or Spanish.	High
3. *LangIdeol> Communication*	Comments which suggest that language learning, including learning English-only, is necessary for communication	Moderate

Participants viewed language and its intersection with citizenship, globalization and communication in distinct ways. While some participants viewed multiple languages and/or bilingualism as positive for citizenship, globalization, and communication, other participants view it as a hindrance or viewed English acquisition as more important. I will discuss each separate language ideology and provide an example of statements reflecting a pluralist and assimilationist discourse for each.

Comments coded as *LangIdeo>Citizenship* addressed the role of language and citizenship. These comments occurred in low frequency. Below are two illustrative examples. The first statement is affiliated with a pluralist discourse, while the second represents an assimilationist perspective:

> It (Dual Language) is a way to include native English and native Spanish speakers and encourage them to learn the other language, to practice it, and hopefully to keep it throughout their lives. To help them professionally, to help them culturally. To, you know, just to be better citizens. It's the ideal. (Maria, Pre-K)

> It's important (speaking English). It's important that we do have a language that most of us speaks, just for, you know, government communication, voting, things like that. (Maria, Pre-K)

In the first statement, Maria defines dual language as integrating native English and native Spanish speakers to learn the languages from one another. Maria suggested that learning different languages would help students "be better citizens." From this perspective, bilingualism improves citizenship. On the other hand, in the second statement Maria appears to view the role of English as central for citizenship, specifically voting. While Maria articulates that bilingualism is productive for citizenship, she simultaneously views English as a necessary language for civic actions, reflecting English dominance. This ideological tension is discussed in greater detail in the following section.

Statements coded as *LangIdeo>Globalization* connected or contextualized language learning to global processes. These statements occurred in moderate frequency and were articulated by about 2/3 of participants.

> Yo siempre les digo a mis niños que traten de hablar el español correctamente y el inglés correcto porque hoy en día que es un mundo globalizado, tienen más

> oportunidades de salir adelante. [*I always tell my children to try and speak Spanish correctly and English correctly because nowadays it is a globalized world and they have more opportunities to get ahead*.] (Ramón, 4th)

> El idioma inglés es importante porque el lenguaje universal en el planeta tierra es el inglés. [*The English language is important because the universal language on the planet earth is English*.] (Sandra, Pre-K)

In the first statement, Ramón encouraged her students to learn more than one language because we are in a globalized world. From this perspective, speaking two or more languages is beneficial because of globalization. Interestingly, he is also promoting language standardization by specifying that students need to be able to speak each of the languages "correctly." In the second comment, Sandra states that English is the "universal language" of this planet. In this case, globalization is connected to the worldwide spread of English indirectly implying that acquisition of English is more important.

Comments coded as *LangIdeol>Communication* referred to the role of language for the purpose of communication. Just as *LangIdeo>Globalization* and *LangIdeo>Citizenship*, participants referred to language as important for communication drawing on both assimilationist and pluralist discourses. Two illustrative examples were:

> I read an article about the census, saying that, well like by 2024 the Hispanics would be the majority of the United States. So, I feel like just for that to be able to communicate with one another it's (bilingualism) important. (Deina, 2nd)

(Inglés) pone un estándar algo, para que haya buena comunicación entre todos. [*(English) Puts a standard, something so that there is good communication between everyone*.] (Michael, 3rd)

In this first statement, Deina is making an argument for why it is important for students to be bilingual. Here she is highlighting that the increasing number of Hispanics and people learning Spanish will facilitate communication. In the second statement, Michael is using the same argument by highlighting the important role of English for communication.

I identified a pattern for when participants articulated an assimilationist versus pluralist discourse based on the questions asked. For the most part, participants highlighted the relative greater importance of speaking English for citizenship, globalization and/or communication when asked about the role of English. On the other hand, when participants were asked about their opinions on bilingualism, they often cited benefits for citizenship, globalization and/or communication. Indeed, there were participants who emphasized these different perspectives at different points in the interview as well as within a single statement. The next section will discuss these ideological tensions in greater depth.

IDEOLOGICAL TENSION.

"Tension" was a code identified in the interview data that did not represent pluralist or assimilation discourse, but rather how these discourses operated in complex and contradictory ways within a single statement. I define ideological tension as:

> Contradiction or tension in a teacher's comment about language policy, language use or language acquisition. This includes when a teacher articulates one belief followed by a statement that could be considered contradictory. This can include a tension in the teacher and the community or language of the community. For example, Spanglish is "wrong" but happens all the time. This is also when the teacher has an internal tension, such as, Spanglish is wrong, but I do it all the time. This code also includes statements where the teacher believes something is good in theory, but not in practice. This also includes tension with an ideological aspect of the model.

The comments labeled ideological tension can be categorized into three overarching themes: a) Language diversity is great, but English is more important; b) Language variation is common/okay in certain spaces/normal, but incorrect/wrong; and c) The dual language program is positive, but also negative. In this section, I will discuss the first two themes, and the third will be discussed in the language policy section.

The first theme includes comments that simultaneously acknowledged or emphasized English dominance or the greater importance of the English language, alongside the belief that speaking more than one language is positive. In other words,

these comments could be coded as both an assimilationist and pluralist discourse. The following examples illustrate this ideological tension:

> Para mí, es un punto primordial [el papel de inglés], porque prácticamente todos los conceptos, la manera de trabajo sería en inglés, sabiendo los dos idiomas sería mucho mejor. [For me, it is a fundamental point [the role of English], because practically all the concepts, the way we work, will be in English, knowing the two languages would be much better.] (Ramón, 4th)

> I think. I don't know. I mean, I think that everybody should speak English. I mean, I'm not. I think people should try to speak Spanish, too. But, um, you know if. I mean, it's the language that most people use so. Our laws are all in English. (Cathy, K)

In the first statement, Ramón describes the role of English as the "punto primordial [fundamental point]." He continued to explain that it has this fundamental importance because practically all concepts are in English. This part of the statement received the code langideol>Englishmoreimportant. Yet, immediately following the declaration of the fundamental importance of English, he asserts that "sabiendo los dos idiomas sería mucho mejor [knowing the two languages would be much better]. This part of the statement is pluralist in nature. There is a tension that knowing two or more languages is great as long as one of the languages is English, which is the most important. In other words, an additive perspective is only viable with English acquisition.

In the second statement, the tension is readily apparent in the way Cathy hedges her comments with, " I think. I don't know. I mean, I think." Folllowing this hedging, she stated, "everybody should speak English," but then followed this statement with additional hedging, "I mean. I'm not." and the assertion that "I think people should try to speak Spanish, too." So, while people should "*try to* speak Spanish," they "*should* speak English." Thus, this example further represents the ideological tension that speaking more than one languages is great/ideal, but not as important as speaking English.

The second theme involved linguistic variation. Participants expressed viewpoints that non-standard variation of Spanish use (code-switching, Spanglish) or English was common or okay, but incorrect and/or only appropriate for certain spaces.

> En la calle está bien, y cada uno se expresa como quiere, luego si quieres hablar bien un idioma, lo hablas bien. [*In the street it's okay, and everyone expresses themselves as they want, later if you want to speak a language well, you speak it well*.] (Edward, K)

> I think it's common. It's a common, it's sort of like a slang now and so, um, when I am hearing it, it always catches my ear and so, and so um, um. I don't have a problem with it, but when, but I do have a little feeling against. Well, if you are going to teach Spanish, you know, you need to te…the right way, you know. You can't, you can't use those. You can't use Spanglish with the kids, you shouldn't. Your parents might use it and they what are you doing when your speaking Spanglish to your parents when your kid is standing there and you're trying to

> teach them more, I don't know business English. Um, and so, um I kind of, you know, my opinion on that, you know, on one hand I say yeah it's o.k. but then the other hand I say mmm maybe it's not a good idea because what kind of Spanish do you want the kids to learn. Do you want them to compete in the job market, right? (Jill, Pre-K)

> Like slang. Pretty much slang. Slang words you mix and they like. I do it all the time, all the time. I mean, I grew up with Spanglish and, cause I'm from south Texas and, um, I've learned academic, uh, Spanish or proper Spanish through my students, cause they correct me all the time or my parents correct me all the time. So that's how I've learned my correct Spanish. (Deina, 2nd)

In the first statement, Edward is responding to the question, "What do you think about code-switching? He is suggesting that code-switching is only okay in certain spaces, in this example, "la calle [*the street*]." Yet, there is contradiction in the second half of the statement, when he says "si quieres hablar bien." He simultaneously signifies that even though "está bien [it's *okay*] to code-switch in the street it's not "bien [*good/proper*]." Thus there are multiple levels of ideological tension, both where certain language practices are okay and not okay and language being okay to speak but still bad.

In the second statement, Jill appeared to struggle to express her view of Spanglish. She starts by saying that it is common. She then says she "does not have a problem with it" immediately followed by "but, I do have a little feeling against." The tension appears to lie in the teacher's simultaneous belief that Spanglish is "common"

and "unproblematic," but not appropriate for schools, specifically for teachers to use: "You can't use Spanglish with the kids, you shouldn't." The teacher's concern lies in the possibility that if a teacher uses Spanglish, students will not learn or have access to "business" English and/or Spanish.

In the final example, Deina views Spanglish as slang and recognizes that she uses it "all the time." She connects her use of Spanglish with where she grew up. She then states that she learned her "academic," "proper," and "correct" Spanish from her students and parents correcting her. Her recognition that her students correct her is interesting. It signifies her view of her students as teachers and her fluid role as both a teacher and learner. It also indicates that the students have adopted the perspective of Spanglish as something that needs to be "corrected." In contrast with the previous statement in which the participant feels that a teacher can't speak Spanglish, this statement suggests that even when a teacher does not "correct" Spanglish and uses it him/herself, students still adopt the dominant view of Spanglish use as wrong.

Research suggests that the fear that teachers' use of non-standard language will prevent standard language acquisition is unwarranted (Zentella, 1997). Quite to the contrary, new research suggests that translanguaging can be used as a pedagogical tool (Creese & Blackledge, 2010; Lee, Hill–Bonnet, & Raley, 2011; Martínez, Hikida & Durán, 2014; Palmer, Martínez, Mateus & Henderson, 2014). Participants' perspective that school is not school an appropriate space for hybrid language practices needs to be problematized and challenged.

There were instances of ideological tension that connected to the third theme, but added an additional layer of complexity. In one instance, the teacher articulated the perspective that code-switching is okay, but Spanglish is not:

> Para mí code- switching y spanglish hay un poco de diferencia. Code-switching es cuando estás diciendo una oración y luego dices otra palabra, por ejemplo, dice una palabra por otra cosa y spanglish es más como ´´parquear´´ cuando deberíamos de decir ´´ me voy a estacionar.´´Entonces code-switching es más donde puedes manipular las palabras. Yo creo que es mucho mejor que spanglish porque spanglish nomás agarras otras palabras y la estas convirtiendo en ese idioma. [*For me there is a little difference between code-switching and Spanglish. Code-switching is when you are saying a sentence and then you say another word, for example, you say a word for another thing, and Spanglish is more like "parkear" when we should say "I am going to park." So code-switching is more where you can manipulate the words. I think it is much better than Spanglish because in Spanglish you just grab other words and you are converting them into that language*.] (Marisol, Pre-K)

In the statement, Marisol explains that code-switching is "much better than Spanglish." This perspective on code-switching/Spanglish was identified in a prior research study exploring the language ideologies articulated and embodied by two third grade teachers (Henderson & Palmer, 2015). Similarly, one of the teachers "corrected" students who code-switched intra-sententially or spoke in Spanglish, but felt that inter-sentential code-switching was acceptable.

In a second instance, a teacher articulated that she would correct non-standard English use, but not Spanglish. When I gave the scenario, I provided the examples of "ain't" and "pa'tras" and the teacher responded: "Oh, well that's interesting. I would definitely correct ain't, and I might not even notice the Spanish mistake. Is it, are you supposed to say para atras (Samantha, 2nd)?" This example illustrates how teachers' own language practices influence their language ideologies. When I provided the scenario, I only asked the participant what their reaction would be to non-standard classroom language practices, however the participant in her response positioned these types of practices as "mistakes." Interestingly, the common phrase "pa'tras" a linguistic clipse readily associated with Spanglish, was normalized for the teacher to the degree that she would "not even notice the Spanish mistake." In other words, this teacher participated in "non-standard" Spanish language practices and did not identify them as such, whereas she immediately recognized that she would "correct" non-standard English.

While tension was a code applied to statements in the interview data, an additional pattern was identified early on in the coding process; there was ideological tension throughout interviews. In other words, at one point in the interview, a participant would articulate a language ideology aligned with a pluralist orientation, while the same participant would articulate a deficit, subtractive or assimilationist perspective at another point in the interview. These tensions could not easily be coded. Following the completion of coding each interview, I wrote memos to track ideological tensions throughout the interview. Importantly, all participants had a degree of ideological tension throughout the interview. Two common patterns in ideological tension will be discussed:

(a) The participant expressed an additive perspective on bilingualism and bilingual education, and simultaneously expressed a negative perspective on linguistic variation; and (b) support for bilingualism, yet English is more important. I will present the ideological tension articulated by the three case-study participants in the following chapter.

LANGUAGE POLICY

The previous section provided a picture of the ideological landscape among DLBE teachers in the district. This section will address how the participants viewed the district's language policy. Specifically, this section will address two themes connected to language policy that I identified in the data: a) layered language policy; and b) prescriptive policy.

LAYERED LANGUAGE POLICY.

Hornberger and Johnson (2007) discuss the layered nature of language policy. As language policy is implemented, it is re-negotiated at each layer of the metaphorical "onion," including school, district, state and national language policy. This framework was used in the development of the code *layered,* which I defined as:

> The mixed messages that teachers receive. Implementation is layered. These comments include when a teacher re-voices a tenant or a person (i.e.

Gómez/Gómez). For example, "according to the Gómez and Gómez model," or "according to my principal/district." In other words, the teacher is directly referencing something that model, principal or district requires. If a teacher talks about what the principal wants, which is in contrast with the district, this is an example of layered issue. These comments can often include "according to/según."

Given the top-down nature of this policy implementation, the language policy was adopted and re-negotiated at the district-level and school level. Teachers had to make their own sense of it for implementation in their classrooms. In the data, 76 statements were coded as *layered*. Teachers made statements interpreting and re-voicing (Bakhtin, 1999) what they were supposed to do according to the model, school or district. For example, when Irene (Pre-K teacher) was asked what she would do in the scenario in which a student was speaking Spanish during an English class, she responded, "Según el modelo de ´´Gómez y Gómez´´, uno debe permitir a los niños hablar el idioma que ellos prefieran, entre ellos pueden hablar el idioma que ellos prefieran" Irene interpreted and re-voiced the language policy "according to the model" when answering a question about her classroom language policy. These statements illustrate the ways teachers use and interpret different layers of language policy to make classroom-level language policy decisions.

In addition to teachers who re-voiced a single layer, there were teachers who addressed these multiple layers directly. Below are three illustrative examples:

> Some of what Gómez and Gómez say go against what the district says and when you ask the question you get a lot of like uh, I don't know and I have two different departments that come to my room with clipboards and grade me on certain things. I work my butt off to make sure I have everything I am supposed to have and then they pick the silliest thing... I guess my issue with Gómez and Gómez is how it's being implemented by the district. (Cathy, K)

> And so the expectations from the dual language office, versus the expectations from the math office, from the language arts office, are all different, and you don't know who to answer to. And that's, I've said that's the biggest setback. Is you don't, you, it is really unclear as to who we are responsible to. (Maria, Pre-K)

> We definitely want to do it (dual language). I think parents want it. Administration wants it. Uuum, but I don't know if there is as much communication going on between the classrooms and administration sometimes, and I think administration sometimes feel stuck and can't really do much that they understand where we coming from, but you know, they have higher-ups, too that they have to respond to. (Daniel, 1st)

In each of the examples, there are conflicts and tension. In the first statement, Cathy discusses the tension between the demands of the program model, Gómez & Gómez, and the district. In the second statement, Maria recognized conflicts between different offices within the district including the dual language, math and language art's offices. Finally,

in the third comment, David points out that even with participants at different levels (teachers, parents and administration) on board and supporting the program, there is still tension because of miscommunication as well as with "higher-ups." Not surprisingly, teachers occasionally expressed frustration or confusion about the mixed messages. Teachers directly stated emotive comments including, I'm "frustrated (Daniel)," "mad (Cathy)," and "overwhelmed (Deina)."

PRESCRIPTIVE POLICY.

While the previous section addressed the multi-layered nature of language policy, teachers also directly commented on the nature of the dual language program policy. The prescriptive nature of the dual language model purchased by the district was a topic that occurred in moderate frequency in the data. Participants recognized that the model was complex and had multiple parts. In the following statement the participant compared the dual language program to the "bilingual program":

> El programa doble idioma es el que da la oportunidad de hacer los conceptos académicos de una manera más definida. Comparado con lo que es el programa bilingüe, que trata de hacer todo en inglés, existe un poco más de estructura en el programa del dual lenguaje… Siento que tiene más requisitos porque antes teníamos el bilingüe y no era tan requisitoso. [*The dual language program is the one that gives the opportunity to do academic concept in a more defined way. Comparing it with the bilingual program, that tries to do everything in English,*

there is a little more structure with the dual language program. I feel like it has more requirements because before we had the bilingual and it was not as demanding.] (Mariana, 3rd)

In this case, the participant described the model as having more structure in comparison to the bilingual program. Mariana also understood "dual language" as the Gómez & Gómez model, which they viewed as different from "bilingual education" rather than a type of bilingual education. Indeed, this was another finding in the data; teachers often defined dual language by describing the model. The majority of the teacher comments expressed that the prescriptive nature of the model was cumbersome and required too much additional work:

> Yo siento que es (el programa dual lenguaje) bastante estresante para todos los maestros incluyéndome a mí. Quieran que tengan las palabras, las etiquetas o lo que uno pone en dos idiomas. Siempre estamos con el estrés que me van a pescar y me van a decir: te falló esto, porque no hay tiempo. [*I feel that it rather stressful for all the teachers including myself. They want you to have the words, the labels, or what someone puts in two languages. We are always with the stress that they are going to fish you out and they are going to tell me: you forget this, because there is no time*.] (Berta, Pre-K)

> Es (el programa dual lenguaje) mucho trabajo porque si soy maestro de una clase dual tengo que tener tanto cosas de español en un color y cosas en la otra paréd en inglés en otros colores. [*It (the dual language program) is a lot of work because if*

I am in a dual language class I have to have so many things in Spanish in one color and things on the other wall in English in other colors.] (Uriel, Administrator)

It's (dual language program) a lot of environmental print that needs to be up for the kids to see everyday and it, it can be overwhelming, because you don't get very many, much wall space and then to be like with the strict obligations and campus obligations. (Deina, 2nd)

It (dual language) created more work for the teachers that were doing it. Um, the district required all of them to have, have two word walls and in certain colors one was red, one was blue and so. But and they have to be those colors, not other colors it had to be those colors. (Jill, Pre-K)

Twelve teachers in the sample made comments regarding the prescriptive nature of the model, and, as evidenced, the majority of these teachers held negative views of it. These statements also collectively demonstrate teachers' association of "dual language" with the specific prescriptive program model. What dual language means at a theoretical level (Howard, Olague, & Rogers, 2003) differs substantially from an understanding of dual language as "things in Spanish in one color and things on the other wall in English," "the words, the labels, or what someone puts in two languages", "a lot of environmental print", or "two word walls and in certain colors." For several teachers in the sample, their

negative view towards the prescriptive model led to the articulation of negative feelings towards "dual language."

LANGUAGE POLICY IMPLEMENTATION

This section will explore more in depth the teachers' perspectives on the DL implementation. Specifically, it will illustrate overall trends of teacher perspectives on the DLBE implementation, followed by a synthesis of the issues of implementation identified by participants.

Overall Trends. While most of the codes in the coding scheme were global, a few applied to a specific question. These codes were applied specifically to get an understanding of overall trends in the data. Participants were asked: How important is dual language implementation to you personally? How important is dual language for your school? How important is dual language for the district? Responses were coded as: a) not important; b) important; or c) of mixed importance. Tables 4.4 and 4.5 present the overall findings from these questions across the 20 participants.

Table 4.4. How important is Dual Language Bilingual Education?

	Important	Not Important	Mixed
Important Personally	7 teachers	2 teachers	3 teachers
Important to School	9 teachers	4 teachers	2 teachers
Important to District	6 teachers	3 teachers	5 teachers

Table 4.5. Evaluate Your Experience with Dual Language.

	Positive	Negative	Mixed
Experience with DL	5 teachers	8 teachers	7 teachers

The majority of teachers said that the dual language implementation was important to them, personally. On the other hand, while about half of the participants felt the dual language program implementation was important to their school, the other half felt that is was not important to their school, or they had a mixed opinion about the relative importance of the implementation for the school. The majority of the teachers did not think the implementation was important to the district, or they had a mixed opinion about the importance of the implementation for the district.

There were more negative statements articulated by teachers on the DL implementation than positive with respect to the effectiveness of program implementation. However, the majority of statements expressed a mixed opinion about the effectiveness of program implementation.

In sum, while participants generally viewed DL implementation as important to themselves personally, fewer participants viewed it as important to their school and the district. Few participants articulated a positive perspective on the effectiveness of the program, while most held a mixed opinion about the effectiveness.

Language Policy Implementation Issues. The thematic analysis of the interviews revealed eight issues of implementation identified by the participants: fidelity, resources, logistics, mobility, support, population, accountability and other. Table 4.6 below provides the definition of each of these, the frequency with which it occurred in the data and an illustrative example:

Table 4.6. Implementation Issues

Codes	Definition	Frequency in Interview Data	Illustrative Example
1. *Fidelity*	Model Expectations/Fidelity: Comments which refer to teacher or school following or not following the model as well as expectations the teacher has for the model	High	En el programa que están ahorita, la misma mierda con diferente nombre si no eres fiel. [*In the program that they are in right now, it's the same shit with a different name if you are not faithful*.]
2. *Resources*	Comments referring to materials or resources needed, (not) provided, or desired. This includes human resources including teacher aids or Spanish speaking staff.	High	No les han dado las ayudas necesarias para llevar a cabo una clase en los dos idiomas, por ejemplo, la asistencia o los materiales. [*They have not given the necessary help to carry out a class in two languages, for example, the assistance or the materials*.]
3. *Logistics*	Comments referring to any logistical issue. This includes how the implementation should be or is expected to be logistically. This also includes comments referring to the amount of time or work that is required, which teachers may say there is not enough of.	High	I have some of her kids again, again, cause the model …the number of minutes in it do not add up to the actual number of minutes that we have in school. They don't take any transition time into consideration at all.

Table 4.6. Implementation Issues, cont.

4. *Mobility*	Comments referring to issues with student mobility	Low	And, we did start to notice some of those issues come up with, um with mobility
5. *Support*	Comment addressing the level of support for implementation including the amount of PD or support form colleagues, administration, training or district.	Moderate	El apoyo de la escuela que es muy esencial para poder sacarlo adelante. [*The support from the school is very essential to be able to take it further*.]
6. *Population*	The program is working or not working because of a specific population. The program either does or does not meet the population's needs. Comments that refer to the DL program working for a specific population of students, a specific grade level, or for some students and not others.	Moderate	Si tienes niños que se portan mal o que tienen problemas de aprendizaje ya todo se te lía y se pierde más tiempo con el sistema de idioma dual. [*If you have children that behave bad or have learning problems then everything is a mess with dual language system*.]
7. *Accountability*	Comments that address testing or assessment. This includes teachers talking about test scores or expressing concern about test scores.	High	Our um, area supervisor excludes us from having to do the dual language. Like us in the intermediate grades…We focus on the STAAR.

Table 4.6. Implementation Issues, cont.

8. *Other*	Any issue with implementation that has not been identified in the other codes.	Moderate	Some of our parents, I think feel like they kind of have been pushed out, because they are not necessarily. They don't feel like their voices are heard or that they're valued anymore. (Participant is reflecting on native Spanish speaking parents in a two-way DLBE program)

The majority of the issues identified through the thematic analysis are established in the literature and common to educational implementation in general (Linholm-Leary 2001; 2005). That said, the issue of accountability stood out as a reason why participants struggled, or simply did not implement the DLBE program and merits more attention.

Accountability. Teachers made statements about the accountability system as a central force of language policy implementation. These statements were coded as *layered* when the teacher identified a tension between the accountability system and the program model, school policy or district policy.

> All the principals and all the area sups (supervisors) know there is only one thing that they are going to worry about. And one thing only. Because if they don't make it, they lose their jobs, teachers lose their jobs, teachers gets put on special plans, and its not going to happen. It is all testing all the time. (Samantha, 2nd)

> Al fin al cabo no se manifiesta (dual language) en tercer grado, es pura teoría porque al fin y al cabo, según los de aquí, lo que necesitamos es ese número de examen. (Michael, 3rd)

> Our um, area supervisor excludes us from having to do the dual language. Like us in the intermediate grades…We focus on the STAAR. (Deina, 2nd)

In each of these examples, the language policy in the dual language program model is overpowered by the state-mandated accountability system. In the first statement, Samantha indicates that principals and area supervisors are not worrying about dual language policy because they are only worried about testing. Similarly, in the second statement, Michael refers to the dual language program and it's bilingual language instruction as "pura teoría [*pure theory*]." He indexes the administration as "los de aqui" and emphasizes that their priority is the test score. The final statement echoes the same sentiment and attributes her focus on testing as the direct result of language policy from the area supervisor who "excludes us from having to do the dual language."

There was a pattern with more comments related to accountability being made by higher-grade level teachers. Deina explained, "I don't think it's the school. I think it's the grade level. I feel like once you get to the third grade, a STAAR grade. They don't, they're not going to push it as much." Similarly, Daniel, a 1st grade teacher, stated, "I don't see as much enthusiasm from the upper grades." An inherent tension in the language policy mandates stems from high-stakes testing in Texas, which begins in 3rd grade; while the dual language program promotes bilingual instruction, standardized

testing represents de facto monolingual language policy (Menken, 2009; Palmer, Henderson, Wall & Zuñiga, in press).

The interview analysis afforded an in-depth understanding of the different languages ideologies articulated by participants. The language ideologies articulated by teachers represented both pluralist and assimilationist discourses. However, participants also articulated statements indicating ideological tension; single statements reflected a complex combination of assimilationist and pluralist discourse. Furthermore, the interviews afforded a window into variation of the experiences of top-down DLBE program implementation. An important issue identified by participants was the challenge of implementing DLBE alongside standardized testing. However, a clear limitation of the interviews is that we cannot see how these language ideologies and perspectives translate to classroom practices. The next chapter thus presents the findings from the three case studies.

Chapter 5: Case Studies

In this chapter, I will explore the language ideologies and local language policy of three teachers. As I present each teacher, I will start by providing background information on the teacher, including the language ideologies and experiences with dual language bilingual education (DLBE) articulated by each participant as revealed in the survey and interview. The discussion of the language ideologies articulated by the participants in the interviews will specifically address ideological tension that surfaced over time during the interview. Then I will turn to examine what the teacher actually did in the classroom to examine what language ideologies the teacher embodied in his or her classroom and the local language policy he/she created amidst the intersecting and multi-faceted policy demands. This chapter affords a distinct perspective on research questions 1 and 2:

1. What language ideologies do educators in a district participating in a top-down mandated dual language program articulate and embody?
2. How do teachers describe and evaluate their experience with DLBE policy implementation?

BILINGUAL ADVOCATE, LINGUISTIC PURIST, AND MODEL FIDELITY: MARISOL

Background. Marisol was a pre-k teacher with nine years of teaching experience in two districts. She worked for six years in third grade at the first district. She has been in the second district at her current school, Village Pre-Kindergarten School

(pseudonym), for three years. Six out of her nine years of teaching experience have been in a DLBE program. At the time of the study, the Village Pre-Kindergarten School, a state-funded pre-Kindergarten, was approximately 89% Hispanic, 97% economically disadvantaged and 71% ELLs. Students qualified to attend the school based on language minority status or low socio-economic level.

Marisol self-identified as Latina, female and bilingual. She grew up in Texas near the border with Mexico and her home language was Spanish. Her education was in English-only, which she described as a difficult, and at times painful experience. She attributed her passion and dedication to bilingual education to her personal negative educational experiences and expressed the desire to prevent her students from experiencing what she went through in school.

Survey. On the survey, Mariana's answers generally aligned with the averages of the larger sample. There were multiple questions on the survey with little variation in educator responses. However, there were some exceptions for each of the case-study participants. In the case of Mariana, while the average of educators in this district somewhat agreed with the statements that using English is important for social gains and the success of a nation depends on the use of a national language, Marisol strongly disagreed with both. Similarly, Marisol responded that she disagreed that in the U.S. knowing English helps a person to be American. On the other hand, she agreed with the statement that languages with more speakers are stronger than languages with fewer speakers, while the average of the educators in the district somewhat disagreed.

In response to the question on the survey asking her: "How would you describe the implementation of the dual language program?" she responded, "What I disagree with is that people keep changing things because they believe they know better. Also some things about Dual language is unclear which leads to some confusion." Her comment indicated her belief in the need for both fidelity to the model and model clarity.

Interview. Marisol chose to complete the interview in Spanish. Table 5.1 below provides a summary of the codes identified in her initial formal interview.

Table 5.1. Codes Identified in Marisol's Interview

Language Ideology		Language Policy		Policy Implementation	
Code	Frequency	Code	Frequency	Code	Frequency
Additive	7	*Teacher Buy-In*	2	*Fidelity*	6
Non Standard	6	*Layered*	2	*Positive*	1
Communication	3	*Prescriptive*	1	*Support*	1
Teacher Belief	2	*Equity*	1	*Other Issue*	1
Globalization	2				

Articulated Language Ideologies. As evident in Table 5.1, seven statements throughout her interview were coded as representing an additive language ideology. For example, when asked to give her opinion on bilingualism she said, "Creo que es excelente, me hubiera gustado que me lo ofrecieran a mí cuando era chiquita [*I think it is excellent, I would have liked it if they had offered it to me when I was little*]." On the other hand, six statements throughout her interview were coded as representing a non-standard language ideology. For example, when she was asked to give her opinion about Spanglish she responded:

> Lo entiendo pero no creo que es apropiado. Deberíamos de captar un idioma, tener una buena fundación y después agarrar el otro y así agarrar los dos. Pero tener los dos muy bien porque suena feo cuando uno está hablando… para mí no los consideraría tan inteligentes como otras personas porque pienso que lo están revolviendo. [*I understand it, but I don't think it is appropriate. We should gain one language, have a good foundation and afterward pick up another one and in that way pick up both. But you should have both really well or it sounds ugly when someone is speaking… I don't consider them as intelligent as other people because I think they are mixing it up.]*

In this way, Marisol mirrored a number of the teachers in the sample who articulated language ideological tension over time throughout the course of the interview. She articulated support for bilingual education, yet simultaneously articulated beliefs representing linguistic purism (Dorian, 1994).

Marisol articulated an additional belief about language when asked how effective she felt the dual language implementation was in her classroom. She responded:

> Yo creo que al momento bien. Hay niños que se nota que se están confundiendo en los idiomas pero son los mismos niños que los papás no han ayudado, donde no me han escuchado cuando digo que necesitan tener una buena fundación en casa, donde nomás le están hablando en ingles un día y en español otro día y el niño solo se está confundiendo… En la casa cuando nomás están revolviendo a los niños, no tienen la estructura para identificar el inglés o el español. [*I think it is going well at the moment. There are children you notice that they are getting*

confused by the languages, but they are the same children whose parents have not helped, where they have not listened to me when I say they need to have a strong foundation at home, where they are simply speaking to him/her in English one day and Spanish the other and the child is just getting confused… In the home when they are simply mixing up the children, they don't have the structure to identify English or Spanish.]

Marisol indicated that she believed that the mixing of two languages at home "confused" children. More specifically, she viewed the linguistic practices at home of "hablando en ingles un día y en español otro día [*speaking in English one day and in Spanish the other*]" as problematic, lacking "structure," and "confusing" to children. Her belief in the problematic nature of language mixing is not supported by research (Palmer & Martínez, 2013; Zentella, 1997) and reflects a fractured view of bilingualism (García, 2009). It is also unrealistic given the language practices of bilinguals. Her articulated beliefs appeared to be grounded in a view of language as discrete and objective or what has been called the "two solitudes assumption" (Cummins, 2008), or dual monolingualism (Fitts, 2006).

In sum, Marisol articulated multiple language ideologies, which indexed both assimilationist and pluralist discourses. On one hand, she articulated highly additive views towards bilingualism and bilingual education. On the other, she articulated a negative perspective towards language variation and language mixing. These language ideologies appeared connected to her fractured view of bilingualism and bilingual acquisition.

Articulated Language Policy and Policy Implementation. The interview afforded additional insight into Marisol's experience with the dual language implementation, her experience in two different districts, both implementing DLBE, afforded her considerable insight and perspective. She understood DLBE as more than just the Gómez & Gómez model, and recognized its larger underlying ideological principles of valuing two languages. When asked to describe DLBE she explained:

> Lo miro como le explique a un papá, que el dual lenguaje es donde metes en un vaso dos gotas de español, dos gotas de inglés y con el tiempo le aumentan las gotas pero siempre está lo mismo. [I see it as the way I explained to a parent, that dual language is where you add to a glass two drops of Spanish, two drops of English and with time you add more drops, but it is always the same.]

Marisol's metaphor of the drops into a glass emphasized the equality between the two languages by placing "two drops" of each. She also concluded that the amounts of language "siempre está lo mismo [*are always the same*]." Her knowledge of the purpose of the program was connected to her advocacy for the program:

> A mí me gusta muchísimo el programa dual porque los niños están aprendiendo los dos idiomas y de la misma forma están poniendo la misma importancia en dos idiomas…Le están diciendo, sí queremos que aprendas ingles, pero también sabemos que el español es igual de importante. [*I really like the dual language program because the children are learning the two languages and at the same time they are placing the same importance on the two languages…It is telling you,*

yes we want you to learn English, but we also know that Spanish is just as important.]

Given Marisol's understanding and support for the program based on its additive ideology, she expressed multiple times the need to implement the program with fidelity. Over the course of the interview, six statements were coded as pertaining to the issue of *fidelity*, for example:

> Yo he mirado los resultados que han tenido las escuelas, las que han seguido al pie de la letra el programa, y les ha funcionado. Creo que es excelente el programa. También he tenido la oportunidad de mirar donde no lo han implementado en la forma como debería de ser y he mirado como no ha progresado. Es un excelente programa pero tiene que seguirse al pie de la letra. [*I have seen the results schools have had, those that have followed the program to the letter, and it has worked for them. I think it is an excellent program. I have also had the opportunity to see where they have not implemented it the way it should be and I have seen how they have not progressed. It's an excellent program but you have to follow it to the letter*.]

As noted, Marisol had experience in DLBE in two different districts. This afforded her a unique perspective and fostered her belief in the program. However, she was clear that her belief in the program was contingent on its implementation with fidelity. Not surprisingly, Marisol articulated that she was dedicated to implementing the program with fidelity in her own classroom. The next section explores Marisol's classroom language practices and the language ideologies she embodied at the classroom-level.

Embodied Language Ideologies and Local Language Policy. Marisol worked in a self-contained pre-K classroom. She had 17 students, 9 boys and 8 girls. She described her students' linguistic proficiencies and said, "Todos están en diferentes niveles. Miro que algunos tienen inglés mucho más que otros y hay unos que no han estado expuestos al inglés, hay una variedad en el nivel que está [*They are all at different level. I see that some have much more English than others that have not been exposed to English. There is variation in the level that they are at*]." Her description reflected an awareness of variation in linguistic development and the bilingual continua, specifically the simultaneous/sequential continua that distinguish between children exposed to bilingual practices from a young age versus at an older age, often with the start of formal schooling (Hornberger, 2002). When I asked her if all of the students spoke Spanish, she responded:

> Sí, la mayoría habla español, ¿a qué nivel? Depende, tengo un niño que usa spanglish, unos que hacen code-switching, y hay otros que nada más solo español y cada vez que hacemos inglés comienzan a llorar porque no les gusta el inglés. [*Yes, the majority speak Spanish. At what level? It depends, I have a boy who uses Spanglish, some who do code-switching, and there are others who only use Spanish and every time we do English they being to cry because they don't like English*.]

This quote illustrated how Marisol separated Spanish, code-switching and Spanglish into distinct categories. In other words, she appeared to view a student who spoke Spanglish differently and not as a Spanish-speaker.

Students were observed code-switching and using non-standard language practices at every observation in Marisol's classroom. Over the course of observations, Marisol was never observed or video-recorded "correcting" or repairing students' language practices, specifically student code-switching or the use of non-standard Spanish. She also displayed no reaction to a loudspeaker announcement that included Spanglish. The announcement was given three times, asking someone to move his "troca azul [*blue truck*]." Teacher repair of student language practices is a form of language ideology in practice (Razfar, 2006). The observations afford nuance into understanding Marisol's language ideologies. While she articulated a negative perspective towards non-standard language practice, she did not embody this language ideology in her local classroom language policy. She did not correct students and she had no reaction the use of Spanglish over the loudspeaker.

Marisol's retrospective interview afforded additional complexity to understanding her language ideologies, and how they were embodied in her classroom:

Researcher:	What do you think of the use of Spanglish over the loudspeaker?
Marisol:	Not good, but at the same time I know that a lot of them **don't have Spanish** and I can't criticize because I am not anywhere near there either.
Researcher:	Of Spanish proficiency?
Marisol:	Uh huh. At least **I don't feel adequate.**
Researcher:	You feel stronger in English?
Marisol:	**Unfortunately, in neither.**

When Marisol commented, "a lot of them don't have Spanish" she was associating someone who uses Spanglish with not having Spanish. This notion that someone could "not have a language" represented an alingual ideology or what Rosa (2010) has called "languagelessness." This ideological viewpoint simultaneously reinforced language standardization because one can only claim a language if he/she speaks a standard register. When Marisol reflected on her own language practices and said that she did not "feel adequate" and the she believed she was not strong in neither Spanish nor English. This perspective was deeply troubling and represented her internalization of dominant language ideologies, in this case as a form of internalized oppression.

It is worth considering how my own positionality potentially mediated her response. I am a white, native English speaker, and in this informal, retrospective interview, she might have assumed that I thought Spanglish was wrong. I can speculate that if a Latina, native Spanish speaker conducted the interview, the language ideologies may have potentially been different. It is also worth considering my use of the word "Spanglish." I chose to use this word in my study because this was the word used to describe this type of language practice during my three years of experience with this population of teachers and students. However, the term Spanglish in some contexts is highly stigmatized. If I had avoided the term Spanglish and directly asked her about the announcement, the response might have been different. Similarly, if I framed the linguistic announcement as "Spanish of the Southwest," this too could have changed her response.

During the classroom observations, several times I noted Marisol's frustration with a student Marco (pseudonym). In the retrospective interview, I asked Marisol about Marco and her response indicated a connection between teacher language ideologies and classroom language-policy decisions. Marisol described Marco as "low in both languages." She explained her perspective, "I think he's mixing both of them up. They (his parents) definitely are not doing what I've asked them to do to, which is concentrate on one. That is my theory." This statement mirrored what she said in her original interview, however, she was applying her belief to understand the language practices of a specific student. In this case, it appeared that Marisol was drawing on an internalized dominant language ideology of semi- or alingualism (Ek, Sánchez, & Quijada Cerecer, 2013; MacSwan, 2000; Rosa, 2010) to interpret and make sense of Marco's language practices.

Her viewpoint of language as a discrete system further influenced her interpretation of Marco's language practices; in this case, that he was "mixing both of them up." She appeared frustrated with Marco's parents who she did not believe were following her recommended language policy of strict language separation. Marisol recommended placement of Marco in an English classroom for the following year. Her view of language as a discrete system, belief in the strict separation of language, and language ideologies will potentially have considerable impact on Marco's educational pathway. Marco will likely no longer have access to Spanish in school, including bilingual teachers to support his continued development of biliteracy, which is shown to support academic success for emerging bilingual students like him.

Marisol followed the language policy with high "fidelity" in her classroom. During all classroom observations and video-recordings during math instruction (n= 8), there was only one discrepant case in which she spoke Spanish to say "mijo." During all classroom observations and video-recordings during language arts and science instruction (n= 6), she was only observed saying "okay" in English; all else was in Spanish. During transitional times (n= 15), she was observed adhering to the language policy and speaking Spanish on Spanish days and English on English days. While Marisol's language ideologies were highly complex and there were some differences between her embodied and articulated ideologies, her articulation of her classroom language policy was well aligned with what I observed of her classroom practices. When we consider the language ideological underpinnings of strict language separation within the Gómez & Gómez model, this makes sense. In other words, Marisol's belief in the strict separation of languages aligned with the program model.

An in-depth exploration of Marisol's language ideologies across multiple measures unearthed its multiplicity and complexity. There was ideological tension within and across measures. In the survey, Marisol deviated from the norm in her pluralist orientation represented by her (strong) disagreement with the statements: a) English is important for social gains; b) the success of a nation depends on the use of a national language; and c) in the U.S. knowing English helps a person to be American. Yet, her agreement with the statement that languages with more speakers are stronger than languages with fewer speakers indexed an assimilationist orientation. Similarly, over the course of her interview she articulated both assimilationist and pluralist discourses,

including her advocacy for bilingualism alongside her negative stance towards linguistic variation. However, Marisol did not always embody an ideology of linguistic purism in her classroom; she did not "correct" students' language practices and she did not react to the use of Spanglish over the loud speaker. This supports additional research identifying misalignment between educators articulated and embodied language ideologies (Henderson & Palmer, 2015). At the same time, Marisol, a simultaneous bilingual, internalized a negative view of her own language practices. She made a meaningful decision to recommend Marco's removal to an English-only program, which reflected language ideologies of linguistic purism and semilingualism. These contradictions reflected her language ideological multiplicity and the complexity of how these language ideologies embodied language policy in action.

STANDARDIZED TESTING & CREATING A SPANISH DOMINANT SPACE: MARIANA

Background. Mariana was a third grade teacher with 10 years of teaching experience in two different schools, both within the large urban district of this study. In the first school, she taught pre-k, kindergarten and first grade for eight years. At the time of the study, she was in her second year teaching at Maple Elementary (pseudonym), which was approximately 92% Hispanic, 96% economically disadvantaged and 57% ELLs.

Mariana self-identified as Latina, female and bilingual. She grew up in Monterrey, Mexico and pursued her teaching degree at the Tec de Monterrey. Her home

language was Spanish. Shortly after she graduated, she moved to the United States to teach in a bilingual program; she was recruited because of a shortage of bilingual teachers in the state. At the time of the study, she was in her fourth year of pursuing an online doctorate in education.

Survey. On the survey, of the three case studies, Mariana's answers aligned most closely with the averages of the larger sample of teachers. The three exceptions were distinct from Marisol's. Mariana agreed with the statement that using one language to complete a task is better than using two languages, while the average of the educators in the district somewhat disagreed. She also somewhat agreed with the statements that languages stay the same over time and a language has one standard form, whereas the average of the educators in the district disagreed.

In response to the question on the survey asking her: "How would you describe the implementation of the dual language program?" She wrote, "It helps the students maintain their native language, learn academic language, and learn a second language at the same time through math and students' interactions and academic language." Her comment indicated both her additive view towards bilingualism and her positive view on the program for academic language development.

Interview. Mariana chose to complete the interview in Spanish. Table 5.2 below provides a summary of the codes identified in her initial formal interview.

Table 5.2. Codes Identified in Mariana's Interview

Language Ideology		Language Policy		Policy Implementation	
Code	Frequency	Code	Frequency	Code	Frequency
Additive	4	*Teacher Buy-In*	2	*Fidelity*	3
Tension	2	*Layered*	2	*Positive*	2
English more important	2	*Prescriptive*	1	*Support*	1
Teacher Belief	2	*Equity*	2	*Other Issue*	1
Communication	2	*Teacher policy maker*	2	*Logistics*	3

Articulated Language Ideologies. Mariana articulated statements during her interview that indexed ideological tension. Furthermore, there was ideological tension over time during the interview. The following statements were identified as representing ideological tension:

> Por lo general los trato de corregir (español no convencional), pero no diciéndoles que está mal. Trato de hacer que ellos corrijan la palabra para que no se les queden los modismos. [*In general I try to correct them (non-standard Spanish), but not telling them that it is bad. I try to get them to correct the word so that the slang doesn't stay*.]

> Es importante (que los estados unidos tenga un idioma oficial) porque así todos están al mismo nivel, pero también pueden aprender otros idiomas. [*It's important (that the United States has an official language) because then everyone is on the same level, but they can also learn other languages*.]

In the first statement, Mariana was responding to the classroom scenario in which she was asked what she would do if students used non-standard Spanish in the classroom. She said that she would correct students' use of non-standard Spanish. The notion that non-standard Spanish needed to be "corrected" represented assimilationist ideology and language standardization. However, immediately following this statement, Mariana transitioned with "pero [*but*]" and said that she would not tell them that it is bad. There was a tension in her viewpoint of non-standard Spanish as something that was not bad, but needed to be corrected. She further explained that her goal would be for students to self-correct the use of idioms. Through this explanation, she re-positioned "non-standard" language (which potentially indexed for her a negative connotation) as idiomatic expressions potentially as a way to clarify her view of these language practices as not "bad." Nonetheless, her goal was still to have students rid their language of these idiomatic expressions.

In the second statement, Mariana said that it was important for the United States to have an official language. This viewpoint represented an assimilationist ideology (de Jong, 2013), although interestingly Mariana believed that the United States having an official language was an issue of equity because "todos están al mismo nivel [*everyone is on the same level*]." Similar to the previous statement, she then transition and hedged her statement using "pero [*but*]" and said "también pueden aprender otros idiomas [*they can also learn other languages*]." The second part of the statement represented a pluralist ideology. The language ideological tension appeared to be between Mariana's view that everyone needed access to English to even the playing field and her positive view

towards bilingualism. The language ideology that everyone should learn English to have access to this power arguably represents a hegemonic language ideology.

Language ideological tension was identified over the course of Mariana's interview. On one hand she articulated four additive statements, for example, "Yo pienso que (el bilinguismo) abre más oportunidades a los niños [*I think that (bilingualism) opens more opportunities for the students*.]" On the other hand, two of her statements represented a language ideology that English is more important, for example:

> Si viene una persona de México y no sabe inglés es como un obstáculo para ellos porque puede ser una persona muy inteligente pero si no se sabe comunicar en el idioma muchas veces quizás las otras personas piensen que esa persona no tiene las habilidades para poder salir adelante, entonces es muy importante que sepa cómo hablarlo y comunicarse en inglés. [*If a person comes from Mexcico and does not know English it is like an obstacle for them because it could be a very intelligent person but if he does not know how to communicate in the language many times perhaps other people think that person does not have the skills to get ahead, so it is very important that he knows how to speak it and communicate in English*.]

In this example, similar to her second statement above, Mariana connected learning English with an issue of equity. Mariana expressed that it was very important for people to learn English because it can prevent them from experiencing linguistic discrimination. She still hedged her statement by using the word "quizás [*maybe*]." The hegemonic role

of English dominance was apparent; rather than resolve the discriminatory practices, the language minority person must learn English.

Articulated Language Policy and Policy Implementation. Discussion of Mariana's language ideologies articulated in the interview indicated her awareness of issues of equity, which also surfaced in her discussion of language policy. When Mariana was asked about the role of a language other than English in the school she said:

> Yo pienso que está bien que tengan el español sobre todo si es su lengua maternal. Es como si a un niño de china le quitas su idioma simplemente va a ser analfabeto, entonces va a aprender inglés pero va a batallar más, y lo que se me hace que no es quizás lo justo se podría decir es que se evalué a todos los niños de la misma forma… Su idioma materno es una buena base para que ellos levanten en otro idioma. [*I think it is good that they have Spanish above all because it is their mother tongue. Its like if you take away the language from a child from China he will simply be illiterate, so he is going to learn English but he is going to battle more, and what seems to be to be maybe unfair you could say is that all children are evaluated in the same way…The mother tongue is a good base so that they can rise in another language*.]

Mariana emphasized the harm of taking away a child's first language. She associated taking away the mother tongue of a child with rendering him illiterate. Consistent with previous examples, Mariana used language to hedge and mitigate her argument about the unfairness of assessment, in this case saying "quizás [maybe]" and "se podría decir [you could say]." Mariana's choice to make the point using an example with a student from

China versus a Spanish speaking country was interesting. It might have been motivated by her perspective of the relative greater difference between English and Mandarin compared to Spanish, or perhaps she wanted to parallel the same student language experience with a less stigmatized group of students, in this case drawing on Asians who are often viewed as a "model minority" (Chou & Feagin, 2008; Lee, 1996). In any case, she demonstrated her point that a student's mother tongue should be used in school, which she re-stated directly, "Su idioma materno es una buena base para que ellos levanten en otro idioma. *"[The mother tongue is a good base so that they can rise in another language]."* Mariana connected her additive language policy argument with another issue of equity: student evaluation. She articulated that it was "no es quizá lo justo [*maybe not fair*]" that students with different language backgrounds be assessed the same way.

Mariana's attention to issues of equity was further demonstrated in her response to whether or not language was connected to intelligence:

> Pienso que está conectado con la inteligencia, pero porque pienso que el ser humano está capacitado para eso…no nada más porque eres niño o niña o eres de cierta raza, eso no importa. Tienen la capacidad de aprender, de producir, entonces ellos tienen mucho potencial y tienen que creérselo. [*I think it (language) is connected with intelligence but because I think the human being is capacitated for that…not just because you are a boy or girl or you are a certain race, that does not matter. They have the capacity to learn, to produce, so they have a lot of potential and they have to believe it*.]

Mariana stated that language and intelligence were connected, but she couched her answer from the perspective that everyone is capable to learn and produce regardless of sex or race. She appeared to be challenging racist or sexist discourses of intelligence, acknowledging that all students "tienen mucho potencial y tienen que creérselo [*have potential and the have to believe it*]."

Similar to Marisol, Mariana believe the DLBE program should be implemented with fidelity. She connected the success of the program to fidelity: "mientras se siga y se respete lo que se está pidiendo del programa sí es efectivo [*as long as one follows and respects what the program is asking for, it is effective*]." However, unlike Marisol, Mariana articulated multiple logistical issues with the model. She felt the program had more requirements (citing the extensive requirements for bilingual centers and word wall as examples) than the previous bilingual program, and required more work. Thus, while Mariana recognized the importance for fidelity to the program, she simultaneously acknowledged the challenge of the additional requirements and even acknowledged making modifications to the model herself because "no hay suficiente tiempo para poder hacer todo lo que se pide [*there is not enough time to do everything it asks*]. The next section will examine the language policy Mariana embodied in her classroom, including how and to what extent she followed or deviated from the model.

Embodied Language Ideologies and Local Language Policy. Mariana worked in a self-contained third grade classroom. She had twelve students, eight boys and four girls. She described her students' linguistic proficiencies and said, "La mayoría ahorita en español están entre medio y alto y en ingles también. No tengo niños que están

empezando, todos están en intermedio o avanzados o alto. [*The majority right now in Spanish are medium and high and in English, too. I don't have children that are starting, they are all in intermediate or advanced or high*]." Mariana said that all students in the classroom were going to test in math in English and reading in Spanish corresponding to the language of instruction in the model. Mariana positioned her students in positive ways. Even when Mariana discussed students struggling on a concept or having a socio-emotional issue, she framed the discussion in a positive way or provided a counter-narrative.

Mariana voiced support for the Gómez & Gómez model and enacted important parts of the model. However, additional factors influenced Mariana's classroom language policy and language practices. Central among these factors was standardized testing. While the model required Mariana to teach science and social studies in Spanish, she was asked not to teach these subjects, or to teach them minimally starting in January to accommodate for STAAR test preparation. Originally, I intended to observe in Mariana's classroom in March and April, but Mariana told me that her administrator would prefer me in her classroom after the STAAR exam. Observations after the testing preparation also enabled observation of subjects other than math and reading. Thus, while I completed my first two observations at the end of March and the first week in April, the remaining six observations were completed the first two weeks in May.

The priority placed on standardized testing had additional consequences for particular students. Mariana started every day by going outside to have the students run two laps around the outdoor track. However, only 6 out of her 12 students participated.

The 6 students who did not participate received test preparation instead as a result. Similarly, 10 out of her 12 students were taken out for test preparation during English language arts. Only two students were identified as having high enough scores to ensure passing, and could thus remain in the class. Mariana engaged these two students in test preparation during this time, despite these students identification as "high." Test preparation consisted of completing practice problems. Multiple layers of problematic language policy decision-making occurred during this spring semester; the large number of "low" students pulled-out for test preparation resulted in a higher teacher-student ratio, student segregation, and limited opportunities for peer scaffolding. The only two students exempt from test preparation were nonetheless engaged in rote test preparation.

It is also important to note that Mariana was aware of the standardized testing pressure and how it affected instruction:

> "Hay presión por los exámenes y hay un momento en que no mas nos enfocamos en prepararlos… trabajar en parejas cambiamos para enfocárnos más en las estrategias de lectura o de matemáticas [*There is pressure for the exams and there is a moment in which we only focus on preparing them…we change working in pairs to focus more on reading and math strategies*.]

Mariana described how the testing pressure resulted in a period of time in which the third grade team of teachers only focused on the test, which had pedagogical implications. The Gómez and Gómez model includes interactive teaching strategies, and Mariana pointed out that these strategies, including pair work and group activities, were not compatible with the their approach to test preparation, which focused on teaching testing strategies

for individual students. The negative impact of standardized testing on curriculum and instruction has been widely studied (Abedi, 2002, 2004; McNeil &Valenzuela, 2001; Palmer, 2011; Solano-Flores & Trumbull, 2003; Valenzuela, 2005). Similar to prior findings, standardized testing narrowed the curriculum in Mariana's classroom (Au, 2007; McNeil & Valenzuela, 2001; Sloan, 2005), and shifted her pedagogical style from interactive to individual (Kohn, 2000).

Over the course of observations, Mariana's language practices changed based on the subject she was teaching. Mariana generally followed the model and taught math in English, Science in Spanish, and a one-hour block each of both English and Spanish language arts, although as mentioned, almost all of the students were pulled out of the classroom for English language arts. When Mariana taught in Spanish (science or language arts) she rarely deviated from Spanish. During two observed science lessons, Mariana showed brain-pop videos in English. Despite the video presentation in English, Mariana kept the discussion in Spanish. In the retrospective interview, I asked Mariana about her use of English videos during science and she said, "Porque no los tenemos (videos) en Español… pero la platica, todo de ciencias, sí es en Español. No más que si de repente los videos si son algunos en inglés. [*Because we don't have them (videos) in Spanish…but the discussion, everything in science, is in Spanish. It's only that sometimes a few of the videos are in English*.]" Mariana attributed her use of English videos to lack of materials, which was an issue of program implementation in the interview analysis. The technique of showing a video in English and having a discussion in Spanish mirrors a translanguaging pedgagoy technique described in a translanguaging handbook (Celic &

Seltzer, 2011 p. 68). While Mariana did not frame her classroom instruction in this way, both the teachers and students were translanguaging.

On the other hand, when Mariana taught in English (math) she code-switched into Spanish much more frequently. I identified two patterns in Mariana's code-switches: a) re-directing student behavior; and b) clarifying a math concept with a student one-on-one. In the following three examples, Mariana was instructing math in English and switched to Spanish to say, "Deja esa. Ponte a trabajar. [*Leave that alone. Get to work.*]" "Sientate Armando por favor [*Please sit, Armando*]," and "Juan, te estoy hablando [*Juan, I am talking to you*]." In each case, the teacher re-directed individual students. In the third example, she said to Juan, "I'm talking to you" two times, before switching to Spanish and repeating "Juan, te estoy hablando [*Juan, I am talking to you*]." Similarly, Mariana switched to Spanish to clarify or help individual students. In every math class observation, students worked independently on practice problems for a period. In this space, she was observed switching into Spanish to explain something to a student who had a question or was struggling on the problem. In addition to Mariana speaking some Spanish during math, an additional teacher's aide would come in to work with two students. The aide was observed speaking in Spanish with these two students.

Mariana created two additional instructional spaces in her classroom in which students were given the choice to engage in Spanish or English. When students returned from lunch, there was about 15 minutes before the 10 students were pulled out of the classroom for English language arts. During this time, Mariana had students write in a daily journal and told them they could write in any language they want. During one

observation, I noted that three students were writing in English and 9 students were writing in Spanish. This was consistent with what Mariana described in her retrospective interview in which she identified three students who generally chose English, while the rest chose Spanish.

The second opportunity students had to choose their engagement with Spanish or English was during independent reading. Mariana was dedicated to creating an environment that encouraged reading through student choice. She collaborated with the librarian and parents to ensure access to high interest books. Unlike writing in the journals, in which most students chose to write in Spanish, a more balanced number of students chose to read in English versus Spanish. On one occasion, 9 students were observed reading in English and three in Spanish. This choice was mediated by the fact that some reading material, including one popular magazine specifically, was only available in English.

Although Mariana designated two instructional spaces for students to choose their language of engagement, they appeared to have agency to choose their language of writing in the content area subjects. For example, during one math lesson the teacher passed out a worksheet with a blank graph. The students were asked to come up with categories to poll their fellow classmates, for example, "What is your favorite animal: a) cat; b) dog; c) horse." The teacher did not specify the language for writing; some students wrote in English, while a majority wrote in Spanish. When students surveyed their classmates, similarly, the majority of the talk was in Spanish, however students also code-switched and spoke some English.

Student oral language practices also involved a high degree of agency; they code-switched and used "non-standard" varieties of both languages, including Spanglish. Mariana was never observed explicitly "correcting" students' language or asking them to try to speak in English or Spanish. For example, students were observed multiple times saying, "la carpeta," in reference to the floor carpet making it a loan word from English to Spanish identified as Spanglish and the teacher never reacted.

In sum, Mariana strictly adhered to the language of instruction during Spanish, but was more flexible during English instruction. She also created two instructional spaces in which the students could choose the language in which they want to engage, and the majority of students predominantly chose Spanish. Students engaged in hybrid language practices orally and in writing. Ultimately, this created a classroom environment that was bilingual and slightly Spanish dominant. During the retrospective interview, when I shared my observation with Mariana that she spoke some Spanish in math, whereas she was not observed speaking English during Spanish instruction time she responded, "Es inconsciente a veces. Sí trato de quedarme en el idioma y que los niños también me hablen en esa idioma. [*It is unconscious sometimes. I do try to stay in the language and that the children also speak to me in that language*.]" After a long pause she continued, "Hay veces utilizo poquito español para explicarles porque es más fácil para ellos en su idioma que en el inglés. Cuando veo que si están batallando en matemáticas por ejemplo. [*There are times that I use a little Spanish in order to explain to them because it is easier for them in their language than in English. When I see they are struggling in math for example*.]" Mariana originally recognized that some of her

language choices were unconscious. As a native Spanish speaker and Mexican national, it is likely that Mariana sometimes unconsciously switched to Spanish when she redirected student behaviour. She also said that she tried to get students to speak to her in the language of instruction, however, this was never observed. Mariana also recognized that some of her choices were conscious. She was aware of the fact that sometimes she switched into Spanish to explain a concept with which the students were struggling. This was consistent with my observations of her switching to Spanish, working one-on-one to explain something.

My additional research and personal experience in this district made this third grade Spanish dominance standout. The transitional language ideology that students should be moved into English-only traditionally began in third grade. Through Mariana's language policy choices (deliberate or not), she fostered a highly bilingual and slightly Spanish dominant third grade environment. I shared this perspective with Mariana in the retrospective interview and she responded:

> De hecho nosotros decidimos, por ejemplo en los exámenes, si queremos que lo tomen en español o en ingles. Yo pedí que fuera todo en Español porque primero quiero que agilizan bien lo académico en español y luego ya si la maestra de cuarto quiere empujarlos para el ingles que ella los empuje al ingles. Algunos de ellos ya están listos, no así cien por ciento, pero si están, se puede decir, comparable con los que niños que hablen ingles mas o menos. No están todos en esa nivel, de hecho yo creo que la mayoría no están todavía listos para por ejemplo tomar un examen de lectura en ingles… se sienten medios mas cómodos

> en su propio idioma que en el ingles aunque si la idea es de que sean bilingües en los do idiomas, que si son, nada mas que son diferentes niveles. [*In fact we decide, for example in the exams, if we want them to take it in Spanish or in English. I asked for it all to be in Spanish because first I want to well sharpen the academic in Spanish and then if the fourth grade teacher wants to push them towards English than she will push them to English. Some of them are already ready, not one hundred percent, but they are, you could say, comparable to the children who speak English more or less. No everyone is at that level, in fact I think the majority are not yet ready in order for example to take an English reading exam… they feel rather more comfortable in their own language than in English even though the idea is that they will be bilingual, which they are, its just that they are on different levels*.]

Mariana recognized the role Spanish played in her classroom was at least, in part, the result of specific language policy decisions based on her own language ideology. She explained that she deliberately chose that her students would take the reading exam in Spanish, a decision based on her belief that the students should establish strong academic Spanish. Her description including the words, "nosotros decidimos [*we decide*]," "yo pedí [*I asked*]" "si la maestra quiere [*if the teacher wants*]" depicted her school context as a place where teachers have agency. This agency appeared to empower Mariana to value academic Spanish, yet at the same time it allowed the fourth grade teacher to "empujarlos para el inglés [*push them towards English*]" if she wants.

When Mariana continued and said, "Algunos de ellos ya están listos," and "la mayoría no están todavía listos," she articulated a transitional language ideology. This adds another layer of complexity to understanding Mariana's language ideologies. Her emphasis on developing academic Spanish is informed, in part, by her belief that while some students are ready to *transition* to English, other students are not. Her judgement on which students were "ready" was based on two additional, arguably problematic, frameworks: a) how they compare to monolingual English speakers; and b) how they perform on an English language arts exam. Holding bilingual students to monolingual standards builds from a perspective of bilinguals as two monolinguals in one (Cummins, 2008; Fitts, 2006). Mariana's statement, "comparable con los que niños que hablen inglés [*comparable to the children who speak English*]" simultaneously indexed the monolingual norm and positioned her students (who she articulated speak English) as non-English speakers. Bilingual students are judged based on monolingual exams rather than tests that might factor in their bilingual abilities (Escamilla et al., 2013, Shohamy, 2011). These are problematic comparisons for emerging bilingual students.

The end of Mariana's explanation reflects additional ideological tension. After having just articulated a transitional ideology, and having determined whether her students are ready to transition to English, she reframes the discussion as students feeling more "cómodos [*comfortable*]" in their own language, in this case, Spanish. She appeared to catch herself when she positioned her students as monolingual Spanish speakers and said, "La idea es de que sean bilingües en los do idiomas, que si son, nada más que son diferentes niveles [*The idea is that they will be bilingual, which they are, its just that they*

are on different levels]." It is as though she struggles to talk about her students' bilingual language abilities in a way that did not position them as monolingual Spanish speakers in comparison to monolingual English speakers.

LINGUISTIC PLURALISM, LINGUISTIC AWARENESS, TEACHER MAKING LANGUAGE POLICY, EXPLORING AN OUTLIER: MICHAEL

Background. Michael was a third grade teacher with thirteen years of teaching experience at the same school, Otter Elementary (pseudonym). For the first three years, he was a full-time substitute as he worked on a Masters in Spanish and became certified as a Secondary Spanish teacher. In his fourth year, he was asked to take-over a third grade classroom where he worked for an additional ten years. At the time of the study, Otter Elementary was approximately 86% Hispanic, 93% economically disadvantaged and 41% ELLs.

Michael self-identified as White, male, and bilingual. He grew up in central Texas and attended the same school district as this study. Michael learned Spanish as a second language; he first began to learn Spanish through interaction with his father at his contractor job. He began learning Spanish formally in eighth grade, and majored in Spanish at a large university in Texas.

Survey. On the survey, Michael's answers differed from the average of the educators in 6 responses. Michael strongly agreed that the use of more than one language creates social problems, while on average the district educators disagreed. Michael also

somewhat agreed that the use of more than one language makes social unity difficult, and agreed with the statement that the purpose of learning a new language is to meet people who speak that language, while on average the district educators disagreed and somewhat disagreed, respectively. Furthermore, Michael strongly disagreed with the following three statements: a) In the U.S., English is more normal than other languages; b) A language has one standard form; and c) Having educational certification in a language makes a person a speaker of that language. On average the district educators somewhat agreed with the first statement, and somewhat disagreed with the latter two. Michael's written survey response also set him apart ideologically from additional participants. He wrote:

> Thank you for the opportunity to participate in this survey...fascinating questions! I am a bilingual third grade teacher and a true linguaphile...I would love to see the end result of your study. If you could, please send me any pertinent information regarding this. Thank you y que pase un día súper chévere! (I'm a code-switching fan, as well! :^)).

As will be explained in detail in this section and in the following discussion chapter, Michael's positive perspective on code switching made him a unique case.

Interview. Michael chose to complete the interview in Spanish. Table 5.3 below provides a summary of the codes identified in his initial formal interview:

Table 5.3. Codes Identified in Michael's Interview

Language Ideology		Language Policy		Policy Implementation	
Code	Frequency	Code	Frequency	Code	Frequency
Communication	3	*Layered*	8	*Population*	6
LangVariation Positive	3	*Assessment*	3	*Support*	1
Additive	3	*TPolicyMaker*	3		
Culture	1	*DLnodifferent*	3		
Globalization	1	*Identity*	2		
		Prescriptive	1		

Articulated Language Ideologies. Positive comments about language variation (LangVariationPositive) occurred in low frequency, however, three of Michael's comments were coded as such. In this way, Michael's language ideologies differed from the majority of the participants in the sample. The following three instances were coded as "LangVariation Positive" in his interview:

> Yo creo que hacer el "code-switching" es algo muy functional. Es lo que hace la gente bilingüe siempre cada día. [*I think that doing "code-switching" is something that is very functional. It is what bilingual people always do every day*.]

> Es (Spanglish) algo que es súper conocido en la cultura, incluso Adam Sandler hizo una película acerca de eso. [*It (Spanglish) is something super well-known in the culture, including Adam Sandler made a movie about it*.]

> Me encanta (Spanglish), sé que hay muchos que están a favor y en contra, todo depende del context, si estamos escribiendo algo en Español tenemos que ampliar nuestro vocabulario en español pero si estamos hablando o haciendo chistes hay muchos recursos donde puedes crear cosas nuevas con el Spanglish. [*I love it (Spanglish), I know that there are many that are in favor and against it, everything depends on context, if we are writing something in Spanish we need to amplify our vocabulary in Spanish, but if we are talking and telling jokes there are a lot of resources where you can create new things with Spanglish*.]

In the first two statements, Michael indicated that code-switching is both functional and normal. It is "lo que hace la gente bilingüe siempre cada día [*what bilingual people do every day*]" and "super conocido [*really well-known*]." In the final statement, Michael provided his opinion on Spanglish. He stated that he loves it, but also acknowledges that not everyone shares this opinion. He further complicated his perspective on code-switching/Spanglish by recognizing the role of context. He provided writing in Spanish as a situation to focus on Spanish vocabulary development versus joke-telling as an activity to draw on multiple linguistic resources, including Spanglish. Current research explores the use of code-switching as a pedagogical tool (Celic & Seltzer, 2011; Palmer, Martínez, Mateus & Henderson, 2014). Michael's description of distinct classroom spaces/activities for different language practices connected to this new and evolving research and was a central reason he was selected for classroom observations.

Michael's pluralist orientation towards language variation aligned with the majority of his language ideological statements. He articulated positive views towards

bilingualism on three instances and offered a cultural explanation for why learning multiple languages is important. On the other hand, the way he drew on "communication" as a purpose for language learning perhaps represented ideological tension (only 1 of the 2 coders identified it as such). Michael articulated that he would let students speak any language in his classroom "con tal de que haya comunicación está muy bien (as long as there is communication, it is very good)." He drew on a similar discourse when he was asked about the role of English in our country and said:

> Pone un estándar. Algo para que haya buena comunicación entre todos y yo te diría que una de las diferencia entre aquí y Latinoamérica es que tantas palabras, tantas diferencia de país a país, o sea, una palabra puede ser ofensiva en México que no sea en el caribe. Mucho tiene que ver con las películas en los Estados Unidos en inglés, entonces escuchando eso todo el mundo ve películas, tv y pone algo que nos unifica y es un papel muy importante para poder tener relaciones. [*It provides a standard. Something so that there is good communication between everyone and I would tell you that one of the differences between here and Latin America is that there are so many words, so many differences from country to country, like one word could be offensive in Mexico that is not in the Caribbean. A lot has to do with movies in the United States in English, so listening to that, everyone in the world sees movies, TV and it provides something to unite us all and that is a very important role in order to have relationships*.]

In this case, Michael was drawing on an ideological viewpoint of communication as an

explanation for why language standardization is important. He articulated that English is the language that can provide that standard, in part, because of pop culture (movies and TV) that are globally accessible. Thus, while Michael articulated pluralist views towards language variation, he also believed that it is important for everyone to be united through a common code, which he viewed as English.

This viewpoint became clearer in his response to the question, "How important do you think it is for people to speak English in the United States," to which he replied, "Es importante para que te expongas a más. Te abre más puertas, yo conozco gente que se queda cerrado y no se aprende ninguna palabra por treinta años. Pero por qué no abrirte para conocer más? [*It's important so that you are exposed to more. It opens more doors for you. I know people who remain closed off and don't learn a single word for thirty years. But why not open yourself up to learn more?*]" Michael's articulated belief that access to English will expose you to more and open doors for you could potentially be viewed as an argument for why learning English is more important. He believed that it is important to be bilingual and/or learn multiple languages to be exposed to more and have better communication. In the context of the United States, Michael believed learning English is ideal for this regard.

Articulated Language Policy and Policy Implementation. Michael articulated eight statements regarding the layered aspect of language policy throughout his interview. His repeated recognition of the multiple layers of language policy indicated an astute

awareness of the complexity of language policy and policy implementation. The following statements were three illustrative examples:

> Ha sido un poco conflictivo. Llega una persona con su tablero de dual lenguaje diciendo, "¡Oye esto está mal!" Y luego llegan las del distrito diciendo, "¡Oye por qué están hablando así!" Entonces claro que tengo que obedecer a los que están aquí porque los veo más a menudo. [*It has been a little conflictive. A person comes with his dual language clipboard saying, "Hey, that's wrong!" And then they come from the district saying, "Hey, why are they talking like that!" So, of course I have to obey those that are here because I see them more often*.]

> Según la teoría de la directora dice que el examen de 5to grado es demasiado difícil en español, entonces ella quiere que hagamos la transición (al ingles) más temprano porque todo trate de datos, estadísticas y números. Pero en el momento, yo les doy, o sea, si me falta el tiempo, puro español, porque yo sé que todos entienden… así que nunca es blanco y negro. [*According the theory of the director she says that the 5th grade exam is too difficult in Spanish, so she wants us to make the transition (to English) sooner because everything is all about the data, statistics, and numbers. But in the moment, I give them, or like, if I am running low on time, all Spanish, because I know that not everyone understands…so it is never black and white*.]

> En teoría yo creo que sería súper chévere (lenguaje dual) pero en la práctica, en lo que les están pidiendo cotidianamente, el enfoque no es tanto eso lamentablemente y yo creo que tiene que ver con la administración, como no le dan mucha importancia a lo que es ser bilingüe, no le van a empujar digamos… es algo personal que nosotros tenemos que llevar. [*In theory I think it would be super cool (dual language) by in practice, in what they are asking of you every day, the focus is not as much on that unfortunately and I think that has to do with the administration, as the don't give much importance to what it is to be bilingual, they are not going to push it we could say… it is something personal that we have to carry*.]

In the first statement, Michael recognized the DLBE implementation as conflictive. He highlighted a tension between what the model required in contrast to the expectations of the district representatives. He expressed that he would follow the school language policy because he interacted with the school personnel on a daily basis, yet the second statement complicated this remark when he recognized that he does not *always* follow the school policy in his classroom either. Michael found spaces of agency to create his own classroom language policy; while his school wanted him to transition to English-only in Science, he sometimes taught in Spanish only for timing or comprehension. In all cases, Michael was aware of the multiple layers of language policy implementation, including the policy itself, the district-layer, school-level and classroom-level.

The most prevalent issue for Michael in the implementation of the model was fit for

his particular student population. Michael taught math and science, and his co-teacher taught language arts and social studies. There were two groups of students and the teachers deliberately divided the students based on language proficiencies. In Michael's morning class, which was more English-dominant, he taught more in English. In his afternoon class, which was more Spanish-dominant, he taught more in Spanish. Michael had a limited understanding of the model and DLBE because of lack of training and professional development on the model. From his perspective, he did not see how the model took into account such language differences. He explained by giving an example that occurred in his class that day:

> Con la primera clase hice puro inglés y luego con la segunda clase, que es más español, les puse las palabras ahí a ladito porque yo tengo recién llegados. Entonces creo que depende del contexto, de caso a caso. dual lenguage pudiera funcionar, pero si llega un niño que no habla nada de ingles? Él necesita apoyo para poder no estar agobiado con esa situación. [*With the first class, I did only English and then in the second class that is more Spanish, I put the words for them to the side because I have recent immigrants. So, I think it depends on the context, from case to case, dual language could work, but if a child arrives not speaking any language? He needs support to not be overwhelmed in that situation*.]

In this example, Michael demonstrated how he shifted his classroom language policy based on the needs of individual students. This philosophy of making language policy on a "case by case" basis does not align with the highly prescriptive DLBE model, which is supposed

to be implemented the same for all students. Michael specifically brought up a student who was new to his classroom, just immigrated to the country, and does not speak any English. Michael recognized that for this student, language support in Spanish was necessary for socio-emotional reasons. The model was designed for students to be in the program starting in pre-Kindergarten, yet issues of mobility and student immigration made classrooms in this district face a very different reality. This highlights another unique challenge for top-down DLBE implementation. Michael expressed that he spoke predominantly English with his morning class and more Spanish with his afternoon class. The next section will explore the language practices and ideologies that were embodied by the teacher during classroom observations.

Embodied Language Ideologies and Local Language Policy. Michael team-taught third grade and was responsible for teaching math and science. He had a morning class and an afternoon class. The morning class had 17 students, 7 boys and 10 girls. The afternoon class had 25 students, 16 boys and 9 girls. In both classes, students were predominantly Latino from low socio-economic households.

As noted in the previous section, Michael and his co-teacher strategically placed students in different groups based on language dominance. Michael's morning class was positioned as the "English group" and his afternoon class as the "Spanish group." Yet, Michael recognized that students in both classrooms were at different points of proficiency in both languages, making these discrete positionings potentially problematic. Nonetheless, despite individual students' placement on the bilingual continua, more

afternoon students were towards the sequential end of the simultaneous/sequential continuum with English as a second language. Several students immigrated to the United States from a Spanish speaking country during elementary school, including Diego who had only arrived weeks prior. As a result, Michael spoke more English in the morning class and more Spanish in the afternoon class. This pattern was consistent across all observations. In the retrospective interview, I asked him about the observed pattern, and he said:

> The ones in the morning are taking the STARR test in English and they are ready for transition. Ultimately it's a must bigger picture than the STARR could ever encompass. So they are ready for that. They are ready for that transition and they know it. The other class is still transitioning. They are more comfortable with the content in Spanish. I spend whole afternoons when I speak only in Spanish. I know that I am probably not supposed to do that according to the district, or according to the school. I have content to teach and I have language to teach…And sometimes I just have to get the content out. So, the path of least resistance, the quickest way to get through, is in Spanish.

Michael begins by referencing the standardized test acknowledging that the students in the morning were all going to take the standardized test in English. Michael acknowledged in his interview and in several informal interviews the extreme priority the school placed on test scores. As such, the distinct language practices in the two classrooms were, in part, the result of de facto language policy from monolingual standardized testing (Menken, 2009). Michael followed his initial comment by

recognizing that it is a "much bigger picture than the STARR." This comment appeared to index the broader "transitioning" process and transitional ideology, which he referenced in the next three sentences. In other words, students were not just taking an exam in English, but transitioning to English-only, and Michael positioned the students in the first class as ready for the transition and the students in the second class as still in the process of transitioning.

Multiple conversations with Michael revealed that while he was not ideologically aligned with this transitional ideology, he ultimately felt a responsibility to prepare students for English. As he noted, "Jamás he escuchado a maestras de cuarto hablando español. *I have never heard the 4th grade teachers speak Spanish*." Michael explained that in the third grade, there were two bilingual classrooms (himself and his co-teacher) and three English-only classrooms, but in fourth grade, the students were all combined. Michael knew that this was not supposed to be the case with the new DLBE model, but the model was not implemented in third grade and he assumed this would be the case for fourth grade as well.

In sum, Michael's pattern of more English in the morning, and more Spanish in the afternoon appeared connected to de facto standardized testing language policy, as well as his buy-in to the transitional model. His enacted practices reflected what he viewed as best for students in this "transitioning process." He spoke more English in the morning with the group that was "ready for the transition" and more Spanish in the afternoon with the class that was "still transitioning" and "more comfortable with content in Spanish." However, Michael did not strictly separate languages in either class. As he

said, “I know that I am probably not supposed to do that (speak Spanish during math) according to the district, or according to the school.” Michael’s assessment was accurate; his classroom language policy and language practices were not aligned with either the school or the district. His school expected him to transition his students to English-only in math and science, and, according to the Gómez and Gómez model, he should have been teaching math in English and science in Spanish. The rest of this section will describe the language practices in Michael’s classroom. I will demonstrate how Michael created spaces in both his classrooms for diverse language practice, which I will ultimately argue was intimately linked to Michael’s pluralist language ideologies.

In every classroom observation, both in the morning and afternoon, Michael used Spanish, English and code-switched. Michael code-switched often in both classes. Particularly in the afternoon class, Michael’s switching between Spanish and English was the norm rather than the exception. For example, in the linguistic analysis of the first video in the afternoon, which was 15 minutes long, Michael switched between English and Spanish 26 times. Analysis of Michael’s code-switches revealed that he switched between languages for multiple purposes: a) mirroring student language choices; b) switching based on interlocutor; c) making linguistic connections; d) translating; d) re-voicing; and e) embodying dynamic bilingualism.

Mirroring Student Language Choices. One pattern in Michael’s language use was to echo or mirror student language use, which sometimes resulted in code-switching between languages. In the following brief example, Michael was going over expectations

for silent reading with the students and was reinforcing the expectation that books with a lot of pictures still need to be read:

Michael:	Cual es el problema con un libro asi?
Student:	Just looking at the pictures
Michael:	Yes, just looking at the pictures. Si van a sacar un libro asi, tienen que …

Michael asked a question in Spanish and the student responded quickly in English. The student's choice to respond in English was potentially based on prior experiences, discussing this same expectation in English. Michael affirmed the student's answer by saying "yes" and then repeated the student's answer in English, mirroring the student's language choice. Michael then immediately code-switched back into Spanish to finish setting expectations for silent reading. By echoing the student's language choice, Michael simultaneously validated the student's language choice.

Switching based on interlocutor. Michael sometimes switched between English and Spanish depending on with whom he was talking. This was readily apparent when another teacher stopped in the classroom or the janitor came in and Michael changed his language accordingly. He also switched languages based on students' needs. One student in Michael's classroom, Diego, recently immigrated to the United States from Honduras and joined Michael's classroom only a week before I started observations. Whenever Michael engaged Diego in the classroom, during whole-class discussion or one-on-one, Michael spoke in Spanish. Michael explained in several informal interviews that he felt this was the right thing to do for Deigo's socio-emotional wellness. Michael also assigned

peer “translators” for Diego to help translate direct instruction, expectations or classroom activities that included English. Three additional students in the afternoon classroom were highly proficient in Spanish and less proficient in English. Similar to Diego, Michael was observed checking-in with these students in Spanish following direct instruction or an explanation of an activity that was predominantly in English.

Making Linguistic Connections. Michael was constantly making connections between Spanish and English. More accurately, Michael was constantly making connections between Spanish, English, and varieties of Spanish and English. He brought students’ attention to linguistic features within and between languages. For example, during a math review one of the word problems had the phrase, “a horse’s hooves.” Michael paused the lesson and turned and asked the special education aid and me in English how we would pronounce the phrase: /huːvz/ or /huːfs/. We gave different pronunciations and Michael code-switched into Spanish and said, “Inglés es nuestro primer idioma y no estamos de acuerdo, /huːvz/ o /huːfs [*English is our first language and we do not agree,* /huːvz/ o /huːfs.” The teacher then looked up the word on his cell phone and showed the students on the doc cam the two different possible pronunciations. He then plays the cell phone pronunciation, which was “hooves.” In this short interaction, Michael code-switched inter- and intra-sententially with the purpose of helping students make linguistic connections. Michael’s attention to language, language development and linguistic variation appeared to foster student metalinguistic awareness. He used deliberate instructional strategies to accomplish this. Michael’s instructional strategies and student metalinguistic awareness are discussed below in-depth.

Translating. Michael occasionally switched between languages to translate. He did this for vocabulary development, for example, when the teacher was guiding the students on an observation of seeds, he paused at the challenging vocabulary word "seed coat" and said, "Recubrimiento significa seed coat. *Recrubirmiento means seed coat*." He would also occasionally translate an important instruction or student expectation, particularly in the afternoon class. Sometimes this was done whole-class, and at other times, he would finish the instruction, then go over to an individual student, and translate. For example, in one instance, Michael gave instructions in English. Immediately as students began working, he walked over to a student and repeated the same instructions in Spanish.

Re-voicing. In daily conversations, interlocutors will re-voice what another person has said, and this can be done in a way that represents their voice (Bakhtin, 1999). Michael would occasionally cite, reference or imitate a student's voice, which sometimes resulted in code-switching. For example, one day in class, Michael was providing instructions for his students and he reminded students to put their names on their projects. He then said, ""I don't want you to say 'No se de quien es.'" Michael anticipated what his students would say if names were not put on the projects, and he switched into Spanish to re-voice a student expression. In other words, the inter-textuality of his speech resulted in him switching to Spanish to index his students.

Embodying Dynamic Bilingualism. As noted, Michael switched between English and Spanish for instructional purposes to build linguistic awareness, to mirror students' language practices, to re-voice someone else's speech, and to meet the needs of

individual students both in the form of translation and switching to engage with a particular interlocutor. Yet, Michael switched between languages in other situations, which cannot easily be connected to any of these aforementioned reasons, and rather appeared to simply reflect his own dynamic bilingualism (García, 2009; Palmer, Martínez, Mateus & Henderson, 2014). For example, during a science lesson, Michael was going over inherited traits. He asked students to bring in photos of their family. The first student showed a picture of his family, which included his brother who was also a student at Otter Elementary. When the student finished presenting, Michael addressed the class and said, "You have all seen Santiago (the student's brother) in the hall. ¿Verdad que se paracen muchisimo?" The reason for Michael's code-switch is less obvious. Perhaps because he was talking about a student relationship and he wanted to mirror student language practices and code-switch. Or similarly, given the topic, he felt more connected to the students by asking them the question in Spanish. Perhaps the hallway is an English space, which prompted him to say the first part of the sentence in English. In any case, Michael dynamically switched between the two languages because Michael is bilingual and he used bilingual language practices in the classroom.

Michael's frequent intra-sentential code-switches also reflected his dynamic bilingualism. For example, during science class Michael was explaining about mold and spores. He described how spores are so light they float in the air, we breath them in and they accumulate in our nose because they get stuck in the hairs and said, "This is why we should not eat our mocos [*boogers*]." Again, one can speculate as to why Michael intra-sententially switched to Spanish and said "mocos," including the potential reaction it

would arise in the students, but he switched seamlessly as a result of his dynamic bilingualism.

Michael's dynamic bilingualism was also demonstrated by his shifting in and out of non-standard language practices. While most research focuses on dynamic bilingualism as the shifting between languages, it theoretically extends to shifting between registers (García, 2009). He used non-standard language practices in both Spanish and English. In Spanish, for example, giving instructions he said, "Si pueden sacar el cuaderno de matematicas, porfis," speaking to one student who was having trouble with his classmate: "Te vas a meter en plaito", and when describing the movement of crayfish in science he said "Se echo pa'tras." On the other hand, in English, while debunking the standardized test format he said, "When we look at these problems, two are dumb, one is tricky and one is for realz," responding to students correct answers he said, "booyah," and when a student asked to borrow a pencil he said, "I'll front you a pencil. But you will owe me a buck." The examples in both English and Spanish illustrate how Michael switched in and out of non-standard varieties of each language.

Michael's use of non-standard language practices in his classroom discourse could be viewed as controversial. He could be questioned as a white, native English speaker, whether he had authorship of the use of Spanglish and slang, particularly slang with a history rooted in African American culture. His use of these language practices could be seen as styling practices that reflected appropriation (Bucholtz, 1999; Rampton, 1995). However, Michael has been working in this community for eleven years. Michael had adeptly learned "doing being bilingual" (Auer, 1984, p. 7 as cited in Gort, 2015).

His language practices appeared to authentically reflect his deep involvement with the students' lives and backgrounds, and his students ratified his language choices continuously. Reyes (2005) explored the appropriation of African American slang by Asian youth and found that the use of non-standard language, in that case slang, was used by youth to create social boundaries between teenagers and adults. In this study, Michael appeared to engage in non-standard language, including slang, as a way to connect to his students and bridge the social boundary.

Linguistic Awareness. The previous six sub-sections described different ways Michael intentionally code-switched including making linguistic connections. Michael used multiple strategies for classroom instruction that appeared to build linguistic awareness. The thematic analysis revealed four re-occurring strategies that appeared to influence the classroom development of linguistic awareness. First, Michael incorporated joke-telling, riddles and songs/singing into his daily schedule. All of these were done in English, Spanish and/or both. Being the classroom "comediante (comedian)" was a student role he assigned on a weekly basis. The student selected and read a joke, which was followed by a discussion of what made the joke funny, which was generally a double-meaning. When I asked Michael about this routine in his retrospective interview he said, "I think jokes are one of the highest level of language understanding.... Because the comedian has to pull from all different lexicons…. It serves several purposes. It's like something funny but then explaining meaning, semantics."

A second strategy to build linguistic awareness was "Find the hidden word" and bringing students attention to word roots. For example, when he was teaching about parts

of the body, he asked students to "find the hidden word" in joint, being join. Michael frequently drew students' attention to Greek and Latin roots and expressed that this was to help students make connections between languages. For example, during a math lesson he paused to explain the connection and differences between the words "extend" and "expands" and explained the Latin root "ex."

Michael utilized other languages as a third strategy to build linguistic awareness. He taught the students the phonetic alphabet to go over multiple-choice problems (alpha, bravo, charlie, delta) and explicitly taught the students about its use by cops and in the army. He also taught the students basic sign language, which he integrated into the classroom routine in various ways, for example, "If you think you have the total, make an h." The strategy created opportunities for students to make linguistic connections and develop an understanding of multiple forms of communication.

As a final strategy, Michael constantly sought out opportunities for vocabulary development. During an observation of crawfish in science class, Michael heard students talking about the crawfish's feelings. He capitalized on the moment, interrupted all of the students and taught them the word "anthropomorphize" providing an explanation using the students' behavior. Michael also had dozens of formulaic expressions often voicing student call and response (i.e. We cant get the right "answer" until we know the right "question") and clever student behavior re-directions (i.e. Enfocate- que dijo una foca a otra foca- enfocate.). Michael's constant attention to language and language development created a classroom language-policy environment of linguistic exploration.

Students Demonstrating Linguistic Awareness. Students were observed speaking English, Spanish, code-switching and using non-standard language practices. What was striking in Michael's classroom was students' identification of these different language practices. For example, one day, when Michael was writing on the board a student said, "Mister, you are writing in Spanglish." The student appeared to recognize the writing not in a negative way, but rather simply to point out his observation of the teacher's language practice. In the retrospective interview, I asked Michael about why the student might have made this observation, and he responded:

> We have used the word Spanglish before. We have talked that all bilingual people really mix, do that, codeswitch… It does not have a negative connotation. We don't have a negative connotation for that. All bilingual people that I have ever met, whether in a humorous way or just to come up with a word…we have definitely talked about the beauty of that.

In this case, we see how the teacher's language ideology influenced the way he framed diverse language practices, including Michael talking directly to the students "about the beauty" of Spanglish.

The classroom environment Michael created encouraged students to make connections and play with words/language. The following example will demonstrate how this influenced classroom linguistic interaction. Michael was reviewing a word problem, which contained the phrase "ear of corn." Michael stopped and asked students if they knew what "ear of corn" meant and several students were unsure. He explained the difference between his ears (pointing to his own) and the part of the corn and said, "You

could probably make a good joke using the word 'ear.'" He continued to explain that they should take this word and put it into their memory for new vocabulary, and began to continue the review. At that point, a student interrupted and said aloud, "I like eating ears." The teacher, several students, and I laughed at the ingenuity of the student. The teacher repeated the joke, "I like eating ears." This was a math lesson, but this one small interaction had increased student vocabulary, brought students' attention to a double meaning (language *noticing*), indirectly challenged a student to make-up a joke (*awareness* activity), validated the student's masterful joke-attempt both by laughing and repeating it again to the whole class, and brought laughter into the classroom. Michael created spaces for this type of language play and awareness to enter the classroom.

Michael embodied a pluralist language ideology. He articulated that he valued diverse language practices and embodied this belief in his classroom. Michael was far removed for a language ideological positioning that code-switching should be "corrected"; Students were observed Speaking in Spanish, English and code-switching. At the end of my first observation I wrote, "*Something I have noticed throughout the day are students responding in any way they want and the teacher responds."* All additional observations confirmed this pattern. Yet, not only did he allow students to engage in different language practice, he mirrored language diversity in his own language practices and created spaces in which students could deliberately draw on their range of language practices for meaning-making.

Cummins (2005) called for the development of translanguaging pedagogies and much research has moved in this direction (Creese & Blackledge, 2010; Flores & García,

2013; Gort & Pontier, 2013; Palmer, Martínez, Mateus, & Henderson, 2014). Observations in Michael's classrooms, afforded an alternative perspective on this matter. The translanguaging in Michael's classroom appeared intimately connected with his pluralist linguistic ideology. In other words, it might be possible that shifts in language ideologies would automatically result in more "translanguaging pedgagogy."

All three case studies revealed additional ideological complexity and multiplicity within the participants belief systems and provided a glimpse into their classroom language policy. Marisol enacted the strict separation of language and fidelity to the model she described in her interview, yet her embodied language ideologies did not always align with her articulated negative view towards language variation. Furthermore, Marisol described herself as being "semilingual" and mapped this language ideology onto one of her students. revealing a powerful connection between language ideology and local language policy. Mariana's interview indicated support for the model and an awareness of issues of equity. Yet, observation in Mariana's classroom revealed the challenge of enacting DLBE alongside standardized testing. Nonetheless, her dedication to developing students strong Spanish base resulted in her creating a slightly Spanish dominant classroom space. Finally, Michael's articulated pluralist language ideologies aligned with his embodied classroom language practices. Michael engaged in test preparation, but created spaces for linguistic hybridity and the development of linguistic awareness amidst the restrictive curriculum. The next chapter will propose new models to consider language ideological tension and discuss the relationship between language ideologies and local language policy.

Chapter 6: Discussion

This chapter will bring together the findings from the two previous chapters and address the third research question: What are the relationships between teachers' language ideologies and local language policy? I will discuss language ideological tension followed by consideration of this relationship. The end of the chapter will consider the use of a multi-method approach to measuring language ideologies.

LANGUAGE IDEOLOGICAL TENSION

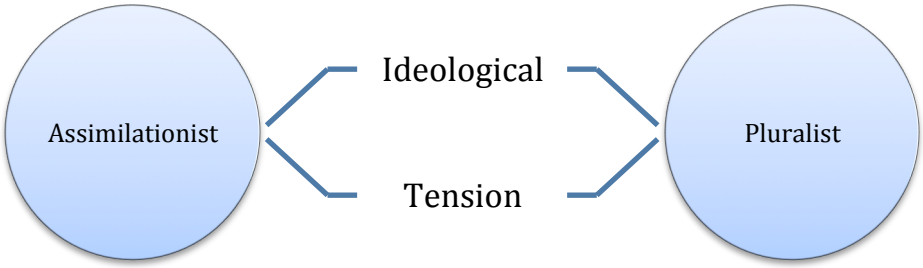
Schools have been described as sites of "ideological combat" (Alim, 2007 p.163), and current research demonstrates the multiple and complex language ideologies articulated and embodied by individuals (Henderson & Palmer, 2015; Martínez, 2013; Martínez, Hikida & Durán, 2014). In this study, one important finding across all measures of language ideologies was "ideological tension" defined as:

> Contradiction or tension in a teacher's comment about language policy, language use or language acquisition. This includes when a teacher articulates one belief followed by a statement that could be considered contradictory. This can include a tension with the teacher and the community or language of the community; for example, Spanglish is "wrong" but happens all the time. This is also when the teacher has an internal tension; Spanglish is wrong, but I do it all the time.

De Jong's (2013) framework distinguishing between assimilationist and pluralist discourses served as a useful analytic tool to surface ideological tension; the language

ideologies I identified through my analysis mapped onto these distinct discourses. However, my findings complicate the interconnectedness of these discourses through my identification of language ideological tension both within single statements and across time over the course of interviews. In other words, all of the teachers in my study did not operate within a pluralist or assimilationist discourse; rather their discourse represents varying degrees of interconnectedness between the two. Figure 6.1 below depicts one possible way of conceptualizing how the two discourses operate in practice:

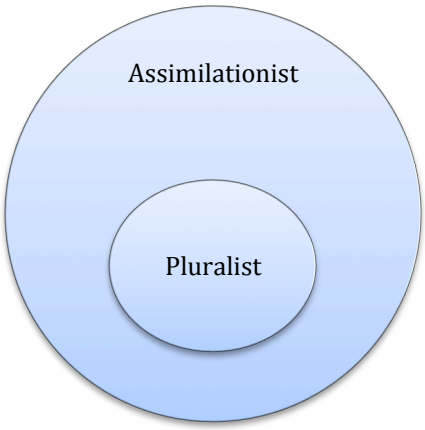
Figure 6.1. Ideological Tension



This model portrays assimilationist and pluralist discourses at the same level; the circles are the same size and the ideological tension is between them. An alternative way to consider the relationship is to view pluralist discourses as constantly in contention with dominant, even hegemonic, language ideologies. In other words, all teachers in my sample have found spaces for linguistic pluralism amidst English dominance. Gramsci (1971) acknowledged that hegemony is never complete. Perhaps these teachers have all found spaces for pluralism and the tension was the result of them operating within

hegemonic English dominance.

Figure 6.2. Pluralist Ideologies Subsumed in Assimilationist Ideologies

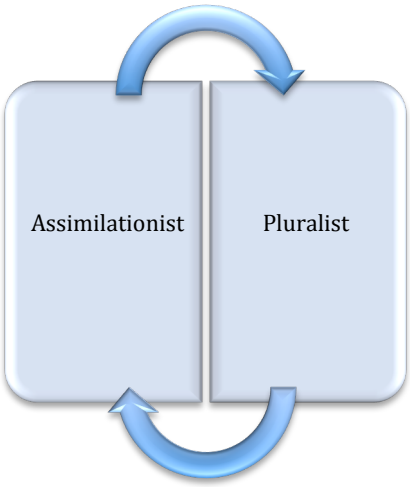


This alternative model takes into consideration the different degrees of power these Discourses have in society. The pluralist discourse is not parallel with the assimilationist discourse, but rather subsumed and comparatively smaller inside.

The first two models are arguably embedded with an assumption that assimilationist and pluralist discourses are not compatible. This is arguably true from a theoretical researcher perspective; someone with a pluralist orientation would consistently align with pluralist ideologies. However, perhaps the framing of language ideological "tension" is misleading; while there appears to be a tension at the theoretical level, in practice, these discourses, indexing distinct language ideologies, can co-exist seamlessly. For example, participants simultaneously supported language diversity and viewed English as more important. The coexistence of dominant and counterhegemonic language ideologies has been found in previous studies as well (Martínez, 2013; Martínez, Hikada & Durán, 2014). To this end, it is helpful to conceive of these

contrasting viewpoints as representing a dialectical relationship (Bourdieu, 1977) or a form of duality in which there is a unity of opposites. Figure 6.3 below depicts this potential model:

Figure 6.3. Ideological Duality

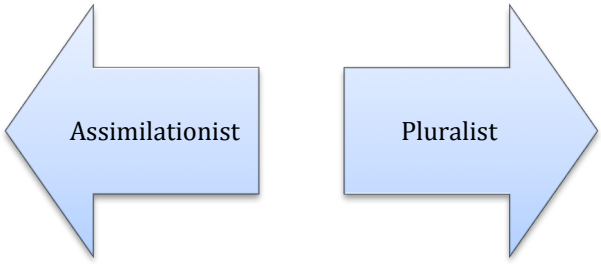


It could be argued that a person articulating these simultaneous beliefs is, ultimately, operating within an assimilationist frame. Despite the articulated support for language diversity, if the participant feels that English is more important, this dominant language ideology overpowers or trumps the former. However, this is not satisfactory because in the case studies, particularly the case of Marisol, classroom decision-making appeared to draw on both. Marisol's belief in the importance of bilingualism appeared to mediate her decision to implement the DLBE model with fidelity and support students' bilingual and biliteracy development. On the other hand, Marisol's fractured understanding of bilingual acquisition resulted in her decision to suggest Marco to be in an English-only classroom the following year. The multiple language ideologies Marisol articulated were embodied

in her classroom language policy decisions in different ways with real consequences for students' schooling experience.

Acknowledging the duality of pluralist and assimilationist language ideologies within the language ideologies articulated and embodied by participants is helpful, but perhaps not complete. There was variation in the extent and degree to which the duality was present in educator language ideologies. Michael was selected because he was identified as a participant with a highly pluralist orientation. In this way, the pluralist and assimilationist discourses might be better conceived as a continuum as displayed in Figure 6.4:

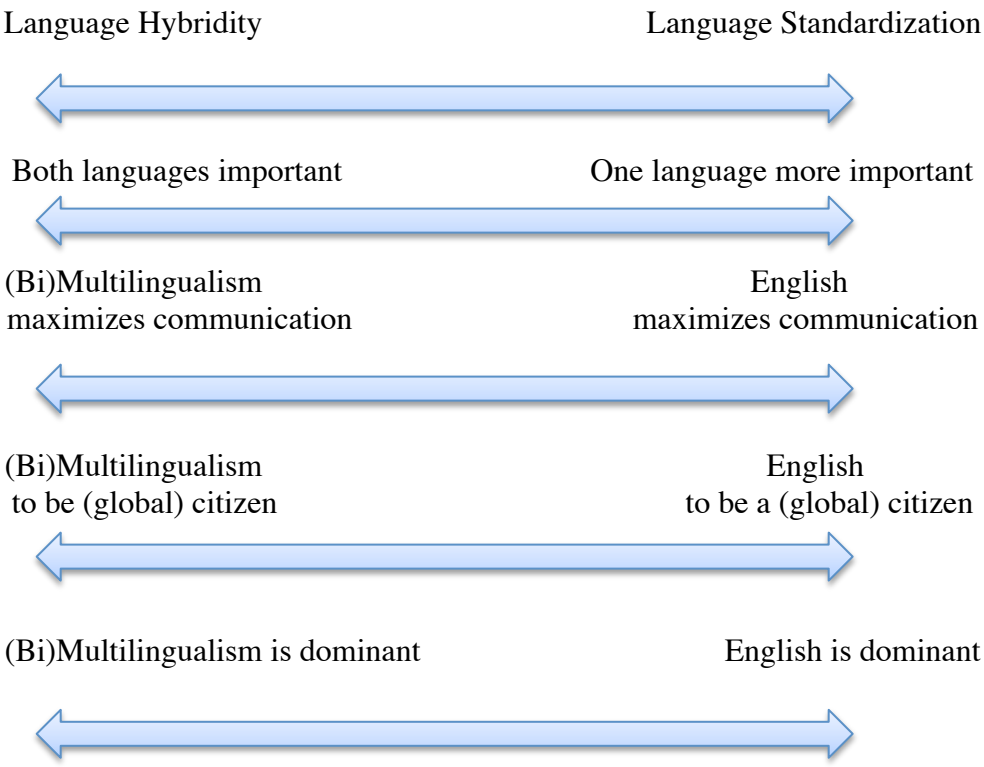
Figure 6.4. Ideological Continuum



Michael could be identified as more towards the pluralist end of the continuum, Marisol and Mariana could be positioned more towards the middle, and no participants in the study, because of the selection bias that these were all teachers in the dual language program, were towards the assimilationist end of the continuum.

The assimilationist/pluralist continuum is actually an aggregated conceptualization of multiple continua. In this study, there appeared to be at least five distinct continua on which participants fell at different points displayed in Figure 6.5:

Figure 6.5. Ideological Continua



In the multiple continua displayed, the left side represents a pluralist orientation, while the right side reflects an assimilationist orientation. Participants were at different points on each continuum.

I have presented four models and arguably, not one of them is the "right" way to conceive of the relationship between pluralist and assimilationist discourses. The multiple models are consistent with language ideological multiplicity and variation, and all three models might be helpful for analyzing and understanding language ideological complexity articulated and embodied within different contexts.

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN LANGUAGE IDEOLOGIES AND LANGUAGE POLICY

Researchers studying language ideologies and language policy have conceptualized the relationship in the following way: language ideologies mediate language policy (Razfar, 2003; Razfar & Rumenapp, 2011). While the relationship between language ideologies and language policy is complicated and highly contingent on how one defines both terms (see Johnson, 2013 for discussion), this study provides support for the perspective that language ideologies mediate language policy. There was evidence of teachers' language ideologies mediating their classroom language policy in all three case studies.

Marisol's internalized dominant language ideology of language standardization appeared to mediate her language policy decision to recommend Marco, a student whose family and himself did not separate languages, to be in an English-only classroom. Her language ideological framework led to an interpretation of his language practices as "confusing" languages. Mariana held the language ideology that students need to develop a strong base in their first language before "being pushed" into English. This ideological framework led her to make the significant policy decision that all of her students would test in Spanish language arts. Finally, Michael viewed hybrid language practices in a positive way. This language ideological positioning led him to create a classroom space in which language hybridity was not only accepted, but also drawn on as a linguistic resource to make language connections and talk about language. Importantly, in each case study the ways teachers' language ideologies mediated their local language policy

decision had real consequences for students' school experiences, and in some cases, educational trajectories.

Teachers' language ideologies were not the only factor mediating classroom decision-making. In this study, for example, both the school administration (i.e. whether or not they supported the DLBE model) and standardized testing mediated local classroom language policy. Given the intersecting, multiple and complex factors influencing teachers' language policy, to what *extent* did teachers language ideologies mediate teacher classroom decision-making? My data suggested that the degree to which language ideologies mediated classroom decisions was influenced by at least two additional factors: a) teacher agency; and b) ideological dominance.

The role of teacher agency appeared to influence the degree to which language ideologies mediated classroom language-policy decisions. In previous studies there have been mixed findings on the degree to which teachers have agency to act on their beliefs (Evans & Hornberger; 2005; Olson, 2009; Palmer, 2011). The three teacher case studies had different degrees of agency concerning language policy and local classroom decision-making. Mariana had agency to choose the language of the exams in which her students would test. Given the emphasis of standardized testing at her school, this gave her the agency to systematically value Spanish and create a bilingual and slightly Spanish-dominant classroom space. However, at the same time, she did not appear to have agency to continue teaching science regularly during the spring semester amidst her administrators' requirement to focus solely on test preparation.

Marisol's language ideologies were aligned with the program model's strict separation of languages. Marisol was encouraged by her administration to implement the DLBE, and thus had a considerable amount of agency to enact the model with high fidelity. It is uncertain the degree to which Marisol would have had the agency to create a different classroom language policy. Unlike Michael and Mariana, Marisol was not under the same level of intense pressure for standardized testing. Both Mariana and Marisol supported the model and made an effort to implement it with fidelity. Marisol was much more successful because she was not restricted in the ways Mariana was for test preparation.

Michael's administration did not support the DLBE implementation and Michael was not knowledgeable about the program itself. This gave him agency to create classroom language policy based on his language ideologies, yet it also took away the opportunity to try and implement the model given that he did not have the local administrative support. At the same time, Michael's administration highly emphasized test preparation. Michael expressed that he felt obligated to engage in standardized test preparation. Interestingly, despite the fact that the test preparation materials were all monolingual, Michael's approach to teaching, involving constant code switching and the development of linguistic awareness, changed even the time designated for test preparation into a space with hybrid language practices. Michael found spaces of agency to embody his pluralist ideological positioning.

How or why did Michael find spaces for linguistic pluralism amidst intense pressure for monolingual standardized test preparation? Michael was perhaps more

driven to develop and create a language policy reflective of his language ideological orientation because of his *ideological dominance* or *ideological inflexibility*. I am conceptualizing ideological dominance as the frequency and consistency with which participants articulated and embodied a pluralist or assimilationist Discourse. Michael was selected as a case study for this study because his articulated ideologies stood out in their comparatively pluralist orientation. In other words, he demonstrated a highly dominant pluralist ideology because of the frequency and consistency with which he engaged in this Discourse.

In contrast, Mariana's articulated language ideologies reflected ideological tension both within statements and over time in her interview. She often hedged her responses and avoided making strong language ideological claims. Drawing on the theoretical conceptualization of language ideological continua introduced in the previous section, she was on different points on each continuum.

Mariana and Michael both taught third grade in the same district serving a similar student population. Both teachers expressed that their school administration prioritized standardized testing and both engaged in standardized test preparation. However, Mariana and Michael embodied highly distinct language ideologies. Michael never strictly separated his languages, and, just the opposite; he enacted multiple classroom strategies to make linguistic connections. Michael code-switched in his classroom and developed student linguistic awareness. These choices appeared mediated by his dominant ideological pluralist orientation. Mariana enacted a classroom language policy that appeared more influenced by the school and DLBE program policy. This was

arguably, in part, due to her not having a dominant language ideological orientation consistently driving and mediating her decision-making.

MEASURING LANGUAGE IDEOLOGIES

This study included three measures of language ideologies: survey, interviews and case study. There were three noticeable advantages to this approach. First, the multi-method approach highlighted the multiple, and at times, contradictory nature of language ideologies. Participants' articulated language ideologies did not always align with their embodied language ideologies. Marisol articulated a negative view towards language mixing and Spanglish, yet when students engaged in these language practices in her classroom, she was never observed "correcting" them. Similarly, Mariana articulated that she followed the DLBE model in her classroom, yet the classroom observations revealed that much of her local classroom language policy was mediated by standardized testing policy.

Second, the multi-method approach afforded both breadth and depth of teacher language ideologies in the district. The language ideologies revealed in the interviews provided an overview of language ideologies present in this community of DLBE teachers, yet it was the case studies and classroom observations that afforded a perspective on how these language ideologies were embodied in the classroom. While the study was largely designed to elicit articulated ideologies from the interviews and embodied language ideologies from the case study, this is an over-simplification.

Participants embodied language ideologies in the interview both through their choice of language and *how* they spoke about their beliefs. A critical discourse analysis of *how* participants spoke about their language ideologies could reveal an additional layer of embodied language ideology. Similarly, the case studies afforded an important space for an additional measure of articulated language ideologies, specifically the informal interviews. In all three case studies, the retrospective interviews were a rich source of data for insight into participants' language ideologies articulated and embodied. It was through this method that I found out that Mariana "unconsciously" used Spanish with her students, Marisol had a negative perspective towards her own language practices, and Michael explicitly taught his students about Spanglish and its use from a pluralist orientation.

Lastly, the greatest strength of the multi-method approach to measuring language ideologies was how it surfaced ideological tension. The interview protocol was developed based on the findings from the survey, thus it tapped into and targeted language ideologies already revealed through the survey. As such, the interview questions elicited a broad range of ideologies, which afforded the uncovering of language ideological tension and multiplicity. Furthermore, completing the survey and conducting the interviews provided a baseline of comparison to explore how these ideologies aligned or not with classroom policy decisions. A single method alone would have restricted the ability to make such connections between teachers' language beliefs and their classroom practices. Finally, the survey and interviews provided the opportunity to select participants based on ideological variation. The ideological tension, multiplicity and

complexity were highlighted by the participants' distinct language ideologies, which was afforded by the multi-method approach.

This chapter considered different ways of modeling ideological tension and explored the relationship between language ideologies and language policy. The four distinct models might each serve different analytic purposes. The final model exploring continua of language ideologies might be most helpful to unpack the complex and complicated beliefs of individuals, in this case DLBE teachers. My findings also supported that language ideologies mediate local language policy, which was revealed in large part by the multi-method approach to measuring language ideologies. The next chapter will consider the limitations and implications of this dissertation.

Chapter 7: Limitations, Implications, & Conclusion

This final chapter will consider the limitations of this study as well as the implications for DLBE language policy and teacher education. The chapter ends with consideration for future research directions.

LIMITATIONS

Selection of the case studies was based on ideological variation. The decision was based on the analytic memos written following each interview. However, the in-depth thematic coding analysis of interviews provided much more information about participant language ideologies. After completing the interview analysis, Michael was still identified as representing the most pluralist ideological viewpoint in the sample. However, two additional participants post-analysis were identified as articulating assimilationist language ideologies more frequently than Marisol. Selection of these participants might have captured increased ideological variation. Ideally, a more thorough analysis of interviews would come before selection of case study participants.

Another challenge with the selection of case studies was grade-level. This study supports prior research (Palmer, Henderson, Wall & Zuniga, in press) identifying the challenge of implementing DLBE alongside standardized testing. In my study, teachers in testing grades were disproportionately affected by testing policy in comparison to teachers in non-testing grades. As such, the small sample size of case study participants

(N=3) was a limitation. A future study could include teachers at different grade levels. For this study, it would have been helpful to have at least one more teacher in a non-testing grade to balance out the two third grade participants.

In a similar way, the fact that all classroom observations were completed in the spring semester was an additional limitation. The spring semester is when students in Texas take standardized testing and teachers articulated being under increased pressure during this time. Conducting classroom observations across semesters would decrease this possible bias. A future study could also focus on the beginning of the year to consider how classroom language policy is initially established in a classroom rather than exploring at a later point when classroom language policy is more fixed.

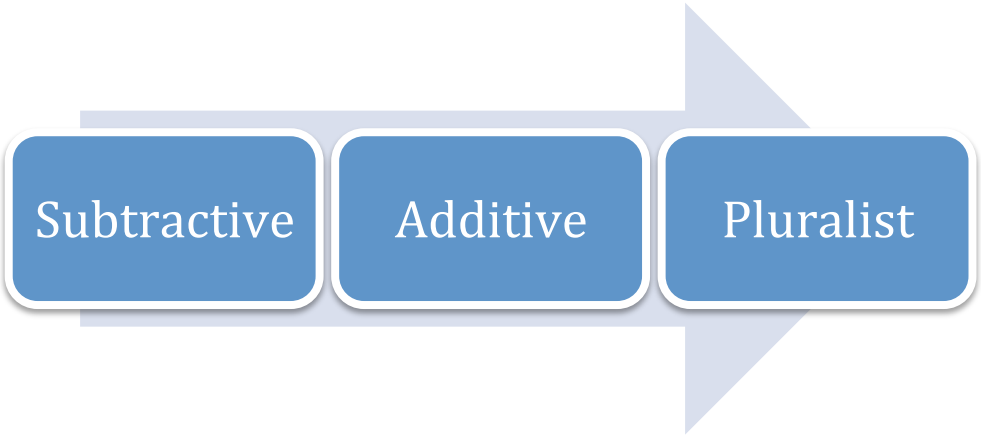
The focus on a single school district in Texas also limits the generalizability of the study. It is possible that contexts with very different language ideologies, including other countries, would influence both how and to what extent language ideologies mediates language policy. Nonetheless, the central aim of this paper using multiple qualitative methods was not designed to maximize generalizability, but rather uncover complexity.

This study focused on the teacher; while not a limitation, per se, it is important to recognize that students play a role in the construction of classroom language policy (Henderson & Palmer, 2015). A more complete understanding of DLBE language policy and how teachers implement it should consider student language ideologies and the possible co-construction of local language policy. Future research could examine student language ideologies and how they (mis)align with teacher language ideologies.

IMPLICATIONS

DLBE Policy. Lambert's (1975) original distinction between "additive" and "subtractive" bilingualism has been used as a framework to describe different bilingual program models and language policy (Roberts, 1995; García, 2005). De Jong (2013) arguably extended this original framework with her conceptualization of pluralist and assimilationist Discourses, which is also a helpful framework to make sense of different bilingual programs and language policy. Drawing on both Lambert's and de Jong's frameworks, several teachers in my study held "additive" views towards bilingualism, but not consistently "pluralist" views towards an array of ideologically charged issues, including the role of English and language variation. Extending this individual, teacher-level understanding of language ideologies to the language policy level, it is evident how the DLBE model was "additive," yet not "pluralist" with respect to language variation. Indeed, the strict separation of languages in the DLBE model mirrored and reinforced ideological notions of linguistic purism. One key implication is that DLBE programs need to go beyond an "additive" view of bilingualism and represent a "pluralist" orientation.

Figure 7.1. Moving Beyond Additive Bilingual Programs



Several researchers in the field have articulated the need for pluralist DLBE programs (Flores, 2014; Gort, 2015; Palmer, Martínez, Mateus & Henderson, 2014). However, much work is needed in this area, particularly amidst new top-down DLBE initiatives. Specifically, given the critique of DLBE program models building on the two solitudes assumption (Cummins, 2008), there is a need for the development of program models that embrace a pluralist orientation and dynamic bilingualism.

Teacher Education. This study, and many others alike, demonstrate that teachers implementing the models are important mediators of classroom-level language policy (Menken & García, 2010; Johnson, 2010; Marschall et al., 2011; Hornberger & Johnson; 2007; Palmer, 2011; Stritikus & García, 2000; Skilton-Sylvester, 2003). Teachers negotiate and make sense of the different layers of language policy to develop classroom language policy (Hornberger & Johnson, 2011). This study demonstrates the key role of language ideologies in this process, shedding light on the ideological complexity and multiplicity of teachers. Teacher education, both pre-service and in-service should target

language ideologies. Specifically, any educator, school or district attempt to make the shift from compensatory to enrichment bilingual education must recognize the history and power of transitional language ideology. The transitional language ideology can be ingrained in teachers; both Michael and Mariana, despite their articulated support for bilingual education, discussed students in a way that reflected a transitional language ideology. In-service teacher education and professional development could aim to help teachers identify language ideologies embedded in both language policy and their own practices.

It seems possible that teachers who are aware of language ideologies will be more equipped to ground their actions and decisions in a pluralist orientation. Michael was aware of the way Spanglish is often stigmatized by society and he created a safe, classroom environment, which valued language variation and challenged this language ideology. The high level of student engagement and linguistic awareness in his classroom was at least, in part, connected to this pluralist language ideology. Bilingual professional development could target teacher awareness and identification of language ideologies to allow teachers to be more reflective of ideological tension, multiplicity and complexity.

Future Directions. This dissertation has answered some important questions as well as raised new ones. This research affords a new understanding of how primary-grade educators' language ideologies do or do not align with the pluralist ideologies of DLBE. It also challenges static labeling or discussion of teachers, programs and/or schools language ideological orientation. New questions have surfaced from this research: How do primary-grade DLBE teachers use language policy for social justice? What is the best

way to theorize ideological "dominance?" How do our definitions of language policy and language ideology affect the way we conceptualize their relationship? What is the role of power in the four proposed models of ideological tension? I will continue to explore these questions moving forward in my research.

I have come to believe strongly in the importance of pluralist language ideologies (de Jong, 2013) at multiple, intersecting levels of education for linguistically diverse populations. I view the purpose of my research to contribute to the development and implementation of pluralist, social-justice oriented education pedagogies and programs. My short-term research agenda, building on what I have learned in this dissertation, will focus on a primary-grade education context with linguistically diverse students and explore connections between language ideologies and spaces for students' linguistic development. For my next project, I intend to examine student language ideologies and their (mis)alignment with teacher language ideologies. My intention is multi-faceted; I want to gain a deeper understanding of how primary-grade teachers and linguistically diverse students co-construct classroom-level language policy, and simultaneously consider the pedagogical implications of distinct language ideologies for primary-grade linguistically diverse classrooms. I believe that a deeper understanding of how language ideologies are articulated and embodied in the classroom can lead to the development of transformative pedagogies potentially involving the explicit naming and discussion of assimilationist/pluralist language ideologies.

For my long-term research agenda, I plan to engage in ongoing consideration and examination of the relationship between language ideologies and language policy. I am

also interested in exploring the flexibility of language ideologies: Do bilingual teachers' language ideologies shift with a series of professional development about language ideologies and self-ideological reflection? Intertwined with the examination of language ideological flexibility is consideration of dominance. I hope to pursue these larger theoretical questions alongside ongoing empirical investigation.

CONCLUSION

This study complicates traditional understandings of the role of language ideologies within language policy implementation. Teachers articulated and embodied multiple and even contradictory language ideologies, sometimes within a single answer, and frequently at different points over time. Much research in our field discusses bilingual programs and program implementation in dichotomous terms (i.e. subtractive/additive), yet I demonstrate how the multiplicity and complexity of language ideologies must be considered when trying to discuss the ideological struggle involved in implementing bilingual programs within an English dominant society.

Dual language bilingual education programs are increasing across the country, in part, because of new top-down initiatives. The expansion of DLBE is an opportunity to improve the linguistic experiences of linguistic minorities. However, if the program models and implementation of these models does not value and respect the diverse and hybrid language practices of bilingual students it could be a missed opportunity. The

enrichment program framing might mean little when either a student's language spoken at home is not included in the school context or students feel like their home language practices need correction and are inadequate for school. On the other hand, if educators involved in DLBE implementation efforts can recognize the complex, multiple and intersecting language ideologies involved in such a multi-layered process, this knowledge could provide them with the tools and strategies to disrupt dominant, even hegemonic, language ideologies.

Appendix A: Factor Analysis; Eight-Factor Solution

Language Ideologies Identified in Factor Solution

Language ideology factor and variance accounted for in rotated solution	Language ideology interpretation	Ideological language statement with factor loading	
1. *Languages other than English as endowments* (10. 26%)	In the United States, native languages other than English confer both rights (which attending societal expectations) to their speakers and resources to society.	. 674	In the U. S. , the use of native languages other than English is helpful for sharing tradition.
		. 648	In the U. S. , the use of more than one language should be promoted.
		. 635	Schools must teach native languages of students.
		. 547	In the U. S. , the use of multiple languages is an economic asset.
		. 527	Speakers have a right to choose the language that they will use in any situation.
		. 400	A person can convey emotions most accurately in his/her native language.
		-. 498	In the U. S. , public communication should occur in English.
2. *Multiple languages as a problem* (7. 77%)	Bilingualism is burdensome and presents a problem of some kind such as hindering social mobility or social cohesion. Often, Spanish as a problem for English dominant speakers and native Spanish speakers.	. 805	The use of more than one language makes social mobility difficult.
		. 793	The use of more than one language makes social unity difficult.
		. 761	The use of more than one language creates social problems.

3. *Language as a symbol of majority influence* (6. 35%)	Language has a symbolic function in society. In this role, the dominant language symbolizes a majority national group and the ongoing authority of that group.	. 562 . 548 . 528 . 469 . 467	Languages with more speakers are stronger than languages with fewer speakers. Languages stay the same over time. In the U. S. , English is more normal than other languages. The success of a nation depends on the use of a national language. Language represents a national identity.
4. *English as a tool* (6. 13%)	English is useful for getting a job or accruing economic or social capital.	. 874 . 823	In the U. S. , using English is important for social gains. In the U. S. , using English is important for gaining material wealth.
5. *Language as a complex skill* (5. 63%)	Language is a complex construct with forms varying by situation. Therefore, language acquisition takes time.	. 704 . 551 . 454	One should be patient with people learning a second language. Practicing a language is necessary for learning a language. Different forms of language are appropriate for different contexts.
6. *Academic language as a marker of intelligence* (3. 99%)	The use of a standard academic form of language, especially the use of literacy skills, indicates a person's intelligence.	. 479 . 446 . 437	One can know a person's intelligence from how he uses a language. It takes more intelligence to write well than to speak well. The standard- or model-form of a language is the most appropriate form for school.
7. *Language as a decontextualized, formal system* (3. 36%)	Language systems are systematic, dominated by grammatical aspects, and meaning does not vary by situation.	. 555 . 478	Languages are rule-based. A language has one standard form.

8. *Language as a social bridge* (2. 90%)	Language learning is motivated by social rewards.	. 407	The purpose of learning a language is to meet people who speak that language.

Appendix B: Educator E-Mail Script

Subject: Follow-up Interview/ Siguiente Entrevista

Dear (insert name),

I (Kathryn Henderson) want to thank you again for completing the "Language Ideology Survey" and agreeing to participate in a follow-up interview. You have been selected from 150 teachers to participate in this study, and your participation is both highly valued and critical to the purpose of the project. The interview will be about your beliefs on language and your thoughts/experience with Dual Language.

As a former teacher, I understand that your time is precious. As such, the interview is designed to take approximately 45 minutes. I will meet you anytime at any location of your convenience (school, home, coffee shop, week days, weekend, etc.). **Please e-mail me with 3 possible dates, times and location.** I look forward to meeting you in person and hearing your valuable insights on Dual Language.

Thank you again!
Very Sincerely,
Katy

Querido (insertar nombre),

Quiero agradecerle de nuevo por haber completado el "Language Ideology Survey" y haber accedido a participar en la entrevista. Es Ud. uno de los seleccionados de 150 maestros para participar en este estudio, y su participación es valorada y crítica para el propósito del dicho proyecto. La entrevista tratará sobre sus creencias de idioma y sus pensamientos/experiencias con el programa Doble Idioma.

Como maestra anteriormente, entiendo que su tiempo es importante para Ud. Por lo tanto, la entrevista esta diseñado para tomar aproximadamente 45 minutos. Iré a cualquier hora en cualquier lugar de tu conveniencia (la escuela, la casa, un café, entre semana, fin de semana, etc.) para encontrarnos. **Favor de mandarme 3 fechas, horas y lugares posibles.** Espero con ganas la oportunidad de conocerle en persona y escuchar su valorada perspectiva sobre el programa Doble Idioma.

Muchas gracias de nuevo!
Sinceramente,
Katy

Appendix C: Teacher Interview Guide

Greeting & Background Information Check (5 min)

- Introduce myself
- Background on the study: "I am completing my dissertation on dual language implementation and teacher beliefs about language"
- Since you completed the survey, I want to have you confirm the background information I have about you is correct. (Researcher provides interviewee with background information sheet)

Dual Language Implementation (20 minutes)	
Variable Clusters	**Illustrative Questions**
Dual Language Interpretation	
Teacher perception of the program	In your own words, describe Dual Language.
Distinctiveness and similarity to other education programs	How do you see DLBE as different from other educational programs? How do you see DLBE different from transitional bilingual programs?
Dual Language Program Evaluation	
Teacher evaluation of the program Distinctiveness and similarity to other DLBE programs	What do you think about the DLBE program that is being used in the district? How do you see this DLBE program different from other DLBE programs?
Personal Involvement with DLBE Time spent on it Change in involvement	Describe your involvement with DLBE. When did you first get involved? How much of your time do you spend working on DLBE? How has your involvement changed over time?
Personal Perception of individual DLBE Implementation Perceived Importance Perceived Effectiveness Major Setbacks Major successes	How important is DLBE implementation in your classroom for you personally? How effective do you think DLBE implementation has been in your classroom? What would you identify as major setbacks in DLBE implementation for you personally? What would you identify as major successes in DLBE for you personally?
Personal Perception of School-wide DLBE	How important do you think DLBE

Implementation Perceived Importance Perceived Effectiveness Major Setbacks Major successes	implementation is in your school? How effective do you think DLBE implementation has been in your school? What would you identify as major setbacks in DLBE implementation at your school? What would you identify as major successes in DLBE for your school?
Personal Perception of District-wide Dual Language Implementation Perceived Importance Perceived Effectiveness Major Setbacks Major successes	How important do you think DLBE implementation is for the district? How effective do you think DLBE implementation has been in the district? What would you identify as major setbacks in DLBE implementation in the district? What would you identify as major successes in DLBE in the district?

Classroom Scenarios (15 minutes)

Please describe what you would do in the following situations.

You are teaching an English (or Spanish depending on teacher) and a student is speaking with a classmate in Spanish (or English). What do you do? Can you think of an example that occurred in your class? What did you do? Did the students do it again? Would you do it again?
A student code-switches between English and Spanish and says "That was facil" Can you think of an example that occurred in your class? What did you do? Did the students do it again? Would you do it again?
A student uses non-standard English (or Spanish) and says "I ain't gonna use a pen" (or "Luego te hablo pa'tras") Can you think of an example that occurred in your class? What did you do? Did the students do it again? Would you do it again?

Language Ideologies (20 minutes)

Variable Clusters	**Illustrative Statements**	**Illustrative Questions**
Languages other than English as endowments	In the U. S. , the use of native languages other than English is helpful for sharing tradition. In the U. S. , the use of more than one language should be promoted. Schools must teach native languages of students. In the U. S. , the use of multiple languages is an economic asset. Speakers have a right to choose the language that	What do you think about bilingualism? What do you think is the role of English in the school? What do you think is the role of a language other than English in the school?

	they will use in any situation. A person can convey emotions most accurately in his/her native language.	
Multiple languages as a problem	The use of more than one language makes social mobility difficult. The use of more than one language makes social unity difficult. The use of more than one language creates social problems.	What do you think about bilingualism? What do you think is the role of English in our country?
Language as a symbol of majority influence	Languages with more speakers are stronger than languages with fewer speakers. Languages stay the same over time. In the U. S. , English is more normal than other languages. The success of a nation depends on the use of a national language. Language represents a national identity.	What do you think is the role of English in our country? Do you think the United States needs an official language?
English as a tool	In the U. S., using English is important for social gains. In the U. S., using English is important for gaining material wealth.	How important do you think it is to speak English in the United States?
Language as a complex skill	One should be patient with people learning a second language. Practicing a language is necessary for learning a language. Different forms of language are appropriate for different contexts.	How do students learn a language? What is the role of the teacher in teaching a student a second language?
Academic language as a	One can know a person's	How do you think language

marker of intelligence	intelligence from how he uses a language. It takes more intelligence to write well than to speak well. The standard- or model-form of a language is the most appropriate form for school.	is connected to intelligence?
Language as a decontextualized, formal system	Languages are rule-based. A language has one standard form.	What is the best way for a student to learn a language?
Language as a social bridge	The purpose of learning a language is to meet people who speak that language?	What do you think is the purpose of learning a second language?
Conclusion Thank you. Would you be willing to have me in your classroom?		

Appendix D: Master Code List

CODE	DEFINITION
LangUse	Teachers discussing language use including bilingual practices or translanguaging. These also refer to language use in the classroom.
LangUse> Language Separation	Teachers express that they encourage students to use one language or the other or teacher reminds students to use one language or the other
LangUse> LetChildSpeak AnyLang	Comments which refer to allowing students to speak in the language they want or feel more comfortable including letting students code-switch.
LangUse> Home	Comments that refer to parents or home language practices versus school. This includes comments about language use in the home, family or community. This includes nonstandard language use in the home. This is tagged anytime there is the word parents, padres, sibling, family members, community, casa, mama. These comments do not include the teachers' home experiences or language.
LangUse>CS> certain Spaces	Comments in which the teacher talks about the spaces where certain language is appropriate or not appropriate. This can include practical issues of language use. This can also be used when different spaces are indexed. For example, "tex mex" will not be understood in another country.
LangUse> Variety	There are multiple ways to say something. There is variation within and across languages. Includes comments about languages coming into contact and new variation. This includes references to language fusion, or different parts of a word being combined. This also includes any reference to a language variety such as Spanglish ,Tex Mex or AAVE
LangUse> Dominance	Students preferring English or Spanish. This includes comments about the English dominance of this country. This also includes statements about a student being stronger in one language or the other, for example, recent immigrants being Spanish dominant.
LangIdeo	Teacher beliefs about language. Ideology might be articulated or ideology might be embedded within comment.
LangIdeol> LangVariationPositive	Language variation is positive, including, for example, that CS is hard or complex. Language variation is part of the community, a typical language practice of biilnguals- it's "normal." They have an opinion on language variation that is not disparaging. Language variation can be necessary. It's what facilitates

	communication. Language variation is great or interesting. CS is common.
LangIdeo> TeacherBelief	Teacher states a belief. These beliefs can be problematic (i.e. the model is designed to teach English) or it can be a belief that might be supported by theory but the teacher is not re-voicing or interpreting a theory (i.e. students learning is affect by their history or a belief about the program). This includes statements in which the teacher says, "I think" followed by a statement about how language works acquisition works or beliefs about students, the community or particular language practices. For example, moms spend more time with their children. These statements should not overlap with other implementation issues, materials or mobility or dominance. This does not represent an ideology, but rather is specifically when the teacher is voicing a belief generally not grounded in theory that impacts their decision making.
LangIdeo> NonStandard	Comments in which the participant expresses a negative view of non-standard English or Spanish. This includes comments in which the participant comments negatively about code-switching or the need to "correct" code-switching. This incorporates the view of code-switching or Spanglish as incorrect or as a crutch. This also includes teacher comments that he or she would model standard English or Spanish or repeat a phrase all in English or in Spanish.
LangIdeo> Citizenship	This includes comments about the role of language for civic issues or political issues.
LangIdeo> Globalization	Any comment referring to another country. This includes participants comparing the United States to another country or language practices in another country. This also includes comments addressing or indexing the changing or shifting role of English or Spanish.
LangIdeo> Additive	Positive comments about multilingualism. This includes language as a resource as well as bilingualism as normal.
LangIdeo> Culture	This includes comments about language, culture and identity as well as the importance of language for home/family/heritage/identity.
LangIdeo> Tension	Contradiction or tension in a teachers comment about language policy, language use or language acquisition. This includes when a teacher articulates one belief followed by a statement that could be considered contradictory. This can include a tension with the teacher and the community or language of the community- for example, Spanglish is "wrong" but happens all the time. This is

	also when the teacher has an internal tension- Spanglish is wrong, but I do it all the time. This code also includes statements where the teacher believes something is good in theory, but not in practice. This also includes tension with an ideological aspect of the model.
LangIdeo> Alingual	Comment which refers to someone as have no language or person is not strong in either
LangIdeol> Communication	Comments which suggest that language learning, including learning English-only, is necessary for communication
LangIdeol> Englishmoreimportant	Comments which suggest that learning English is more important than learning Spanish or that English is necessary for success
LangPol	Comments which refer to language policy including the DL program.
LangPol> Equity	Comments which refer to the model serving one population more than another or comments which refer to an issue of social justice. This can include statements referring to a particular population of students who are failing because of a particular policy, model or pedagogy.
LangPol> layered	The mixed messages that teachers receive. Implementation is layered. These comments include when a teacher re-voices a tenant or a person (I.E Gómez/Gómez). For example, according to the Gómez and Gómez model" or "according to my principal/district." In other words, the teacher is directly referencing something that model, principal or district requires. If a teacher talks about what the principal wants which is in contrast with the district, this is an example of layered issue. These comments can often include "according to/según."
LangPol> identity	Comments that relate to an individuals identity, identity development or cultural heritage. This includes comments that reflect an identity struggle or a teacher contemplating students identity.
LangPol> T_PolicyMaker	Comments in which the teacher is acting as a policy maker. The teacher describing making modifications to the model or making choices for their classroom based on their beliefs. This is something the teachers want to do; not something the teacher is forced to do (i.e there are no materials). The teacher is exerting some form of agency to change or not change the model. This includes comments where the teacher references actions or decisions they have made based on their own beliefs. They have taken policy "into their own hands." This has to be something that they have done to change the model
LangPol>	This speaks to teacher motivation and buy-in to the program. This

TeacherBuyIn	includes teachers discussing personal buy-in or the buy-in of other teachers. These comments can be negative including teachers commenting on the lack of belief in the program.
LangPol>CI	Comments addressing curriculum or instruction. This includes comments about the teacher choosing specific materials or instructing in a particular way. This includes teacher discussion and description of C&I and C&I modifications (i.e. teaching math 20 minutes in Spanish). This includes the teacher discussing instructional materials (using books in a particular language or certain types of books) Issues of instructional materials or methods (what is taught and how it is taught). They should not be connected to what language to teach in. These have to be in reference to things they do in their classroom, for example, I use word walls and bilingual centers. It should be an opinion or something they would like to do. I wish I did bilingual centers.
LangPol> Linguistic Awareness	Teacher tries to raise consciousness of when and how students might talking in a certain way. This can also overlap with CS>certain spaces.
LangPol> DLgomegomez	This code mainly applies to the question "How do you define Dual Language". The teacher understands dual language as the G&G model.
LangPol> Prescriptive	Teacher comments needing to follow lots of details, for example word walls in red and blue, or talking about how they have to remember a specific part of the model.
LangPol> DLno different	Comments which makes it seem like the DL program is the same as before
Implementation> Assessment	Comments that address testing or assessment. This includes teachers talking about test scores or expressing concern about test scores.
Implementation> Fidelity	Model Expectations/Fidelity: Comments which refer to teacher or school following or not following the model as well as expectations the teacher has for the model
Implementation > Positive	Positive comment about the DL implementation. This code applies to specifically to questions asking the teacher to evaluate the implementation in the classroom, school and district.
Implementation > Negative	Negative comment about the DL implementation. This code applies to specifically to questions asking the teacher to evaluate the implementation in the classroom, school and district.
Implementation > Mixed Opinion	Comment expressing a mixed opinion about the DL implementation. This code applies to specifically to questions asking the teacher to evaluate the implementation in the classroom, school and district.

Implementation > Resources	Comments referring to materials or resources needed, (not) provided, or desired. This includes human resources including teacher aids or Spanish speaking staff.
Implementation > Logistics	Comments referring to any logistical issue. This includes how the implementation should be or is expected to be logistically. This also includes comments referring to the amount of time or work that is required, which teachers may say there is not enough of.
Implementation > Mobility	Comments referring to issues with student mobility
Implementation > Support	Comment addressing the level of support for implementation including the amount of PD or support form colleagues, administration, training or district.
Implementation> Population	The program is working or not working because of a specific population. The program either does or does not meet the populations needs. Comments which refer to the DL program working for a specific population of students, a specific grade level, or for some students and not others. This can overlap with equity and teacher beliefs. For example, if the teacher views a particular population differently or not "suited" for the model.
Implementation > Other Issue	Any issue with implementation that has not been identified in the other codes.
LangAcq	Comments that refer to the process of language acquisition, for example, the role of age or motivation. This also includes teachers discussing linguistics theory.
LangAcq> Transfer	Comments referring to the ability to transfer knowledge in one language to the other. This also includes transferring knowledge from the home or community into school.
LangAcq> theoryintepretation	Any comment where the teacher re-voices a position or interprets a theory. The theory does not have to be specified, but it does not to be a theory that exists rather than a teacher belief.
LangAcq> cognitive	Comments that refer to language learning and the brain. For example, the cognitive benefits of speaking 2 languages. This includes references to people being "smart" for knowing multiple languages.
LangAcq> academic_lang	Teacher discussion of vocabulary development or learning academic English/Spanish. These comments include discussion of language standardization or language legitimacy. This also includes comments regarding correction of language in the classroom. Includes statements about the need for learning academic language.
Misc> Interesting	Tag any comment that does not fit a code but that seems interesting.

Misc> Collaborativelearning	Comments about student collaboration or collaboration in the classroom. This includes comments about pair work, changing partners or group-work.
Test_lang> HomeLang	Teacher comments that she or he would have the student take the test based on their home language
Test_lang> StrongLang	Teacher comments that she or he would have the student take the test based on which language they seem more dominant
Test_lang> motherslang	Teacher comments that she or he would have the student take the test based on the mother's language
Test lang> ELLstatusormodel placement	Teacher comments that she or he would have the student take the test based on their ELL status or where they are placed in the model
Test lang> languageofinstruction	Teacher comments that she or he would have the student take the test in the language of instruction
Test lang> Spanish	Teacher comments that she or he would have the student take the test in Spanish
Test lang> English	Teacher comments that she or he would have the student take the test in English
Test lang> studentchoice	Teacher comments that the student should have a voice in their choice of test
Complex	Participant says that language is a complex skill
ComplexNot	Participant says that language is not a complex skill
MixedComplex	Participant is unsure if language is a complex skill or expresses that it is both complex/not complex depending on the situation
Connected	Participant says that language is connected to intelligence
ConnectedNot	Participant says that language is not connected to intelligence
ConnectedMixed	Participant is unsure if language is connected to intelligence or expresses that it is both complex/not complex depending on the situation
Important >personal >school >district	Participant says that the DL implementation is important for him/herself, the school or district.
NotImportant >personal >school >district	Participant says that the DL implementation is not important for him/herself, the school or district.

ImportantMixed >personal >school >district	Participant is unsure if the DL implementation is important to him/herself, the school or district or expresses that it is both important/not important depending on the situation

Appendix E: Example Video Log

Name of Video File: 05_01_14_Michael_students_work_on_math.MP4
Duration: 19:38
Date of Recording: 05_01_14
Date of Video Log: 02_11_15
Activity Setting: Math Class Teacher in Front of Class

Summary: In this video, Michael leads his afternoon class ("Spanish dominant") in math problems. He gives them 5 or 7 problems to work on and has them work independently. Students are engaged and work. Michael monitors work and hands out Eagle bucks as a reward system. There are two places where the teacher creates learning and growth opportunities. In the first, he tells students they should exchange papers "counter clock-wise" and he explains what they means. In the second example, he goes over the word "between" or "entre." Both examples illustrate the way that Michael finds spaces for linguistic development including vocabulary development. There are also examples of joke-telling and formulaic speech in this video.

	ACTION	LANGUAGE	POSSIBLE CODE	COMMENTS
0:00-0:30	Vamos a empezar con esto porque despuesito de lunch vamos hacer las observaciones de las semillas	TCS (1) SCS	Intra-S Word insertion "lunch"	
0:30-1:00	Teacher explains that they will be going to library after lunch and he transitions them to start their math problems	TCS (2) SSO	Inter-S Translate	
1:00 – 1:30	M: I don't care about the answer, I care about Students: (choral) How to get to the answer!	SSO TSO SEO TEO (3)	Repeated Phrase/student call and response Teacher mirror Inter	
1:30-2:00	Students begin to work in silence Teacher interrupts to modify the problems	TSO (4) SSO		

	they will do based on time.			
2:00-2:30	Teacher finishes explaining then 2 students make comments/questions first in Spanish and then in English and teacher responded in the same language as the student	TSO SSO SEO TEO (5)	Teacher Mirror	Already there are 2 examples of the teacher switching languages to mirror the language of the student
2:30-3:00	Teacher monitors work Teacher re-directs student in Spanish "enfocate- que dijo una foca a otra foca-enfocate" Teacher points out an issue with student work in English	TSO (6) TEO (7)	Joke Clever re-direction Change based on Interlocuter	
3:00-3:30	Teacher monitors student work and hands out "eagle bucks" to students that are doing well. He answers a student in English and then Spanish. Students are engaged and working.	TEO TSO (8)	Change based on Interlocuter Reward System Teacher monitoring	
3:30-4:00	Teacher monitors. Students are engaged and working in silence.		Teacher monitoring	
4:00 – 4:30	Teacher monitors. Students are engaged and working in silence. One student is saying things out loud it - you can't hear it well but he is CS	SCS	Teacher monitoring	
4:30-5:00	Teacher monitors. Students are engaged and working in silence. Student helps out another peer in English.	SEO	Pair work-collaboration Teacher monitoring	

5:00-5:30	Students continue to work. A woman enters off screen and Michael speaks to her in English. He asks if they will be done in a few minutes in English.	TEO TEO	Change based on Interlocuter	
5:30-6:00	Teacher asks student in Spanish the same question. Michael tells me the names of the students at the table where my video is pointing.	TSO (9) TEO (10)	Change based on Interlocuter Translation	This was interesting because the teacher asks the student the same thing in Spanish that he just asked in English perhaps b/c he was not sure if he followed.
6:00-6:30	Teacher explains to me about the students at my table.	TEO REO		
6:30-7:00	Teacher explains more about the student to me. He then gives students a time estimate in Spanish "dos minutos, yes sir"	TEO TEO TCS (11)	Setting expectation	
7:00-7:30	Students continue to work. Students in front of me share answers and code-switch. Michael is talking to another teacher who came in to ask about students who worked in his class.	TEO SCS	Peer collaboration Change based on Interlocuter	
7:30-8:00	Michael continues to talk to the teacher. Students continue to work	TEO		
8:00-8:30	Students work, teacher gives 2 time expectations in Spanish	TSO (12)		
8:30-9:00	Teacher sets phone under doc cam showing	TSO SSO		

	1 minute left. Student speaks in Spanish and teacher answers in Spanish			
9:00-9:30	Teacher explains that the student's question was really off topic and he re-directs her to stay on topic. "Lo que si puedo decir es una pregunta super dislineado"	TCS (13)	Intra Student re-direction	
9:30-10:00	Phone alarm sounds. Teacher explains that they should pass their papers "counter clockwise" and has students repeat "counter clockwise" by saying 3,2,1 and all students repeat the vocabulary word. He then tells students what it is called in Spanish. He then explains what it means in Spanish.	TSO TEO (14) TSO (15)	Vocabulary development strategy Translation	This a great example!

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