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Language Ideologies And Identities Of Emergent Bilinguals In A Dual Language And A Transitional Bilingual Education Context: A Comparative Study

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LANGUAGE IDEOLOGIES AND IDENTITIES OF EMERGENT BILINGUALS
IN A DUAL LANGUAGE AND A TRANSITIONAL BILINGUAL
EDUCATION CONTEXT: A COMPARATIVE STUDY

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2019

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EDUCATION CONTEXT: A COMPARATIVE STUDY

by

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Abstract

The purpose of this comparative study is to gain insight into the language ideologies and identities of emergent bilinguals as constructed in a dual language (DL) program and a transitional bilingual program (TBE) in a U.S. – Mexico border city. This study documented the ways teachers and school leaders appropriated, negotiated, and resisted macro-level policies in their everyday interactions and the impact this had on students' views about themselves and about language. This study intends to add to existing literature on emergent bilinguals and bilingual education by centering the voices of the students and using the theoretical lenses of (1) language ideologies and (2) identities as multiple and in a constant becoming. The analysis of multiple data sources including administrator and teacher interviews, student focus groups, artifacts (identity maps and policy documents), and observations revealed the ways in which the type of bilingual education students received impacted the construction of their identities and their beliefs about language. Administrators and teachers reflected the ideologies of the bilingual program they implemented and enacted some of these ideologies. Some students in TBE appropriated discourses of transition and were aware that being “bilingual” meant they were not proficient in the mainstream language and were still not “smart enough” to be in the “regular” classrooms. Students in the DL program appropriated discourses of empowerment towards their bilingual identity and towards Spanish. They also resisted ideologies of language purism that circulated in the DL program by engaging in translanguaging practices and providing explanations for the ways translanguaging helped them learn, “improvisar,” and make meaning. Interestingly, most students in both programs identified as “Mexican American” because they connected to both countries in different ways. I propose that their diasporic belonging is composed as a multiplicity of entities that are in constant flux, rather than the two static binaries

they perceived as their “American identity” and “Mexican identity.” The findings of this study inform the field of bilingual education by providing the perspective of EB students in a unique way.

Table of Contents

Acknowledgements.....	iv
Abstract.....	v
Table of Contents.....	vii
List of Tables.....	xiii
List of Figures.....	xiv
Chapter 1: Introduction.....	1
1.1 Statement of the Problem.....	2
1.2 Purpose Statement.....	6
1.3 Definition of Terms	8
Chapter 2: Review of the Literature and Theoretical Framework.....	12
2.1 Language Ideologies.....	14
2.1.1 Language Ideologies and Learning Institutions.....	15
2.1.2 Language Varieties, Indexing, and Nationalist Ideologies.....	16
2.2 Assemblages.....	18
2.3 Ideologies in Two Bilingual Education Models.....	22
2.4 Transitional Bilingual Education (TBE).....	23
2.5 Dual Language (DL).....	24
2.6 Language Ideologies in Subtractive/Additive Bilingual Education Programs.....	25
2.7 Subtractive Forms of Schooling.....	28

2.7.1	Language Ideologies and Identities in Second Language Education (Mainstream-ESL).....	28
2.7.2	Language Ideologies and Identities in Elementary Education (TBE).....	35
2.8	Additive Forms of Schooling.....	38
2.8.1	Language Ideologies and Identity in Dual Language Settings.....	39
2.8.2	Documenting Educational Changes – Language Ideologies and Identity.....	42
2.9	Recent Approaches to Bilingual Education.....	45
2.9.1	Language Ideologies, Identities, and Dynamic Bilingualism.....	46
2.10	Student Voice.....	52
2.11	Conclusion and Gaps in the Literature.....	54
Chapter 3: Methodology and Setting.....		57
3.1	Doing Fieldwork in my Hometown: Research Setting.....	58
3.1.1	The U.S.-Mexico Border.....	58
3.1.2	Experiences as a Teacher and Student in TBE.....	59
3.1.3	Experiences as a Research Assistant (RA) in DL.....	60
3.1.4	My Role and Positionality.....	63
3.2	Schools and Participants.....	64
3.2.1	Valley School and Participants.....	65
3.2.2	Ramos Elementary and Participants.....	68
3.3	Informed Consent.....	73
3.4	Bilingual Education Policy in Texas.....	74

3.4.1 TBE Policy in Texas.....	77
3.4.2 DL Policy in Texas.....	78
3.5 Data Collection.....	80
3.5.1 Classroom Observations.....	80
3.5.2 Focus Groups.....	81
3.5.3 Artifacts.....	83
3.5.4 Interviews.....	85
3.6 Data Analysis.....	85
3.6.1 Triangulation and Trustworthiness.....	86
Chapter 4: TBE at Valley School.....	88
4.1 The Bilingual Model – Purpose of the TBE Program.....	88
4.2 State Standardized Testing, Ideologies, and Identities.....	93
4.3 Hegemony of English.....	94
4.3.1 Identifying Students Through a Language.....	100
4.3.2 Learning English as synonym for being successful.....	103
4.3.3 Using SIOP Strategies.....	104
4.3.4 “Bilingual” - A Code.....	109
4.3.5 Bilingual Identity.....	121
4.3.6 Spanish as a Problem.....	124
4.3.6.1 Spanish in private sphere of home and community...	126
4.3.6.2 Forgetting Spanish.....	128

4.3.7	Spanish for Support.....	136
4.3.7.1	Translanguaging.....	142
4.4	Ethnic Identities.....	152
4.4.1	Being American.....	153
4.4.2	Being Mexican.....	157
4.4.3	Being Mexican American.....	160
Chapter 5:	DL at Ramos Elementary.....	164
5.1	The Bilingual Model – Purpose of the DL Program.....	164
5.2	Second Language Acquisition Normalized.....	170
5.3	Language Distribution.....	171
5.4	Flexibility.....	174
5.4.1	Translanguaging.....	179
5.5	Acknowledging Students’ Cultural Experiences.....	192
5.6	Empowering Spanish.....	202
5.7	Being Bilingual – Empowering Bilingual Identity.....	220
5.7.1	Being Bilingual – Benefits as Recognized by Students.....	215
5.7.2	Being bilingual – Emotions Students Expressed.....	221
5.8	State Standardized Testing, Ideologies, and Identities.....	224
5.8.1	Identifying Students Through a Language.....	232
5.9	Hegemony of English.....	240
5.9.1	Forgetting Spanish.....	250
5.9.2	English as the Global Language.....	256
5.9.3	Accommodating to Other’s Linguistic Preferences.....	258

5.10	Ethnic Identities.....	267
5.10.1	Being American.....	268
5.10.2	Being Mexican.....	271
5.10.3	Being Mexican American.....	274
Chapter 6: Conclusions.....		278
6.1	Language Ideologies.....	279
6.1.2	Macro-Level: The State of Texas.....	279
6.1.3	Micro-Level: The Schools.....	280
6.1.3.1	Administrators.....	280
6.1.3.2	Teachers.....	281
6.1.3.3	Students.....	283
6.2	Assemblages as Multiplicities.....	298
6.2.1	“Language”.....	286
6.2.2	“Culture”.....	290
6.3	Summary.....	293
6.4	Implications for Education.....	294
6.5	Implications for Research.....	295
6.6	Conclusion.....	296

References.....	311
Appendix.....	341
Vita.....	

List of Tables

Table 1. Students in TBE (Valley School).....	66
Table 2. Teachers in TBE (Valley School).....	68
Table 3. Administrators in TBE (Valley School).....	68
Table 4. Students in DL (Ramos Elementary).....	69
Table 5. Teachers in DL (Ramos Elementary).....	73
Table 6. Administrators in DL (Ramos Elementary).....	73

List of Figures

Figure 1. 2018 – 2019 English Learner Reclassification Criteria Chart.....	89
Figure 2. Identity Map – Adamari.....	120
Figure 3. Identity Map – Adriana.....	120
Figure 4. Identity Map – Ruben.....	133
Figure 5. Identity Map – Carlos.....	156
Figure 6. Identity Map – Daniela.....	156
Figure 7. Classroom Picture 1.....	205
Figure 8. Classroom Picture 2.....	205
Figure 9. Assignment 1.....	214
Figure 10. Assignment 2.....	214
Figure 11. Identity Map – Emmanuel.....	222
Figure 12. Identity Map – Rodrigo.....	223
Figure 13. Identity Map – Veronica.....	239
Figure 14. Identity Map – Denise.....	253
Figure 15. Identity Map – Ale.....	253
Figure 16. Identity Map – Jazmin.....	270
Figure 17. Identity Map – Maribel.....	270
Figure 18. Identity Map – Christian.....	276
Figure 19. Identity Map – Gaston.....	277

Chapter I: Introduction

The Pew Hispanic Research Center projects that the number of English Learners (ELs) in the U.S. will increase by 5.4 million, from 5 million to more than 10 million, from 2005 to 2020, confirming that one in five school-age children are considered to have limited English speaking abilities (Pew Hispanic Center, 2018). In the 2014-2015 school year, 17% of all students in Texas were labeled as ELs (NCES, 2016). In response to the continuous persistence of the academic achievement gap between ELs and English speakers, the U.S. government has implemented various initiatives such as bilingual education programs (Jeynes, 2015 as cited in Cohen, Garcia, Apfel, & Master, 2010; Lee, 2009; Slavin & Madden, 2001). As a result, the inclusion of ELs in accountability and school reform efforts have brought renewed scrutiny to ESL and bilingual programs in relation to the students' ability to overcome the linguistic barriers they encounter in U.S. schools (de Jong, 2004).

Schools' overwhelming stress on uniformity has worked to suppress the inherent variability of language (Genishi & Dyson, 2009). The prevailing ideology of homogeneous standard languages underpins standardized testing of language and literacy, which proceeds from the assumption of a single "correct" way to speak and write, often referred to as SLI (Standard Language Ideology (Lippi-Green, 2012). The 2016 election of President Donald Trump and his persistent effort to limit migration have intensified these nationalist "one language/one nation" ideologies. This recent era of "fear of immigrants and their potential lack of patriotism" (Ullman, 2010, p. 5) resembles what Ullman (2010) describes as an anti-immigrant sentiment that originated in the late 1800's in which diverse language use could be perceived as disloyal and anti-American. Monoglot ideologies about nationhood such as these are often reproduced in school contexts and result in students from non-dominant linguistic, cultural, and class

backgrounds to be positioned as problems in formal schooling (McKinney, 2017). It is important to learn about the experiences of these minoritized students, their ideologies about language, and their identities as constructed through the education system in the United States. The purpose of this dissertation is to learn about the experiences of emergent bilinguals in two bilingual education programs and how they have appropriated or resisted language policies in their classrooms.

1.1 Statement of the problem

Emergent bilinguals¹ are a minoritized group of students that form a growing segment of public schools' populations. They have been perceived through a deficit lens and marked as "different" and the "other" (McKinney, 2017) due to their categorizations as "at-risk," "limited English proficient (LEP)," and "English language learners," among others. Dominant ideological discourses discriminate against EBs and work to keep English-speaking children monolingual, sustaining existing power relations (Pan, 2011). The language resources of middle-class, native-English-speaking children are often celebrated and reinforced in the classroom, while children from non-dominant language and backgrounds are viewed as deficient (McKinney, 2017).

Beliefs about language within learning institutions influence EBs' access to quality education. Diverse bilingual programs appropriate a range of macro-level language ideologies from states and districts which significantly influence the type of education learners are exposed

¹ Up to this point, I have used the term EL to introduce and situate this study on the commonly known categorical term for students who are acquiring a second language. However, due to the deficit connotation of this term, from this point on in this dissertation, I will use emergent bilingual (EB) instead, as it entails a positive view of students who are acquiring language, rather than viewing them in relation to the mainstream language (Garcia, 2009).

to and students' construction of their identities. Appropriation, as described by Johnson (2013) entails "the way creative agents 'take in' elements of policy, incorporating these discursive and institutional resources into their own schemes of interest, motivation and action" (p. 96). Districts, in this case, are not mere implementers of state-level language policies. Rather, they appropriate policies through their agentic practices and discourses in ways they believe are accurate and reasonable for their specific student population. In this manner, districts, administrators, and teachers are powerful language arbiters who appropriate policies in different ways, including resisting practices and discourses that further marginalize specific groups (Johnson, 2013).

What counts as legitimate knowledge and legitimate language in the classroom (Paris & Alim, 2014) varies across classrooms, bilingual programs, districts, and so forth. In these contexts, "language is not a neutral medium for communication but rather a set of socially embedded practices" (Ahearn, 2012, p.3). The individual and institutional beliefs about language determine the ways in which individuals and groups are denied, or granted, recognition (Lippi-Green, 2012). Since, ideologies, discourses, and practices surrounding language and education often vary across diverse bilingual programs, such as in dual language (DL) and transitional bilingual education (TBE) learning settings, it is important to learn about the language ideologies that exist within these contexts and how they are appropriated by administrators, teachers, and students. The ways in which language policies are enacted may play a significant role in students' experiences and the co-construction of their identities.

Diverse bilingual programs, such as TBE and DL, are often based on different ideologies on language and learning. These ideologies, which may or may not view students' funds of knowledge (Moll et al., 1992) as resources for learning (Ruiz, 1984), can significantly influence

EBs' access to education. While TBE is typically perceived of as a bilingual program that provides instruction in students' native language for one to two years in early-exit programs and three to four years in late-exit programs (Thomas & Collier, 2012), in the school district of this study, TBE often consists of whole group instruction only in the mainstream language, with support in students' native language when deemed necessary. This type of bilingual education is considered subtractive, as it focuses solely on the acquisition of the dominant language at the expense of students' native/home language (Valenzuela, 1999). DL, on the other hand, often focuses on integrating language (native and target language) into content instruction (Howard, Lindholm-Leary, Roger, Olague, Medina, Kennedy, Sugarman, & Christian, 2018). In one-way DL programs, the target language is the same for all students, as they are all learning their second language. In two-way programs, two language groups are schooled through their two languages. Often, Dual Language programs recognize intersections among EBs' sociocultural needs and their language acquisition needs (Cummins, 1994) and value bilingualism. This initiative is considered additive, since it adds a second language to students' already existing linguistic repertoire and continues development and maintenance of the first language (Cummins, 1998).

Additive ideologies about language may dominate dual language programs, as they implement a curriculum where two or more languages are used for educational purposes. Studies have shown the positive effects of these programs across different grade levels (Bartlett, 2007; Borland, 2005; Cummins, 2005; Dworin, 2006; Maloof, Rubin, & Miller, 2006; Yoon, 2007). For the most part, students in these programs tend to develop a multicultural identity in which more than standard forms of communication are valued. While research on dual language programs is abundant, I argue that there is a lack of student voice in much of the existing

literature. Additionally, DL research in border cities is scarce (For exceptions, see de la Piedra, Araujo, & Esquinca, 2018; Esquinca, Araujo, & de la Piedra, 2014).

Current research on language ideologies and identities in subtractive forms of schooling focuses mainly on secondary grades (Allard, Mortimer, Gallo, Link, & Wortham, 2014; Fuller, 2007; Menken & Kleyn, 2010; Menken, Kleyn, & Chae, 2012; Michael-Luna, 2008; Monzo & Rueda, 2009; Palmer, 2011; Quiroz, 2001; Rich & Davis, 2007; Rymes & Pash, 2001; Torrez, 2013). There is minimal research on higher elementary grades, such as 4th grade, where bilingual education programs, such as TBE early-exit, are still in place. Most research has focused on higher grades where education for emergent bilinguals is either in the form of ESL instruction or ESL-pull out. Similar to additive learning contexts, research on subtractive contexts have seldom emphasized students' perspectives, their ideologies, and their experiences in these bilingual programs. Students' voices in border cities are also underrepresented in the literature synthesized.

Dynamic bilingualism ideologies and practices, where languages are perceived as fluid and existent within a single repertoire of knowledge, one linguistic system with integrated features (Garcia & Wei, 2014), are also sometimes present across different bilingual education programs (Collins & Cioe-Pena, 2016; Garcia & Wei, 2014; Martinez, Duran, & Hikida, 2017; Moje, Ciechanowski, Kramer, Ellis, Carrillo, & Collazo, 2004). This recent body of literature shows dynamic forms of bilingualism implemented in diverse programs attending emergent bilinguals (EBs). These studies, however, mostly focus on teachers' perspectives and ideologies, while students' voices are not a major focus.

Comparative studies on the language ideologies present in diverse bilingual programs are almost non-existent (Ma, 2010). The body of scholarly work focuses mainly on either additive,

subtractive, or dynamic education. It is important to analyze and compare the ways in which state-level language policies are enacted in different contexts and how they may affect students' views on language and the construction of their identities. Meeting the needs of diverse populations and granting value and power to their repertoires of knowledge entails being knowledgeable about their backgrounds and experiences (Moll, et al., 1992). Through this study, I intend to extend the body of literature on emergent bilinguals and their experiences in bilingual programs. This comparative approach across two bilingual programs will provide a window into the language ideologies held by administrators, teachers, and students in these contexts, the practices that characterize them, and the ways in which they are appropriated and/or resisted through hegemonic and counter-hegemonic practices.

1.2 Purpose statement

The purpose of this research is to gain insight into the language ideologies and students' identities as constructed in two distinct 4th grade bilingual programs in a U.S.-Mexico border city: a DL and a TBE classroom. Through this exploratory comparative study, I make a contribution to this underexplored topic that combines language acquisition programs for EBs and the ideologies that guide them. Students' voices related to their experiences in these bilingual programs, their language ideologies, and how they shape their identities will be centered in this study. A more complete understanding of the ways students appropriate ideologies circulating in these two different bilingual programs is critical for scholars, educators, and policymakers in order to envision and implement effective, culturally sensitive, and equitable educational programs necessary to serve emergent bilinguals.

I hope to contribute to the field of bilingual education, second language learning, and language policy by approaching this topic through the following theoretical frameworks:

language ideologies (Blommaert & Verschuren, 1998; Bourdieu & Thompson, 1991; Curdt-Christiansen, 2009; Gal, 1991; Kroskrity, 1998; Kulick, 1992; Mertz, 1998; Schieffelin, Woolard, & Kroskrity, 1998), categories in assemblage (Blommaert, 2013; DeLanda, 2002; Erickson, 2004; Wagner, 2017), and translanguaging (Garcia, 2009). These frameworks allowed me to explain the ways in which administrators, teachers, and students appropriate, enact, negotiate, and/or resist language ideologies and construct student identities in TBE and DL. Also, translanguaging is used throughout my findings to show the ways in which my bilingual participants interacted and made meaning.

Research Questions

The main research question that guides the study is:

- How are students' language ideologies and identities constructed in a transitional bilingual education and a dual language program?

The sub questions are:

- What are the language ideologies present in the DL and TBE programs?
- How are language policies at the macro-level appropriated through negotiation and/or resistance by principals, teachers, and students at the micro-level?
- How do students construct their categories in assemblage? How are their assemblages and language ideologies related?
- How do language ideologies and identities compare in TBE and DL?

1.3 Definition of terms

This section will briefly introduce key terms that will be further developed in Chapter 2.

Emergent bilinguals (EBs): Learners who are acquiring a second language and are in the process of developing bilingualism (Garcia, 2009). Through this term, bilingualism is recognized for its positive cognitive and social effects on students (Bialystok, 2001; Garcia, 2009). The term is used in place of labels that focus only on students' limited fluency in English, such as LEP or EL. I will use the term emergent bilinguals, or EBs, throughout this dissertation to refer to students who are acquiring a second language, as it is a more accurate descriptor of the students in my study, and it defines them through a positive lens.

English Learners (ELs): Students are assessed through language proficiency tests upon entering school in the state of Texas. These tests assess oral, reading, and writing proficiency in English for program placement. The results of these tests determine if students are considered English Learners or English proficient. Students who are not considered fluent in English are recommended for bilingual education (TEA, 2018-2019) and are labeled ELs and/or LEP (limited English proficient) until they are considered fluent in English based on language proficiency and other state assessments.

Transitional Bilingual Education (TBE): The primary purpose of these programs is to facilitate a student's transition to an all-English instructional environment while initially using the native language in the classroom. Transitional bilingual education programs vary in the amount of native language instruction provided and the duration of the program (Baker, 1998).

Early-Exit/Late-Exit TBE: Early-exit programs exit children from bilingual classes in the first or second year of schooling. Late-exit programs provide bilingual classes for two to five years of

elementary schooling. As subtypes of Transitional Bilingual Education, neither type focuses on developing students' L1 (Baker, 1998).

Dual Language (DL): In this program, two languages are acquired through subject-matter instruction (Howard et al., 2018; Thomas & Collier, 2012). In the 50/50 model, students receive equal amount of instruction in both languages, usually English and Spanish. In the 90/10 model, 90% of instruction is in the minoritized language in the early grades, decreasing steadily to 50%. English instruction begins at 10% in early grades and gradually increases in time allotment until it reaches 50%. The implementation of DL programs varies across districts, schools, and classrooms (Lindholm-Leary, 2018; Henderson & Palmer, 2015). The model prescribes the separation of languages. This policy has been critiqued by various researchers (Cervantes-Soon, Dorner, Heiman, Schwerdtfeger, Choi, 2017; Garcia & Wei, 2014; Martinez, Duran, & Hikida, 2017).

One-Way Dual Language Education: One language group receives their school education through their two languages (Thomas & Collier, 2012). In Texas, this model is a bilingual/biliteracy program model in which students identified as ELs are served in both English and another language (TEA, 2018).

Two-Way Dual Language Education: Two language groups receive formal education through their two languages. Ideally, at least 1/3 of students should be native English speakers and/or native/heritage speakers of the partner language (Thomas & Collier, 2012). This model is a bilingual/biliteracy program model in which students identified as ELs are integrated with students proficient in English and are served in both English and another language.

Language Separation Policy: In DL programs, there is separation of languages by time, subject, or teacher (Howard et al., 2018). Teachers and students are often expected to use each language exclusively during its designated time, in oral and written form. This separation of languages has been critiqued by researchers, as it is not considered the natural way bilinguals communicate (Canagarajah, 2013; Garcia, 2009; Garcia & Wei, 2014; Ivanov, 2000; Sayer, 2008). The notion of “languages” as separate entities has been problematized, as well. Researchers have emphasized that “language” is a socially formed construct. This view asserts that the linguistic repertoire of a given individual is a single repertoire of knowledge that can be accessed at any time for communication and comprehension purposes (Garcia & Wei, 2014). Therefore, according to this view, learners’ use of their entire repertoire of knowledge to derive at meaning is disabled through the separation of “languages.”

Subtractive Bilingualism: When the second language is acquired with pressure to replace or demote the first language, subtractive bilingualism may occur (Lambert, 1980).

Additive Bilingualism: In this situation, the addition of a second language and culture is unlikely to replace or displace the first language and culture (Lambert, 1980).

Dynamic Bilingualism: This form of bilingualism is different from the conceptualization of additive bilingualism. It departs from the notion of two autonomous languages. In this view, *language practices* are interrelated. Dynamic bilingualism refers to a single linguistic system that has features that are socially constructed as languages (Lambert, 1974; Garcia, 2009).

Language Ideologies: Cultural representations, whether explicit or implicit, of the intersection of language and human beings in a social world (Schieffelin, Woolard, & Kriskrity, 1998). They are evaluative perceptions about language and language practices (Curd-Christiansen, 2009).

Dominant perspectives have the potential to spread across learning institutions and reproduce systems of power (Foucault, 1972). Pluralist and heteroglossic or purist and monoglossic ideologies at the macro-level can have significant impacts on the ways in which bilingual programs are implemented at the micro-level.

Identities: A social category to which certain characteristics or attributes grant access. Identities prevalent in schools with bilingual programs are the “monolingual/regular” and the “bilingual” identities; however, these static binaries perspective on identities do not capture the complexity of the identities of speakers. Furthermore, recent theories have departed from the use of the term “identities” as stable and, rather, describe them as categories produced as assemblages of multiple and simultaneous parts in constant flux (Wagner, 2017). This view assumes an ongoing process of becoming through every interaction and every practice (DeLanda, 2002). I use the concept of identities when reviewing the literature and the theoretical framework; however, I use the term “assemblages” to analyze my data.

Chapter 2: Theoretical Framework and Literature Review

The language ideologies and identities of elementary school EBs in subtractive programs and additive programs is a relevant topic, as it provides insight into the ways in which macro-level ideologies are appropriated and enacted at the micro-level and the effect of these practices and discourses on students' own perceptions. Learning about the experiences of EBs in bilingual programs may produce knowledge about best practices that may enhance students' social and academic performance. Additionally, the population of emergent bilinguals, coded as LEP, in the U.S. is continually increasing. The percentage of public-school students in the United States who were labeled ELs was higher in the 2014-2015 school year (9.4% or an estimated 4.6 million students) than in the 2004-2005 school year (9.1% or an estimated 4.3 million students) (NCES, 2017). In Texas, 17% of all students were English learners in the 2014-2015 school year. Based on recent statistics, this population of students is likely to increase in the near future.

Changes made to school curricula and classroom practices in language and literacy education have been insufficient to accommodate the diversity that exists within schools (McKinney, 2017). "Curriculum is organized around concepts, paradigms, and events that reflect the experiences of mainstream Americans" (Martin & Midley, 1999, p. 87). Schools insist that "some children forego the expressive power and consolation of speech which is the currency of their home communities" (Lippi-Green, 2012, p. 97), resulting in symbolic subordination necessary in becoming a "good" student and citizen. Efforts to challenge the dominant mainstream curriculum have resulted in the implementation of bilingual programs to help students adapt to a new culture and language.

I obtained the studies for this review of literature from the academic databases Academic Search Complete (EBSCO), ERIC (Educational Resources Information Center) (EBSCO), ERIC (Proquest), and JSTOR. I found dissertation studies pertaining to the topic of language ideologies and identities in bilingual education programs through ProQuest. The terms I used to search for relevant studies included “bilingual programs,” “transitional bilingual,” “dual language,” “English Language Learners’ experiences,” “subtractive schooling,” “additive schooling,” “dynamic education,” “student language ideologies,” “student identities,” and “translanguaging.” I found empirical studies that described the effects of subtractive and additive forms of schooling, language ideologies, and identities in these programs (Allard, Mortimer, Gallo, Link, & Wortham, 2014; Bartlett, 2007; Borland, 2005; Cummins, 2005; Dworin, 2006; Fuller, 2007; Maloof, Rubin, & Miller, 2006; Menken & Kleyn, 2010; Menken, Kleyn, & Chae, 2012; Michael-Luna, 2008; Monzo & Rueda, 2009; Palmer, 2011; Quiroz, 2001; Rich & Davis, 2007; Rymes & Pash, 2001; Torrez, 2013). Some of the studies that describe subtractive contexts show a shift from subtractive to additive schooling as a necessity for student success (Cummins, 2005; Dworin, 2006; Yoon, 2007). Studies conducted in settings where dynamic bilingualism through translanguaging was allowed, promoted, or the norm were also found (Canagarajah, 2013; Collins & Cioe-Pena, 2016; Creese & Blackledge, 2010; Flores & Schiessel, 2014; Garcia & Wei, 2014; Henderson & Palmer, 2015; Martinez, Duran, & Hikida, 2011; Moje et al., 2004). Students’ experiences across these contexts (subtractive, additive, and dynamic) revolved around two main themes: language ideologies and identity. Some studies specifically focused on these themes; however, even in studies that focused on other aspects of bilingual education (i.e. biliteracy), I realized that these themes emerged from the data. In short,

some of these studies analyzed language ideologies and identities, and I also actively looked for the ways in which language ideologies and identities were developed in these programs.

In the literature review that follows, I analyze these two themes (language ideologies and identities) separately, even though I recognize that they are usually intertwined. Additionally, I attend to the ways students' voices are displayed across several studies. First, language ideologies and identities as assemblages will be discussed as theoretical frameworks for this study. Then, I will examine the themes of language ideologies and identity across different bilingual learning contexts.

2.1 Language ideologies

Language ideologies have power as analytic tools because they expose beliefs about people and language that operate covertly in social interactions (Kroskrity, 1998). In the case of EBs, it is important to explore the ideologies they encounter and construct in their respective bilingual programs. Language users' evaluative perceptions and conceptions of language and language practices are based on their beliefs and assumptions about social utility, power, and the value of language in a given environment (Curdt-Christiansen, 2009). Such evaluative perceptions are often based on entrenched ideas about certain types of people than only about language, as explained by Silverstein (1979), "These sets of beliefs about language are articulated by its users as a rationalization or justification of perceived language structure and use" (p. 240). The role of language ideology in the formation and maintenance of power is often conscious and politically strategic, while other times, it is unconscious. The social meaning of communicative forms is never natural and transparent (Gal, 1991). Forms of communication should be analyzed, instead, as cultural constructions and as manifestations of implicit assumptions about the social world. Language used in culturally specific ways reinforces (or, on

occasion, challenges) ideologies within that community. Speakers embody and recreate themselves in socially meaningful ways in relation to that culture (Kulick, 1992). In other words, language ideologies influence speakers' identities. In school contexts, students tend to perceive themselves and recreate themselves in ways that are meaningful in their classroom, their bilingual program, and in their school.

2.1.1 Language Ideologies and Learning Institutions

The relation between power and ideology is seen through ethnographies of language and communicative practices in schooling. Specific linguistic practices are valued and adopted as the norm within these institutions while others are left at the margins. The power structures of society and the language linked to professional discourse inhabit school contexts. Social categories are formed and changed based on, or in interaction to, mainstream ideologies. As Bourdieu (1977) asserts, the educational process within institutional settings constantly contributes to the reproduction and legitimizing of the already established social order. Through classroom discourse, students are socialized into accepting and adopting certain ideologies, suppressing ideologies they bring from prior experiences (Mertz, 1998).

The use of language in the classroom becomes a powerful orienting social practice. A cultural worldview is conveyed through classroom discourse. The content of lessons often hides deeper messages about the social world and the type of knowledge and language that is valued, who may speak it, and in what manner (Anyon, 1980, Jackson, 1968). A “dominant interpretative perspective” (Foucault, 1972), can spread across institutional contexts over time through and in actual specific discourse practices. These dominant perspectives (ideologies) have a significant effect on micro-level practices. For instance, monoglot ideologies at the state level are reproduced at various levels, including classrooms, leading to their reproduction.

Ideologies can travel across institutions, gaining strength and normative force as they go. The power exercised through a dominant discourse operates across multiple locales (Bourdieu, 1992).

Language ideologies exhibited by students, teachers, and other stakeholders in educational institutions can have significant effects on student learning. Based on the language ideologies of those in power, sociolinguistic spaces can often be reduced to include only the use of the language of power. Often, dialects, such as borderland Spanish, are seen as unstructured and unstandardized (Milroy, 1992). In this manner, schooling becomes a central part of the reproduction of power that stems from the social world (Bordieu & Thompson, 1991). EBs are positioned outside of this space where only the mainstream linguistic and cultural abilities are valued. The domination of one language over another can be professed and reinforced through language and everyday practice. As will be seen in the findings chapter, students' discourses about their learning experiences can index their ideologies about language as complacent or resisting the macro-level ideologies within the school or the broader context. These enactments of macro-level ideologies are influenced by how language is experienced in various social domains (Woolard & Schiefflin, 1994) and can guide students' learning experiences at the micro-level.

2.1.2 Language varieties, indexing, and nationalist ideologies

The nationalist ideology of language and identity is directly related to the one language/one people belief (Blommaert & Verschueren, 1998; Herder, 2003). Lack of connection to the dominant language can cast doubt on the legitimacy of a group's claim to nationhood (Blommaert and Verschueren, 1998). Ideologies about what is or is not a "real" language contribute to decisions about the civility and humanity of groups. Domains of power and privilege exist in institutions where there is regulation of access of speech varieties

(Spitulnik, 1998), such as the speech variety tested through state standardized assessments. In the politicized contest over national language and “standard” forms, only certain linguistic features and semiotic processes are acknowledged as valid for institutional uses. Particular ways of speaking are associated with groups, or types, of people. As Bourdieu (1991) points out, a linguistic form is ideologized as implicating a distinct kind of people, thus, mistakenly understood as a transparent index of a particular character. This semiotic process indexes linguistic forms to distinguishing qualities of social groups. Linguistic modes that deviate from characteristics recognized as “standard,” such as non-standard/non-academic language and/or Spanglish, are often stigmatized as “non-professional.” Indignation over nonstandard forms can be linked to ideological associations of the standard form of language with the qualities valued within the dominant culture (Silverstein, 1985).

Linguistic discrimination remains publicly acceptable even while corresponding ethnic/racial discrimination is not. Those who are not fluent in mainstream languages varieties are positioned racially and categorized through their linguistic abilities and practices as deficient and lacking (Flores & Rosa, 2015). Language-minoritized individuals negotiate their identities by navigating learning institutions governed by raciolinguistic ideologies in which specific bodies are racialized based on language use (Alim, Rickford, & Ball, 2016; Dabach, 2015). As such, native speakers of minoritized languages, such as Spanish, are often linguistically race-marked due to dominant ideologies of purity and standardization in the U.S. (Urcioli, 2003). Even their second language, English, is predisposed to racialization if perceived as affected or influenced by their first language, Spanish. This is often displayed through deficit views of “Spanglish” as English affected by Spanish or vice versa.

Standardization and views of language purity lead to linguistic homogeneity through the underlying ideological assumption of national unity. As Herder (2003) expressed, the nation is individual and separate. Purist ideologies selectively target those languages perceived as political or social threats (Weinstein, 1989), such as Spanish in the U.S. context. In the borderland, varieties that combine English and Spanish are considered impure or contaminated. The mixing of languages in bilingual contexts, such as border cities and bilingual schools, is often frowned upon and viewed as disrespectful to the purity of each language.

Raciolinguistic ideologies and ideologies that identify students' language with the nation-state are among the ideologies that circulated in the bilingual programs studied. Beliefs about language, as displayed through state-level bilingual policy, are appropriated by school districts, administrators, teachers, and students through compliance, negotiation, and/or resistance in complex ways. DL and TBE programs implement macro-level ideologies in different ways, influencing emergent bilinguals' own beliefs and construction of their identities.

2.2 Assemblages

Language ideologies are embedded in mechanisms of categorizations². The way students use and speak about language may situate them as a particular type of person. A constant negotiation of belonging takes place in students' socialization practices, which are highly dependent on linguistic practices. While speaking only English might situate students as '*gringos*', not speaking enough Spanish might exclude them from '*Mexicanidad*' (Valenzuela,

² Mechanisms of categorization and the negotiation that occurs among students resembles the ideas of Wittgenstein about the construction of "boundaries" that prevent certain speakers out of (or inside) those boundaries. However, the boundaries are part of a game (language games) in which the rules vary; they may guide the players to "jump over the boundary" (Wittgenstein, cited in Luykx, 1999, p.1), for example, or to stay within the boundaries.

1999). In this manner, characteristics of human beings are located on various dimensions of identification. Certain aspects become salient at certain times or during specific interactions through discourse. The multiple aspects of social identity rarely become salient simultaneously in a single social encounter (Erickson, 2004). Theories of identity often focus on the different ways in which individuals access multiple identities and categorizations across contexts and conversations. Situational performances and the complexity of human capacity in drawing on situational influences (Blommaert, 2013) represent traditional visions of identities and categorizations.

For this study, I draw from theories that situate identity as complex and in a constant state of becoming to describe how mechanisms of categorization develop in bilingual education classrooms. Wagner (2017) argues that different dimensions become salient through linguistic discourse and through mechanisms of categorizations that include communication without speaking (Goffman, 1963). Different material and expressive entities (languages, bodies, voices, accents, clothing) are potential interactants in mechanisms of categorizations (Wagner, 2017). “Entities” (Wagner, 2017, p. 39) are part of the linguistic ideologies, practices, and interactions that frame different categories. In this sense, categories are shaped and produced as assemblages of multiple, simultaneous, complex interacting parts.

Using the term “assemblage” instead of “identity” assumes that everything is in an ongoing process of becoming (DeLanda, 2002), through complex, multidimensional relations of material and expressive qualities of entities that emerge as multiplicities. Assemblages are heterogeneous linkages brought together in conjunctions (Grosz, 1994); entities are shaped and shape each other in interaction with other entities as multiplicities. A person is, therefore, “a material and expressive entity with a plethora of moving parts along various dimensions, which

cannot be wholly disentangled from one another even though some may be situationally, interactionally more active than others” (Wagner, 2017, p. 37). The assemblage perspective shifts attention away from the either/or view to emphasize how individuals are multiplicities, rather than mixtures of two opposed extremes, such as in the concept of hybridity (Garcia, 2009), with interconnected reference to different qualities that cannot be separated into component parts.

For this study, I focused on students’ *diasporic sense of belonging* (Wagner, 2017), which entails having a conflicted sense of belonging. It means belonging to an emerging category composed of different material and expressive entities. It is not having a “hybrid” identity, as this would entail two fixed oppositions. A diasporic sense of belonging is produced as an assemblage of entities, “a neutral combination of entities” (Wagner, 2017, p. 29) in interaction. They are neutral in the sense that they do not depend on either fixed extreme. An assemblage is composed of a combination of unfixed, constantly changing entities. Categories are “always in motion, they are always coming together and breaking apart, repeating and differentiating in tiny increments” (Wagner, 2017, p.31). By being diasporic, not transnational, hybrid, or ethnic, individuals are connected to their genetic lineage through *descent* and connected, and/or disconnected, through *place*. *Place* refers to physical locale. Migrants can be categorically accepted as emerging from more than one *place* and in both places and move between them freely through their “diasporicness.” These two dynamic, metaphorical configurations are in constant flux and work to define boundaries of belonging.

Wagner (2017) defines a diasporic belonging as its own entity. It is a multiplicity of simultaneous interacting parts characterized by multiple belongings. A diasporic belonging exists as a single system with two nodes of attraction that push and pull against each other and

cannot be disentangled in assemblage. This theoretical stance closely resembles the notion of a single linguistic repertoire composed of multiple linguistic resources (Garcia, 2009). Garcia asserts that what are socially constructed and identified as “languages,” are simply specific forms of knowledge that exist within a single repertoire of knowledge. Humans have one linguistic repertoire that encompasses all linguistic knowledge entangled as a single whole. By translanguaging, people have access to their entire linguistic repertoire to communicate with others, but they select certain features according to the situation. Wagner makes a similar assertion by stating that a diasporic belonging encompasses the Moroccan and the European categories, as in her own research, as entangled entities that cannot be separated from each other. A diasporic belonging is formed, not by two extreme and static entities, but, rather, as a single, complex, category constantly in flux. Through every interaction, the individual “becomes” and performs specific aspects of their diasporic belonging, while other aspects become salient. In every interaction and context, the individual “becomes” by performing the expected and/or valued category. People access their “diasporic multilingual repertoire” (Wagner, 2017, p. 19) in interactions. In a “diasporic linguistic landscape” (p. 20) different languages are accessible, yet, whether they are regarded as right or wrong languages to speak in certain places or situations determines the embodied ability to communicate by using them.

Language ideologies and categories as assemblages were the main theoretical lenses employed in this study for analyzing students’ experiences in bilingual programs. Translanguaging theory was also a focal lens for this study, as it was a common practice that indexed the way language was perceived in learning contexts. It is critical to identify language ideologies that have power in education and permeate through the layers of language policy processes (Johnson, 2013; Ricento & Hornberger, 1996). The way these ideologies influence

students' categorizations are of relevance for this study. Throughout this dissertation, the terms "identity" and "categories in assemblage" will be used. In the analysis of my findings, I will use my theoretical lens of assemblages. Throughout other areas of the paper, such as in the literature review, I will use the terms used in the existing literature by researchers I have included in that section. For the most part, researchers used the term "identity" rather than "categories in assemblage."

The following section identifies bilingual education initiatives that have been established to accommodate the diversity in student populations and the ideologies that prevail in each of them.

2.3 Ideologies in two bilingual education models

The ideologies held by school districts on appropriate language of education may reflect monoglot values, despite the fact that research has shown that providing EBs with content-area instruction in their home language helps them master grade-level standards and acquire complex academic content (Gutierrez et al., 2002; Wiley, 2005). Then, students can scaffold upon that academic knowledge in their home language and transfer it to another language. Many of the skills students develop when they acquire literacy and academic knowledge in their home language can transfer with ease to English, or any other language (Cummins, 2008; Martin, 2017; Zehler & Sapru, 2008). The idea behind transfer of knowledge is that once students have mastered the relevant principles and can solve problems independently, they can transfer the knowledge of what they have internalized to other problems in another context or another language (Lantolf & Thorne, 2006).

Continued academic development of both languages confers cognitive/linguistic benefits whereas less academic proficiency in both languages limits ELs' ability to benefit cognitively and academically (Cummins, 2000). Also, researchers have urged the "reimagination of educational commitments and shared values in ways that mobilize public and professional attitudes circulating around the education of monolingual and multilingual students" (Kinloch, 2005, p. 94). This shift entails a linguistic and cultural negotiation in which multilingualism and multiculturalism exist and "wrong language/right language" debates are part of the past. Despite these findings, many districts often opt to implement programs that incorporate students' mother tongue only minimally or eliminate it completely. The state of Texas policy on education of those students labeled as ELs is expected to be implemented through the DL, TBE, or ESL model. The following sections will briefly describe the state policy on these programs.

2.4 Transitional Bilingual Education (TBE)

Entrenched in subtractive, English-dominant ideological discourses and linguistic and cultural practices, transitional bilingual education (TBE) is the most common type of bilingual program in the United States (Palmer, 2011). Its goal is to transition ELs to an English-medium classroom as quickly as possible. Research on the effectiveness of different types of bilingual and English-medium programs demonstrates that TBE is more effective than English-medium instruction, yet less effective than other bilingual programs, such as additive models, in closing achievement gaps (Rolstad, Mahoney, & Glass, 2005; Slavin & Cheung, 2005; Thomas & Collier, 2002). Even though one of the core principles of TBE is to provide content-area instruction in students' home language to ensure they do not fall behind academically, this element of the program has been eliminated in many districts. This is due to political pressure to push English literacy earlier and faster, particularly in states where high-stakes tests are

administered (McKinney, 2017; Pacheco, 2010; Wright, 2007). Gibbons (2009) emphasizes that using a new language to transmit new content knowledge is ineffective and even harmful. Supporting students' primary language is crucial for their cognitive development and necessary for literacy development in a second language (Cummins, 2005). The transitional education approach takes a "language as a problem" orientation (Ruiz, 1984), as it instills a deficit view of EBs and their home language (Crawford, 2004). Its goal to assimilate students into mainstream and community ideals and quickly transition them to English, leading to subtractive bilingualism (Gonzalez, Yawkey, & Minaya-Rowe, 2006). Even though research findings on TBE expose educational and social concerns for students (Allard et al., 2014; Menken, Kleyn, & Chae, 2012; Monzo & Rueda, 2009; Quiroz, 2001; Rich & Davis, 2007; Rymes & Pash, 2001; Torrez, 2013), it is the most commonly implemented type of program (Wright, 2015).

2.5 Dual Language (DL)

The DL approach aims to develop bilingualism and biliteracy, academic achievement in two languages, and cross-cultural understanding, yet it differs in its implementation of 90/10 and 50/50 models of instruction. There is a rigid separation of the two languages based on subject, teacher, or time. This dichotomy has been criticized, as it does not take advantage of the linguistic system in a holistic fashion, and it does not affirm students' fluent identities (Canagarajah, 2013; Garcia, 2009; Garcia & Wei, 2014; Ivanov, 2000; Sayer, 2008). In this type of program, however, emergent bilinguals' home languages are seen as valuable assets that English speakers also want to acquire (Cummins, 2005; Babibo & Stewart, 2017; Dworin, 2006; Henderson & Palmer, 2015; Lopez, 2008; Yoon, 2007). Dual language programs have helped change the view of bilingual education as a remedial program to being viewed as an enrichment program (Wright, 2015). As stated in the state of Texas language policy (as will be explained in

detail in Chapter 3), there are one-way and two-way programs DL programs. In one-way, all students are second language learners of English, while in a two-way program, about half are native English speakers/second language learners of Spanish.

Comparative longitudinal research has demonstrated that dual language programs are the most effective programs for EBs' academic achievement (Lindholm-Leary & Hernandez, 2011; Thomas & Collier, 2002, 2013; Umansky & Reardon, 2014; Valentino & Reardon, 2014). Dual language programs address linguistic, academic, cognitive, and sociocultural development, and provide meaningful experiences connected to students' background knowledge. Ideally, they view languages as resources, developing metalinguistic awareness, closing achievement gaps, transforming majority-minority relations into equity for all, and increasing student motivation, self-esteem, and cultural awareness (Freeman, Freeman, & Mercuri, 2005; Lindholm-Leary, 2009; Skutnabb-Kangas, Phillipson, Mohanty, & Panda, 2009).

2.6 Language Ideologies in Subtractive/Additive Bilingual Education Programs

An important distinction between language-as-a-resource and language-as-a-problem orientations are perceived across bilingual education programs (Ruiz, 1984). Assimilationist discourses devalue EBs' home languages and cultures and perceive them as problems to overcome. In contrast, pluralist discourses recognize EBs' home languages and cultures as rich resources, scaffold for the acquisition of English, and aim for high levels of proficiency in both languages (de Jong, 2011).

The assimilationist ideology emphasizes a need for learners to abandon their home customs and conform to a new culture and language by authorizing uniformity and standardization (Dyson & Smitherman, 2009; Labov, 1973; Wiley, 2006). Subtractive forms of

bilingual education are framed by this ideology. They attempt to form a monoculture where everyone uses the same language and norms with minimal opportunity for individuality (Valenzuela, 1999). Competing collective identities that may challenge the monoculture are often discouraged. There is minimal room for linguistic diversity in this type of setting where the ultimate goal is for the mainstream culture to prevail over any other, especially if linguistic diversity entails use of stigmatized languages. A “discourse of transition,” in which primary language skills and abilities are ignored while English skills are equated with intelligence, permeates these settings (Palmer, 2011). These assimilationist discourses often stem from ideologies of nationalism in which a sense of belonging to the nation is connected to speaking its mainstream language (Schildkraut, 2005).

For the most part, in the United States, EBs’ native Spanish fluency is framed as a problem that must be overcome in order to achieve academic success. Research has shown how subtractive bilingualism leads to cognitive loss in students since the focus is solely on the acquisition of the second language, to the detriment of primary language development (Bartlett & Garcia, 2011; Otten, 2014; Roberts, 1995; Thomas & Collier, 2012). Bilingual education initiatives conceptualized as remedial programs for emergent bilinguals fall into this category; these include TBE and English-only approaches, which often include ESL interventions at the secondary level. Contradictory views of bilingualism exist, however, according to the status of the population served. For instance, in elite bilingualism that teaches dominant-language speakers an additional language, language is viewed through a market value perspective; Spanish and other languages are valued as capital for economic advancement (Barakos & Selleck, 2018).

A pluralist ideology, on the other hand, grants individuals the opportunity to maintain and enhance their native identity without the need to assimilate fully to the mainstream culture.

Through this additive approach, multiculturalism is perceived as a way to promote acceptance and status equality amongst groups and not as a threat to national unity (Macedo, Dendrinos, & Gounari, 2003). An education based on the pluralist ideology helps students achieve academic success through the nurturing of their home language. Transferring acquired knowledge from their first language to a new language is facilitated in this manner. Additive contexts are primarily focused on participants' use of their linguistic and cultural backgrounds in order to derive meaning. By using their available resources as cognitive scaffolding, learners are able to enhance their language and academic abilities significantly. Dual language programs promote an additive form of bilingualism that serves this purpose and are considered the most effective type of bilingual program, fostering bilingualism, biculturalism, and biliteracy (Lindholm-Leary, 2009). Bilingual education implementations that foster additive bilingualism also include developmental and heritage language programs.

This literature review is divided into subtractive and additive bilingual education programs. However, the division between these two forms of bilingual education is complex. In subtractive environments, students often use more than one language in different contexts and situations. In additive learning contexts, the division of languages across space and/or subject is not as clear as the dual language model, for instance, dictates. It is, therefore, sometimes difficult to categorize a specific bilingual learning environment as categorically “subtractive” or “additive”, since multiple language ideologies and identities may manifest within a single program (Luykx, Lee, & Edwards, 2007). For the purpose of this literature review, however, studies are divided according to the implementation of language policies researchers observed in different settings. I categorized those that were allowing, promoting, or developing more than one language as additive, while settings where the primary language was not valued or used were

labeled as subtractive. Additionally, this review incorporates dynamic bilingualism as a separate form of language practice I found in the literature that is neither subtractive nor additive.

2.7 Subtractive Schooling

Several studies focus on subtractive learning approaches and their effects on students (Allard, Mortimer, Gallo, Link, & Wortham, 2014; Menken & Kleyn, 2010; Menken, Kleyn, & Chae, 2012; Fuller, 2007; Michael-Luna, 2008; Monzo & Rueda, 2009; Palmer, 2011; Quiroz, 2001; Rich & Davis, 2007; Rymes & Pash, 2001; Torrez, 2013). These studies describe the ways in which students struggle to succeed in contexts where their native language is not valued. Such contexts include mainstream (English-only) classes, where EBs are enrolled because of parent denials (parents want their children in all-English classrooms rather than bilingual classrooms), ESL, ESL pull-out, and TBE settings. I identified main effects of subtractive schooling on students through two main themes: language ideologies and identity. Some of these studies focused solely on language ideologies, while others focused on identity only. Others described the influence of language ideologies on students' identities. While my theoretical framework deviates from what many of these researchers describe as "identity," I will use this term throughout this section as the researchers in these studies did.

2.7.1 Language ideologies and identities in secondary education (mainstream – ESL)

Assimilationist ideologies in subtractive school contexts influence students' identities in typically negative ways, producing low self-esteem and confidence, decreased cognitive stimulation, lower student achievement, and low motivation to learn (Valenzuela, 1999). Many studies attest to the devastating results of subtractive contexts on emergent bilinguals' schooling experience.

For example, Menken and Kleyn's (2010) ethnographic study describes the experiences of Long Term English Language Learners (LTEs³) in three New York City secondary schools who had been subjected to subtractive forms of schooling throughout their schooling in the United States. Interview data revealed students' acquired deficit language ideologies as a result of being in programs in which their native language was neither maintained nor developed. Students favored academic literacy in English even though English literacy was a challenge they faced in school. Researchers attributed this preference to the schooling experiences that emphasized English over their native language. "It's too complicated. Spanish is too complicated" (Menken & Kleyn, 2010, p. 408), as one student remarked.

Another instance in which students felt their language was inferior to the mainstream language was in an ethnographic study where eight Latinx students tried to "pass" as fluent English speakers (Monzo & Rueda, 2009). Students demonstrated their awareness of the power of English as they tried to pass for English fluent students in order to be perceived as intelligent. They were aware of the devalued status of their native language and were committed to hide it at all costs. Students would read in a very low voice during reading aloud to avoid getting called on again and to hide mispronunciations. The clear link between language and identity was seen as students showed their need to be perceived in socially acceptable ways in order to feel accepted. Students concealed their true identities in order to avoid being part of marginalized groups and to preserve their dignity. Students often pretended to understand the material presented only in English in order to avoid feelings of shame. They nodded in acceptance, yet

³ "Students who, despite having been enrolled in United States schools for more than six years, are not progressing towards English proficiency but are continuing to struggle without the English skills needed for academic success" (Olsen, 2014).

when questioned, they admitted they did not understand and wanted to be perceived as intelligent enough to know what others were saying in English. Students felt they had no value in a system where only the English-speaking children were accepted. They felt only English-fluent students were going to perform well academically and succeed in life.

Considerable tension was created within students in the early years of school because of the discursive dissonance between home and school. Parents seemed to be aware that English immersion did not allow their children to express themselves freely in the school context because their home language was not allowed during learning activities. Discourses of the home and communities and schools are often contradictory (Monzo & Rueda, 2009; Rich & Davis, 2007; Torrez, 2013). A culturally oppressive mainstream school system is also depicted in Torrez's (2013) autoethnography and case study about young generations of Latinx in English-only schooling. Interviews with farmworkers revealed their struggle to keep their native identities alive. As parents and grandparents of school children, they felt the school system could help by teaching their home language. Subtractive schooling led farmworker families to socialize their children to navigate through two disparate environments where language and culture held the key to membership. Feeling part of the in-group was a necessity in order to survive in a world of marginalization. This caused younger members of this community to assimilate into the mainstream way of life, leaving behind their native origins. This study's rich interview data broadens the idea of identity loss in a subtractive context with assimilationist ideologies. The need to obtain membership in the dominant culture led to the slow abandonment of native identities and minimal use, if any, of their primary language. Younger generations of participants in this study showed the effects of subtractive environments as they adopted monoglossic language ideologies and were no longer able to interact effectively with family

members due to the disconnect between their home and educational discourses. These research findings support prior research on second or third generation immigrants' language loss, such as Wong-Fillmore's (2000) seminal work.

A very similar scenario is illustrated by Rich and Davis' (2007) case study of Arabic-speaking students in the UK. The study explicitly mentions how students were ashamed of speaking Arabic. They felt that speaking their native language would deny them the sense of acceptance they needed. Since English was perceived as the language of status, students tried to perform their "in-school" identity in order to feel accepted. Their native identity, including their customs, language, and home knowledge, was left out of the school setting as a result of linguistic and cultural separation between the school and the home environment. The discontinuities between the identities of two bilingual boys in their homes and in the mainstream school environment became apparent through interviews and observations. Since these discourses were so dissimilar, students tried to create a sense of coherence by managing their identities separately. These boys had a strong sense of acceptable ways to represent themselves at school and actively sought to conform to these standards for acceptance and approval from classmates and teachers. The "good student" identity was, according to students' views, characterized by embracing the English language and conforming to the school's rules and regulations; this led them to avoid using their native language in their school.

As I have shown through the research above, students' ideologies about their native language are clearly affected by the learning context they are in. Their identities as bilinguals are also trimmed down to a performance of accepted identities (Quiroz, 2001; Monzo & Rueda, 2009; Rich & Davis, 2007; Rymes & Pash, 2001). Quiroz (2001) explicitly describes how school contexts influence identities in negative ways by forcing students to hide their native

identity due to stereotype threat. This was the case in a mainstream high school classroom in Chicago. A set of Latino student autobiographies, part of the school's student files, revealed students' critiques of their educational experiences and feelings of marginalization. Latino students offered accounts of their schooling experiences in which they felt ashamed of their cultural identities because they did not fit the norm. In this setting, the valued identity, the norm, would be that of a student born in the United States and not Puerto Rico or Mexico. "Sometimes I do not tell people I'm from Puerto Rico, especially if they cannot tell because I know many people do not like us or think we are very smart" (Quiroz, 2001, p. 335), a student expressed. These narratives were read by teachers, analyzed for grammatical errors and narrative form, and filed away. This led to the silencing of students' voices and needs because no one seemed to listen to the concerns they communicated through their written work.

A similar example is presented by Rymes and Pash's (2001) study conducted in a high school in which students could use their native language, Spanish, if needed. The identity and cognition of Rene, a recent immigrant and second-language learner in a mainstream classroom, were in tension during classroom activities. The routines in the classroom mediated social identity. Rene intended to display a "being ordinary" identity in order to feel accepted and to portray understanding of classroom content. When asked questions during learning activities, Rene often responded with a nod or based his responses on his analyses of classmates' responses to the same questions. He was also able to follow the routines of the classroom and distinguish between "yes/no" questions and those that required a wordy response. Rene's strategies for coping with classroom curriculum revealed the conflict between his identity concerns and the goals of the lesson. He was adept at "passing" as knowing the material; his "being ordinary" identity was preserved, but Rene failed to acquire academic skills. Learning social routines, in

this case, was necessary but not sufficient for learning. The lack of acceptance towards Rene's language and knowledge forced him to adopt an identity far from the linguistic and cultural identity obtained through his home discourse. The mismatch between primary and secondary discourses (Gee, 1996) led to negative effects in his identity.

Similar scenarios characterized by deficit views of language and students whose language is not the mainstream language are illustrated through the findings of a six-year ethnographic study (Allard, Mortimer, Gallo, Link & Wortham, 2014) in which English learners were assimilated into a monoglossic learning context. High school EL students in a mainstream suburban East Coast community referred to classes that were offered to English-speaking students as "*normales*" or "*regulares*." This implied that ESL classes were considered abnormal or irregular and not as challenging as English-only classes. ESL classes were conducted mostly in Spanish and were populated only by English learners. As a result, EL students' identities were not viewed as "normal" or "regular." They viewed themselves as Spanish speakers who were not intelligent enough to be placed in the regular classes.

Language is not the only resource that students lose in a subtractive environment (Valenzuela, 1999). While not mentioned explicitly, research demonstrates the powerful effects of loss of confidence on students' academic performance (Allard et al., 2014; Menken, Kleyn, & Chae, 2012; Monzo & Rueda, 2009; Quiroz, 2001; Rich & Davis, 2007; Rymes & Pash, 2001). The qualitative research findings of a study conducted in New York City high schools explicitly reveals students' loss of confidence in their abilities as they navigated inconsistency in ESL and bilingual programs that didn't acknowledge their native identities (Menken, Kleyn, & Chae, 2012). The researchers associate ELs' consistently poor performance in school with lowered personal expectations due to lack of academic support. Gaby, a tenth-grade student, reported

feeling embarrassed and withdrawing in her class because she was significantly older than her classmates. She had been retained two grade levels due to her low academic performance. Menken, Kleyn, and Chae (2012) believe ELs underperformance is due to the recurring obstacles they face that contribute to their limited literacy in English and their native language. Many participants in this study had been retained one or more grades, affecting their confidence and motivation. The lack of support for ELs through the exclusion of their primary language from the formal learning context led to low academic achievement. Interviews revealed that students felt their native identities and histories had been excluded from the mainstream curriculum. A student stated, “My mind is with the history over there [the Dominican Republic]. I know it more than here, and then [when] I come here I’m studying the history, but I don’t get everything. Like there’s my head, crazy sometimes. I was telling my teacher I wish the Regents [exam] was about Dominican Republic, that way I would pass it” (Menken, Kleyn, & Chae, 2012, p. 132). This student’s experience revealed frustration with the history curriculum, due to differences in language, content, and perspective. She was aware of the ways in which her Dominican identity and prior knowledge were subtracted from this learning context. Only the history of the United States was acknowledged in this setting.

Based on the studies presented, emergent bilinguals who are in ESL and mainstream classes at the secondary level clearly feel a disconnect between their native identities and the identity they are expected to perform in these learning settings. Lack of acceptance of their primary discourse and their home-based experiences affects their academic performance, as well. These studies informed my observations in my own dissertation study, as students often felt the need to “pass” as fluent-English learners and perform “being ordinary,” or non-stigmatized identities, in order to exit out of TBE or take the English STAAR test, which they considered a

significant marker of their intelligence. Similar experiences have been found in the elementary grades as in these secondary school studies. They are described in the section below.

2.7.2 Language ideologies and identities in elementary education (TBE)

Fuller (2007) presents a case in which fourth grade EL students were allowed to speak their native language in class as support in transitioning to English. Students performed frequent codeswitching for meaning and negotiation of identities across contexts and audience. As Rich and Davis (2007) show, students performed the “good student” identity by using only English to fit the classroom norm of U.S. classrooms. The “Mexican” identity was portrayed when speaking with peers in Spanish. According to Fuller (2007), students’ self-esteem was elevated when they were able to speak the school’s prestige language, English. They developed a language ideology that favored English even though they also used their native language. The use of English, the prestige code in their school, helped them present themselves as viable candidates for academic advancement. In this manner, each language took on multiple meanings and functions. Theories of language ideologies and language choice were used to analyze how fourth-grade students constructed their identity through discourse (LePage & Tabouret-Keller, 1985). While the researcher in this study seemed to view the “good student identity” and the “Mexican identity” as binaries, I propose that viewing theories of identity as more of a fluid interaction of a multiplicity of material and expressive entities constantly in flux (Wagner, 2017) better explains students’ performances in different contexts. Students were constantly becoming through their moment-by-moment interactions and practices.

Students’ performances are highly impacted by teachers’ ideologies and expectations in the classroom. Palmer’s (2011) ethnographic study conducted in a Texas elementary school provides insight into the relevance of teachers’ contradictory language ideologies as enacted

through classroom discourses and practices. This study revealed prevalent “discourses of transition” reflecting teachers’ assimilationist ideologies and TBE district policies that seemed to overpower their personal pluralistic ideologies towards “bilingualism.” While teachers intended to replicate dual language program practices and teach Spanish, they found themselves using mostly English even on designated “Spanish days.” This was, in part, the result of the classroom composition, which consisted mostly English-speaking children. Class instruction was mostly catered to their linguistic needs, limiting Spanish use to informal conversations. In sum, teachers engaged in complex discourses that reflected the ideologies of the TBE program and framed Spanish as the language having to be left behind in order to succeed and transition into all-English classrooms, while also expressing their personal additive bilingualism beliefs. Teachers’ pluralistic ideologies, however, are no substitute for a systemic commitment to linguistic pluralism in classroom practice.

Teachers’ practices are a critical factor in students’ academic advancement, and more importantly for this review, the way they perceive language and their own identities. Such is the case in a two-year ethnographic study that shows how elementary students’ identities were constructed and negotiated through cultural practices of schooling in a TBE context (Michael-Luna, 2008, Palmer, 2011). The site of research was considered by administrators and teachers a Spanish-English dual language classroom. I believe that, even though the bilingual program implemented in this school was labeled “dual language,” it resembled a TBE setting, as the main goal was to transition students into an all-English learning environment as soon as they were considered proficient in English. In this one-way classroom, students’ Latino identities were left out of the curriculum, leading them to identify as White when the only options were Black or White during a discussion on Martin Luther King Jr. Michael-Luna (2008) problematizes texts

and pedagogy in the context of this study, as they privileged one way of knowing in which Whites are powerful and Blacks are oppressed. The ways in which texts and pedagogy shape young Latinos' identities and understandings of who they are and their potential for growth within the school context is also analyzed through this study. Previous research notes minority students feel the need to withdraw from their ethnic identity in order to fit in and thrive academically (Allard et al., 2014; Fordham, 1996; Menken, Kelyn, & Chae, 2012; Monzo & Rueda, 2009; Nasir & Saxe, 2003; Quiroz, 2001; Rich & Davis, 2007; Rymes & Pash, 2001) due to a disconnect between their own culture and the curriculum. In Michael Luna's study, students' lack of English skills prevented them explicitly expressing their resistance. Instead, students often reacted with silence and minimal interaction. In a similar manner as Native-American students appropriated the "silent Indian" stereotype in a white-dominated classroom as a result of complex feelings of self-esteem, anger, and boredom (Foley, 1996; Lomawaima & McCarty, 2006).

Across various assimilationist contexts, research shows the effects of monoglossic ideologies on students' own beliefs about language and their identities. In the studies presented above, learners were not able to perform their bilingual identities in subtractive contexts that did not value their native backgrounds. Feelings of marginalization often led to withdrawal and low academic achievement in these studies. In addition, as seen in this literature review, most studies focused on secondary schools (Allard et al., 2014; Menken, Kleyn, & Chae, 2012; Monzo & Rueda, 2009; Quiroz, 2001; Rich & Davis, 2007; Rymes & Pash, 2001; Torrez, 2013) and less on TBE in the elementary and lower grade levels (Michael-Luna, 2008; Palmer, 2011). These studies point to the impact of language policy on classroom practices. The ways in which district and school-level policies were enacted and resisted by teachers was very significant, as it

influenced the ways in which students perceived themselves in relation to classroom expectations. These studies demonstrate here that despite monoglossic policies, teachers' agency is critical in the linguistic and academic success of students. While it is difficult to completely depart from expectations and policies at the macro-level, teachers' personal experiences and beliefs about language and students' abilities can help enhance their learning experiences.

In assimilationist learning settings, students developed language ideologies that often resembled nationalist macro-level views on language. Students also displayed a preference for the mainstream language even though their primary language was not English (Menken & Kleyn, 2010; Torrez, 2013). They often developed shame for their native language and abstained from using it in public places (Monzo & Rueda, 2009; Rich & Davis, 2007). Students enacted particular identities in these assimilationist contexts. They frequently tried to perform English speakers' identities, "passing" as English speakers, enacting the "good student" identity, "being ordinary, "regular", normal". These identities clearly reflect the power of language ideologies and social categorizations. Students' diasporic belonging (Wagner, 2017) was trimmed down to the performance of only expected and accepted entities of their assemblage, while others were deemed transparent.

2.8 Additive Forms of Schooling

Additive forms of schooling entail "caring for children in an authentic manner by honoring their community-based identities in a respectful, relational manner" (Valenzuela, 1999, p. 21). The studies presented in this section describe pluralistic contexts in which the linguistic resources of students were valued for their contributions to students' academic, social, and linguistic growth (Babino & Stewarg, 2017; Bartlett, 2007; Borland, 2005; Cummins, 2005; Dworin, 2006; Haslett, 2001; Henderson & Palmer, 2015; Lopez, 2008; Maloof, Rubin, &

Miller, 2006; Yoon, 2007). I have divided this section among between 1) additive contexts and 2) those contexts in which the schools' language policies were subtractive, yet teachers' agency allowed for the creation of an additive context in their own classroom. As with research on subtractive schooling, these studies of additive schooling portray the effects of the learning environment on students' identity and language ideologies. Again, some studies focused only on language ideologies or identities, while others focused on both themes.

2.8.1 Language ideologies and identity in Dual Language settings

In a dual language elementary school in central Texas, Ms. Stevens, the English teacher, viewed her English language arts classroom as an English-only space (Henderson & Palmer, 2015). She implemented the separation of languages dictated by her school policies by using only English for instruction. Consequently, students viewed Ms. Stevens as an English-only interlocutor, and when she was at close distance, they made sure to speak only English to each other. Even within Ms. Stevens' strict language separation, students' agency allowed them to find spaces to engage in translanguaging practices amongst themselves. They clearly valued their primary language as a resource for communicating with their peers, even though they dismissed it as a tool for communicating during classroom interactions with the teacher or with the entire class. The language arts teacher, on the other hand, instructed in English and Spanish. Students used both languages when communicating in her classroom. The language ideologies circulating in this campus were complex and multiple. Students' agentic practices positioned them as language policy makers (Johnson, 2013), as they found spaces where they could express themselves freely despite expectations and ideologies held by different teachers. This study stresses the need to consider the monoglossic ideologies transmitted to students even within DL programs that are often thought of as additive in nature. As in my study, students in Henderson

and Palmer's (2015) study performed aspects of their diasporic belonging based on expectations of those present and their own expectations. When they felt it was necessary to display a "monolingual, English-fluent identity," they did so in order to be perceived by their teachers as "ready" for English-only instruction or state assessments. They intended to "pass" as fluent English-speakers by displaying only the valued aspects of their assemblages according to the different situations they encountered.

Teachers' views on language are relevant to students but are not the only factors influencing students' ideologies and how they perform their identity. Lopez (2008) uncovers the multiple layers of language ideologies present in a dual language classroom by illustrating how young learners' ideologies are influenced by various contexts and manifested in oral and written discourse. This study examined first grade students in DL classrooms, studying through Spanish and English, along with the influence of adults at home and at school. At the macro level, the ideologies of teachers from five DL schools across Texas were examined quantitatively through the Teachers Language Ideologies (TLI) instrument. Micro-level findings showed that students' ideological stances were influenced more by their home context than by secondary contexts of school and community. The students who expressed the greatest interest in maintaining their bilingualism were two students in one of the two 1st grade DL classrooms whose parents highly supported bilingualism and whose families had higher levels of linguistic diversity. Teachers, students, and parents held ideologies influenced by their social positions and linguistic backgrounds. Lopez (2008) calls for school districts to be considerate of parents and their linguistic standings, as they are influential agents in the lives of young students. It is often seen, as the findings of my study showed, the power of parents as agentic policy makers (Johnson,

2013) is not only relevant in the home domain but also in the type of education they choose for their children.

Parents' ideologies are often critical factors in the type of bilingual education their children receive. Despite their beliefs and whether students are in additive programs, students often create deficit perspectives of their native languages even in DL programs, as will be presented. Babino and Stewart (2017) state that in order to create a successful dual language program in which the primary and secondary languages are valued and the end goal is bilingualism, biliteracy, and biculturalism, it is necessary to attend to how identities are negotiated in multicultural contexts. The researchers sought to find explanations for why 53 out of 63 fifth grade students in dual language classrooms stated a preference for the English language over their mother tongue. Even though bilingual education in the form of dual language programs works to prevent language loss, Freeman (1998) asserts that dual language communities cannot remove themselves from the values and language ideologies of the surrounding dominant society. The findings of this study conducted in a large city in the southwestern United States revealed that students perceived English monolingual authority figures, such as teachers and administrators, as role models. Spanish monolingual figures in their lives, such as their grandparents and parents, did not hold positions of power. Thus, students in this study viewed English as a language of power and chose to embrace it. This study, similar to my own findings, clearly illustrates how students construct their own assemblages and enhance, or limit, their diasporic belonging based on teachers' and administrators' expectations and ideologies.

2.8.2 Documenting educational changes – Language ideologies and identity

Cummins (2005) discusses the effects of a shift from assimilationist to pluralist schooling in an attempt to decrease achievement gaps within the school. Maddidah's classroom participation, as a 7th grade English learner in an ESL setting, was severely limited in a social studies unit because of her linguistic abilities in an environment where only English was allowed. She could not express her experiences, ideas, and insights during her learning. However, because of a shift in the structure of the class, whereby students were invited to use their native language and English to write stories, Maddidah could express herself and use her experiences as learning tools. Her identity as a fluent and literate Urdu speaker became apparent during activities which allowed creative dialogue with her classmates took place. Maddidah was able to produce "identity texts" that reflected written, spoken, visual, musical, and other multimodal forms of her native identity. Identity texts are defined by Cummins (2005) as products of students' creative work or performances carried out within pedagogical space. The metaphor of identity texts is that of a mirror students hold up in which their identities are reflected back in a positive light. When students shared identity texts in the classroom, they were likely to receive positive feedback and affirmation of self. When Maddidah's primary language became part of the curriculum, she began to feel appreciated and accepted (Cummins, 2005).

Another instance of shifts in traditional practices to more inclusive practices is Dworin's (2006) study. Students in a TBE classroom were participants in a "Family Stories Project" study that focused on students' linguistic and cultural traits as key resources for learning. Utilizing students' funds of knowledge (Moll, 1992) as part of the classroom curriculum helped reinforce their native identities. This powerful implementation of students' cultural knowledge as a

resource for learning contrasted with previous classroom curricula in which subtractive schooling was the norm. The primary language of instruction in this setting had been English, with minimal space for biliteracy development. The implementation of the literacy project highlighted the importance of children's use of two languages, as biliteracy was viewed as an important social and cultural tool for thinking, communicating, and writing. This study shows how even in largely monoglossic school contexts, practices that enhance and promote bilingualism and biculturalism can be implemented. Despite subtractive ideologies, micro-level practices in the classrooms that involve students' funds of knowledge can create spaces for linguistic and cultural development.

Teachers' agency as policy makers in their own classrooms is critical for students' sense of belonging. Positioning students as resourceful and intellectual instead of powerless and inferior allows them to shape their identities as such, according to Yoon's (2007) case study. The middle school teacher, Mrs. Young, played a valuable role in the positioning of English learners as acceptable vis-a-vis their mainstream peers, which resulted in increased interaction between the two groups. EL students' cultural and linguistic attributes were acknowledged and valued. The teacher's role was significant in English learners' literacy learning and construction of positive identities. While other mainstream teachers perceived bilingual students as deficient, this particular teacher attended to students' social and cultural needs as part of their learning. Comments like, "It is impressive that you can write in Russian and English," showed that she embraced students' linguistic abilities. Mrs. Young used her own identity as a European American and experiences in a different culture in order to present a picture of the difficulties she was also confronted with. Mrs. Young's view of students as cultural resources influenced the construction of their identities as powerful learners. This analysis further develops the notion

that teachers' agency in creating an environment where students feel their native identities are valued allows for a positive self-image as learners in mainstream classrooms.

A similar study of the impact of teachers' language ideologies on students' own beliefs and identities is Haslett (2001), which stresses the need to shift away from monoglot and nationalist language ideologies. Breaking away from these ideologies allows for a view of language as fluid across borders. This study focused on two elementary schools in Iowa with a TBE program in place. The structure seems to follow a typical secondary school model in which students are pulled out of the classroom for ESL intervention or accompanied by an ESL aide for a portion of their day in an English-only context. Fluidity across languages was perceived in both settings (ESL pullout and ESL in class aide) in which students accessed their linguistic resources to communicate effectively and make meaning. Ideologies of linguistic inclusion held by teachers allowed EL students to participate fully in classroom discussions and activities. While the wider community displayed both nationalist and pluralistic language ideologies, it was the latter that was adopted by the two focal schools of this study. This study suggests that teachers' language ideologies have a significant impact on the way students learn and communicate, more than any single education approach, similarly to Palmer's results (2011).

For the most part, the additive forms of schooling presented in these studies tend to value students' native identities and linguistic abilities. Classroom teachers play a critical role in supporting students' identities (Cummins, 1994), as identities are co-constructed by students and teachers. When students' ethnic identity is acknowledged and perceived as a resource, students' sense of pride and power is enhanced (Yoon, 2007). Students often felt a strong sense of belonging in classrooms where they were allowed to enact their bilingual identities. Even within additive contexts, however, students showed preference for an English-speaking identity over a

Spanish-speaking identity in some cases. These findings are a call for the implementation not only of additive language instruction, but of effective pluralist contexts that promote bilingualism, biliteracy, and biculturalism.

2.9 Recent Approaches to Bilingual Education

While additive bilingualism entails the acquisition of a second language without subtracting the primary language, Garcia (2009) challenges this notion of language by asserting that languages are not separate entities. In this view, socially constructed “languages” are features within one linguistic system. Bilinguals use these features from their single linguistic repertoire to communicate fluidly. “The complex and fluid language practices of bilinguals in which they intermingle linguistic features that are typically associated with separate languages occurs in dynamic bilingualism” (Garcia, & Lin, 2017, p.120). This flexible and dynamic form of speech, *translanguaging*, is centered on the linguistic practices of bilingual speakers themselves, rather than starting from the perspective of named languages (Garcia & Lin, 2017). Individuals draw from a single linguistic resource, often composed of more than one “language,” to communicate and convey meaning.

Moreover, the creation of a “third space” where primary and secondary discourses meet allows for hybridity in which multiple resources are utilized to make sense of the world (Moje et al., 2004). Such space does not invoke the label of “subtractive” nor “additive.” Rather, dynamic bilingualism, as proposed by Garcia (2009), is focused on the notion that bilingualism is not just additive, since languages are not two separate systems working independently. Rather, linguistic resources are combined within one linguistic repertoire and in the language practices of bilinguals, which are complex, interrelated, and do not emerge in a linear fashion. Within this third space, scaffolding via the home discourse takes place as new knowledge arises (Moje et al.,

2004). Research has provided valuable insight into how funds of knowledge from students' homes and communities can be used within the school setting as resources for academic learning (Moll, 1992). As youth engage with texts based in many different funds, their identities potentially become hybrid, according to Moje et al. (2014), because they are framed by an intersection of many different funds of knowledge and discourses. Students' globalized selves are formed across the diverse discourses in which they engage. Wagner (2017) would define students' "hybrid identities" more as categories in assemblage with many intersecting, complex, fluid entities.

Dynamic bilingualism takes place across different contexts. For instance, even though dual language programs try to mark and enforce a separation of languages across time and/or space, studies found translanguaging to be a common practice. The separation of languages is not as marked as program specifications may dictate, since students and teachers interact through the simultaneous use of various modes of communication. The studies below describe instances in which translanguaging occurred through teacher-led or student-led dynamic bilingualism.

2.9.1 Language ideologies, identities, and dynamic bilingualism

Monoglossic language ideologies, in general, do not address the needs of bilingual students (Canagarajah, 2013). Normative monolingualism has led to two approaches: subtractive bilingualism and additive bilingualism (Heller, 2006). The former explicitly supports monolingualism through the replacement of the home language with the mainstream language. The latter advocates bilingualism, yet continues to assume monolingualism as the norm, conceiving bilingualism as a kind of double monolingualism in two distinct, standardized national languages (Garcia, 2009; Heller, 2006). Garcia (2009) advocates replacing monoglossic language ideologies with heteroglossic language ideologies that acknowledge the dynamic

language practices of bilingual speakers. Research that portrays students' language ideologies in dynamic bilingualism settings is not abundant. Teachers' language ideologies, however, have been researched more extensively (Collins & Cioe-Pena, 2016; de la Piedra, Araujo, & Esquinca, 2018; Esquinca, Araujo, & de la Piedra, 2014; Garcia & Wei, 2014; Martinez, Duran, & Hikida, 2017; Moje et al., 2004).

A qualitative study in the northern United States illustrates a monoglossic setting in which subject matter was taught only in English (Flores & Schissel, 2014). Even within this restrictive environment in which the sole purpose of Spanish use was to transition students into an all-English setting, the teacher recognized the linguistic resources students brought to the classroom. She used her own experiences of learning Spanish as an example for her students. As a result, they were engaged and eager to participate in her class discussions. "The teacher recognized her own progress in language learning as dynamic rather than static and positioned herself as a language learner with her students" (Flores & Schiessel, 2014, p. 465). While she mainly used English in the classroom, she encouraged her students to translanguage yet be ready to communicate in English in different situations, such as during state testing. Researchers in this study referred to the teacher's own learning and teaching style as dynamic, and not based on standard conventions of spelling and writing. Rather, she created a space where knowledge in any language, whether characterized by proficiency in standard forms or not, was valued and appreciated. Her actions point to a heteroglossic ideological stance that led her to establish a space where she encouraged her students to demonstrate their dynamic bilingualism.

Another similar instance of teachers' implementation of spaces that allow dynamic bilingualism is the case of a dual language program in which language separation was implemented; however, Ms. Castillo, enacted a language ideology that supported bilingualism

(Henderson & Palmer, 2015). This teacher often code-switched and allowed her students to use their entire linguistic repertoire to construct meaning. Students spoke in English and Spanish, and code-switched throughout classroom lessons and among themselves. In interviews, Ms. Castillo articulated the language ideology that code-switching is incorrect, yet she embodied a ideology of “language hybridity” (Henderson & Palmer, 2015, p. 82) and code-switched constantly during classroom observations. She expressed ambivalent feelings toward the dual language model because she felt it was incompatible with the requirements for test preparation: “I feel so torn. How much of my time do I focus on the Spanish?” (Henderson & Palmer, 2015, p. 87)

Another instance is described by Esquinca, Araujo, & de la Piedra (2014), who observed the dynamic use of language in a dual language program located in a U.S.-Mexico border region. During the last year of a three-year ethnographic study about the construction of science content knowledge in a 4th grade DL setting, observations focused on how language mediated learning. Students drew on all their linguistic resources to acquire knowledge about different types of energy. Translanguaging and multimodality became the focal meaning-making tools utilized during social interactions. Contributions made by students in Spanish were acknowledged by the teachers as legitimate ways of knowing. Translanguaging was used as a pedagogical practice in which the teacher scaffolded upon her own knowledge and that of her students in order to construct deep understanding of science concepts. The teacher also made students aware that she understood their experiences as English learners, since she was an emergent bilingual herself. Her intention was to make students feel comfortable and optimistic about learning a second language as well as new content knowledge. The teacher’s language ideologies became evident

through her dynamic pedagogical practices in which students' bilingual and bicultural resources were used as tools to teach science.

In another learning context where dynamic bilingualism was the norm, students' multiple entities, including linguistic and cultural, in their assemblages, seemed to be reinforced. Martinez, Duran, and Hikida (2017) noted that students' identities were variously asserted, contested, and negotiated during a conversation amongst 1st grade students in a dual language classroom. As Alicia and Malik learned Spanish in this Latinx-majority setting, they were simultaneously constructing their identities as "Spanish-learners." They positioned themselves in relation to their Spanish-speaking classmates who projected an identity of fluent Spanish speakers and models for Spanish language use. During the times when Alicia and Malik asserted Spanish-speaking identities for themselves, their classmates challenged those identities by reinforcing who the fluent-Spanish speakers in the classroom were. In this manner, identities were subject to constant negotiation through interaction. Dynamic bilingual conversations took place, for example, when students made sense of a picture book by moving fluidly and flexibly across the boundaries of English and Spanish set by the teacher. Through translanguaging, they co-constructed their linguistic identities as Spanish speakers and/or Spanish learners. In this study, students constantly negotiated their belonging with their classmates, as did participants in my study. They were "becoming" in a constant, moment-by-moment performance. While at one moment it was important for them to perform the Spanish linguistic entities of their assemblage, at others, the English traits were pertinent to demonstrate fluidity of the language of the test.

Garcia and Wei (2014) also describe the positive effects of translanguaging, in this case, in a Social Studies setting. Recent immigrant learners and their teacher engaged in a constructive discussion about deportation and their own experiences with this issue. This topic is

directly related to many students' lived experiences, fears, and anxieties. This was evident as students were actively engaged in conversation. Students were allowed to draw on their available resources to derive meaning and engage in constructive conversation about relevant topics. Additionally, their identities as immigrants were accepted during this lesson that valued and encouraged their cultural backgrounds for class discussion. Incorporating students' funds of knowledge (Moll, 1994) into classroom discussions, including bringing forward immigration experiences through their entire linguistic repertoire, allowed students to enhance their diasporic sense of belonging and value the complex multiplicity of their assemblages.

Another instance where students felt a sense of belonging due to inclusion practices was the case of a classroom lesson (Collins & Cioe-Pena, 2016) where translanguaging practices allowed the students to participate and learn. English and Spanish charts, concepts, and posters displayed around the classroom promoted understandings in the language students understood. This intentional translanguaging design was constructed to allow for spaces where students could access their entire linguistic repertoire to derive meaning and achieve the rigorous curriculum standards. More importantly, students felt empowered by being able to participate in the lesson where their bilingual identities were accepted, valued, and seen as a resource.

In a similar manner, Moje et al. (2004) illustrate how the meeting of contrasting discourses requires sophisticated uses of language and literacy by students. Having the space, termed "third space," and freedom to communicate fluidly and make sense of the world through the use of primary and secondary discourses had a positive effect on students' academic performance and their bilingual identities. Within this third space, created as an implementation of this study, scaffolding from the home discourse took place as new knowledge arose. This study looked into the lives and funds of knowledge of middle school students aged 12-15. As

youth in this two-way immersion (English/Spanish) program engaged with texts based on many different funds of knowledge, their identities potentially became hybrid because they were framed by an intersection of many different funds of knowledge and discourses. Students' globalized identities were formed across the diverse discourses they engaged in. Therefore, learning in any context demanded identity shifts. These identities were reinforced within a third space that was explicitly made for integration of students' home and school discourses. Students' cultures, languages, and funds of knowledge (Moll et al., 1992) were valued and integrated within this space.

Creese and Blackledge (2010) expand the practices involved in translanguaging seen in these studies and add a higher-level order of thinking: critical thinking. In an effort to cope with the negative effects of subtractive schooling environments, a community in the United Kingdom founded a complementary school with a flexible bilingual approach to language and learning (Creese & Blackledge, 2010). Interaction was enriched in this classroom setting because of the availability of diverse linguistic and cultural resources. These linguistic practices, such as translanguaging, allowed students to reinforce their bilingual identities to develop critical thinking and derive meaning. An ecological approach was used in this setting, as it considered the development of new languages, such as Gujarati and Chinese, alongside the development of existing languages (Lier, 2008), and “challenge[d] hierarchies and hegemonies of language through diversity within specific sociopolitical settings (Creese & Blackledge, 2010)”.

These studies on educational contexts that enable dynamic bilingualism inform my research study, as they focus on how assemblages as multiplicities (termed bilingual “identities” by the above researchers) with their material and expressive entities are valued. In these contexts, learners' complex beings are valued for the same complexity and multiplicity that

characterizes them. They are not expected to maintain only certain aspects of their assemblages salient at school, as other learning contexts do, as seen in the literature reviewed in subtractive contexts. In my findings, translanguaging practices in both TBE and DL were limited, disabling students' diasporic belonging from feeling valued and accepted at all times. Students' agentic practices, however, allowed them to resist expectations and top-down policies in creative ways.

Dynamic bilingualism is a fairly new approach to the study of bilingual education. Research presented on diasporic belonging in this context is limited. Students' experiences in these bilingual settings were seldom the main focus in these studies. Often, teachers' perspectives were the main source of data with minimal, if any, reference to students' own perspectives and own voices, with some exceptions (Collins & Cioe-Pena, 2016; Garcia & Wei, 2014; Martinez, Duran, & Hikida, 2017; Moje et al., 2004). Understanding students' language ideologies as the result of being in a dynamic bilingual setting may enhance the literature in this area. Also, it is difficult to assert if the language ideologies students and teachers adopt are a result of the bilingual approach, which has shown to drastically vary from TBE to dual language, or of the dynamic approach implemented in the research studies presented in this section. The contexts described below are characterized, not by strict separation of languages policy, as dictated in dual language settings, but rather by fluidity across languages.

2.10 Student Voice

A relevant factor that few researchers have focused on is student voice. According to Blake (1997), "Voice implies having power over the presentation of reality and meaning, and the ability to construct, articulate, and shape one's experience" (p. 126). Granting students power to express their thoughts about their learning experiences through their own voices is critical yet underexplored in research (Babino & Stewarts, 2017; Cummins, 2005; Menken & Kleyn, 2010;

Menken, Kleyn, & Chae, 2012; Quiroz, 2001). The scarcity of studies that grant students agency over their own experiences and learning points to another important gap in the literature. Below are examples of students' voices from the studies presented in this review. They illustrate students' experiences in diverse bilingual programs through their own accounts.

Latino students offered accounts of predominantly negative schooling experiences in which they felt ashamed of their cultural identity because it did not fit the norm (Quiroz, 2001). "They treat us Hispanics different than they treat white people... Hispanics don't know much of their background because it is not advertised much in History, the way white history is.... I do not like people referring to me as Hispanic because that makes me a minority and it hurts" (Quiroz, 2001, p. 336). In another all-English setting, students described their experiences and their teacher's language ideologies. "The teacher put me to read something and I was like, nah, what's this? And she's like, write a paragraph, and she's like you can't be in this class, you don't know how to write obviously" (Menken & Kleyn, 2010, p. 408). In another relevant study, a student expressed her shame about being retained two grade levels due to low academic achievement in a subtractive context: "I feel embarrassed to be in a class I'm not supposed to be in" (Menken, Kleyn, & Chae, 2012, p. 135). In a different classroom setting characterized by pluralist ideologies, Maddidah expressed her feelings by stating, "When I am allowed to write a story in Urdu, I feel very comfortable and very special and important. I feel special because I don't want to forget my language" (Cummins, 2005, p. 11). Her sense of appreciation for her language is enhanced when it is valued and incorporated into the curriculum. Finally, in a dual language setting, Yesenia expressed her ideologies about Spanish by saying, "I think it's a little important" (Babino & Stewart, 2017, p. 24). Pedro stated his ideologies about English by saying this language "makes me feel like a gringo, like I can have a good career" (Babino & Stewart,

2017, p. 25). Students' voices in these excerpts provide powerful illustrations of how students perceive language, often through experiences of linguistic shame, and their own assemblages through their own accounts.

Even though students' voices are illustrated in only a few studies, they present a powerful picture of their feelings and experiences across settings. Students explicitly reveal their emotions, feelings, and experiences throughout their schooling. In this dissertation, students also presented a different view from that of their teachers and administrators. According to Quiroz (2001), in order for voice to become powerful, it is necessary to allow it to be heard. Therefore, it is necessary to continue to integrate students' perspectives into research findings and allow their voices to speak for themselves. Their voices can become powerful sources for praxis and better educational practices when included as the main source of data.

2.11 Conclusion and Gaps in the Literature

According to the studies analyzed in this review, it is critical to ensure that students feel a sense of connection between their school environment and their personal life and culture (Twyman et al., 2003). Incorporating students' background knowledge and utilizing it as a tool for their academic advancement is crucial for their success. An environment where aspects of students' cultures are nurtured and encouraged fosters multiculturalism and makes students feel accepted. In order to avoid the internalization of oppression, it is important to include minority students' realities and experiences in the curriculum. This entails the removal of language ideologies that promote the dominion of one language over others and of dominant monoglossic ideologies that do not recognize practices that enable students' diasporic belonging. These ideologies make it difficult for students to feel equal to their classmates whose cultural and language traits match the schools' mainstream ideologies. Even though monoglossic ideologies

outside of the school context may also have powerful effects on students and their experiences, educational institutions can contribute to the reduction or elimination of deficit perspectives on minority groups by providing tools for students to negotiate, question, or resist these views. Learning settings that foster culturally sensitive pedagogies, based on this review of literature, are more likely to include additive and dynamic forms of schooling in which both the native language and English are valued and incorporated into the curriculum.

Additive and dynamic bilingual contexts are distinctively unique. They vary in the value they place on students' assemblages and linguistic abilities as resources in their learning. While subtractive bilingualism aims to quickly assimilate students into the American culture at the expense specific entities in students' assemblages, such as "languages" and "culture," DL programs ideally foster students' entire linguistic repertoire without sacrificing one for the sake of the other. Such programs, based on this literature, can be enhanced by enabling students' complex linguistic practices. These approaches to bilingualism are important to analyze and explore, as they provide relevant information about students' linguistic and cognitive abilities.

EBs are a growing segment of the US population representing 18.86 percent of total students in Texas with 1,010,756 students labeled as ELs enrolled during the 2016-2017 school year (TEA, 2017). It is, therefore, critical to gain insight into their experiences, language ideologies, and assemblages, as constructed in these programs, and, in this manner, help enhance their learning experiences. This literature review provides insight into students' language ideologies and identities in subtractive and additive contexts as well as dynamic contexts. This new approach to bilingualism may also provide relevant insight into best pedagogical practices for emergent bilinguals.

The findings analyzed in this review point to three critical gaps in the literature. First, researchers often illustrate findings through their own interpretations of teachers' perspectives. Students' voices are largely lacking in the existing body of literature on ideologies bilingual education. EBs' beliefs about language and identity, as constructed in bilingual programs, are not highlighted in many studies, which tend to focus on the ideologies held by teachers. Second, those studies which have focused on EBs' identities and beliefs have usually examined secondary school settings (mainstream and ESL). Minimal research focuses on emergent bilinguals' experiences in the elementary grades, which is when TBE programs are implemented. It is important to gain insight into the ideologies appropriated at the higher elementary grades where bilingual programs are still in place, since it is in these grades when students have been in these programs for 4-6 years and whose assemblages and language ideologies have been influenced through these diverse settings. Some of these students, such as those in TBE programs, have been through years of testing and are still perceived as limited English proficient and not fluent enough to form part of the "regular" classrooms. Learning about beliefs that govern bilingual education and their influence on students' own beliefs and construction of identities is of critical importance. Lastly, studies that compare students' experiences in two different bilingual education programs are scarce. Many studies focus on dual language programs and some on transitional bilingual education, but there are no studies that compare these two programs in relation to students' own experiences. These are relevant areas that this study focused on extensively.

Chapter 3: Methodology and Setting

In the analysis of language ideologies, it was necessary to gain insight into micro and macro level ideologies embodied in discourse and produced through unspoken assumptions embedded in the structure of institutions and practices in daily life (Gal, 1993). Through this study, I looked at micro level ideologies held by administrators, teachers, and students and the macro-level ideologies they may stem from. The purpose of this study was to gain insight into students' lived experiences in relation to their linguistic ideologies and those of the school and district, and into the ways in which their assemblages as multiplicities were constructed through two bilingual education programs, one DL and one TBE. Discovering how young learners come to understand the role of language in their lives and their own identities was a goal of this study. As a reminder, this study followed the following main research question: How are students' language ideologies and identities constructed in a transitional bilingual program and a dual language program? First, I will present my experiences in both settings, DL and TBE, as part of my positionality. Next, I will discuss the data collection methods for the comparative study that began in the spring of 2018. In the final section, I include a table indicating the methods by which the research questions were addressed in this dissertation study.

Qualitative researchers explore how people make sense of the world (Fusch, Fusch, & Ness, 2017) through in-depth study of everyday behavior of participants (Holloway, Brown, & Shipway et al., 2010). The participants in this study were 4th-grade EBs in a TBE and a DL program in the U.S.-Mexico border region. Two elementary schools were the main sites of research for a 5-month period during the Spring of 2018. Interviews, classroom observations, focus groups, and identity maps (drawings) were the main methods I used to explore language ideologies and identities in these two bilingual programs. My dissertation fieldwork began in the

Spring of 2018 during the 2017-2018 school year. Data collection took place in a TBE classroom and a DL classroom. The TBE program was observed at Valley School⁴, while data collection of DL practices was at Ramos Elementary.

3.1 Doing Fieldwork in My Hometown: Research Setting

My exposure to both of these settings began much earlier than the 2017-2018 school year. I was born, raised, and have taught 4th grade in the border region where this dissertation study was conducted; I conducted a pilot study in Valley School during the 2016-2017 school year (Herrera-Rocha & de la Piedra, 2018), and I worked as a research assistant in Ramos Elementary during the same school year.

3.1.1 The Mexico-U.S. border

The Mexico-U.S. border region where my dissertation study was conducted is the place where I grew up. I was born in the U.S. but frequently took trips across the border for leisure and to visit family. My family migrated to the U.S. in search of better opportunities for employment and for educational opportunities for my siblings and me. I share a similar background with many of the students whose practices in bilingual programs I have observed.

This border city is located in the American southwest region with a population of 840,000. About 92% of the population is White, 11.8% is White alone (not Hispanic or Latino), 83% is Hispanic or Latino, 3.9% is African American, 1.3% is American Indian, and 1% is Asian (U.S. Census Bureau, 2017). In this border city, there is fluid relation between residents in Mexico and residents in the U.S. Mexico residents travel to this border city to shop and eat at

⁴ To protect the privacy of participants, schools, and districts, all names used are pseudonyms.

the various malls and restaurants, visit family, and others for education purposes. U.S. residents often cross the bridge to the Mexico border city to eat and shop, visit family, and for employment reasons. English, Spanish, and combinations of both are fluidly used by many residents on both sides of the border.

Bilingual education is diverse in this border region. Several districts implement the DL program as an option in their campuses. They also provide all-English instruction. One district in this area, where Valley School resides, implements the TBE model. This district also provides all-English instruction for students who are not coded LEP and for students who are coded LEP but whose parents deny bilingual education in TBE classrooms. In this section, I will describe the state-level policy on language education for ELs, as labeled in the policy documents, that guides many of the practices of local districts. The way they appropriate these policies varies based on their individual interpretation of the policy and what they consider the needs of their student population.

3.1.2 Experiences as a teacher and student in TBE

Growing up, I was enrolled in a TBE program from kindergarten to 4th grade. This was my first exposure to a bilingual program. However, the TBE program was very different than the one I researched. The TBE bilingual program in the 1980's and 1990's was 90/10 during the first year of instruction, usually kindergarten. Students were exposed to content instruction in Spanish 90 percent of the time and 10 percent of the time was dedicated to English instruction. The purpose of this program was not bilingualism, however. It remained a transitional program whose main goal was to gradually transition students into all-English instruction. The expectation was that by fourth grade, all instruction would be in English.

In this school district, TBE has recently shifted to an almost all-English context even in kindergarten. As soon as students enter school, they are exposed only to English during whole group instruction and mostly all materials, books, and learning environment print are in English. The practices and discourses embodied in this district resemble those of English-only learning contexts, despite the TBE label. The only language of whole group instruction is English with Spanish used only for support. In other words, if the teacher believes students need assistance in their native language, he/she is certified as a bilingual educator and can provide assistance to students. Spanish is only used for instruction in small group or one-on-one instances. It is the language used only when support for newcomers or LEP students is necessary. I noticed this shift when I became a teacher during the 2006-2007 school year in the same school district where I had attended school as a child. My experience as a teacher in a TBE learning environment provided an entirely different perspective than what I had observed as a student. I now realized firsthand how bilingual students were seen from a deficit perspective. As a teacher, I observed that their funds of knowledge (Moll et al., 1992) were not considered relevant to the formal learning environment and were, therefore, rarely considered valuable. Students were expected to use only English in school. Their primary language was to remain outside of the classroom. During meetings about “data,” meaning standardized test results, bilingual students were regularly blamed for the school’s low performance. These experiences explain some of my reasons for conducting this study.

3.1.3 Experiences as a Research Assistant (RA) in DL

As an RA during the 2016-2017 and 2017-2018 school years, I gained access to a DL setting in which engineering design played a relevant role in student learning. At Ramos Elementary, located on the west side of town, students and teachers engage in STEM projects by

implementing STEM in Action modules⁵. Ramos, a newly opened school, was classified as a STEM magnet school and began the implementation of a hands-on, PBL (problem-based learning) curriculum in monolingual (English-only) and DL classrooms. Through problem-based learning, students work on finding solutions to real-world problems professional engineers may be confronted with. The WELDED (Esquinca, de la Piedra, & Herrera-Rocha, 2018) study (Working with English Learners Doing Engineering Design), which I formed a part of as a research assistant, focused on the development of literacy skills of English learners within a STEM context.

My job in this context was to observe the literacy practices of teachers and students during STEM in Action implementation and other daily practices. The study focused on learning about how students interact and learn in this type of learning environment and how teachers implement these projects. One of the classrooms I observed was DL (English and Spanish), and one was monolingual. In this school, 81.86% of students are Latino and 38% of the students are classified as Limited English Proficient. Among other things, the research team was interested in seeing the mechanisms and practices behind this bilingual DL program that, according to Thomas & Collier (2012), unites the needs of diverse groups through an additive approach in which the primary and secondary languages are supported and used as tools to acquire content knowledge. This program contrasts with TBE contexts where only English is used as a tool for meaning-making.

⁵ STEM in Action are PreK-5 modules that integrate science, math, literacy, and engineering skills into real-world problems. The modules focus on engineering design practices through hands-on projects.

Students' and teachers' language and literacy practices in an engineering design context became relevant themes for the study. Within the science curriculum, opportunities for speaking, writing, reading, and critical analysis were visible. During the first year of implementation, even though these projects roused students' enthusiasm, students were frequently confused about the instructions and procedures. Teachers' instructional practices were very traditional and teacher-centered at times, and it seemed students needed more modeling and guidance for deeper comprehension. Interestingly, the benefits of DL programs (Thomas and Collier, 2012) were not observed during STEM in Action projects. The minority language was not used very often. The sole language used for whole group instruction was English (Esquinca, de la Piedra, Herrera-Rocha, 2018).

During the 2017-2018 school year, the year in which I conducted my study, 4th grade students in the DL classroom had an additional teacher teaching Spanish component. Mrs. Galvan's approach to teaching science in a DL learning setting was one that recognized the value of bilingualism. For science instruction, English was used on "English" time, while Spanish was used on "Spanish" day. Within this environment of nominal language separation, however, both students and the teacher, accessed their entire linguistic repertoire to communicate and learn, as will be apparent in Chapter 5. Mrs. Galvan often encouraged her students to use Spanish as a resource even on "English" days. If students were having trouble voicing their thoughts in a particular language, she would tell them to use any language they could to express themselves.

The findings of this study allowed me to learn about the language ideologies that have power in this DL program and how they can vary across classrooms and teachers. For my dissertation, I explored these ideologies at a deeper level and recognized the ways in which they

may have influenced students' assemblages. Additionally, I explored ideologies held by administrators at this school and how they were appropriated by teachers and students.

3.1.4 My role and positionality

Qualitative researchers involve themselves in every aspect of their work. "Through their eyes and ears, data are gathered and interpreted" (Lichtman, 2013). I was aware that my positionality as a former fourth grade teacher, as a student in a TBE context, and as an RA at Ramos may influence the questions I ask during my research, my observations, and my interpretations. I was also aware that subjectivity could not be avoided. It was important for me to be reflexive by paying conscious attention to the effects of my internalized perspectives (Bourdieu, 1992).

Before embarking on the research journey, it was important to present myself to my participants as someone they could relate to, as a legitimate member of their social group (Banks, 2010) in their learning context, an insider. I told the student participants I was a student, just like they were. I made them aware I would be observing them because I was interested in the ways in which they interact and learn. Even though several times I caught myself thinking as a teacher and wanted to play a teacher role when teachers asked me to watch the class for a few minutes, for instance (it happened twice), I tried to be someone they could trust as a "friend" or "classmate." Also, the students and teachers in this study were all Latinxs and bilingual. In that respect, we had commonalities participants may have perceived as characteristics of an insider.

I built rapport with students and teachers by immersing myself in the TBE and DL classrooms on a regular basis and by becoming familiar with their routines and practices (Emerson, Fretz, & Shaw, 2011). Through student interviews aimed at learning about students'

subjective understanding of their experiences (Seidman, 2013) and participant observations in which I actively participated as fully and humanely as possible in order to build rapport with students and teachers (Emerson, Fretz, & Shaw, 2011), I collected relevant data to answer my initial research questions. In my previous research experience⁶, even though students knew me well and felt comfortable speaking to me, the interview process was a challenge. I had expected students to be very open about their experiences and opinions, yet they seemed timid about exposing their views about their language use and ideologies in the school context. They knew I was not their teacher, and they did not have to follow classroom rules with me, yet they viewed my perspectives and behaviors as different from theirs because I was still an adult and somewhat of an authority figure. For my dissertation study, I integrated additional data sources, such as focus groups and identity maps into this research design in order to uncover stories about students' experiences in different bilingual programs.

3.2 Schools and Participants

The population for my dissertation study consisted of EBs and their teachers and principals in DL and TBE programs in West Texas. I used selective sampling to narrow down the population and to derive at a target sample of EBs, their teachers and principals in a DL and a TBE school in this border city. The two specific schools that made up the convenience sample I selected due to familiarity with the schools from prior research projects. I was not looking for a sample representative of the population but rather one that represented the participants who had the experiences to answer the research questions proposed (Abrams, 2010). Specifically, the participants for this study would be EBs in TBE and EBs in DL.

⁶ I had conducted research for my pilot study the previous school year in which I interviewed students individually and observed them during regular classroom practices and interaction.

The selection criteria for this purposive sample included 4th grade EBs in DL and TBE programs. Precisely, students who had been in these programs throughout their schooling years will be of primary relevance for this study. I assumed that, since these students had received bilingual education for 1 - 4 years, the ideologies and identities constructed through these programs would be more visible at this age. At higher grade levels, very few EBs coded as “EL” or “LEP” remain in TBE education. In the TBE classroom, other students who were not “ELs” were also included in this study to obtain their perspective and ideologies on language as well as their interactions with the bilingual students who were still categorized as LEP. Their teachers and principals also formed part of the study, as they allowed me to gain insight into the beliefs about language that influenced students’ construction of their own categories in assemblage (Wagner, 2017). The tables in this chapter include information about my participants. They are separated into students, teachers, and administrators. On the table for my student participants, I have included a section for “My language” and “my country.” These were two of the prompts students were given when drawing their identity maps. I included their responses in Table 1. Students in TBE (Valley School) and Table 4. Students in DL (Ramos Elementary) by using their own voices. I will analyze these students’ words in Chapters 4 and 5.

3.2.1 Valley School and participants

Valley School is a prekindergarten to 8th grade school with about 1,100 students. About 91% of the students in this school are Latinx. The number of students in the TBE bilingual program is 14% of the school’s students. Students labeled as LEP make up 17% of the school’s population. The number of students labeled EL or LEP decreases through every grade level, since the focus of the bilingual program in this school is the early transition into all-English classrooms. During the 2017-2018 school year, only 12 students in 4th grade were coded LEP

and were in the TBE program. For this study, I looked at the only 4th grade bilingual classroom. Since, at this grade level, most EBs had exited the program into monolingual classrooms, half of the class consisted of EBs, while the other half of the classroom was made up of former LEP students who had already exited the program or who had always been in monolingual education. This mixed classroom population was seen during my pilot study observations, as well. Whole group instruction was the same for all students, yet students who needed more support with content and/or language were often separated for small group interventions. The entire class was observed in order to obtain a holistic picture of classroom ideologies and mechanisms.

Table 1. Students in TBE (Valley School)

Student Participants				
<i>Pseudonym</i>	<i>Code</i>	<i>Years in bilingual (TBE) classrooms</i>	<i>My Language</i>	<i>My country</i>
Adriana	LEP	5	My language is English and Spanish.	My countries are Chihuahua and Texas; Mexico is my real country because I was born there. The U.S., I am visiting for 3 years.
Daniela	LEP	5	My language is English and Spanish.	My country is Texas.
Alberto	LEP	5	In school we talk English. I use Spanish with friends sometimes. My language is both of them.	My country is El Paso, and my country is Mexico because we live close to Mexico and most of my family was born there.
Adamari	LEP	5	I use English at school and Spanish with friends. I use Spanish with family because they are from Mexico. I learned Spanish in kinder, then I learned English.	I was born in El Paso. I like living in El Paso because it is a safe city. My country is the U.S.

Ruben	LEP	5	I know a little Spanish. I don't know the language Spanish. I speak English with my mom. She doesn't know English.	My country is the United States because was born in El Paso.
Beatriz	LEP	5	I speak English and Spanish. English at school and at times with my sister - Spanish at home with my parents because they are from Mexico.	My country is the United States because I was born here.
Angel	LEP	5	We use English in class and Spanish with family because they are from Mexico. I use Spanish with friends who are learning English.	My state is Texas because I was born here.
Allan	None	1	I only know English. I only hear English in the classroom and Spanish outside from other students talking to monitors.	My country is the US.
Sabrina	None	1	My language is English. I would like to learn Spanish.	My country is the US.
Carlos	None	1	English is my language.	Texas is my state.

The fourth-grade classroom I observed at Valley was departmentalized. One teacher taught a group of students for Language Arts and Social Studies, while another teacher taught the same group for Science and Math. Both teachers were participants in this study. Mrs. Swanson was a bilingual certified teacher who had taught TBE early exit several years at Valley and TBE late exit at other school in the same district. Mrs. Garcia, on the other hand, was not bilingual certified. Her class consisted of all “monolingual” students, except when Mrs. Swanson’s students went to her class for math and science instruction. The principal at this school, Mrs. Williams, identified as an EL. She had been the school principal for two years. Prior to being a principal, she was a middle school Science teacher and curriculum specialist for this campus.

The assistant principal, Mrs. Gonzalez, also identified as an EL. She had been a high school teacher and instructional coach before becoming an assistant principal at Valley School.

Table 2. Teachers in TBE (Valley School)

Teacher Participants			
<i>Pseudonym</i>	<i>Years of experience teaching bilingual</i>	<i>Migration</i>	<i>EL</i>
Garcia	4 yrs. teaching experience; 2 yrs. in 4th grade, 1 in bilingual (TBE) classroom	Born and raised in El Paso	no
Swanson	3 yrs. (TBE early exit); 2 yrs. as 5th grade bilingual (TBE late exit) at another district	Born in Mexico; Came to U.S. in 4th grade	yes

Table 3. Administrators in TBE (Valley School)

Administration Participants		
<i>Pseudonym</i>	<i>Years of experience teaching bilingual</i>	<i>EL</i>
Williams (Principal)	0 yrs. teaching bilingual classrooms; Has been a principal for 2 yrs.; Worked at Anaya ISD for 11 yrs. as middle school teacher and curriculum specialist	yes
Gonzalez (Assistant Principal)	Taught English ESL classes in high school 4 yrs.; Has been an assistant principal for 2 yrs.; Worked at Anaya ISD for 10 years; Worked as instructional coach for 4 yrs.	yes

3.2.2 Ramos Elementary and participants

Ramos Elementary is a prekindergarten to 5th grade school with about 560 students. About 84% of the students in this school are Latinx. The number of students in the DL bilingual program is about 40%. Students labeled as LEP make up 30% of the school's population. At Ramos School, the focal group consisted of the entire 4th grade DL classroom. The DL classroom was made up of two teachers and twenty-six students. Varied linguistic abilities were perceived in this classroom, as this was a two-way DL classroom. Some students were acquiring

the Spanish language, while most were acquiring English as their second language. Students were at various stages of acquisition of their second language. Even though the school had been open for only three years, by this time, students who had been in the DL learning setting had significant experience with this type of environment, since most were also in DL programs in the same school district before attending Ramos Elementary.

Table 4. Students in DL (Ramos Elementary)

Student Participants				
<i>Pseudonym</i>	<i>Code</i>	<i>Years in bilingual (DL) classrooms</i>	<i>My Language</i>	<i>My country</i>
Perla	LEP	5 yrs. (Ramos and another school)	The language I speak more is Spanish because all my family speaks Spanish.	My country is Mexico because I like Spanish.
Julio	LEP	5 yrs. (Ramos and another school)	English and Spanish are my languages.	The United States and Mexico are close to me.
Omar	LEP	4 yrs. in DL, 1 yr. all English - Colorado	The language I talk most is Spanish then English.	I have two countries: The United States because I was born there; Mexico because I go there, and my family lives there.
Veronica	LEP	1 yr. DL at Ramos; all Spanish in Juarez	Como mi familia es de México, en la casa hablamos español. Estoy aprendiendo inglés. A veces me atoro con el inglés. Espanola es el que entiendo mas.	Mi país es México porque ha estado conmigo durante toda mi vida desde que nací. (Lives in Juárez). Me siento normal de ir y venir de Juárez, pero me molesta que la gente hable mal de Juárez.
Jacob	none	5 yrs. (Ramos and another school)	I speak English. Sometimes I understand Spanish.	My country is the United States because I was born there. Mexico because it's the only country I know from this list, and

				sometimes I go there with my family.
Damian	LEP	5 yrs. (Ramos and another school)	I know English. Spanish, I need to learn it, and sometimes I don't need it.	My country is the United States because that's where I was born, and that's where I live.
Zoey	none	5 yrs. (Ramos and another school)	My language is English then Spanish - I don't really speak it a lot, but it'd be fun to speak if I could speak it.	My country would probably be Mexico because I probably wanna go there because my family knows a lot of Spanish.
Maribel	none	5 yrs. (Ramos and another school); all-English in kinder	Mi lenguaje - estoy muy agradecida de tenerlos: inglés y español. Hablo español porque me siento más cómoda en español. A veces me trabo en inglés.	Mi país es Estados Unidos porque nací aquí y México porque mi familia es de Chihuahua.
Gaston	none	5 yrs. (Ramos and another school)	Mi idioma principal es español. Es con el que me siento más a gusto. Ya aprendí inglés.	Mi país no es perfecto, pero es la manera en la que es. Mis dos banderas: Nací en Estados Unidos y mi familia es de México.
Jeremias	none	1 yr. at Ramos; Colorado school in DL program	I speak English, and I do speak Spanish.	My country is the United States because that's where I'm at.
Eduardo	none	5 yrs. (Ramos and another school)	English: I know it. Spanish: I speak more in my house.	My country is the United States.
Denise	none	3 yrs. DL (Ramos); other school all-English	My language is Spanish. I like more Spanish than English. Usamos español en casa y a todos los lugares que vamos.	My state is Texas because it's a nice state.

Ale	none	3 yrs. DL (Ramos); other school all-English	My languages are English and Spanish. My first language is Spanish. Mi mama y padrastro nacieron en Chihuahua y hablan español.	My countries are Texas and Chihuahua. Texas is where I live, and I love my home. Chihuahua because I visit my grandparents, and that's what I love.
Jose	LEP	5 yrs. - trilingual program in Spain (1 year at Ramos)	Se tres idiomas: español, catalán, e inglés - ingles no tanto.	Vivía en España; Vivo en Estados Unidos
Anahi	LEP	3 yrs. DL (Ramos) - Arizona - all English	My language is English.	My country is the U.S.
Carlos	none	5 yrs. (Ramos and another school)	I was born in Mexico, but I don't speak Spanish.	I'm from Mexico, and I was raised in the United States.
Andrea	LEP	2 yrs. DL (Ramos); Juarez bilingual program; Mexico, DF (English, French, Spanish)	My language is Spanish; Aprendí ingles cuando vine aquí, pero mi idioma es español por siempre.	My country is Mexico.
Jazmin	none	1 yr. at Ramos; Florida: Spanish school; Kinder and 1st grade - Mexico all Spanish	English and Spanish are my languages.	My country is Florida because of nature; In Mexico hay "muchos vagos."
Maria	LEP	5 yrs. (Ramos and another school)	English is my favorite language and Spanish too; Yo hablo español porque toda mi familia habla español.	My country is the United States. Estados Unidos es más protegido. En México hay personas que quieren robarse a los niños.

Emanuel	none	5 yrs. (Ramos and another school)	I can speak two different languages: English and Spanish; My parents speak Spanish to me at home, so I will practice it.	My country is the United States because I love this country. We lived in Juarez for like two years.
Karol	LEP	5 yrs. (Ramos and another school)	My language is mostly Spanish in the house - they don't understand English; English is not close to me, only in school with friends who don't speak Spanish (Zoey).	My country is Mexico. My family is all Mexican, and we always go to Mexico.
Rodrigo	none	5 yrs. (Ramos and another school)	My language is English and Spanish.	My country is Puerto Rico because I like it, and my mom and I go visit during the summer.
Carla	LEP	5 yrs. (Ramos and another school)	I like English better than Spanish because it's more comfortable. I know more words. My family speaks English.	My country is the United States because that's where I live.
Berenice	LEP	3 yrs. DL (Ramos); English in Houston	My language is English and Spanish, but I kind of prefer English more because Spanish I'm not that good at reading or writing.	My country is Cuba. It is important to me because all of my family is in Cuba.

Both teachers also formed part of this study. Mrs. Galvan had been a DL teacher at Ramos since it opened. She taught 3rd grade DL the previous school year and was moved to 4th grade for the 2017-2018 school year due to a high number of students in DL classrooms in 3rd grade in the 2016-2017 school year. Mrs. Galvan identified as an EL. She immigrated to the US as a fifth-grade student. Two DL sections were open in 4th grade, taught by Mrs. Galvan and Mrs. Guevara. Both teachers were interviewed to gain insight into the ideologies in this classroom and those of the school. Mrs. Guevara had been a DL teacher at Ramos for three years. Prior to teaching at Ramos, she had taught DL at other campuses. She also identified as EL. She came to the U.S. during her college years. The principal, Mrs. Smith, was also interviewed. She is a

highly educated African American principal who has been at this campus since it opened. She embraces STEM education as well as DL learning. The assistant principal, Mrs. Jimenez had also been at Ramos for three years. She had been a DL teacher at other campuses and taught the English and Spanish component of the curriculum at different times during her career as a teacher.

Table 5. Teachers in DL (Ramos Elementary)

Teacher Participants			
<i>Pseudonym</i>	<i>Years of experience teaching bilingual</i>	<i>Migration</i>	<i>EL</i>
Guevara	11 yrs. teaching DL; Spanish component at another school (50/50) program- taught 2nd, 3rd, and 5th grade; Taught 4th grade at another district in a 90/10 program	Moved to the U.S. when she was 11 years old	yes
Galvan	7 yrs. in this district DL; 3 years at another district - (TBE early exit)	Moved to the US as a college student	yes

Table 6. Administrators in DL (Ramos Elementary)

Administration Participants		
<i>Pseudonym</i>	<i>Years of experience teaching bilingual</i>	<i>EL</i>
Smith (Principal)	1 yr. instructional coach; assistant principal 6 yrs., 4 yrs. as principal; Has worked in TBE early exit program	no
Jimenez (Assistant Principal)	3 yrs. as administrator; 1 yr. as instructional coach; 1 yr. - kinder DL - Spanish component, 4 yrs. - 4th grade DL, 3rd grade DL-English component	yes

3.3 Informed Consent

Student participants and their parents were informed about this study by sending assent and consent forms home with students. In both classrooms, I explained to students what my study was about and asked them to explain the purpose of the study to their parents. If they or

their parents had questions or concerns, I told them to feel free to contact me, and I would answer their questions. Most parents and students signed the consent and assent forms to participate in the study. In the DL classroom, only two students/parents opted out of the study. In the TBE classroom, half of the class decided not to participate. Many of these parents of TBE students did not sign the consent forms. I tried to reach out to them to see if they had any questions or doubts about my study, but the bilingual teacher, Mrs. Swanson, suggested I refrain from doing that, as the parents had opted out by not returning the consent forms. She also mentioned the long consent form was likely to have turned away some the parents from participating in the study. Ten students returned their consent and assent forms: six EBs and four non-LEP students who had never been in bilingual education. They became my focal participants in the TBE classroom. In my analysis of data, I did not include any conversations or instances in which other non-participating students were involved. I focused only on the students who were part of my study. Teachers and principals were informed about the study during face-to-face meetings. They all agreed to participate and signed consent forms.

3.4 Bilingual Education Policy in Texas

Many of the beliefs about language and language programs held by districts, administrators, teachers, and students at Ramos Elementary and Valley School stemmed from macro-level policies and accountability measures. The ways in which they appropriated these policies by negotiating and/or resisting them was relevant for this study. The language policy of the state and the guidelines for the TBE and DL options it provides are presented in this section. The state of Texas refers to students who are not English-fluent, based on state assessments, as ELs.

Concerning State Plan for Educating English Language Learners is the official policy for bilingual education in the state of Texas. Specific sections of this document will be interpreted based on their relevance to district-level language policies pertinent to the setting of this dissertation. The section below delineates the main purpose of bilingual education in the state of Texas.

(b) The goal of bilingual education programs shall be to enable English learners to become competent in listening, speaking, reading, and writing in the English language through the development of literacy and academic skills in the primary language and English. Such programs shall emphasize the mastery of English language skills, as well as mathematics, science, and social studies, as integral parts of the academic goals for all students to enable English learners to participate equitably in school.

Two relevant ideas are incorporated into this statement. First, the valued language in Texas, as per this policy, is English. Education of ELs should focus primarily on learning and becoming competent in this language in the areas of listening, speaking, reading, and writing. Second, students’ primary language plays a role in their education. In order for students to master the English language, this policy supports the development of literacy and academic skills in the primary language as a tool for learning English.

Under section *89.1210 Program Content and Design*, the following sections provide insight into the expectations under bilingual education programs.

The school district shall provide for ongoing coordination between the bilingual/ESL program and the general educational program. The bilingual education and ESL programs shall address the affective, linguistic, and cognitive needs of English learners as follows.

(1) Affective. (A) English learners in a bilingual program shall be provided instruction using second language acquisition methods in their primary language to introduce basic concepts of the school environment, and content instruction both in their primary language and in English, which instills confidence, self-assurance, and a positive identity with their cultural heritages. The program shall be designed to consider the students' learning experiences and shall incorporate the cultural aspects of the students' backgrounds in accordance with TEC, §29.055(b).

(2) Linguistic. (A) English learners in a bilingual program shall be provided intensive instruction in the skills of listening, speaking, reading, and writing both in their primary language and in English, provided through the ELPS. The instruction in both languages shall be structured to ensure that the students master the required essential knowledge and skills and higher order thinking skills in all subjects.

(3) Cognitive. (A) English learners in a bilingual program shall be provided instruction in language arts, mathematics, science, and social studies both in their primary language and in English, using second language acquisition methods in either their primary language, in English, or in both, depending on the specific program model(s) implemented by the district. The content area instruction in both languages shall be structured to ensure that the students master the required essential knowledge and skills and higher-order thinking skills in all subjects.

The section on the affective needs of ELs focuses on the relevance of content instruction in both, the primary language and in English, in order to “instill confidence, self-assurance, and a positive identity with cultural heritages.” Students’ learning and cultural experiences should be incorporated in the program design. The section on the linguistic needs of ELs centers on the idea that bilingual programs should provide intensive instruction in the skills of listening, speaking, reading, and writing ‘both in their primary language and in English’ through the ELPS (English Language Proficiency Skills), which are the expected skills ELs should acquire throughout the school year. The section on cognitive needs is about the need for ELs to master the required essential knowledge and skills and higher-order thinking in all subject areas in both languages.

It is necessary to point out the value this section places on students’ primary language, as well as on English. Throughout the policy document, there is reference of the integration of students’ primary language in the acquisition of skills in subject areas as an asset. The word *both* is present many times throughout this section, and other sections of the policy, emphasizing the role of the home language as a tool for learning. Additionally, students’ learning experiences and cultural aspects are to be considered and included, according to the affective section of the policy. Pluralist language and cultural ideologies seem to be the focus of this policy.

43.4.1. TBE policy in Texas

The TBE program is one of the state-level initiatives mentioned in the bilingual education policy document. The policy section on TBE is included below.

(1) Transitional bilingual/early exit is a bilingual program model in which students identified as English learners are served in both English and another language and are prepared to meet reclassification criteria to be successful in English-only instruction not earlier than two or later than five years after the student enrolls in school. Instruction in this program is delivered by a teacher appropriately certified in bilingual education under TEC, §29.061(b)(1), for the assigned grade level and content area.

(2) Transitional bilingual/late exit is a bilingual program model in which students identified as English learners are served in both English and another language and are prepared to meet reclassification criteria to be successful in English-only instruction not earlier than six or later than seven years after the student enrolls in school. Instruction in this program is delivered by a teacher appropriately certified in bilingual education under TEC, §29.061(b)(2), for the assigned grade level and content area.

The goal of the early-exit and late-exit transitional bilingual education is for program participants to use their primary language as a resource while acquiring full proficiency in English. This model provides instruction in literacy and academic content through the medium of the students' primary language along with instruction in English that targets second language development through academic content.

This excerpt explains that ELs should be served in both English and another language. The purpose of the use of “another language” is to prepare students “to meet reclassification

criteria to be successful in English-only instruction.” The expectation is for the TBE program to prepare students for English-only instruction when students are exited from the program.

Students should be in the bilingual program for at least two years (early-exit) and no more than seven years (late-exit). Both, the early-exit and the late-exit, programs provide instruction in literacy and academic content in students’ primary language along with English instruction. The purpose of both programs is “full proficiency in English.”

3.4.2 DL policy in Texas

Another bilingual education program mentioned in the state-level policy, often implemented as one-way or two-way, is the dual language program. The section that describes this bilingual model is included below.

(3) Dual language immersion/one-way is a bilingual/biliteracy program model in which students identified as English learners are served in both English and another language and are prepared to meet reclassification criteria in order to be successful in English-only instruction not earlier than six or later than seven years after the student enrolls in school. Instruction provided in a language other than English in this program model is delivered by a teacher appropriately certified in bilingual education under TEC, §29.061. Instruction provided in English in this program model may be delivered either by a teacher appropriately certified in bilingual education or by a different teacher certified in ESL in accordance with TEC, §29.061. The goal of one-way dual language immersion is for program participants to attain full proficiency in another language as well as English. This model provides ongoing instruction in literacy and academic content in the students' primary language as well as English, with at least half of the instruction delivered in the students' primary language for the duration of the program.

(4) Dual language immersion/two-way is a bilingual/biliteracy program model in which students identified as English learners are integrated with students proficient in English and are served in both English and another language and are prepared to meet reclassification criteria in order to be successful in English-only instruction not earlier than six or later than seven years after the student enrolls in school. Instruction provided in a language other than English in this program model is delivered by a teacher appropriately certified in bilingual education under TEC, §29.061, for the assigned grade level and content area. Instruction provided in English in this program model may be delivered either by a teacher appropriately certified in bilingual education or by a different teacher certified in ESL in accordance with TEC, §29.061, for the assigned grade level and content area. The goal of two-way dual language immersion is for program participants to attain full proficiency in another language as well as English. This model provides ongoing instruction in literacy and academic content in English and another language with at least half of the instruction delivered in the non-English program language for the duration of the program.

Similar to the TBE program, the state policy also enables the DL program to implement instruction in “both English and another language” in order to “meet reclassification criteria to be successful in English-only instruction.” Students in DL, however, are not expected to exit “no earlier than six or later than seven years after the student enrolls in school.” There is no push for students to enroll in English-only classes at a fast pace in DL. The purpose of both, the one-way and two-way, DL programs is to “provide ongoing instruction in literacy and academic content in English and another language with at least half of the instruction delivered in the non-English program language.”

3.5 Data Collection

Research in education has shown the importance of ethnographic methods for understanding issues related to EBs' learning (Johnson, 1992; Cazden, Carrasco, Maldonado-Guzman & Erickson, 1980). Three sources of data were collected during the 5 months of fieldwork to provide a more complete view of the campuses' way of knowing, such as how its members view themselves and others around them (Kaplan-Weinger & Ullman, 2015), specifically EBs' experiences in two bilingual programs. Ethnographic research is a triangulated process (Denzin, 2006); therefore, the ethnographic methods utilized for this study were participant observations (Frank, 1999), focus groups (Gibbs, 2013), and the collection of artifacts (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007) such as identity maps (Fine & Sirin, 2007; Galman, 2015; Geiseking, 2007; Lynch, 1960; Winnicott, Shepard, & Davis, 1989).

Multiple methods were selected in order to provide a deep knowledge of the cultural content through thick description (Geertz, 1973) of the two diverse bilingual programs, the language ideologies in each, and students identities as constructed in these programs.

3.5.1 Classroom observations

Fieldwork is a relevant component of qualitative work as the researcher becomes immersed in the culture being studied (Holloway et al., 2010). Learning about cultural and linguistic worlds from participants means being a participant observer at times, an observer at other times, and a participant at still other times (Paris, 2011). My observations at both research sites consisted of varied observations, since humanizing research is not obtained by simply taking field notes in the back of the classroom; rather, it is a dialogic process between the participants and the researcher. I engaged in intense and involved participation in the classroom

in order to learn about classroom culture, ideologies, and ways in which identities were constructed in this setting. For instance, on several occasions, I worked with small groups of students on projects or concepts of the day whenever teachers would ask me to. I would answer subject-content questions when students would come up to me to ask me. Teachers often asked for my opinion or insight during whole group instruction on subject content they felt I may be knowledgeable about. I took ethnographic field notes of classroom processes, interactions, and activities. I also audio recorded, with my cellular phone, when relevant conversations that exposed language ideologies and characteristics of students' identities surfaced. Descriptive fieldnotes involved inscriptions of social life and social discourse (Emerson, Fretz, & Shaw, 2011). During the 5-month period, I conducted observations twice a week in each school (a total of 4 days a week) for entire school days (7:30 a.m. to 3:30 p.m.). This allowed me to gain insight into the schools' and students' ideologies about learning and about language. I observed all subject areas and other activities in and outside of the classroom to ensure a full picture of what a day in a DL and a TBE teacher and learning context looked. Since this study adopted an ethnographic approach, I sought to immerse deeply in my participants' worlds in order to grasp what they experienced as meaningful and important (Emerson, Fretz, & Shaw, 2011). This entailed being with students to see how they responded to events as they happened and experiencing these events and the circumstances for myself.

3.5.2 Focus groups

Focus groups enable researchers to connect understanding of selves in relation with analyses of how young people engage with, experience, and perform in live social settings (Fine, & Sirin, 2007). They offer social spaces where "differences" are animated, and contact is engaged. The barriers between researcher and participants experienced in my previous research

when I conducted individual interviews with 4th graders were minimized through focus groups. Students felt comfortable speaking to the classmates in their groups and me when working on their drawings for their identity maps and as I asked them questions. Focus groups were conducted in English and/or Spanish depending on students' preference. In efforts to end colonizing inquiry that has often characterized research (Paris, 2011), I sought, not only to take important information from my participants, but to also give as a form of humanizing research. "We must share of ourselves as we ask people to share of themselves" (Paris, 2011, p. 142). During these sessions, I became an active participant. I conversed with them about their experiences in and out of the classroom and school. I engaged in discussion with them as they asked me questions about myself and I inquired about their drawings. Focus groups helped me witness the inter-subjective performances of self within a group (Larson & Sachau, 2009). The purpose of focus groups for this research was to observe participants interacting with each other as they worked on the identity maps and answered my questions. In this type of setting, students felt comfortable answering questions and talking about their identity maps. Students were willing to "open up" with their classmates and me as we engaged in conversations. Focus groups consisted of 3-4 students at a time, so that the groups were small enough for all members to talk and share their thoughts and large enough to create a diverse group (Lasch et al., 2010). During focus group sessions, which were video- and audio-taped, students began by introducing themselves. I then asked them questions regarding language and identity, included in the Appendix. Questions were written in simple terms so students at this age would understand the content of the question. Students were given instructions to freely answer the questions, engage in conversation, and feel free to add to others' answers. During these conversations, students

drew on each other's ideas when constructing their own ideas about language and their identities, resembling naturally occurring situation of identities construction.

3.5.3 Artifacts

Research with children has shown that images can be elicitation devices, mechanisms for empowering young children in conversations with adults, and artifacts for analysis (Clark, 2004). Additionally, documents may provide important corroboration or may challenge information received from participants or from observations (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007). Depending on specific research projects, different drawings are asked to be made in identity maps. For instance, in researching Muslim-American youth and their identities, Fine and Sirin (2007) asked them to draw themselves as students, daughters/sons, athlete, Muslim, American, and different ways in which they may see themselves. In this case, students were asked different questions about their beliefs about language and their ethnic and linguistic beings. Students were recorded as they drew their identity maps and as they answered questions about these drawings.

For my study, during a 45-minute period, students were asked to draw identity maps. In order to gain depth on the identity maps, they were discussed with participants during the first focus group session. Students were excited about drawing and using all the materials I had for them. I had expected students to “take the invitation of creativity and run with it (Fine & Sirin, 2007, p. 7),” as previous researchers had found, and students did just that. They were creative in drawing pictures about themselves and important things in their lives. Some were eager to continue drawing even after their allotted time was over. I felt that drawings had been an effective way for students to express themselves creatively and to spark conversations with their group and with me about themselves. Since my dissertation study focuses on students' categories in assemblage and their relation to their beliefs about language, I asked students to

draw a picture of themselves and to include the following in the picture either as drawings or as words (English, Spanish, Catalan, Mexico, America, Puerto Rico, Cuba, family, friends, school, teacher, etc.). The instructions I used for this activity and the list students received is in the Appendix. Several students quickly began picking from the list and drawing. They found connections with the list of identifiers and were eager to draw about them. These categories provided relevant information about students' language ideologies in relation to sense of belonging, as students could relate to them and wanted to draw and talk about them. I gave students freedom to include additional drawings that related or connected with these themes. Crayons, markers, and paper were given to participants to work on their identity maps. I asked students to draw things from the list close to them if they felt they were close to them, but most students seemed to forget this part of the instructions. I did not want to repeat this instruction several times, or any other instruction, and I let students draw freely as to not make them feel triggered to draw items close to them or far from them as a response of me "pushing" them to do so. How much they appreciated or felt close to these identifiers became apparent during the conversations, as students explicitly mentioned what "my language" was and "my country was", for instance, with no hesitation. Conversations during this activity were video and audio recorded. They were asked to explain their pictures. Each student took a turn to explain their drawing while the others listened and engaged in discussion with the presenter about his/her drawing. This took place during the first focus group session. I was able to observe and listen to students' explanations of their ideologies and identities as explained in their drawings and as they constructed them through the conversations. Additionally, other artifacts and documents that included relevant information about the classrooms', schools', and districts' language ideologies were collected, such as policy documents. This allowed me to form a picture of the

type of ideologies that guide instruction in these schools and how they are appropriated in the classroom and by students.

3.5.4 Interviews

Interviews are conversations with the purpose of gathering information (Berg, 2004). They allow researchers to gain insight into qualities of experience and the significance of events and situations (Mears, 2012). They also function to clarify or triangulate data obtained through other means, such as observations and artifacts. I interviewed teachers and principals in order to learn about language ideologies prevalent in the learning environment. The interview protocols are in the Appendix. They were interviewed once for a period of about 45 minutes to an hour. To learn about ideologies and discourses circulating at the institutional level, principals in both schools were interviewed. Questions about personal beliefs about language use and language policies in place at their school were asked. The way school ideologies were appropriated at the classroom level was of particular interest during these interviews in which teachers were asked about their beliefs about language use in the classroom. Teachers were also asked about any policies that may have guided their pedagogical stance and strategies.

3.6 Data Analysis

I analyzed raw data obtained from observations, focus groups, and interviews using NVivo. Interviews and focus groups were transcribed using Xpress Scribe. The process of content analysis began with line-by-line coding to obtain an analytic sense of stories and statements (Charmaz, 2014). Next, I focused on initial codes and made comparisons between them through focused coding (Strauss & Cobin, 1998). A more analytical stance was taken through this process. Categories that focused on relevant and/or recurring themes emerged at

this point from the coding process (Berg, 2004). Such categories included “being bilingual,” “identifying students through a language,” “bilingual identity,” “translanguaging,” “empowering Spanish,” and “hegemony of English.” Analytical memos were written to help me ponder, explore, revise and sort the information at hand (Waring, 2012). Based on the information I had gathered and on the language ideologies and identity theoretical frameworks, I began to analyze the categories that emerged from the coding process. Focus groups sessions were analyzed and coded based on their content and, also, as events in which identities may have been enacted, negotiated, and co-constructed. Identity maps were also analyzed on their content. Fine and Sirin (2007) analyzed identity maps based on presence and absence of repeated icons, such as nation, violence, and war when working with American-Muslim populations post 9/11. For my dissertation study, I looked for themes that indexed ideologies about language and “identities.” For instance, when a student drew two dialog boxes coming out of his mouth: one saying “Hi,” and another saying “Hola,” and he also expressed how proud he was of being bilingual as he explained this aspect of the drawing, I was able to conclude his heteroglossic ideologies about language and his strong “bilingual identity.” Also, students’ conversations while drawing the identity maps and during focus groups helped identify language ideologies and traits as represented in these drawings. These drawings were mainly used as a way to help students think about the topic as a prompt for the focus group sessions.

3.6.1 Triangulation and trustworthiness

To maximize authenticity and consistency, findings from various data sources were compared. Triangulation of data ensured credibility of the data and the research (Fusch, 2013). Emerging patterns from observations were compared with interviews, artifacts, and focus group findings. Detailed field notes during observations were maintained to ensure reliability of the

research. In this manner, triangulation ensured trustworthiness of the data and results, the importance of key informants, and the ethical concerns of observation and the appropriate use of the word “I” to signal the researcher’s involvement in the field and subsequent influence on data collection and analysis (Holloway et al., 2010). Because I, as the researcher, was the primary data collection instrument, this mini-ethnographic case study was susceptible to researcher bias (Jackson, 1990). I intended to mitigate any biases through the data collection methods used and their appropriateness for the study design. The methodological triangulation used in this study added depth to the data collected (Denzin, 2012). Sharing participants’ perspectives in a transparent way will also allow me to establish trustworthiness (Lichtman, 2013). By valuing students who are often perceived as powerless and granting them voices through this research, multiple truths and voices will be acknowledged.

Chapter 4: TBE at Valley School

Language ideologies displayed in the TBE learning context at Valley School emphasized the acquisition of the English language. Being in this bilingual program did not entail becoming bilingual. A student enrolled in this program was, in fact, acquiring their second language but not developing their primary language. Students' primary language was excluded from the school environment, unless teachers and/or administrators believed it was necessary to use it as a form of support in the process of acquisition of the mainstream language, English. Being a student in TBE entailed being solely an English Learner, as the code EL suggests.

This main focus of this chapter is the transitional bilingual program as I observed it being implemented at Valley School. The findings from observations, interviews with administrators and teachers, identity maps, and student focus groups will be described in detail. The main research question for this dissertation will be addressed in relation to the TBE program at Valley and the way it was implemented in the 4th grade classroom of this study: How are students' language ideologies and identities constructed in a transitional bilingual program and a dual language program? Students' language ideologies, as revealed through their own voices during focus groups conversations and other informal conversations, will be explored in relation to the beliefs held by teachers, administrators, and TBE district initiatives. The way students describe their ethnic and linguistic identities will be explained, as well.

4.1 The Bilingual Education Model – Purpose of the TBE Program

According to the state of Texas policy on bilingual education, the TBE early exit model provides instruction in content areas through students' first language and English. Gradually, students are exposed to the English language and are expected to acquire it at academic levels.

The expectation is that ELs will be exited from the program between two and five years of enrollment once the requirements have been met. In fourth grade, these requirements include obtaining “fluent” performance in reading, writing, listening and speaking in English skills on the bilingual education exit exam administered at the end of each school year. The table below shows the exit criteria for English Learners (TEA, 2018-2019). Once the student has passed the necessary assessments, he/she exits out of the program into a “regular” all-English instruction program, as described in Figure 1 below.

2018–2019 English Learner Reclassification Criteria Chart											
At the end of the school year, a district may reclassify an English Learner (EL) as English proficient for the first time or a subsequent time if the student is able to participate equally in a regular all-English instruction program as determined by satisfactory performance in all three assessment areas below and the results of a subjective teacher evaluation. ¹											
For State of Texas Assessments of Academic Readiness (STAAR) English reading and English writing, the performance level for program exit is the student meeting the passing standard.											
	1st	2nd	3rd	4th	5th	6th	7th	8th	9th	10th	11 th /12th
Current School Year Oral = Listening & Speaking	Scored Fluent on English OLPT ²	Scored Fluent on English OLPT ²	Scored Fluent on English OLPT ²	Scored Fluent on English OLPT ²	Scored Fluent on English OLPT ²	Scored Fluent on English OLPT ²	Scored Fluent on English OLPT ²	Scored Fluent on English OLPT ²	Scored Fluent on English OLPT ²	Scored Fluent on English OLPT ²	Scored Fluent on English OLPT ²
English Reading ³	Norm-Referenced Standardized Achievement Test ² (Rdg./Lang.) 40th percentile or above	Norm-Referenced Standardized Achievement Test ² (Rdg./Lang.) 40th percentile or above	STAAR ³	STAAR ³	STAAR ³	STAAR ³	STAAR ³	STAAR ³	STAAR ³	STAAR ³	Norm-Referenced Standardized Achievement Test ² (Rdg./Lang.) 40th percentile or above
English Writing ³	Agency-Approved Writing Test ²	Agency-Approved Writing Test ²	Agency-Approved Writing Test ²	STAAR ³	Agency-Approved Writing Test ²	Agency-Approved Writing Test ²	STAAR ³	Agency-Approved Writing Test ²			Agency-Approved Writing Test ²
Subjective Teacher Evaluation	Form: English Learner Reclassification Rubric Training Video: English Learner Reclassification Rubric Training Video Presentation (35 minutes) Training PowerPoint: English Learner Reclassification Rubric Introduction and Training PowerPoint										

¹ 19 TAC [§89.1225\(i\)\(3\)](#)

² In the 2018–2019 *List of Approved Tests for Assessment of English Learners* available on the following web page: <http://tea.texas.gov/bilingual/esl/education/>

³ For STAAR, English reading and English writing refer to the grade-level tests in grades 3-8 and to the applicable end-of-course English 1 for grade 9, and English II for grade 10.

Note: ELs may be exited no earlier than at the end of first grade based on 19 TAC [§89.1225\(j\)](#).

Note: Students for whom the LPAC recommends the use of Oral Administration, Content and Language Supports, or Extra Time as an accommodation for any reading or writing assessment, may not be considered for exit at the end of the school year.

Figure 1. 2018 – 2019 English Learner Reclassification Criteria Chart

While the TBE description in the state policy mentions instruction should be in students’ primary language alongside English, at Anaya School District, this policy was appropriated in a different manner. Students’ primary language, typically Spanish at Valley school, was not used for whole group instruction. Monoglossic ideologies, those that embrace the dominance of one language over others (Garcia, 2009), prevailed in this formal learning context, allowing only for

planned instruction in English. Principal Williams, Assistant Principal Gonzalez, Mrs. Swanson described the way the TBE model was appropriated in this campus.

Mrs. Williams – “Currently, we do follow the transitional early exit model, and the goal of the program is to exit our kiddos as soon as possible through English instruction and, of course, providing clarification as needed for certain individuals. The purpose is to hold instruction in English for the majority of the time, have a lot of visuals, provide the linguistic supports as needed and expose them to the English curriculum as much as possible so that eventually they become dominant in English and all the supports that are being provided will help them go into a monolingual setting faster or sooner than they would in a different program.

Mrs. Gonzalez – The goal is for them to eventually exit the program and acquire that language. The goal is eventually they have to learn the English. I think it’s a good program. I like that it’s titled the early exit ‘cause then, once they’ve met the criteria, that means that they’ve mastered it.

As far as the schooling goes, it’s difficult at school because you do want them to acquire the language because the goal is for them to exit the program. In order for them to exit the program well then, they do have to be fluent in the different aspects that it’s requiring them to, so they’re not going to be practicing things in Spanish. The practice will be in English.

Mrs. Swanson – Ok, well, basically they start off as, even as pre-k, they already start them off (in English only), even if the kid is bilingual, they start them off already all English. So basically, the purpose is to get them as fast as possible, proficient in their second language, that’s the purpose.

As explained above, the majority of instruction is in English. Even though the TBE program is usually characterized as a transition from students' native language to English (Palmer, 2011; Thomas & Collier, 2004), as specified by administrators and the bilingual teacher, only English is used for content and language teaching. If administrators and/or teachers believed a student was considered in need of support with English, they provided that support in a small group setting or in a one-on-one basis through visuals and other forms of multimodal representations. The purpose of the program, as explained by Mrs. Williams, was the acquisition of the English language at a fast pace. Mrs. Gonzalez reiterated that the main goal of the program was to exit students into an all-English classroom. Only then would the student be considered fluent in the English language.

The discourse of transition (Palmer, 2011) is evident in these conversations. However, "transition" takes a different meaning in this context. Students are not being transitioned from a "bilingual" setting to an "all-English" setting. In this district, students are taught mostly in English even in the bilingual program. The purpose of this bilingual program was not bilingualism. It was, rather, the acquisition of the mainstream language. Since the focus was on English "they're not going to be practicing things in Spanish," as Mrs. Gonzalez confirmed. If students used Spanish, it was only as a bridge to acquire a new language (de Jong, 2013). Mrs. Swanson corroborated the purpose of this program to be transitioning to English based on her own experiences as an "EL."

I came to the United States while I was in 4th grade, and I was in a little bit of a late exit program, and it took me a little bit of time to transition into the English until I moved to Anaya [School District]. It was hard for me at first, 'cause it was all in English, but it

helped me really transition fast and overall eventually I caught on, you know, but I feel that I like it (TBE).

While Mrs. Swanson mentioned she struggled to adapt to a learning environment where only English was accepted, she defended this practice by stating it was an effective way for her to acquire a second language and “transition fast.” Compared to a late-exit program, in her view, the early-exit TBE program assists in the faster transition into all-English.

The language of power in this district is undeniably English. This institution “arrogates truth and value to some linguistic strategies and forms while ruling others out of bounds” (Woolard & Kroskrity, 1998, p. 15). As described by the administrators and teacher above, English was the language of truth and value in this school, while Spanish was ruled out of bounds. Principal Williams confirmed the power of the English language at her campus through the following statement.

Mrs. Williams – I would consider it a program that, of course, embraces the culture and the language that their first primary language because we need to make sure that the, when they come to us, that they are at grade level, whether it be their native language or, and of course, as we move forward, making sure that they are acquiring the English language. It’s not that we want to forget about Spanish, **but instruction does happen in English**, and the purpose of that model is for the children to acquire English and become proficient in the English language.

While the principal at Valley asserted that the TBE program, as implemented in this campus, embraced students’ primary language and culture, the only language of instruction and that must be acquired at a fast pace was English. Only proficiency in English was valued. Even though Mrs. Williams stated she did not want students to forget Spanish, this is usually the result of a subtractive bilingual program that only grants power to the English language. The language

ideologies held by those in positions of power, such as administrators and teachers in this school, “are central in shaping whose language resources count in formal schooling” (McKinney, 2018, p. 2). The minoritized languages were considered less powerful and unnecessary for learning and, thus, marginalized or forgotten. One of the overpowering macro-level ideologies that had significant impact on the way the TBE model was implemented was the state standardized test.

4.2 State Standardized Testing, Ideologies, and Identities

Public schools in Texas have adopted state-standardized tests as a way to assess students on their academic progress on a yearly basis. These tests have dominated educational policy in the U.S. as a result of the No Child Left Behind Act (NCLB) in 2001. These assessments often become *de facto* language policy (Menken, 2008) and directly affect instructional strategies. High stakes testing is often perceived as a major cause of the valuing of academic English over other languages and varieties (Palmer, 2011). Students who are coded as “bilingual” may take these tests in their native language or in English based on their proficiency in these languages. Teachers and a bilingual committee usually decide in which language students should take the test. Mrs. Garcia explained below.

Mrs. Garcia – We’ll observe, we’ll give mock tests, and we’ll determine what they do better in, in English or in their first language, and we’ll give them that test, and I think regarding the identity of the student, I think it could be a little challenging because they might feel a little different, like I’ll be taking it in Spanish, and they’ll be taking it in English, and I know that they want to be like everybody else. I mean who wants to be singled out as different, but we have those conversations with them about well you’re doing great... you’ll be taking it English too.

Mrs. Garcia stated above that the language of the test might affect students' identities. They may feel "singled out as different" because they are not taking the test in the same language as their classmates. She mentioned only one student would be taking the Math test in Spanish. It is likely that this student will feel "othered" due to the language he will be testing in. "Language can ostensibly be a means of categorizing: either an individual demonstrates the ability to communicate in a language or not" (Wagner, 2017). Students who take their test in Spanish, in this TBE context where English is synonym for success, may be categorized as a particular type of individual who is not academically and linguistically performing as expected.

The state test had great impact on the expectations of administrators on teachers and teachers on students. The strong push for high academic achievement, based mostly on high state assessment scores was relevant to the ways in which the TBE program was implemented and the value granted to the English language, since the "standard" form of English would be the variety of language of the test. A hegemony of English was result of macro-level ideologies and accountability measures.

4.3 Hegemony of English

As described above, at Valley School, instruction was almost entirely in English. The goal of the program was for students to acquire the English language at a fast pace in order to exit them from the program into an all-English classroom. Knowing English was an indicator of success in this program and in the campus.

Principal Williams made sure to make students aware that the expectation was the use of English. She expressed in the interview that she embraced language through a discourse of "appreciation" and acceptance by saying to students, "I know you speak Spanish, and it's beautiful. I love it, but what about English? Let's practice it," she made sure to highlight that the

real important language in this context was English. She wanted students to “practice” English, not Spanish. The acquisition of English, in her view, is achieved through practicing it frequently at school, not through the use of students’ native language. This also suggests a habituation view of language development in which practice of discrete skills leads to mastery (Dixon & Smith, 2008).

Despite the push for English used by teachers and administrators, it was expressed that students used English due to personal preference for the language or because it was their “stronger” language, as expressed by the bilingual teacher below.

Mrs. Swanson – I use, basically, 98% of the time, I use English in the classroom because, as I’ve said before, most of them feel stronger in English anyway, and it’s an early exit transitional language program, so yes 98% of the time I use English to most of them. Very rarely do I have to pull out my Spanish to explain to them– Everyone speaks English to each other. It’s really because everyone here speaks English. Even my newcomer is picking it up already. I already speak to him in English and he is understanding, so they pick it up so fast. They’re like little sponges, and the rest of the kids really, they like to talk in English more than anything. It’s very rare to actually see them have a conversation in Spanish. They just feel stronger. They’ve had so much more practice in English.

Mrs. Swanson suggested that she used English almost all the time because students “feel stronger in English anyway.” This may have been due to the fact that “they’ve had so much more practice in English” and “it’s an early exit transitional language program,” as she explained. In fact, during my observations, English was the only language I heard students using during classroom interactions. It was rare to hear students using Spanish during whole group

interactions or even during group activities. In this English-immersion context, as I observed, even students who had just arrived from Mexico were able to assimilate into the culture of the school at a fast pace. Mrs. Swanson mentioned about a newcomer, “He is doing well. He can speak English most of the time now,” referring to his quick assimilation as directly related to “doing well” in the classroom even though he may have only acquired basic interpersonal communication skills (BICS) in the form of conversational language at that point (Cummins, 2008). Furthermore, as Mrs. Swanson expressed below, some students did not want to speak Spanish anymore.

Mrs. Swanson – I’ve had students that just don’t want to speak Spanish anymore. It’s just, I don’t know why it happens that way, that some students feel like Spanish is less. It just depends on their personality and how they’ve grown up at home, I’m guessing, because here in class we really don’t get to hear it much unless it’s one of those, it’s a kid that just came from Juarez or that once in a while I have to translate a word in Spanish to them and, but like I said, there’s Spanish, most of my kids, like, their Spanish is not very high, you know, it’s like it’s just like a basic, social Spanish that they know, so even if I translate a vocabulary word from English to Spanish, they’ll still look at me like, so, we really don’t get to use that much in class. I know sometimes they’ll utilize it like when we had a new student come in and he doesn’t know any English, so, they’ll utilize it with him outside to be able to socialize with him, and it doesn’t seem to bother them to speak in Spanish or anything, so I haven’t seen much of like too much of embarrassment on that part or but, you know, I think they’re just like, oh I know Spanish but I know English. They just rather talk in English, most of them.

Mrs. Swanson attributed students' lack of interest in using Spanish to the way "they've grown up at home." There was no mention of the direct connection with the hegemonic practices and discourses at this school or to the subtractive nature of the pedagogical practices embedded in the TBE curriculum, as appropriated in this campus.⁷ The language ideologies that become apparent in this context were views of monolingualism as "normal" or "desired." Additionally, ideologies of students' Spanish use as "inferior" or "illegitimate" were also prevalent, as seen through my observations. However, Mrs. Swanson did not consider these ideologies a cause for students' preference for English. Rather, this teacher believed students' motivation to speak only English was somehow connected to home discourses and practices.

Mrs. Swanson also mentioned that she did not use Spanish during instruction because students' Spanish "is not very high" and "they'll look at me like," referring to students only having conversational Spanish and wouldn't understand her if she were to translate academic concepts. Not only was the Spanish language frowned upon, the variety of Spanish students might have known was not the Spanish Mrs. Swanson would consider "high." This was mentioned as a contributing factor to her lack of use of the Spanish language in the classroom. When students did use Spanish, it was to "socialize" with a new student, and this was done "outside," not in the classroom. This discourse of Spanish as a socialization language with newcomers related Spanish with foreigner, immigrant, and/or newcomer.

Using Spanish only "outside" gave Spanish an inferior position in this class and school. In the formal learning context, English was the expected outcome. Out in the playground,

⁷ Conveying these hegemonic ideologies to me as worthy indicators of success in a bilingual program may have been attributed to my positionality as a researcher; however, I had also observed these practices/ideologies as a teacher before being a researcher.

students may use Spanish, as it was viewed as inferior and not the academic language. These naturalized language ideologies (Foucault, 1972) in which English is granted the power as the dominant and preferred language are taken for granted and even attributed to external factors. In this learning institution, it became apparent how “truth” and “value” were given to specific linguistic forms, and others are disregarded (Schieffelin, Woolard, & Krostrity, 1998, p. 15). The language ideologies of Mrs. Swanson revealed her belief that English is the language of knowledge and power. Her ideologies were not overtly mentioned. However, it was perceived “in the regimentation of language use through more implicit metapragmatics” (Silverstein, 1993, p. 9).

Students in this TBE context attributed the minimal use of the Spanish language to factors not connected to expectations or policies at their school.

Researcher: So, why do you think you use Spanish with your friends only in P.E and not, let's say, not during class or in other classes?

Adamari: Because I don't like-- I don't like talking in front of people in Spanish.

Researcher: Why?

Adamari: Because, it's because there I'm like, I'm shy.

Alberto: Me too. (**Group 2 Interview 2**)

Adamari attributed the use of Spanish only outside the classroom to characteristics of her own assemblage. She embodied her linguistic ideologies through her communicative practices (Wagner, 2017). Her ideologies of the Spanish language were exposed through her remark that she did not like using the language in front of others. She had been socialized to appreciate and speak only the English language. Adamari is a clear illustration of how “moral indignation over

nonstandard forms derives from ideological associations of the standard with the qualities valued within the culture, such as clarity and truthfulness” (Silverstein, 1985, p. 241). Adamari did not mention that English is the language expected to be used in the classroom, however. She simply mentioned she chose not to use Spanish “in front of people” because she is “shy.” The fact that she may have felt shy speaking her native language in front of others in her school indexed the ways in which Spanish had been given lower status in this campus.

At Valley School, for the most part, only English is heard in the classrooms, hallways, and in the playground. There were very few instances when Spanish was used. As seen in Adamari’s case, sometimes it was not used because it was not the language of value in this school. Alberto also provided his beliefs about Spanish below.

Researcher: How do you feel about knowing Spanish?

Alberto: Oh, almost nobody knows that language.

Researcher: Almost nobody knows Spanish?

Alberto: No. **(Group 2 Interview 2)**

Spanish was the first language of every student categorized as “bilingual” in the TBE classroom I observed at Valley School. They all entered the bilingual program in this school because of their lack of fluency in the English language, based on results of initial home language surveys and tests. Spanish was not the language commonly used nor expected to be used, however. When Alberto stated, “almost nobody knows that language,” he may have drawn this conclusion, since Spanish was not heard very often in the classroom; therefore, he believed no one knew the language. Or, since he knew the expectation was for students to acquire the English language at high academic levels, and not Spanish, perhaps, he was trying to portray an

image in which students in this school know English, not Spanish. In either case, Alberto was displaying the ideologies of the school that grant power only to English, while other languages are rarely used. His own ideologies of language were socially constructed through the context he was a part of every day (Spitulnik, 1998). In turn, his awareness of expectations in this school denied Alberto, and other students, of the expressivities that formed part of their diasporic belonging. Rather, they performed a static category that they knew was appreciated through expressivities that were common of this category, such the use of English only.

English was the dominant language at Valley School. State-level language policies, accountability measures, the way the TBE program was appropriated in this campus, and administrators and teachers' beliefs about language were some of the root causes of its hegemony. In turn, the hegemony of English became apparent in many ways at this school, as the following sections will show.

4.3.1 Identifying students through a language

Linguistic practices can be indicators of belonging (Irvine, 1989). As seen at Valley, use and academic proficiency in the English language is the expectation and norm, therefore, speaking English granted students a sense of belonging in this context. Ideologies of right and wrong languages led to the categorization of students based on their language use. Teachers at Valley School stated their awareness of categorizations often used to define students in the TBE program. While observed using these terms a few times, they voiced disagreement of the use of such labels and the reasoning behind them. Common terms heard in the bilingual classroom at Valley School included "Spanish kids," "bilingual kids," and "monolingual kids." Mrs. Swanson expressed people often think of bilingual students as "low" because of language ideologies at home:

Sometimes it comes from home. Some parents don't want their children in a class with bilingual students. I had a student last year who told me he wasn't going to be in my class anymore because of the 'Spanish kids,' and I said, 'What? We don't have any kids from Spain.' So, parents think less of bilingual students.

When asked how she felt about teaching bilingual students for the first time this year, Mrs. Garcia explained the following.

I love them. They're amazing, and I don't see them as bilingual. They're just bilingual [sic]. I don't see them. I just see them as kids, you know, and as students, and I hate to even label and say, oh bilingual, and monolingual, you know, because they're all here to learn, and I just know that they are, and I know that I need to support them, but, yeah, it's been great, and it's been an experience.

Both teachers voiced their disagreement with the use of categorical terms used to label students in this bilingual program. Mrs. Swanson attributed deficit perspectives of bilingual students to external factors – "it comes from the home." The ideological stance of the school and the TBE program it implemented was not regarded as one of the causes of negative connotations. Students who were not labeled "bilingual" did not want to be associated with the "Spanish kids" and opted to move out of Mrs. Swanson's mixed bilingual classroom. The category "Spanish kids" referred to students also labeled as "bilingual." It had a negative connotation, as students were associated with the Spanish language, the minoritized language. Mrs. Garcia explained she did not see "them" (bilingual students) as "bilingual." She adds that, "they're just bilingual." Through this statement, it can be inferred that, in fact, bilingual students were seen from a deficit perspective. Their linguistic abilities in the mainstream language, or lack of, seemed to define them. Additionally, this rhetoric can be directly related to discourse of color-blindness often

displayed by teachers in which they deny the significance of discrimination based on characteristics such as race (Bonilla-Silva, 2017) and, in this case, language.

During informal conversations with Mrs. Swanson, she often used the terms “monolingual” and “bilingual” to describe her students. These terms were used when working for test preparation as well as in other learning activities and contexts. For instance, when I first started observing her class, Mrs. Swanson made me aware that, “half the classroom is ‘monolingual,’ and half is ‘bilingual.’” Later in the year when two of the students were absent, she mentioned to me, “The two students who are absent are ‘monolingual students.’ They are high students.” On another occasion, when separating two newcomers to go over a passage they had completed in Spanish to prepare them for the STAAR test, she asked for the “Spanish students” to go to the back table where they would review the readings. She said these terms out loud during classroom lessons and interactions. Students were aware of who the “monolingual” students and the “bilingual” students were and what those categories implied. For test preparations, students knew who the “bilingual” students were based on their accommodations for the state-mandated test. For example, when answering questions for a Reading passage, the teacher stated, “Using the dictionary is a good way to figure out what a word means when you are not sure. If you do know what the word means, you shouldn’t waste your time with the dictionary, especially my ‘monos.’” In this example, she made reference to the accommodations students coded as “LEP” were given for the state assessment. They were allowed to use a dictionary. “Monolingual” students in this classroom, referred to by Mrs. Swanson as “mono,” would not be allowed to use a dictionary during the tests. Similar comments were made to bilingual students in this classroom.

Ideologies about categorizations, and the ranking of categorizations, were expressed at Valley School. While the beliefs voiced by teachers during our interviews expressed disagreement with the use of labels, their practices contradicted their statements. They engaged in labeling and categorizing students based on their linguistic abilities. Their identities were statically set as “Spanish kids,” “bilinguals,” or “monolinguals.” These labels and assigned categories were perceived as static, as either-or, as either belonging or not belonging. Students’ diasporic belonging, however, meant belonging to all of these categories to some extent. They were students who knew Spanish as the “Spanish kids” label implied, who were bilingual, and who possessed academic knowledge as do “monolinguals.” These students were categories in assemblage (Wagner, 2017) that did not depend on or exist as fixed entities. They were assemblages filled with interacting parts constantly in flux.

4.3.2 Learning English as synonym for being successful

The discourse of success for students was prevalent when conversing with administrators and teachers at Valley School. They seemed uniquely concerned about assisting students to reach academic achievement. They talked about the purpose of the TBE program and the pedagogical strategies used by teachers as ways to help students achieve success. Attaining success seemed to be closely associated with speaking the English language. As described below, for administrators and teachers at Valley School, acquiring English meant achieving academic success.

Mrs. Williams mentioned that “when it comes down to it the language that they need to acquire is English, and I need him (referring to a newcomer) to practice it. I need him to feel successful.” While she mentioned it’s “nice” to embrace the culture they come with, she believes the reality is that they need English to be successful in school and in life. In this

manner, language was conceptualized and represented through her discourse of success as she granted the power and value to English (Foucault, 1980). Mrs. Gonzalez also made a direct link between being “successful” and “acquiring the language.” “The language,” as described by Mrs. Gonzalez, was English. This label of “the language” indexed its hegemony in this context where it was given the power of the only language taught and expected to be used by students. Mrs. Gonzalez stated that the district provided support for students to learn the dominant language and, in this fashion, become “successful.” Mrs. Garcia described these ideologies further by implying that students are fruitful when they are placed in a “monolingual” classroom with a “monolingual” teacher.

Mrs. Garcia – I think just that being able to transition them into completely monolingual classroom settings where they're able to be successful and with, being taught by a teacher that's a monolingual teacher, not having maybe that language barrier that would hold them back from being successful in the classroom.

In this setting, the “language barrier” would not restrain them from being successful. English language acquisition was promoted as indispensable for individual development through this form of ideological hegemony (Pan, 2011). It seemed that students in this bilingual program were not identified as capable of reaching success until they had mastered the English language based on the state’s standards. Only then were they considered to have defeated “barriers” in their education.

4.3.3 Using SIOP strategies

While research substantiates the notion that “primary language support is crucial for providing nonstop cognitive development and developing literacy in primary language is key to literacy development (Thomas & Collier, 2012), districts that implement TBE models, such as

Anaya District, rely on alternate strategies, such as the SIOP (Sheltered Instruction Observation Protocol) model. SIOP methods focus on using strategies in English to help students learn this language. According to the Center of Applied Linguistics, the SIOP model is a research-based and validated instructional model that has proven effective in addressing the academic needs of English learners throughout the United States (CAL, 2018). The TBE program implemented at Valley provides its linguistics support through SIOP strategies, as indicated by Mrs. Gonzalez, Mrs. Williams, and Mrs. Swanson during their interviews.

Mrs. Gonzalez – The delivery of the lesson is in English, but it does provide that linguistic support when needed, and the teachers are very well trained to know when it's needed. If a student is in their first year, and they're barely coming in to the program or to the U.S. school, the teachers know if they might need a little bit more support.

Mrs. Williams – We do take pride in our classrooms that it's all English instruction. Again, some support in Spanish as needed too, on individual cases, but our monolingual students do benefit from, of course, best practices that are provided by our bilingual teachers: the visuals, the manipulatives, the hands-on, the kinesthetic, all the ELPS that they've been trained on and the additional supports that they have as bilingual teachers.

Mrs. Swanson – Every class has its difficulties, and that's why I like teaching in different ways with songs, visuals, and different things.

The various pedagogical strategies the administration and the bilingual teacher mentioned are all part of the SIOP model. This model focuses on assisting the English learner in his/her understanding of content by providing multiple forms of instruction. “Visuals,” “manipulatives,” “hands-on,” “kinesthetic,” “songs,” and “visuals” were some of the main pedagogical methods mentioned and used by teachers to assist students in their content and language acquisition.

These strategies were used in lieu of students' primary language. As mentioned through Mrs. Williams' monoglossic ideological stance, they "take pride in our classrooms that it's all English instruction." This TBE program was characterized by "all-English" instruction despite its "bilingual" name (TBE). SIOP strategies are used to simplify the subject content and provide various forms of representation to support ELs' acquisition of new knowledge (CAL, 2018). I observed these practices in the classroom every day. Teachers activated prior knowledge, used multimodal representations, initiated motivational chants, used body motions to illustrate concepts, sang or played concept-based songs, and showed instructional videos. The fieldnotes below show the ways in which SIOP strategies were incorporated into the lessons.

Mrs. Swanson's class - They begin by talking about sun and moon (strategies to recognize if the questions focus on one or two passages). She asks them what it is? She tells them to tell their shoulder neighbor what it is. They do so. Then she asks them what sun and moon is. A student responds correctly. "Let's give him a thumbs up," Mrs. Swanson says. They also turn to him and give him a thumbs up. They start talking about the passage, "Ricochet: The Dog Who Surfs to Raise Funds." The teacher displays the passage on the whiteboard and begins by talking about the title and what it means. She asks students what they think the passage will be about. Then she explains what surfing is. She asks students several questions about surfing - what it is, if they've ever been surfing, who surfs, etc. Students answer her questions out loud. She makes motions with her arms to show them what surfacing is. Students copy her movements. Then she tells students they need to use AQRRA to answer the questions, which is an acronym for their strategies. They sing a little song rhythmically to remind them of what AQRRA⁸ stands

⁸ AQRRA – Analyze, Questions, Read slowly, Read again faster, Answer smartly!

for. She asks the class why they need to read the passage twice. They talk to their shoulder partner then share with her. She then says, “My baby loves to play right now. He is so into the movie Baby Boss. The first time I watched it, I was like, ok it’s about a baby who is a boss. But the second time I watched it, I noticed a different detail. And the third time I watched it, I noticed even more new details. I don’t know how many times I’ve watched it. Now I even know the songs by memory. It is the same thing with the passages. When I read them the second time, I notice new details. So, if it happens to me, do you think it happens to you? Big time! So, make sure you read it twice.”

(Fieldnotes, 2-23-18)

Mrs. Garcia’s class- The teacher copies problem number one on the white board. Students are told to copy it. “OK, guys remember, bigger unit...” she begins saying rhythmically and so do students, “Bigger unit into smaller unit, we multiply!” She moves her arms as she does this. Students do the same. They open their arms for ‘bigger’ and close their arms for ‘smaller’ units and then do a cross with their arms for multiplication.

(Fieldnotes, 2-26-18)

Mrs. Garcia’s class - they turn the page over and look at a passage with writing questions. One of the questions asks which sentence best follows the last sentence. Mrs. Gonzalez (Assistant Principal) asks Daniela to get up and follow her. She has students think about how following means to be behind her. She says that’s what they are asking them to do in that question. She tells them to make sure they read carefully what they are being asked to do. She reads the passage for them taking time to what some of the words mean. A student asks what a wave pool is. She says it is a pool, “with what?” she asks.

“Waves,” several students repeat. “It’s like at Wet’n Wild. Have you been there?” the teacher asks. “Yes,” several students say. **(Fieldnotes, 3-07-18)**

Making content attainable for ELs is one of the primary goals of integrating of SIOP strategies as pedagogical practices. In the instances described above, the teachers used multiple approaches to help students understand, visualize, and decode information. On the first excerpt, for instance, the teacher began by using reading strategies to understand Reading passages (sun and moon). Since students were often presented with two passages, this strategy would help them determine from the beginning if they would be comparing and analyzing two passages or only focusing on one. If only one passage was given, students would circle the word “sun” and would write it next to the title. If they had two passages to work with, they would circle “sun” and “moon” and write one of the words next to the title of each passage. When students would go to the questions, they would identify which passage they referred to. Then they would write either “sun” or “moon” next to the question. The intention was to help students recognize exactly which passage the questions were about and avoid confusion. Similar strategies and practices were followed for most assignments and activities. They were followed routinely. Another SIOP strategy students seemed to enjoy were the chants. After students answered a question correctly, teachers would tell the class to respond with one of the many chants they had memorized throughout the year. For instance, the first excerpt mentions the “thumbs up.” Another chant students enjoyed was the rollercoaster. Students moved their arms from top to bottom as if going down a rollercoaster while exclaiming, “Wooooooooo.” When students responded correctly to a teacher’s question and she asked for a “rollercoaster,” students would all follow the motions and sounds while directing the “rollercoaster” at the student. Students usually responded to this type of positive reinforcement with a smile or a giggle. It is likely that

they felt satisfied about responding correctly to the teacher's question.

The SIOP model is focused on the delivery of “lessons that address the academic and linguistic needs of English learners (CAL, 2018). It is one of the major “supports,” as the principal, assistant principal, and bilingual teacher often referenced, for students who were in the process of acquiring English. In this TBE program, SIOP was a way to assist students through the mainstream language. As Mrs. Swanson mentioned, “I use various strategies to help my ELs understand. If I absolutely need to, I use Spanish.” For the most part, SIOP strategies were used so ELs understood and acquired content subject matter and linguistic knowledge. The use of Spanish was avoided, unless absolutely necessary for comprehension or with newcomers who would not understand the lesson only through SIOP support.

The SIOP method reveals one of the ways in which macro-level policies are appropriated at the micro-level. The district, the school, and the classroom teacher used various methods to help students acquire English, which is the ultimate goal, based on the TBE state policy. Even though the state policy does acknowledge the need for students to learn through their L1, at Valley, they opted to resist this part of the policy and substitute it almost entirely by employing alternate methods such as SIOP.

4.3.4 “Bilingual” – A code

Attributes of individuals are in various dimensions of identification (Wagner, 2017). Specific aspects may become relevant in a particular context while others may be salient at another moment (Erickson, 2004). The way students perform acts of identity (Butler, 1993) in different contexts may vary significantly based on how categories, such as the “bilingual” category, are perceived by others. In my theoretical stance, I suggest that students are not “being” bilingual, as that entails a fixed category (Wagner, 2017). Rather, students are

“becoming” through every interaction and practice. A variance of many entities momentarily constitute each other and become constituted with variations in a different situation. While on one interaction a student might perform a “monolingual” category in assemblage, in another, they may display a “bilingual” assemblage, depending on where the entities in these categories are accepted, or not.

Students’ categories in assemblage “become” through every interaction. In order to gain insight into how or why students “become” monolingual or “bilingual” in interactions, it is critical to learn the ideologies educators and administrators hold about these categories. These may have a significant impact on what these categories mean to students.

Mrs. Williams – It’s something that we are big proponents of because it’s another virtue, another quality, another skill that is going to help you in the long run with communicating with peers, when communicating in the outside. Being a borderland, it’s a very necessary skill to have, and we certainly embrace it, and it’s part of that uniqueness in each and every one of us.

I feel you just, if you have a solid foundation for your native language whatever that is, you can keep up with others, and it’s just language is just so big, you’ll never learn everything. It’s something that you just have to continue practicing your native and any language that you’re learning, and it’s very admirable when I see individuals that speak not two languages but three or four. It’s like a big old puzzle.

Based on Mrs. Williams words, her ideologies about language point to appreciation towards language and towards multilingualism. Being bilingual is a “necessary skill,” she mentioned, “when communicating in the outside.” It is not regarded as necessary inside the

school context. As described throughout the findings of this study, the ideologies of administrators at Valley School stress that knowing more than one language is a bonus outside of school, at home, or when looking for a job. While the bilingual category is valued, based on discourses of inclusiveness, there is no space for students to develop their primary language and access their entire linguistic repertoire (Garcia, 2009; Moje et al., 2004) without being constrained by definitions of what the appropriate language is.

Mrs. Swanson expressed her perspective of what it means to be bilingual in the TBE classroom.

Mrs. Swanson – Bilingual here means, basically, it's a student that has grown up in a different language at home, and their first language is not English, whether, right now it doesn't matter how much Spanish they know, but what matters is that, have they reached the potential of a normal native language speaker English. And if they have not yet reached that potential then they still need, well LEP services, proficiency services.

For Mrs. Swanson, the bilingual category means “their first language is not English.” Undeniably, the language of power, in her perspective, is English. The bilingual category in this campus was directly connected to students' level of English proficiency. Mrs. Swanson mentioned that “it doesn't matter how much Spanish they know,” clearly communicating the subordinate position given to students' native language in this context. The bilingual student is always being compared to native-English speakers in terms of linguistic knowledge. Mrs. Swanson mentioned, “but what matters is that have they reached the potential of a normal native language speaker English,” implying that what is important about being bilingual is reaching the ideal English speaker.

Since language is enmeshed in systems of power according to the position of speakers and their agency (Mignolo, 2000), ELs are oppressed in this particular context where they are minoritized due to their language abilities, or lack of, in the power language of the institution. They are seen from a deficit perspective and considered the “other” (Bernal, 1994) until they have “reached the potential of a normal native language speaker of English,” as Mrs. Swanson mentioned.

According to Mrs. Swanson, ELs in her classroom consider that being bilingual means having testing accommodations.

Mrs. Swanson – The only thing that they (students) know is that, ‘I’m bilingual because I get extra time,’ or ‘I’m bilingual because I can do this,’ like they know they have certain privileges that they can use in their test and things like that, but other than that, they don’t feel any different or any less than any of the other students.

Being bilingual, for EL students, entails having “certain privileges” during state assessments. Students are made aware that because they are “bilingual,” they have extra time to complete the test, and they can also use a dictionary. They associate the word “bilingual” with accommodations, not with the ability to communicate by using two languages. An identity that might be perceived as powerful and rewarding elsewhere is trimmed down to a code that grants you extra supports on a test.

Mrs. Swanson did acknowledge, however, that in other learning contexts, being bilingual has another connotation. When speaking about the DL, she stated:

I feel that’s a great program. I’m not sure. I’ve never taught it. I know exactly what it consists of, starting off 50/50, and I know what it what it is, but I think it’s a great way to

make sure that kids are built with two languages like an actual bilingual kid (So, when you mentioned they would be more of an actual bilingual, what did you mean by that?). Like knowing Spanish and knowing English. When I consider a bilingual student, I think of a student that can be proficient in Spanish or in another language and in English, as well. That to me is like a bilingual person.

By mentioning that a DL context provides students with the opportunity to learn two languages “like an actual bilingual kid,” Mrs. Swanson acknowledged that there are differences between what it meant to be bilingual in a TBE and a DL program. While at Valley, being bilingual might have referred to a code that categorizes and tracks students, in contexts where DL is the model of instruction, being bilingual entails “being proficient in Spanish or in another language and in English,” as Mrs. Swanson described it. She seemed to embrace the “bilingual identity” co-constructed in a DL learning context.

Language can be a means of categorizing (McKinney, 2017). The language/languages spoken by students in different bilingual programs categorizes them as particular type of people. At Valley, being bilingual set you aside in a deficit way as the “other”, not a “normal native speaker of English.”

For some students at Valley, being bilingual also took a negative connotation.

Researcher: So, how does being bilingual make you feel?

Alberto: Okay. Um, you know-- I don't know.

Alondra: [laugh]

Researcher: What do you think, Ruben?

Ruben: Pretty um, let's say, bad because I've been in school for six years.

Researcher: And why do you feel bad?

Ruben: Because I've been in school for six years and been talking in English.

Researcher: Oh. But you also speak Spanish?

Ruben: Kind of.

Researcher: Yes?

Ruben: Yes, kind of.

Researcher: So why do you feel bad?

Ruben: Because they say I'm bilingual and no. I've been in school for six years and been talking English six years.

Researcher: And so, who tells you you're bilingual? You say, "They say I'm bilingual".

Ruben: Swanson

Researcher: She tells you you're bilingual? What does that mean?

Adamari: I also feel bad.

Researcher: What does that mean?

Ruben: That supposedly she says that I'm slow in English.

Researcher: You're slow in English?

Ruben: No, I'm learning, that's what she says.

Researcher: Oh. Okay. And you say you feel bad, Adamari?

Adamari: Yes.

Researcher: Why?

Adamari: Because I-I always think in my head that um, I-I know students that are monolingual students are smarter than bilingual students.

Researcher: Why?

Adamari: Because Spanish people have another language, and they can do different things.

Researcher: Okay. So, why do you feel that monolingual students are smarter?

Adamari: Because I-- They know-they know-they know English a lot, so they-- understand stuff and we sometimes don't. **(Group 2 Interview 2)**

While Alberto showed neutrality when asked how he felt about being bilingual, Adamari and Ruben had strong beliefs about what it meant to be bilingual at their school. Ruben displayed his knowledge about the expectations of the TBE-early exit program he was in. The expectation was for students to exit the program as soon as possible. The goal was for ELs to test out of the “bilingual” label and be placed in an all-English classroom. As the *2018-2019 English Learner Reclassification Criteria Chart* mentioned, ELs are reclassified as English proficient “if the student is able to participate equally in a regular all-English instruction program as determined by satisfactory performance in all three assessment areas and the results of a subjective teacher evaluation.” When asked how he felt about being bilingual, Ruben responded

by saying, “Pretty um, let's say, bad because I've been in school for six years.” Being bilingual was not an asset for Ruben. Instead, he felt ashamed, “pretty bad” for being bilingual after six years of being in school. He seemed aware that after being in the bilingual program for six years and tested every year on his English proficiency, he had not tested out of the program in order to be categorized as “monolingual” and placed in a “regular all-English” classroom, as mentioned in the *2018-2019 English Learner Reclassification Criteria Chart*. He had been in the program for six years “speaking English.” Ruben made sure to highlight that throughout these years, he had been fluent in English, which was the expectation and criteria to exit the bilingual program in this TBE school. When asked if he also knows Spanish, his response was, “kind of.” Ruben seemed to want to stress that he is fluent in English, not Spanish. Even though his primary language was Spanish, and he was placed in TBE due to his primary language being Spanish, he reiterated he does not know the language well. During my observations, I never heard him speaking Spanish. When I would use Spanish with other students and/or his group, he seemed to understand what I was saying but would respond in English. Ruben’s primary language was not recognized or acknowledged in this context. He had been deprived of the opportunity to use and learn through familiar linguistic resources (Blommaert, 2005), and he had internalized the expectations and ideologies of the school. Being bilingual, for Ruben, meant something negative. He was seen through a deficit perspective, and he seemed aware of that. It meant knowing the minoritized language and not the dominant language of the school. Ruben felt “bad” for being bilingual “because they say I'm bilingual and no. I've been in school for six years and been talking for English six years.” Again, he reaffirmed that he knew English. He said he was not content with being bilingual and went on to deny that he was. Ruben did not want to be categorized through the label “bilingual” as this simply implied being deficient in the

mainstream language, which he did not believe he was. As Ruben expressed his teacher told him regarding being bilingual, “supposedly she says that I’m slow in English,” and “I’m learning. That’s what she says.”

The focus of this program was the acquisition of English. Being slow in English and being in the process of learning it placed students under a negative umbrella, under the label of the “other.” Being bilingual meant students don’t know English at the level of a native-English speaker. Categories were negotiated in interaction (Fitzgerald & Housley, 2015); therefore, Ruben felt the need to demonstrate his English proficiency in his practices and interactions in order to be categorized as “monolingual” not “bilingual.” His ability to consciously attempt to pass as a fluent English speaker “provided possibility for resisting or disputing categorization and their perceived fixity” (Wagner, 2017, p. 68). He resisted the “bilingual” label by attempting to pass as someone who is ready to be exited from the program, as this had academic and cognitive indexical value in this context.

In the excerpt above, Adamari expressed, “I also feel bad,” when asked about how she felt about being bilingual. She added, “I-I always think in my head that um, I-I know students that are monolingual students are smarter than bilingual students.” She identified herself as lower academically than the students who are labeled “monolingual.” Monolingual students were viewed as “smarter” because of their level of English proficiency. In essence, the relation between language and power enabled the language use of dominant groups to be privileged over others (McKinney, 2017). In this case, speakers of English – “monolingual” students were perceived as more knowledgeable and were normalized. “They know--they know English a lot, so they-- understand stuff and we sometimes don’t,” Adamari expressed. She reiterated her feelings of being deficient and not as knowledgeable as those students who “know English a lot.”

She also placed herself under the categorical umbrella “Spanish kids” when she said, “Spanish kids have another language.” The language students knew and used positioned them and categorized them (Fricker, 2007). The linguistic knowledge they brought with them was not the knowledge of most worth in TBE program. In this sense, being bilingual was not something to be proud of. It was a marker of linguistic and cultural deficiencies. Interestingly, when asked how being bilingual made them feel during the interviews, most students responded with “normal,” while Adamari and Adriana responded in a different way.

Researcher: What do you guys think about that?

Adamari: Umm, I don't know.

Researcher: About being a bilingual student?

Adamari: That's-- Uh-- Like-- It also *inspires* you.

Researcher: It inspires you? Why?

Alberto: I agree.

Adamari: -Like-- It-- Like, when people don't know Spanish-- I mean, English and Mexico, like that inspires you because they're telling me to talk something in English, and I know and like, some people tell me that to talk something in Spanish.

Adriana: I want to be bilingual for the rest of my life. **(Group 3 Interview 2)**

Even though Adamari mentioned she felt “bad” about being bilingual due to its implication in her school, later on in the interview she mentioned she felt being bilingual “also inspires you.” She seemed to have complex, mixed emotions about what being bilingual means to her. On one hand, she felt less smart than monolingual students, while on the other, she felt

inspired to be able to communicate in both languages when asked to do so. Her definition of being bilingual was broad, as she expressed contradiction between the deficit-based discourses of her teacher and the school and positive views towards bilingualism. It was unclear whether these positive ideologies on bilingualism stemmed from home, media, or mixed messages from school or other sources.

Adriana, a recent immigrant, had previously mentioned she felt “normal” for being bilingual and speaking more than one language. She later added she would like to be bilingual for the rest of her life. Even though in their school they were receiving messages about the value of English, their ideologies were a mixture of appreciation and regret for Spanish. Their categories in assemblage as bilingual students were complex and emergent. Their experiences and conflicting ideologies were forming them as categories in assemblage in state of becoming (Wagner, 2017). The categories students identified themselves with varied within different contexts and different encounters. The complexity of their beliefs about who they were points to their state of becoming, their forming categories as emergent bilinguals in every interaction and practice.

In their identity maps, Adamari and Adriana included English and Spanish as “my language.” Other students, except Ruben, also included both languages. Even though most students did not express being “inspired” or wanting to be “bilingual for the rest of my life” as Adriana and Adamari did, they still included both English and Spanish in their maps. The way students represented “my country” and the flags on their drawings will be analyzed in the Ethnic Identities section. The identity maps for all student participants from Valley School are in the Appendix.



Figure 2. Identity Map - Adamari

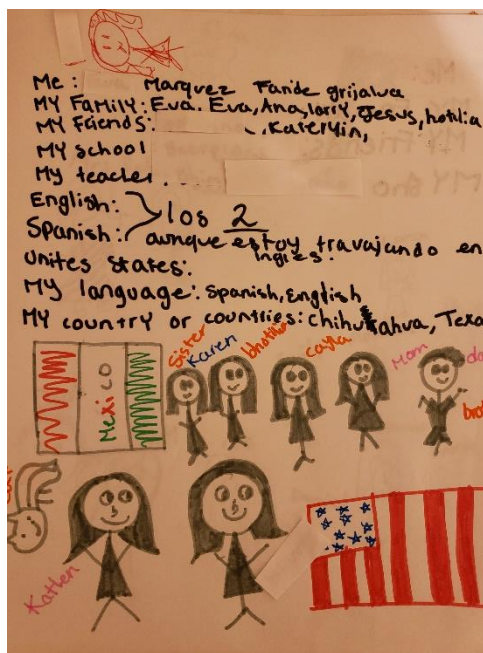


Figure 3. Identity Map - Adriana

At Valley School, being bilingual was not a category that was celebrated as an asset for communication or for academic advancement. While discourses of adults often centered on appreciation of language, in practice, Spanish was perceived as a problem, since it was not valued as a resource for success (Ruiz, 1984). Rather, being bilingual was seen as a code that implied the level of English proficiency desired had not yet been reached. The category that was valued in this campus was that of a “monolingual” student whose proficiency in English is high (Auer, 2007; Makoni & Meinhof, 2003; Pratt 1991). Monoglossic and monolingual ideologies prevailed, granting value to those who could communicate effectively in English, despite their linguistic repertoire (Blommaert & Backus, 2011). Through contextual cues about which language was more accurate, pure, or superior (Blommaert, 2006), particular social and cultural values were granted to English (Agha, 2003). Language use indexed the particular type of person they are (Silverstein, 2003) and whether they fit the norm by possessing the

characteristics of “monolingual” student. The primary purpose of TBE, as appropriated in this campus, was the fast acquisition of the standard form of the language of value, English.

4.3.5 Bilingual identity

While bilingualism is not the goal of the TBE program, in their discourses, administrators and teachers expressed their support for the retention of students’ home language. They firmly supported students’ identities as bilinguals when asked about their beliefs about language, bilingualism, and students’ bilingual identities, despite the fact that the TBE program implemented in this campus did not foster bilingualism.

Mrs. Garcia mentioned about students’ identities, “I think that it’s part of them. It’s who they are..... I hope that we’re equipping them with the tools they need to not be afraid of who they are.” She acknowledged students’ cultural and linguistic characteristics as part of who they are. In other conversations, she also mentioned appreciation for students’ use of their home language. While her discourses reflected acceptance and appreciation for students’ identities, the TBE program, as implemented in this campus, may not equip students with the tools they need to retain their bilingual identities and their home language. Their “identities are being shaped and constructed through language (Nortier, 2015, p. 6)” in this learning context where the English language is the valued language. In turn, monolingual identities are valued and recognized by students, teachers, and administrators as desirable. Thus, identities are not only formed at the individual level, they are often assigned by others. As perceived in this scenario, while discourses can enable possibilities, they can also close them down and dictate identities of power and/or knowledge (Pennycook, 1994). In this case, the discourses of acceptance often heard from administrators and teachers at Valley may not have been accessible to students, as their identities as bilinguals seemed to be disabled in this context and granted minimal power, if any.

These discourses of appreciation towards language were not heard during my observations at Valley. Students were not aware of this heteroglossic ideology towards language described by the teachers and administrator. Seen from the theoretical stance of individuals as multiplicities rather than identities (Wagner, 2017), students' material and expressive entities were acknowledged as "who they are," as Mrs. Garcia and Mrs. Williams mentioned. Their diasporic cultural and linguistic ability were seemingly accepted based on teachers' and administrators' accounts, yet students' full multiplicity of entities was rarely encouraged in the classroom context.

Mrs. Garcia also mentioned she believed being bilingual "is a gift" her students have that she would have also liked to have, yet she was not taught Spanish by her mother. Again, her discourse of appreciation and admiration for students' bilingualism surfaced in these excerpts. Mrs. Swanson also expressed the importance of knowing two languages. It is so important for her that she would like her son "to be bilingual and keep his Spanish." As Mrs. Garcia, she assigned the job of keeping students bilingual to parents. They seemed to reiterate that, if parents did not teach their children Spanish, then they wouldn't be bilingual. Mrs. Swanson stated, "When parents tell their kids to learn English and speak to them only in English, I don't think they realize that they will need both languages when they grow up," asserting that it's the parents' responsibility to teach their children Spanish. Principal Williams confirmed the importance of Spanish and other languages and its relation to identity by stating, "I just feel that language is very important..... it makes us who we are." She affirmed that she embraced Spanish as it is a symbol of identity even though it was not encouraged nor taught in her campus. She mentioned, "I embrace Spanish, you know, Asian, any dialect, just we're a big melting pot." Her ideological stance in this excerpt seems to point to appreciation of diverse languages. The

common interpretation of a melting pot is a heterogeneous society becoming homogeneous as would happen in a “melting pot” with all the different cultures and languages coming together as one. Interestingly, at Valley, the language heard more than 90% of the time was English. Other languages, including Spanish, were not overtly “embraced.”

The ideologies about language and about being bilingual held by Principal Williams, Mrs. Garcia, and Mrs. Swanson seemed to contradict the practices observed in the classrooms. In Mrs. Swanson’s class, all whole-group instruction was in English. All students were provided with opportunities to develop English academically as appropriate for their grade level mostly through the use of English. All subject areas were taught in English.

In Mrs. Garcia’s class, Spanish was sometimes used. She separated two students who had been in the program for one or two years and provided instruction for them in a small group setting. These students received instruction in Spanish because their state-mandated tests would be in Spanish. I observed this several times during the fall semester before the state assessment. I also observed the use of Spanish words as a method to assist students in relating to new concepts. She mentioned during the interview that she used a few words she knew in Spanish to help students make connections with the content at hand. On one occasion, she asked students to think about the word “tres” in Spanish when they come across the prefix “tri.” Using Spanish as a resource in this manner was observed only three times during my 12 visits to her class.

While the principal and the teachers at Valley School mentioned their support for bilingualism, the TBE program being implemented at their school deviated from these beliefs significantly. The main goal of language and literacy development, as perceived through observations, was entirely focused on one language, English. Rather than creating an additive environment where a second language is acquired, TBE was subtractive in nature.

4.3.6 Spanish as a problem

Standardization is one of the main components of the curriculum at Valley School. Students were expected to acquire the English language in its mainstream form. Other variations of the language, or other languages were not accepted or considered valid for success in this learning environment. English is often the measure of intelligence, ability, and the determinant of success in formal education (McKinney, 2017). In this sense, any other language became a problem in the process of academic success in this campus. The language-as-a-problem orientation (Ruiz, 1984) was an overpowering ideology in this TBE program where the focus was not bilingualism. Students' diasporic belonging with multiplicities of material and expressive entities (Wagner, 2017) were not encouraged.

Students' knowledge of Spanish as their primary language was considered a language barrier in the acquisition of their second language, rather than a resource in the process of achieving bilingualism. When asked about the purpose of the TBE program at Valley and her experience working with bilingual students, Mrs. Garcia reflected the language-as-a-problem ideology.

Mrs. Garcia referred to students' linguistic abilities through a deficit perspective mentioning the word "barriers" repeatedly. In her view, even though bilingual students are "amazing students with beautiful souls," they have "a lot of barriers that hold them back" and "a lot of obstacles that come with being a bilingual child." Being bilingual was a problem that came with obstacles and barriers, according to Mrs. Garcia. The positioning of monolingual students as the "bearers of preferred knowledge" (Soudien, 2007) became apparent when Mrs. Garcia asserted, "I just think not having the vocabulary that maybe a monolingual student would have maybe the experiences that a monolingual student might have with vocabulary." Mrs. Swanson

also mentioned a similar comment about vocabulary in students who are exposed to more Spanish, “Other programs where they are able to speak more Spanish, their vocabulary- there’s a gap in between.” Mrs. Garcia’s and Mrs. Swanson’s arguments about the lack of vocabulary of “bilingual” students has been highly critiqued as an “overly simplistic explanation for racial and socioeconomic achievement gaps” (Adair, Colegrove, & McManus, 2017, p. 315) that blames families for a lack of exposure to words rather than looking at classroom discourses and interactions that reflect experiences and knowledge of white, middle-class, European heritage families that limit Latinx interactions (Sperry, Sperry, & Miller, 2015).

In this instance, Mrs. Garcia illustrated the “monolingual student” as the student with valuable characteristics a “bilingual” student does not have. The “experiences” and the “vocabulary” the “monolingual student” has is what positions him/her as the bearer of preferred knowledge. As illustrated by Mrs. Garcia, the category of the “monolingual” student was one of greater power and value than that of the common English language learner. In this context, the preferred language was English; the preferred category is the “monolingual identity.”

Again, what Mrs. Garcia viewed as the “monolingual” identity was a static representation of a category fixed in time and space. The complexity of students’ wide range of entities constantly in motion through interactions and practices was not considered. The “monolingual identity,” as I perceived through my observations and through interview data, was characterized by traits a native speaker of English would, such as academic English vocabulary and the type of experiences an English speaker would have. The linguistic knowledge bilingual students brought to school from home was not considered an asset to their education. On the contrary, their primary language was a problem that inhibited them from being successful in their education. Students whose primary language was not English were always viewed from a “lacking”

standpoint. In this manner, the “subordinate first language and bilingualism involving one of those ‘little languages’ was therefore associated in a pre-rational way with intellectual limitation, linguistic deficiency” (Lawrence, 1978, p. 310). As Mrs. Garcia explained in these discourses of deficit that circulated in the TBE program, obstacles and limitations characterize students who speak the minoritized language.

The power of English was pervasive in this school giving Spanish an inferior position. Spanish became a problem that had to be overcome in order for students to be successful and, eventually, exit out of the “LEP” label. Due to the normalization of Spanish as a problem, students tended to assign Spanish as the designated language of the private sphere and the community and often subtracted Spanish from their linguistic repertoire as a result, as will be seen in the next sections.

4.3.6.1. Spanish in the private sphere of home and community

The language “of truth and value” (Schieffelin, Woolard, & Kroskrity, 1998, p. 15) at Valley School was undeniably English. Through their own ideologies about language use, administrators, educators, and students expressed the schools’ expectations and appreciation of only one language form. Power and ideology were illustrated through their voices. Additionally, in response to the value that had been placed in the English language at school, some students at Valley School believed Spanish was necessary mostly at home as a form of communication with family.

Researcher: Okay. And what about Spanish? Is it important for you all to learn Spanish?

Beatriz: Yes.

Researcher: Yes? Why?

Beatriz: Because like my family doesn't talk English. **(Group 1 Interview 2)**

Beatriz believed Spanish was important to communicate with her family who does not speak English. She did not mention Spanish as a necessary tool for communicating in school or any other place. Adamari's beliefs about Spanish and its use closely resembled Beatriz's.

Researcher: Is it important for you to know Spanish?

Adamari: Well, yes because of my mom and grandma-- But-- Like-- In my-- Um, let's say if I say- Well, my-my mom is the one-- My grandma is the most important one, that I need to talk Spanish because I- If I talk to her like about having pool party, she's just going to say, well, and I'm going to-I'm going to tell her in Spanish, and my mom, she understands it but if I tell her um, a long sentence, she won't understand me.

Researcher: In English?

Adamari: Yes

Researcher: Okay. Is it important for you to know Spanish anywhere else, besides with your grandma and your mom?

Adamari: Well, yes, with Adriana too. **(Group 2 Interview 2)**

For Adamari, Spanish was important to communicate with her mother and her grandmother who are not fluent in English. She mentioned it was also important for her to communicate with Adriana, a recent immigrant who was learning English. Adamari and Beatriz did not place value in the Spanish language as a powerful communication tool to use in school or as a language that enhanced their categories in assemblage. They saw it as a way to

communicate outside of school or with those students who did not speak English. Their linguistic ideologies were constructed systems of power/knowledge (Foucault, 1980; Makoe & McKinney, 2014). They were aware that monoglossic ideologies prevailed and that the valued language of the school was English. Outside the school context, such as with family, they mainly used their primary language. In this sense, the use of Spanish with family enhanced their bilingual identifiers, despite the fact that, for the most part, they were limited to using it outside the formal learning context. Their bilingual identities consisted of a presumed dichotomy of here and there, where their sense of belonging in each context depended on their language use. Despite the here and there dichotomy they expressed and performed, their practices were complex. They did use Spanish at school to communicate with newcomers and friends, and they used English at home with siblings. Through embodiment, their “complex entities shifted in interaction as much as the communicative matter those bodies produced” (Wagner, 2017, p. 49). In this manner, the practices and ideologies Beatriz and Adamari, as well as other students, displayed seemed to shift away from static identities; rather, they seemed to embody complexity and becoming. Their embodied materialities fluctuated and shifted in different interactions and domains as they engaged in constant negotiations of who they were in a moment-by-moment basis.

At Valley Elementary, English is the language of power, while other forms of communication were disregarded. These ideologies communicated to students through practices were internalized and appropriated as shown in the case of Adamari and Beatriz.

4.3.6.2 Forgetting Spanish

At Valley School, the purpose of the bilingual program (TBE) was to transition students out of the program into all-English classrooms. While all whole group instruction in the

bilingual classroom I observed was in English, it was still considered a “bilingual” program even though its purpose was not to develop more than one language through content instruction. The TBE program implemented at Valley was subtractive in nature, as it focused solely on English often leading to the subtraction of students’ primary language, as stated by Mrs. Swanson.

Mrs. Swanson - and my son, he’s gonna go into PreK, and he knows all Spanish, but all Pre-K is gonna be all English now, so I’m afraid he’s gonna lose his Spanish too, so that’s where I’m a little- but as far as learning English, it definitely helps, like to get them to that language proficiency.

I do feel that they do lose the Spanish a little bit, especially if at home they don’t get that conversation with parents ‘cause some parents are busy working.

Mrs. Swanson was convinced that at Anaya School District, the goal was “to get them (students) to that language proficiency” by focusing on “all English” beginning in Pre-K. Students often forgot their primary language. While Mrs. Swanson attributed this to parents being busy and not conversing with their children in Spanish, she was concerned about her son’s retention of Spanish even though he only spoke Spanish at the time of my observations. She believed that once he started school at Anaya’s early exit program, he could “lose the Spanish.”

Mrs. Swanson’s concern about her son losing his Spanish in the TBE program, as implemented at Anaya School District, indexed the ideologies prevalent in this district and campus, as well as her awareness of the subtractive effects of the program. The hegemony of English in these schools allowed the linguistic advancement of only the English language. All other languages were only used for support, not for whole group instruction. Mrs. Swanson wanted her son to become bilingual and “be in a dual language program” in order for him to retain his Spanish. Despite her efforts to speak only Spanish to him at home, she knew it was

very likely he would lose his Spanish if he was enrolled in the TBE program at Anaya.

Assistant Principal Gonzalez also demonstrated awareness of the subtraction of Spanish that often occurs in schools. She relayed her experiences as an “EL” and her parent’s efforts to help her retain her Spanish. She stated that “I’m an English language learner, and so Spanish was my first language.” She used Spanish at home until “I went into school, and then it turned into English.” She narrated that she had “continued to practice” Spanish at home because “my parents felt that it was important, and so they continued to provide me with the Spanish support at home, and so I didn’t forget it, but that was more so at home.” She clearly communicated the separation of languages according to the space they are used: “at home” and “at school.” At school, “the practice will be in English. I would hope that they don’t forget their language because I hope that it’s communicated. That is important but eventually we want them to transition out of that program.” Mrs. Gonzalez’ experiences shaped her identity and ideologies in conflicting ways. She supported bilingualism but believed Spanish should be acquired at home and English at school. These complex ideologies are directly linked to interpretations and implementation of language policies in the district, school, and classrooms (Fitzsimmons-Doolan, Palmer, & Henderson, 2017).

Students at Valley School did not explicitly mention they were forgetting their primary language. They did mention, however, that they had difficulty speaking Spanish or that they didn’t know even though they were second language speakers of English.

Daniela: There's some words that I don't know.

Researcher: In Spanish?

Daniela: In Spanish

Daniela: That was my first language.

Researcher: Spanish?

Daniela: Yes (**Group 3 Interview 1**)

Daniela pointed out in this excerpt that she did not know some words in Spanish even though it “was” her first language. This statement confirms what Mrs. Swanson stated. Students do tend to forget their home language as they reach higher elementary grade levels. In this case, it seemed important for Daniela to point out that Spanish “was” her primary language as if Spanish was changing from being her dominant language to, perhaps, her weaker language now that she felt “there’s some words I don’t know” in Spanish.

During my observations, I always observed Daniela speaking English. The few times she used Spanish was during our focus group discussions when I used Spanish with the groups. Her Spanish did not seem limited during these conversations. She communicated well with me and her group in both languages. Despite her fluency, she made sure to make me aware that Spanish “was” her first language as if performing the ideologies and expectations of her classroom and school. Even though Daniela mentioned in a focus group discussion “my language is English and Spanish,” she did not include either language on her identity map. She may have decided to focus on relevant people in her life, as the picture included her family, friends, and teachers. She did include the Texas flag as her “country.” This will be discussed in another section.

The excerpt below shows another example of forgetting Spanish even though it can be interpreted in different ways. When Alberto and Ruben mentioned they used only English with each other, I asked further questions, as shown below.

Researcher: Do you guys always speak English to each other?

Alberto: Yes

Ruben: Yes

Researcher: Why?

Alberto: Because in school we talk English.

Ruben: Because I don't know the language Spanish.

Alberto: I know Spanish. I was going to use Spanish.

Ruben: I always talk to my mom in English.

Researcher: Why?

Ruben: Because I don't know the language Spanish.

Researcher: Oh. Do they speak Spanish?

Ruben: My mom doesn't even know how to speak English.

Researcher: Oh. So how do you communicate with her?

Ruben: She always gets mad at me because I don't know- like that much Spanish.

Researcher: Why don't you know Spanish?

Ruben: Let's just say I'm always at school and I never talk in Spanish, I'm not all day in my house. **(Group 2 Interview 1)**

In this case, Ruben and Alberto mentioned they used English all the time. Alberto

asserted that “in school, we talk English.” This is the expectation for students in TBE at Valley. Students were expected to speak English to develop proficiency in English. As Mrs. Swanson expressed, this focus often came at the price of the loss of the primary language. As Ruben expressed, “I don’t know the Spanish language.” In this example, as well as in several others I collected, Ruben wanted to make sure it was known that he did not know Spanish very well. He was quick to assert that he has been speaking English for many years. As we have seen, it was important for him to point this out, as he was aware that in order for him to exit the program and be removed from the “bilingual” label, he had to be considered fluent in English. His identity map as shown below, reflected his preference for English, as he designated English as his language.

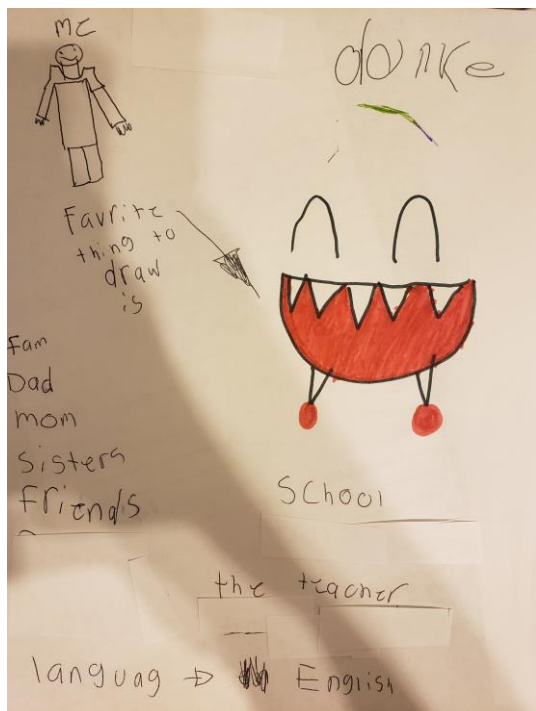


Figure 4: Identity Map - Ruben

From this excerpt above, it is unclear if he had forgotten all of his primary language or if

this statement was support for his intention to prove his fluency in only English. During my observations, I never heard him speak Spanish. Inside and outside of the classroom, he only used English. It was evident, however, that he did understand when his classmates used Spanish.

Ruben also stated his mother “always gets mad at me because I don’t know-like that much Spanish.” His feelings seemed complex in this statement. Ruben was aware of the emphasis on “transition” of the TBE program at Valley and the focus on acquiring English (Palmer & Martinez, 2013). He intended to display language ideologies of dislike towards the Spanish language by stating he always used English. Alberto, on the other hand, stated he knew Spanish. I mostly observed him speaking English during and outside of class. The one or two times he used a few words of Spanish was when I had initiated the conversation with him in Spanish during an interview or informal conversation.

Ruben: So, my language um, I won't speak that much Spanish or don't know that much Spanish, I only speak English, only a little bit.

Researcher: Say it again...

Ruben: I only speak Spanish a little bit.

Researcher: But you said your mom gets mad at you for that, right?

Ruben: Yes.

Researcher: Why?

Ruben: Because she doesn't understand. Yes. Then, I forgot to include this, my all sort of thing is to go outside at night on my bike, to go ahead to my friends.

Once again, Ruben reiterated that he “won’t speak that much Spanish.” Then he said, “or don’t know that much Spanish.” He first said he simply doesn’t speak the language; then, like in the first excerpt, he clarified that he did not know it. It was important for him to mention that he does not know Spanish. He added, “I only speak Spanish a little bit.” In the last line, Ruben changed the subject of language to going outside to ride bikes with his friends. It isn’t clear if he simply wanted to talk about his friends and bikes right at that moment or if he wanted to shift away from the language conversation having pointed out that he has transitioned out of Spanish and speaks only English now (Palmer, 2011). In his identity map, Ruben listed English as his language. There was no mention of any other language. He included English with other important things in his life. Additionally, he wrote on his identity map entirely in English.

At Valley, the learning environment was subtractive in nature. Students were expected to acquire fluency in the mainstream language with complete disregard for their mother tongue. Students may have internalized these ideologies, as in Ruben’s case, and preferred to use only English and deny their knowledge of Spanish. By using English and expressing fluency of the English language, Ruben felt he could belong in this context where knowing English grants you access to “normalized” classes and learning contexts. Through language, it is possible to negotiate who you are (Heller, 1992). In social networks, language use grants or withholds membership. This was the case with Ruben. He felt that knowing Spanish would deny him access to the “normal/regular” all-English classrooms. He seemed aware of the inferiority of Spanish in this learning context. While Mrs. Swanson attributed students forgetting Spanish to factors in their homes, the ideologies constructed by students in this TBE program may have also had an impact in students’ own language ideologies and practices. Ruben, for instance,

embraced monolingualism by denying knowledge of his primary language. Students negotiated their belonging according to the expectations of the teacher, the classroom, and the school.

4.3.7 Spanish for support

In the TBE program at Valley, whole group instruction was entirely in English. Even though TBE is usually classified as a bilingual program, its focus at the Anaya District is entirely in the acquisition of the English language at academic levels. Teachers were certified in bilingual education and were able to provide support in the form of multiple representations of concepts or translations to students who did not yet understand the mainstream language. The students who received this type of support were referred to as “newcomers.” During her interview, Mrs. Gonzalez, the assistant principal, referred to these students also as “babies,” “new babies,” “young,” and as “brand new.”

“With the students, if I know for example my first-year *babies*, that they can’t write. If we’re having a conversational type of conversation, I will speak to them in Spanish. ‘¿Que hicistes el fin de semana, mijo?’ and they’ll tell me whatever, but for the most part, I do. Once they’re *young* like that, I do want them to learn the language. I do want them to pick up on it. I do want them to learn it.”

“I know we just got a *new one*, a *new baby* that’s, like first year ever in a U.S. school in January, so he’s going to need a lot, so I’m sure that she (the teacher) would provide (Spanish support) that for him.

“He’s an eighth-grade student this year. He had never been to a U.S. school before. He came last year as a seventh grader. I actually have two boys like that. They came in last

year from Juarez *brand new*, no English whatsoever, and this year, I saw it all last year that they were picking it up fast, picking it up.

In one of our third-grade classes, he started with us *brand new*, and he struggled a lot in the beginning, and he would cry a lot.

If the kid is coming in *brand new*, and they don't know that that's a door, you know what? Label it 'Puerta - door. If they don't know that, label 'desk' on here, 'light, 'pictures,' so that is the expectation.

In these excerpts, Mrs. Gonzalez used specific terms for newcomers. As she described them, they were students who recently came to the United States without any, or minimal, knowledge of the school's mainstream language. The categorical terms "brand new," "young," "babies" possibly described students' abilities, or lack of, in the language of power. They were viewed through their lack of ability to communicate in that language. These terms described them as empty vessels (Freire, 1998), as students who had minimal or no knowledge. As Mrs. Gonzalez reiterated in the third excerpt, they were "brand new" with "no English whatsoever." The knowledge they brought with them was not accounted for in this learning environment. They were "babies" to this new learning culture where only English was valued. Being a "baby," in this case, symbolized lack of knowledge in the valued language. Mrs. Gonzalez also described some of the pedagogical strategies used to support them in their acquisition of English. In the first excerpt, she explained how she used conversational Spanish to them when they are "first-year babies." In this example, Spanish was used for support only when students were new to the school. Then, as she stated, only English was used, so they acquire "the language," referring to English.

Mrs. Gonzalez also illustrated an example during her interview of how newcomers were supported in the classroom. When asked to explain further the benefits of TBE for ELs, she mentioned the following.

Mrs. Gonzalez – The benefits for the English language learners is that they have that additional support from the teachers, and it provides awareness for the school and for the staff to know who our students are who are gonna need that extra support. It was real cool the last time I was in a class. It was 3rd grade class, and we have a lot of first year students in there, and they were talking about the food chain, and so, the teacher was showing them a video. She had pictures. The students were pretty good in that class. They're high, but the ones that are first year, she has them grouped together near her. They were near her because she was manipulating the computer and she had them in a group right there, so as she manipulated the computer, as the video was playing she was able to turn around and translated what the video was saying. While the kids were watching, she was telling them what was going on in Spanish.

Mrs. Gonzalez described an instance in which Spanish was used to support newcomers in the acquisition of their second language. This was precisely how “Spanish for support” looked in the TBE classroom. Students were usually separated from the whole group and gathered in a smaller group context where they were able to hear and use their primary language. Below is an example I observed of an occasion when newcomers were separated from the class to review their work in Spanish.

When Mrs. Swanson has paired every student, she asks one of them, “Did you bring your homework? The one in Spanish? You don’t do STAAR master. You do it in Spanish.” The student stays quiet. She calls three students, including Adriana, to the back table.

The teacher begins reviewing the passage with them. She explains in Spanish why the answers are right or wrong. “*Todas las palabras que terminan con “n” en español necesitan acento,*” she says as she explains the first question. “OK, did you get it right?” she asks them. “Yes,” one of them responds. They go through the next question. It is explained to them in Spanish. Students approach Mrs. Swanson to ask her questions about the passage they are working on in English. She helps them in English, then, she goes back to her small group. “*Recuerden que van a tener un diccionario en español que van a poder usar,*” she says. After she explains a question, she asks, “*La respuesta es?*” “B (in English),” one of the students says. “*Si, la G (Spanish pronunciation),*” the teacher says and moves on to the next question. When she finishes with the passage, she tells them, “I’m gonna give you guys the homework for today.” She grabs some workbooks. “*Si, tambien ellos tendran tarea,*” Mrs. S says when Adriana makes a sound as if surprised. “*Abre la pagina 29, Adriana,*” the teacher says. “*Si la tienes?* Twenty-nine?” the teacher asks. Adriana says, “*Si.*” “Go to 39. *A ver, si ya lo hicimos, ¿Ya la hiciste?*” the teacher asks. “*Si,*” Adriana responds. “*A ver forty-seven. El borrador magico. Esta no la hemos hecho. Tear it out,*” she says. “*Eso es tarea?*” Adriana asks. “*Si,*” the teacher says. “OK, one more. *Un Zorrillo en Apuros, pagina sesenta y nueve,*” the teacher says. “OK, so tonight, you are doing page 29 with your parents.” “Miss, *¿me oigo como que estoy mala?*” Adriana asks the teacher. “*Si, como mormada,*” the teacher replies. “OK, *ya vamonos para alla,*” she tells the group. The three students move back to their desk. (Fieldnotes, 4/02/2018)

Mrs. Swanson translanguaged (Garcia & Wei, 2014) with her small group of newcomers. The passages students worked on, in this occasion, were in Spanish. These students usually

reviewed the English passage with the whole class, then were called to their small group to review the passage they worked on in Spanish. I observed this several times, especially as the date of the state assessment approached. This is an example of a time when the teacher used Spanish to help her students understand the content of the Reading passages. The discussion was not entirely in Spanish. The teacher used both languages with her small group of students to help them understand the content at hand. This practice seemed to be allowed in this context. During whole group interactions, however, I did not observe translanguaging taking place.

Mrs. Garcia, the partner teacher, was not certified in bilingual education. She stated she only knew a few words in Spanish. She also worked with the same small group of students above during Math time. These students were to take the Math state assessment in Spanish. She explained the problem to them in English, however. Spanish was not used for support in Mrs. Garcia's classroom. Below is an example of a small group collaboration with newcomers.

Mrs. Garcia pulls two students to her kidney table, including Adriana. The rest of the class is working silently and individually. In her small group, Mrs. Garcia works with the small group one problem at a time. For each problem, they follow the strategies.

Instruction is entirely in English. As she is working with the small group, she is often seen walking over to other students and guiding them on their assignment. **(Fieldnotes, 2/23/18)**

This example depicts the way small group sessions took place with newcomers and with other students in math class, with the “monolingual” teacher. Mrs. Garcia only used a few words of Spanish she knew to help students connect ideas in English to Spanish. Other than those times, the teacher did not provide support in their primary language during math class. Concepts

were simplified or explained in different words in English when students needed assistance understanding. In other subject areas taught by Mrs. Swanson, translanguaging practices emerged, as she was the bilingual certified teacher and was fluent in Spanish.

As I observed several times, students struggled with math concepts. As the teacher walked around to assist students, they would ask questions about the problems at hand. After answering their questions in English and explaining the concepts, some students still seemed confused. After the teacher walked away, some students would turn to their group members to ask for clarification. Most of the discussions among students were in English; I rarely heard Spanish used among students. Students' confusion may have been caused by lack of understanding due to the language of instruction or the complexity of some of the mathematical concepts. Students were also aware that Spanish was only used in the classroom to support those students whose fluency in English was not at grade level.

Adriana was a student who had recently immigrated from Mexico. Her fluency in English was limited. She mentioned to me that Mrs. Swanson used "both" languages with her "when we do work," referring to small group interventions. On several occasions, she was pulled to the table located in the back of the classroom for small group guidance. Mrs. Swanson would often speak to her in Spanish during those sessions. Daniela was also an EL in this TBE classroom. She had been in the program longer than Adriana. Even though she was not a newcomer, she was often called to the small group table due to her low academic performance. She also said that the teacher used "both of them (languages)" when working with her. Those students who were often called to this table were students who needed further assistance in subject matter. As Mrs. Swanson once mentioned to me, "I work with my low group back here to help them understand the concepts." I observed this happening several times. The group often

consisted of newcomers and other ELs whose grades were low. When Daniela joined the small group table for assistance in Reading and Writing comprehension, she often heard Spanish from her teacher and classmates being used to assist those students who had recently immigrated to the U.S. or whose knowledge of the mainstream language was limited. As illustrated by Adriana and Daniela, Spanish was used only for support in this TBE classroom.

4.3.7.1 Translanguaging

The words analyzed above show that monoglossic ideologies towards language were prevalent at Valley School. My observations corroborated that English was the main medium of instruction. Language and the way it is used is bound to its context and emerges from ideologies held by speakers and expectations in that context (Bakhtin, 1981), and, in this school, the use of English was the expectation and the norm. Students were expected to draw solely from their knowledge of English to engage in classroom discussions and for written work. Interestingly, the only times Spanish was accepted was for the acquisition of English. In other words, it was used only for support in the process of learning the mainstream language. In these cases, translanguaging practices were accepted.

When teachers and administrators were asked about translanguaging practices, their ideologies were complex and, at times, differed from the expectations and practices I observed in the classroom. Mrs. Williams, the principal at Valley, explained her perspective on translanguaging below.

Mrs. Williams – I do that to this day (giggles). I think it's part of acquiring language, and I do find myself- and I do see the kiddos sometimes when I'm having a conversation with them, sometimes they have to switch back and, again, being an ELL learner myself, I can

see how that happens. You have to set your mindset to, ‘Ok, I’m having an English conversation.’ Sometimes they forget different words, and it’s ok to use it, and the purpose is just make sure you have the main idea. If you have the main idea, who cares if part of it is in Spanish, part of it is in English. I just think it’s language, and to me, that’s beautiful. (And is that the expectation in the classrooms as well?) Absolutely, we do want them to speak English, but we also know that some kiddos need supports, and if they need to, as long as they attempt the English component, and that’s what we want, you know, that’s the goal, but if they start in English, and then they forget one word, and they say one word in Spanish, no biggie, and the teacher can say, ‘Ok, great! Hammer, I was using my martillo.’ so it’s always important to come back and do tell them in a very subtle way, so that we do expose them, but it’s part of language, and it’s gonna happen, and it’s expected, and it’s ok.

Mrs. Williams provided insight into the mind of an EL and the internal dilemmas they are faced with as they communicate. Even though she states that translanguaging “is beautiful,” when you are learning a second language, “you have to set your mindset” to English or Spanish. In her view, speaking in only one language requires focus and concentration on the expected outcome. Mrs. William shows how translanguaging is conceptualized in a TBE: as part of the process of “acquiring language,” and not necessarily as a way of speaking of bilinguals. Codeswitching, which she mentions she engages in herself, happens in the process of learning a second language, in this case, English. As emergent bilinguals, this is the natural process in the acquisition of language (Garcia, 2009). According to Mrs. Williams, it happens when students “forget different words” and rely on their primary language to express their thoughts. In this manner, their primary language is a resource in the acquisition of their secondary language

(Ruiz, 1984). Mrs. Williams believed it was “no biggie” if students forget “one word” in English, as long as they “have the main idea,” and as long as “they attempt the English component.” Students’ translanguaging was not seen as a purposeful way to communicate among bilinguals to convey a message.

As reiterated in this excerpt, the main focus of TBE, as implemented in this campus, is the acquisition of the English language. If students forget a word in the target language, it is accepted for them to say it in Spanish. However, it is not accepted for them to do this all the time or as an established form of communication. If a word is said in Spanish, the expectation is for the teacher to “come back and tell them in a very subtle way” the English translation. The intention was to expose students to the English language, especially since the belief was that students would use their primary language because they didn’t know the English word/s. Emergent bilinguals, however, translanguage as a common form of communication (Garcia & Wei, 2014; Gort, 2015; Hornberger & Link, 2012; Esquinca, Araujo, & de la Piedra, 2014), not only when they forget “one word” in their second language. It is not only a way for them to develop their linguistic proficiency in more than one language, but also a way of everyday communication.

Mrs. Gonzalez, the assistant principal, explained similar views to Ms. Williams, in the interview excerpt below:

Mrs. Gonzalez – I know that that happens a lot, like when the teachers are teaching, if they see that it’s not working, especially even with the academic language, they can switch it back and forth. That happens automatically. I know that the writing, we want it to be in English. If they can’t do it at all in English, they can do it in Spanish, and then maybe they can translate it into English. (And what about students speaking and them

switching back and forth, or maybe using English and Spanish within the same sentence. What do you think about that?) In academic or in conversation? (Both?) I think that when they're out in the playground, when they're out with the friends, and they're having lunch, I think it's ok for them to communicate with their friends because it's conversational. If it's something that is in the classroom where we're expecting them to learn this academic language, and things like that, there can be the switch, the eventual outcome and expectation is, for the purpose of that to be for them to acquire whatever it is that they need.

Mrs. Gonzalez began by mentioning that codeswitching “happens a lot,” accepting the nature of translanguaging as a natural practice for bilingual students (Garcia, 2009b). However, it was not defined as a bilingual practice; rather, it was seen as a temporary linguistic practice students engage in to acquire the “academic language,” referring to the English academic variety taught at school.

While it may initially seem that Mrs. Gonzalez had adopted heteroglossic ideologies by allowing students to use their entire linguistic repertoire, these practices were only accepted “in the playground when they're out with the friends” and as a temporary measure to acquire the “academic language” in the classroom. The label of “academic language” was given to English in what may have been perceived as its formal and pure form (Lippi-Green, 2012). Mrs. Gonzalez reflected a puristic ideology in which only the “pure” form of English was seen as acceptable and valid in the classroom.

Mrs. Gonzalez' views, similar to Mrs. William, reflected the hegemony of English in this campus. While English and Spanish were acknowledged in this diasporic linguistic landscape, their functions and symbolic importance varied drastically (Wagner, 2017). The expectation was

for students to acquire English. Spanish could only be used as a form of support in the acquisition of the mainstream language. Mrs. Gonzalez explained that if teachers codeswitched, which “happens automatically,” it was when students were not understanding the content in English, and “they see that it’s not working.” Only when teachers believed extra support is needed in students’ native language, then it was accepted to “switch it back and forth.”

The language ideologies held by administrators at Valley were similar to those of the fourth-grade teachers in the TBE program. These teachers also believed translanguaging was a natural process in language acquisition. As voiced by adults at Valley School, codeswitching was accepted as the norm for bilingual students. However, I rarely observed translanguaging in the classrooms. Students’ “diasporic multilingual repertoires” (Wagner, 2017, p. 19) were not incorporated into this learning context as valuable resources. The excerpts below show how teachers perceived the mixing of languages and its relation to the expectations of the school.

Mrs. Swanson – I think sometimes bilinguals need to do that [mixing languages]. They need to move from one language to another to communicate. I personally don’t like it. I tell my son to tell me in one language or the other, not both. (Do you see it happening in class?) No, I think for the most part, students like using English here. They are so used to speaking only English. They feel strong in English because they are so used to it. I do it sometimes, like I’ll throw in one word in Spanish or two but it’s usually to help them understand a concept.

In regard to translanguaging, Mrs. Swanson believed that “bilinguals need to do that.” She described the “need to move from one language to another” as a discursive norm in bilingual learners (Garcia & Wei, 2014). Despite the fact that she regarded translanguaging as necessary, she expressed her internalized monoglossic ideologies by stating she did not like this practice

and even expected her son to communicate in one language or the other, not in both. This deficit view of translanguageing reflects an ideology of language as autonomous linguistic systems (Hernandez, 2009). When asked if translanguageing happened in her classroom, Mrs. Swanson mentioned that students “like using English here” and they “feel strong in English.” In effect, I rarely heard students speaking Spanish in the classroom. Students, for the most part, used only English. Perhaps, students may have internalized monoglossic ideologies and expectations of communicating only in the mainstream language.

Mrs. Swanson tells the class they will be working on the next page, “completely on your own.” Students begin working silently and individually. All of their passages are in English. They are told to move on to their expository writing after they finish the passage. Adriana raises her hand. The teacher approaches her. I hear Mrs. Swanson saying, “Write about a place that’s important to you. *Explícame de un lugar que es importante para ti, ok?* It can be your room. It can be somewhere in Puerto Rico. It can be any place that’s important to you, ok?” Mrs. Swanson tells Adriana. “Yes, in Spanish,” the teacher is heard telling her.

During Writing, Mrs. Swanson tells students they have 25 minutes to complete their pillar before PE. Students work individually and silently. Eva is writing her paper in Spanish about La Feria. She gets up to ask the teacher a question. She approaches her next to her desk. The teacher is heard explaining to her in Spanish and providing her examples. Then she adds in English, “**Ok? Necesitas tu** super beginning.” Eva walks back to her desk and continues writing. A few minutes later, the teacher tells the class to put their papers inside their writing notebook. (Fieldnotes 03-26-2018)

In the two instances above, Mrs. Swanson was translanguaging. She used inter- and intra-sentential codeswitching to express herself. On both occasions, she mixed languages to communicate with Adriana, a newcomer who has been in the U.S. for less than two years. In addition, the fact that Adriana wrote her composition in Spanish and later discussed it with the teacher using both Spanish and English is in itself another example of translanguaging.

Despite her monoglossic ideological stance in regard to language use and her deficit view of codeswitching, Mrs. Swanson engaged in translanguaging practices as she intended to help her students understand concepts and ideas. Mrs. Swanson may have found this practice a necessary approach for comprehension, since Adriana was not considered a fluent speaker of the mainstream language. These examples may help understand Mrs. Swanson's comments about codeswitching as a necessary practice for bilinguals – “bilinguals need to do that.” As seen, Mrs. Swanson, as an ELL herself engaged in these practices to communicate with her bilingual students who she considered needed the support in their native language in order to comprehend the subject-content at hand. Her ideologies about translanguaging were complex. On one hand, she considered mixing languages a normal process of second language learning. On the other hand, she believed in language separation and stated she does not like translanguaging practices.

The views of Mrs. Garcia, the “monolingual” classroom teacher who taught Mrs. Swanson's students Math, were somewhat different from those of Mrs. Swanson. The excerpt below provides insight into Mrs. Garcia's language ideologies.

It's so fun. I think it's cool and I think, I wish I could do it, you know, and they get excited if I even just throw out one word. They're like, “Wow, Mrs. G that was good.” And so, I think it's fun, and I think it gives our monolingual kids opportunity to learn as

well because we live in a border city and what a great gift to be able to learn from your peers, to learn even if it's just a little language. It helps you. It helps you in the long turn. It helps you when you grow up to say, well I know what that means, you know even if you just speak English because we, like where we live, you can go to a restaurant and to be able to maybe understand if you order something, or if they ask you questions in Spanish to be able to order in Spanish. I think it's cool, and I wish I could do it more. I get excited to hear the kids. They make me laugh, and I see their personalities, and I see that they- and the kids laugh at each other because they understand each other, so, yeah, I don't know. I wish I could do more, more of that. (Do you hear it in the classroom from students?) Mhm, especially if they can't get out what they're trying to say. They'll start a sentence in English, and then they'll throw in- they might finish it off in Spanish, and then somebody else, "well, what did you say?" And then they'll say, "oh it's 'cause I was confused about what this word meant, so I said it in Spanish," and see that's where it gets really good. It's because we'll have our kids that don't know, that might start a sentence in English, finish it in Spanish, and then the kid will say, "oh that means this", so then not only is the student that was lacking the understanding understands what she needed to say initially, but the kids that are the kids that are hearing it, they're able to learn, you know, so it's kind of like a win win when they do that because they're all learning. They're learning from each other.

Mrs. Garcia believed mixing languages was "so fun" and "cool." She expressed appreciation for the multilingualism in this border school. She also mentioned she would like to be able to codeswitch, as well. For Mrs. Garcia, codeswitching meant being knowledgeable in two languages, which she admired. Specifically, in this border region, she believed this type of

linguistic proficiency was useful and necessary. However, she also held the perspective that translanguaging is a resource while acquiring a second language. In her monolingual class, students codeswitch when “they can’t get out what they’re trying to say” using Spanish to complete the sentence. In her view, this was a positive practice since students learned from each other in this manner. During the time I observed at Valley School, I did not see many translanguaging practices during whole group instruction and discussions, as described by Mrs. Garcia. Students communicated almost entirely in English. Only on a few occasions did I hear Spanish, as I described in the Spanish for Support section. A Spanish word was also used by Mrs. Garcia in the following way.

The math lesson is about to begin. Mrs. Garcia tells the class she feels days are so short, and there’s so much to cover. She grabs students’ attention by saying, “holy moly...” Students respond chorally, “Guacamole.” They all look at the white board, and Mrs. Garcia begins the lesson. She asks students for their answers on their assignment.

(Fieldnotes 02-26-2018)

I observed Mrs. Garcia using a few Spanish words to make connections between academic concepts and bilingual students’ native language or as classroom chants to get students’ attention, as in the example above. Despite Mrs. Garcia’s heteroglossic ideologies about translanguaging, the integration of students’ language resources in the classroom was seldom encouraged. As Mrs. Swanson expressed, students mostly communicated in English. In this campus I observed that the positioning of speakers and their agency in a system of established power had an effect on the way language was used (Mignolo, 2000). Teaching practices and various factors in the environment of this campus granted the power solely to the English language. Students were aware of the ideologies present in their learning environment

that limited their agency and language use in the classroom to the expectations of the school.

When the students at Valley were asked what language they used, they usually mentioned using English at school and Spanish at home. They separated English as the language of the school – “here,” and Spanish as the language of the home – “there.” The alleged dichotomy of “here” and “there” was apparent in students’ discourses about language. When asked if students mixed languages, they usually responded with, “no.” Some said they used Spanish with friends during lunch or with students who were considered recent immigrants, as discussed in the Spanish for Support section. In the instance below, Adamari, an emergent bilingual who had been in the TBE program since kindergarten, mentioned she did not engage in codeswitching.

Researcher: What language do you speak outside of class?

Adamari: Spanish and English at the same time because I- If I don't know how to say something in Spanish, I usually say it in English. (**Group 2 Interview 1**)

Adamari explained that she uses “Spanish and English at the same time” when she does not know how to say a word in Spanish. In such cases, she used English to finish her thoughts. It is important to note that, even though the language of her home was Spanish, Adamari mentioned she forgets words in Spanish and uses English, her second language, to finish her thought. This is a significant case, because it shows how translanguaging practices are tied to the situation in which they are used. This example shows that rather than using translanguaging in her process of learning a second language as an emergent bilingual, she mixed languages as a result of the process of subtracting her native language from her linguistic repertoire. Interestingly, I mostly observed English being used in the classroom and outside the classroom. It was rare when Spanish was used. Even though administrators and Mrs. García expressed their acceptance of codeswitching as a way to acquire the second language, students may have not felt

it was accepted, as I did not hear the mixing of languages during my observations in the classroom.

The expected “monolingual” categorization was displayed by students through their material and expressive entities. The expressivity aspect of students’ assemblage was limited, as their diasporic multilingual repertoire was not encouraged in this learning environment. Their practices and interactions were mostly characterized by the use of only English. Since “categorization functions in interaction,” students exposed and performed (Butler, 1993) that specific categorization during interactions and practices (Wagner, 2017). Translanguaging was allowed only temporarily, while Spanish speaker students were acquiring the English language during small group interventions with the teacher. In these cases, students’ entire linguistic repertoire (Garcia, 2009), as the expressivity entity of their diasporic belonging (Wagner, 2017), was accepted. It is expected that when they are exited from the EL category, they will not “need” to engage in translanguaging, as they will have acquired the English language to a high fluency level.

4.4 Ethnic Identities

In the TBE program at Valley, the language of value was English. The normalized, socially constructed identity was that of a “monolingual” student. Despite the hegemony of English and its powerful value as a necessary trait in students’ identities, students at Valley continued to feel a sense of belonging to their ethnic roots. During the identity maps focus group session, most students identified themselves as Mexican American. They felt a direct bond with their “Mexican identity” because of their language, place, and descent. They felt a connection to their “American identity” because they knew English and they live in the U.S. What students perceived as fixed categories (Mexican and American) can be interpreted as a “single system

with two nodes of attraction that are themselves not fixed in place; They push and pull against each other in every dimension with every combination of materialities and expressivities” (Wagner, 2017, p. 37). Their diasporic sense of belonging became apparent in these focus group conversations and interactions in which they expressed they felt they belonged as Mexicans because of their linages and families, yet did not belong because of their Americanness, in regard to language use, habits, and preferences (Wagner, 2017). This section will illustrate, through students’ voices, what it meant to them to be Mexican, what it is to be American, and their sense of belonging to what they regarded as a Mexican American identity.”

4.4.1 Being American

For the students in my study, being American was a static category characterized by speaking English and/or being born in the U.S.

Researcher: What if I say, "I'm American". What does that mean to you guys?

Beatriz: That you're born here in the United States.

Angel: You're born-

Researcher: You said what?

Angel: That you're born here in the United States and you got to speak English. **(Group 1 Interview 2)**

Researcher: Alright. What if I say, "I'm American"?

Alberto: That you talk English.

Ruben: That you obviously talk English.

Researcher: That I obviously talk English? Okay.

Alberto: English and you were born here.

Researcher: English and I was born here?

Adamari: I agree. **(Group 2 Interview 2)**

Researcher: [laughs] So what makes an American?

Daniela: Um--

Sabrina: When the parents-- [crosstalk]

Daniela: Los tacos duros.

Adriana: ¿Los tacos? No manches, no parecen tacos.

Researcher: [laughs]

Sabrina: I like tacos.

Daniela: Tacos cocidos.

Sabrina: -where your parents are from also matters or where they were born.

Researcher: Okay

Sabrina: And I feel like when you born in a place and you grow up and you raise there, I feel that you carry a lot of what you are from, they place you live and where you ever lived.

Like, let's say, here, I'm an American and I was born American, I was raised American, all my parents and my grandparents are American, so I probably like, let's say if I were to move to Mexico, I probably like act like I'm in American, but really I'm in Mexico. (**Group**

3 Interview 2)

To these students, being American also related to place of birth and language. Daniela added an interesting perspective to her interpretation of what it is to be American when she said, “Los tacos duros,” to which Adriana added, “No manches, no parecen tacos.” To these two students, hard tacos are American. They are different from the original Mexican, soft tacos. As Adriana expressed, “no parecen tacos.” To her, hard tacos are not tacos. If they are hard, they do not resemble the true tacos. In this case, food is also a marker of what they perceived as a fixed ethnic identity. Soft tacos were considered an authentic Mexican food, while hard tacos were American. In this case, it is seen how students’ expressivities and materialities helped them

negotiate the perceived fixed identity of Mexicanness (Wagner, 2017). Their habitual practices allowed them to categorize and identify what it meant to be “Mexican.”

For Sabrina, who you are travels with you wherever you go. She mentioned that if you are born in America and raised there, if you move to Mexico, you carry your American identity with you. When she said, “I probably like act like I’m in American, but really, I’m in Mexico,” she expressed her belief that no matter where you go, your identity will remain within you. In her view, you retain your parents’ ethnic identity through descent wherever you go. It remains a part of who you are. This may also be the case for students who have immigrated from Mexico to the U.S. It is very likely they carry their Mexican roots with them even if they are now in the U.S. In this sense, people are “formed as material and expressive entities with a plethora of moving parts along various dimensions which cannot be wholly disentangled from one another even though some may be situationally, interactionally more active than others” (Wagner, 2017, p. 36). Their languages, cultures, and all the practices that make them up are attributes in their diasporic belonging. No matter where they go, or other signifiers of identity they may adopt, they are all part of them as multiplicities. In the view of bodies as assemblages, individuals are multiplicities with interacting parts always emergent, ongoing, and constantly becoming.

Despite the fact that most students felt a connection to their ethnic roots, the majority of their identity maps only reflected their American side. Students were asked to draw a list of items from their list including a country/countries. All those students under the non-LEP code drew only Texas (Carlos’ identity map is shown on the left as an example), the Texas flag, or the U.S. flag. Most ELs also decided to draw a Texas flag or the state (Daniela’s identity map is shown on the right).

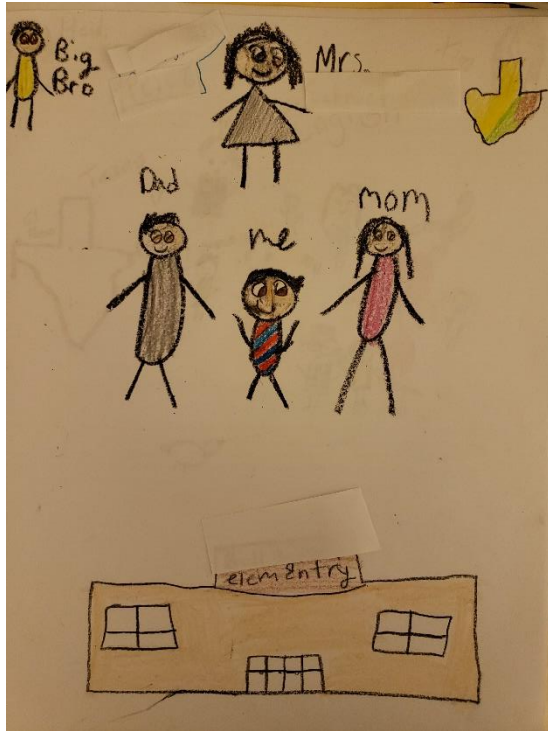


Figure 5: Identity Map - Carlos

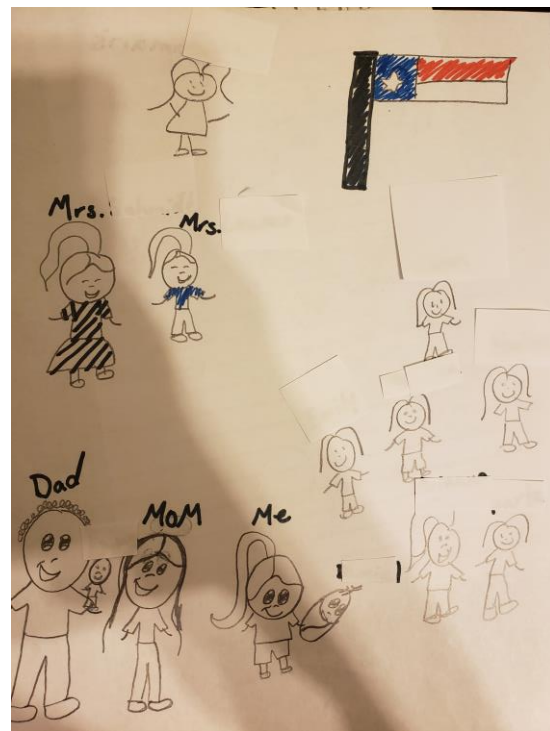


Figure 6: Identity Map - Daniela

Only Adriana drew the Mexican and the American flag, as shown on her identity map on previous sections and in the Appendix. She also wrote, “My countries: Chihuahua and Texas.” As she expressed, she felt a connection with both sides of the border. During the discussion of her identity map, she said, “My countries are Chihuahua and Texas; Mexico is my real country because I was born there; The US-, I am visiting for 3 years.” Her “real country” was Mexico. Her connection with her Mexican roots seemed stronger. The U.S. was a place she was “visiting for 3 years;” therefore, the connection did not seem as strong. Even though most ELs did not include Mexico and America in their identity maps, they expressed the connection to both places and cultures through *place* and *descent*. They also expressed a connection to being both American and Mexican based on language abilities. They drew a fine line between being American and knowing English and being Mexican and knowing Spanish. As seen in the

Participants Table and in the Spanish in the Private Sphere of Home and Community section, several students mentioned they used English only at school and Spanish at home with parents. Students engaged in different linguistic practices to access different groups or categories (Le Page & Tabouret-Keller, 1985). In this manner, they enhanced their categories as assemblages and diasporic belonging. Rather than “being” American or Mexican, students were in a state of becoming, developing their diasporic beings (Wagner, 2017).

4.4.2 Being Mexican

Many students felt a connection to Mexico based on *descent*. To them, being Mexican also related to birthplace and language. As expressed below, they perceived these two characteristics and defining elements of what it is to be Mexican.

Researcher: So, let's say that I come, and I tell you "I'm Mexican"? What does that mean?

Allan: That you come from Mexico

Researcher: Ah? That's from Mexico? Okay. You guys agreed. What do you think?

Beatriz: Ahm, that Mexico and like they use Spanish.

Researcher: Okay. What do you think, Angel?

Angel: That's from Mexico. **(Group 1 Interview 2)**

Researcher: If I come here and I say, "Hey, guys, I'm Mexican", what does that mean?

Ruben: They're Mexican.

Alberto: That you talk Spanish.

Researcher: That I talk Spanish?

Alberto: Yes.

Researcher: Yes? What do you think?

Ruben: That you're Mexican or you talk Spanish.

Researcher: So, I'm Mexican, what does that mean to you?

Alberto: Mmm, that you talk Spanish, you were born in Mexico. **(Group 2 Interview 2)**

Researcher: So, what do you ladies think? What makes a Mexican? ¿Un mexicano quién sería? ¿Qué es?

Daniela: Tacos con chile y jalapeños y todo.

Sabrina: What makes a Mexican is like, where your parents are from and where you are born.

Researcher: Oh.

Adriana: Con la comida y las--

Daniela: Como habla, mijita.

Researcher: ¿Como hablan?

Adriana: El idioma. El idioma, la comida y pues, el uso de las cosas, como tiene las cosas.

Sabrina: You probably say like Mexico or somewhere or where are your parents from. You're probably from almost the same place because you have your parents' DNA in you, so if Daniela had was Mexican and she would have some of that inside of her.

Researcher: That she would have what?

Daniela: My grandpa was Mexican too. Actually, both of my grandpas have-are Mexicans

Sabrina: So, they would have-- You would have some of their DNA.

Daniela: Yes.

Adriana: Well, my dad-- My mom's both they died, his mom was Mexican. I'm a Mexican.

Daniela: Yes.

Adriana: And then my--

Daniela: Okay, okay.

Adriana: Like he's Mexican. Want to know how I know that they're Mexican?

Researcher: How?

Adriana: When they start saying, "Ay". [laughs] **(Group 3 Interview 2)**

For students at Valley, being Mexican meant coming from Mexico and speaking Spanish. Again, for Daniela and Adriana, being Mexican was directly tied to authentic Mexican food, such as “tacos con chile y jalapenos y todo,” as Daniela expressed. Food was apparently, in their view, a significant marker of identity for these two participants. Being Mexican meant you eat

tacos with chile: two main foods that grant you access into the categorization of being Mexican. Additionally, Daniela mentioned language as a relevant signifier of the Mexican identity. It was not only about speaking Spanish, in her view, but how you speak it. “Como hablan, mijita,” Daniela stated referring to the use of words such as “mijita,” that typically demonstrate care and a sense of closeness for Mexicans. Another typical term in the Mexican culture, according to Daniela is, “ay.” She mentioned that when “they start saying ‘ay,’” that’s when you know someone is Mexican. Sabrina added her own perspective to the conversation by stating that your ethnic identity also depends on where your parents were born since “you have your parents DNA in you,” “so....you would have some of that inside of you.” To Sabrina, if your parents are Mexican, you carry that with you as well, making you Mexican like your parents. You are Mexican through *descent* more than any other trait.

4.4.3 Being Mexican American

Most of the students in the TBE classroom at Valley characterized themselves as Mexican-American. They felt a strong connection to Mexico, its traditions, and language through descent. They also felt connected to the United States because it is their birthplace, and they knew the language they perceived Americans speak, English. Students illustrated their perspectives below.

Allan: Oh. So, dad's um, Mexican and-

Researcher: Your dad, you said?

Allan: Yeah.

Researcher: Okay.

Allan: My mom is American. So, I think I'm like American and Mexican. **(Group 1 Interview 2)**

Angel: I am Mexican American.

Researcher: Mexican American? Okay. Why-Why do you think you're-

Angel: Because like-- I was born here, but they move from two places.

Researcher: Okay.

Angel: And then my family-my family is from Mexico. So, I think I'm both.

Adamari: Es que my mom is from Mexico and my dad is from Mexico and my grandma is from Mexico.

Angel: My dad is Mexican and all my family is Mexican and my other family, from my mom is American. My mom is Mexican.

Adamari: I'm half American and half Mexican. **(Group 2 Interview 1)**

Ruben: Half Mexican, half American.

Researcher: Half Mexican, half American?

Ruben: I don't know, like, my mom Mexican and-and I was born here, so, both.

Researcher: Okay. How do you feel about being both?

Ruben: Nothing. **(Group 3 Interview 2)**

Researcher: How do you characterize yourself?

Daniela: American. [crosstalk]

Adriana: Española. [crosstalk]

Damaris: Mexican.

Daniela: I'm an American and Mexican lady. (**Group 2 Interview 2**)

This last interaction with Daniela, Adriana and Damaris shows how these students might have been constructing their beliefs about themselves through their interactions during the focus groups. Daniela started by affirming she characterized herself as “American.” Then, Adriana said she is “Española.” It is not clear why Adriana made this assertion. Damaris then added she characterizes herself as “Mexican.” At the end Daniela asserted she is an “American and Mexican lady” despite the fact that at first, she said she was “American.” Daniela may have felt a sense of belonging when her peers asserted entities of their assemblages that drifted away from the “American” category she asserted at the beginning. She may have felt comfortable with her diasporic sense of belonging and expressed she felt “Mexican” and “American.”

At Valley, the main goal of their bilingual program is to quickly assimilate students into the mainstream language and ideals. Despite the goals of TBE, students in this fourth-grade bilingual classroom did not deny their “Mexican” and “American” entities. They acknowledged both countries as part of who they are in relation to *place* and *descent* (Wagner, 2017). Students felt they connected to Mexico because of *descent*, their families and background, yet their current *place* of residence and, for some, of birth was the U.S. Students perceived these connections to the U.S. and Mexico as necessary elements to the Mexican American identity

they claimed. Additionally, students felt a connection to both identities because of the languages they felt are associated with each. For instance, some felt American because they could speak English, and they felt Mexican because they could speak Spanish.

While students portray their identities as static, these students are categories in assemblage (Wagner, 2017). The categories of Mexican, American, English-speaking, Spanish-speakers are not “closed and bounded containers” (Jones, 2009, p. 179). Rather, categories are “open and porous” (Jones, 2009, p. 179). In this manner, students are complex assemblages who displayed a fluidity of embodied materialities. Through their “embodimentality” (Wagner, 2017, p. 41), they chose which language to speak and which materialities and expressivities were made relevant at a certain time. They were not only Mexican or American. Students viewed themselves as Mexican American. I argue they are in a state of becoming. They are diasporic individuals who display complex practices and traits from what are commonly perceived as static categories, such as English, Spanish, Mexican, and/or American. Their habitual and linguistic practices describe how they can become many things at once and can display only certain aspects of their diasporic selves in any given context, moment, and/or interaction. Their innovative and flexible communicative practices helped them negotiate their categories during interactions. The experiences they have lived in and out of school have had, and will continue to have, an effect on the way they view themselves. Through the assemblage perspective, these students are constantly becoming. At the time this paper is finished, my participants may have constructed different ideologies and adopted other customs. The individual is in constant state of becoming in every moment.

Chapter 5: Dual Language at Ramos Elementary

This chapter presents findings from data collected at a school that implements a dual language program, Ramos Elementary. Data from classroom observations, principal and assistant principal interviews, teacher interviews, student identity maps, and focus group conversations were analyzed to address the main research question: How are students' language ideologies and identities constructed in a transitional bilingual program and a dual language program? This chapter will focus specifically on the 4th grade dual language classroom at Ramos Elementary. Ideologies held by administrators and teachers and the ways they describe themselves in relation to language will be a relevant focus of this chapter. Additionally, and the central point of this dissertation, this chapter will illustrate students' language ideologies through their own voices and how these beliefs are performed through embodimentality as assemblages in an emergent state (Wagner, 2017).

5.1 The Bilingual Model – Purpose of the DL Program

The DL program, according to the state of Texas policy on bilingual education, is characterized by instruction in both English and another language with the purpose of meeting reclassification criteria. In other words, as shown in Figure 1 (Chapter 4), the expectation is for students to exit out of the “LEP/EL” code by becoming fluent in English, yet they can remain in a DL program to achieve bilingualism, biliteracy, and biculturalism. In the case of DL education, students are not encouraged to exit out of the program even after they have met reclassification criteria set by the state.

The components of a DL often revolve around fostering bilingualism, biliteracy, and biculturalism (Howard et al., 2018). The Texas language policy for ELs, presented in Chapter 3, mentions that “(3) Dual language immersion/one-way is a bilingual/biliteracy program

model....”. In this policy, bilingualism and biliteracy are relevant elements in this model pertaining to its goal and purpose.

At Ramos, the purpose of the DL program, as expressed by administrators, was the acquisition of two languages. Principal Smith described the purpose of the program in relation to bilingualism language acquisition.

Mrs. Smith – The purpose of the dual language program is to allow students that speak English to learn Spanish and students who know Spanish to learn English, so those are the goals, but of course, the state of Texas holds us accountable to insuring that students learn the English language, but there’s not as much accountability to learning Spanish, but still for us, we believe, especially in this border region, it provides a unique opportunity for students that would like to learn the Spanish language, to learn it.

We have a culture of second language acquisition, so we promote it and then we try to make everyone feel comfortable no matter what language they use, and so, we not only have Spanish language learners or English language learners, but we have students of other languages here at this campus, so even though the instruction doesn’t take place in those other languages, we value that they do come in speaking French or Mandarin or German, whatever other languages they may come speaking with, we value that. We think it’s amazing, and so we foster that here at our campus.

Mrs. Smith was interested in providing students with the “unique opportunity” of bilingualism. The purpose of the program, in her campus, was for students to acquire a second language in this two-way program. In these excerpts, Mrs. Smith centered the goal of the DL program on the acquisition of language. There was no explicit mention of how secondary

languages are acquired in this learning context. Biliteracy, biculturalism, nor academic achievement in Spanish content were mentioned as the goals of the program. The state's language policy does mention that the DL model "provides ongoing instruction in literacy and academic content in English and another language," yet it was not appropriated in the principal's explanation of what the DL program at her school entails. Mrs. Smith's discourse on embracing language did not encompass literacy and academic content. She expressed that this school had a "culture of second language acquisition" that "promotes it" and tried "to make everyone feel comfortable." This culture of second language acquisition valued students' home language as a resource for acquiring their second language and scaffold from, as well as a language to continuously learn and enhance. Perhaps, this view of the purpose of a DL program was limiting, as it did not seem to focus on biliteracy and biculturalism nor did it revolve around the cognitive and academic benefits that a DL program can have when implemented to its fullest potential.

Mrs. Smith also stated that, even though the state only held schools accountable for the acquisition of English at academic levels, Ramos focused on both languages. While the state of Texas does have Spanish standards for students in bilingual programs, as Mrs. Smith stated, there is no accountability for student achievement on these standards. Students are tested to make sure they are meeting academic expectations by mastering the grade-level standards in English, but the state does not hold districts accountable for ensuring students master the Spanish standards. Despite the state's lack of accountability towards the acquisition of Spanish academic content, Ramos Elementary appropriated these policies, or lack of, by resisting to minimize the value of Spanish and, as Mrs. Smith mentioned, "but still for us, we believe, especially in this border region, it provides a unique opportunity for students that would like to learn the Spanish

language, to learn it.” Through agentic practices of the school (Johnson, 2013), administrators continued to provide opportunities for students to learn Spanish even though it was not the priority of the state. While the state’s monoglossic ideologies and language policies focused on the acquisition of English and held districts accountable for content knowledge acquisition in English, Mrs. Smith’s agency and pluralistic views allowed for a constructive appropriation of the state’s policies in ways that fostered multilingualism (Johnson, 2013).

The two DL teachers who participated in this study also provided their responses when asked what the purpose of the bilingual program at their school was. Their insight and beliefs about DL education were detailed and supported by examples. Teachers not only complemented administrators’ ideologies and expectations about the DL program at Ramos, they provided an enhanced interpretation of what it meant to be bilingual in a DL program and its relevance in practice as they perceived it through the eyes of a DL teacher. Their views not only reflected expectations but, more importantly, real-life practices and experiences at the micro-level.

Mrs. Guevara – El propósito del programa es que los niños adquieran un segundo idioma en lugar de quitárselos. Es lo que a mí siempre me ha gustado. El propósito del programa dual es adquirir un segundo idioma, biliteracidad completamente. Cincuenta por ciento inglés, cincuenta por ciento español y que sean completamente bilingües y no nada más oralmente, sino académicamente también.

Mrs. Galvan – Yo creo que es un programa para desarrollar a los niños dentro del bilinguismo.

Teachers reiterated that the purpose of DL, as implemented in their school, was to develop bilingualism and biliteracy. In Mrs. Guevara’s words, the purpose of the program is

“biliteracidad.” Her additive language ideologies demonstrated appreciation for more than one language at a higher cognitive level than spoken language. She interpreted the goal of DL as one that not only fosters bilingualism, but also biliteracy. This aspect was not mentioned by Mrs. Smith in previous excerpts. She only mentioned bilingualism as a goal of the program. Mrs. Guevara, on the other hand, appropriated state, district, and school-level policies by making sure to include the biliteracy aspect and the “academicamente” aspect of a DL program. In her view, in the DL program, students are expected to acquire English and Spanish “no nada mas oralmente, sino academicamente tambien.” Her views and ideologies more closely resembled the state-level language policy that focuses on DL programs as models that enhance academic achievement in two languages.

Mrs. Guevara mentioned that second language acquisition does not come at the expense of the primary language. In effect, it is believed that DL programs are generally not subtractive; They are additive (Thomas & Collier, 2012). As expressed by the teacher, in this program, students become fluent speakers of two languages at an academic level expected for the particular grade. Mrs. Guevara expressed pluralism in her language ideologies and mentioned she would like students to become completely bilingual “completamente bilingues” referring to acquiring both languages in written form and at an academic level and not just orally. While the notion of “balanced bilinguals” (Creese & Blackledge, 2010) is often disputed, since there is never a point when language is acquired fully, Mrs. Guevara believed students were capable of mastering both languages at academic levels. Mrs. Galvan reinforced this notion by adding that the purpose of the program was to help students grow as bilinguals - “desarrollar a los niños dentro del bilinguismo.”

Students also mentioned their awareness of being in a DL classroom and what this meant

to them. They expressed their satisfaction with being in a learning environment that fosters two languages. As Ale mentioned, “Hablamos dos idiomas y eso me gusta mucho, que este en un programa dual y bilingüe.” Ale, as many students in this classroom, was aware that she was in a bilingual program where she was able to use two languages. This was something she expressed she liked very much when she said, “Me gustan los dos idiomas y me gusta aprenderlos.” Ale’s ideologies about language designated value to being bilingual. Not only did she see the program as a way to learn two languages, she also mentioned being bilingual helped her with her overall academic achievement – “Esto me ayuda a aprender mucho mas. Me ayuda a sacar mejores calificaciones.” Berenice explained how she also values being bilingual. One of the reasons is its connection to future employment. As she expressed, “I want to stay in two languages, like if I have a job that it's in English and Spanish, it's kind of better to know two languages than understand one language.” Students often viewed their bilingualism through its market value (Barakos & Selleck, 2018), as an asset for future economic advancement. Andrea also expressed feeling happy being in the DL program at Ramos. She mentioned, “Yo me siento bien porque estoy aprendiendo dos nuevos idiomas y si no existiera eso de las clases duales, no podríamos aprender de estos idiomas y como a mí me gusta estar en clases duales porque puedes hacer muchos amigos y puedes aprender muchos idiomas en cada clase que tienes. Andrea stated she felt “bien” being in the DL program that teaches her two languages. To her, being in “clases duales” means “puedes hacer muchos amigos.” Not only is she able to learn two languages, she is also able to socialize with others and form relationships of friendship because of these linguistic abilities she perceives are an effect of being in this program.

At the micro-level, state-level language policies are appropriated to a much deeper level. Students perceived the value of a DL program as more than simply a place to learn two

languages. Rather, they believed it helps achieve academic advancement and better grades. Students, through their voices, added a new perspective to what the goals of the DL program at Ramos were. In their eyes, this program was not only about bilingualism, biliteracy, and/or content knowledge. It was about affective and relational means and future opportunities for advancement.

Texas state-level policies seemed to favor the acquisition of English, as there is minimal, if any, accountability for the acquisition of Spanish at academic levels. However, these policies were interpreted and negotiated at Ramos through pluralistic ideologies that reflected appreciation for language, as it was perceived as a valuable resource for learning (Ruiz, 1984). In this case, language was a resource for, not only learning English, but also to develop Spanish at academic levels. In this manner, “the interactive way in which language is planned and dictated from the top down, and the ways in which it is interpreted, negotiated from the bottom up, makes it impossible to differentiate between one level and the other. And language beliefs and ideology interact with the two levels” (Menken & Garcia, 2010, p. 255). Mrs. Smith continued to support Spanish learning. Teachers also valued English and Spanish and strived for bilingualism, biliteracy, and academic achievement in both languages. Students were happy in this DL program where they learned two languages, were given opportunities to form friendships because of their language abilities, and were provided with future opportunities for better employment as bilinguals.

5.2 Second Language Acquisition Normalized

Second language acquisition was a normalized practice in the 4th grade DL classroom at Ramos. Being a second language learner of English or Spanish was not frowned upon, as even the teachers were learning their second language. Mrs. Galvan did not acquire English until she

began her university studies, and Mrs. Galvan came to the U.S. in seventh grade and learned English then. Teachers made this known to students, as students described in the conversations below.

Berenice: But Miss Guevara is like-- Her language is Spanish- [crosstalk]

Carla: Uh- because she talks more- [crosstalk]

Berenice: -because in English she gets confused with some words, but- [crosstalk]

Perla: Yes

Berenice: -then in Spanish she says it right away. (**Group 5 Interview 2**)

Beliefs about language held by Mrs. Jimenez and Mrs. Guevara may have had a strong impact on their pedagogical practices and the ways in which they formed connections with second language learners in this school. As will presented, students' own language ideologies and strong appreciation for their "bilingual identities" were greatly impacted by their teachers' encouraging discourses about language and identity.

5.3 Language Distribution

During the time I conducted my observations, Ramos Elementary implemented a 50/50 model of the Dual Language program. Language was separated by half days. Mornings were in English, while afternoons were in Spanish. Mrs. Guevara and Mrs. Galvan were co-teaching in a single classroom. As I observed, and as was common knowledge in this classroom, Mrs. Galvan taught the English component, while Mrs. Garza taught the Spanish component. The focus was on teaching content material in both languages. One day a math lesson might have be in

Spanish, for instance, and the next day, the following lesson in math would be in English.

Content was not repeated in both languages unless additional support and reinforcement on specific topics was needed. There were clear expectations of language allocation for teachers.

Principal Smith - I have the expectation that they follow our model, that they follow the calendar because I feel the time and treatment is important, and I believe that if students stay here and go from grade level to grade level, they need to see that the model is the same as they navigate and go up grade levels, so I expect them to continue to receive staff development in bilingual education and just to do their best to find resources, or let us know what they need in terms of resources to plan accordingly for both languages, to spend as much time planning for English as they do for Spanish.

The expectation is for teachers to devote equal “time and treatment” to both languages. This is relevant, since, as perceived in previous studies (Achugar & Pessoa, 2009; Potowski, 2004), English often becomes the language of dominance in children’s use in and out of the classroom, even in DL programs. To avoid English leakage (Potowski, 2007), therefore, it seems relevant to Mrs. Smith to protect Spanish against political, social, and cultural ideologies that often affect bilingual education contexts and students’ own ideologies about language (Gonzalez-Carriedo, 2015). The principal considers that following the 50/50 model consistently is important to maintain alignment across grade levels, so students know what to expect as they advance in grade level. Articulating content and language across different grade levels is pivotal for the success for a successful curriculum (Howard et al., 2018), as it helps form a “seamless, continuous educational experience for children” (National Academies, 2017, p. 2) and so curriculum integration is dependent on teachers across grade levels, not on individual teacher initiatives (Castellano, Stringfield, & Stone, 2002). As I noticed during my observations at

Ramos, at the beginning of the year, students seemed to be aware of linguistic routines and practices. Students, for instance, were not surprised to hear their teacher speak Spanish, or shift from one language to another during a transition, as they were accustomed to the 50/50 model in prior grades. Mrs. Smith's expectation of transparency and consistency across grade levels was reflected in the classroom practices I observed in DL classrooms at Ramos.

Moreover, as expressed below, it was critical for administrators to make sure teachers taught content in both languages and alternated languages within the same day in order for students to acquire the knowledge in their primary and secondary languages. The previous school year, language separation had been by days, while, this school year, it was by half days.

Mrs. Smith - We want the language to change daily so that students are ready for that routine. That happens readily, fast enough so that a student of one particular language, let's say an English-speaking student, receives instruction in his or her native language. Let's say we're learning a math concept, I feel if they go too long with the certain topic, without them hearing it in their native language, then they're gonna miss too many of the standards, so I feel like with the 50/50, every student has the opportunity to learn or hear the content in their first language in a timely enough manner so that interventions can take place and supports can be received before too much time passes and they receive, or they are subject to learning gaps because of language acquisition.

Mrs. Jimenez – The way we do it is that we do the 50/50 model. That's our dual language model and the purpose and the foundation is that students will move on to the next grade level with the readiness with the supporting standards that they need in both languages.

Administrators valued students' home language and recognized its importance in the learning process. They felt that with the 50/50 model, students would be able to spiral their learning from the second language they were acquiring to their native language and vice versa. In their words, this would allow students to comprehend the material at hand without developing learning gaps caused by possible misunderstandings due to language of instruction. The languages that were taught, English and Spanish, were taught daily to insure students were exposed to content in their native language. The way this DL program was implemented at Ramos and the administrators' beliefs about language coincided with existing research that demonstrates the effectiveness of having the dominant language accessible for acquisition of new knowledge (August & Shanahan, 2006; Howard et al., 2018; Lindholm-Leary, 2016). These beliefs can be directly connected to common ideologies of languages as separate entities with different structures (Heller, 2007) and of bilingualism as dual (Garcia & Wei, 2014). These common beliefs have been disputed through research that supports views that the "languages" of bilingual speakers interact collaboratively when listening or speaking (De Groot, 2011).

5.4 Flexibility

While the excerpts above make reference to the 50/50 model and the allocation of language, there was flexibility in the way I observed the model being implemented. Principal Smith and Mrs. Jimenez made reference to the ways in which language is approached in a flexible manner at this school.

Mrs. Smith – In dual language classes, they use both in written form. When they're answering a question, so even though we're 50/50 and now it's the language of the day and all of that, students will decide what language is most appropriate or easiest for them to use in any given time, and so we don't consequence them for that. They decide what

language they use. It's the teacher that sticks to one language depending on the day, but students, and they'll announce it, this is the language that they're in, so students will know that's the language they're focusing on, but even though that's the case, there's times where I see codeswitching at any given moment, and that's fine, we don't say, "No, no, no! It's English day!" We know that that's how life is. In life, they're going to be navigating across languages, and that's fine. It's about embracing language. It's about allowing students to codeswitch and use whatever language they feel that they need to in order to best communicate their needs and their knowledge.

Mrs. Jimenez – At times, you know, and that's why I talk about flexibility. You can't be black and white. Sometimes you're gonna have to sit with the student and teach them, if they don't understand, you're gonna have to talk to them in their language, but most definitely, we encourage them (teachers) to embrace the language that the kids are bringing to our school, so never see a language lower than the other.

Even though the bilingual program at Ramos is DL and there is a separation of languages based on time, administrators say they focus more on "embracing" students' languaging and allowing students to express themselves in the language they feel they can do it best. The expectation is that students will "navigate across languages," which refers to the effortless transmission of skills from one language to another that occurs during translanguaging (Garcia & Wei, 2014). The administrators at Ramos Elementary are aware that students will leverage (Michaels, 2005) their linguistic semiotic repertoire during the process of meaning-making. The focal concern of Mrs. Jimenez and Mrs. Smith is "embracing" language. As Mrs. Jimenez stated, it is important to "never see a language lower than the other." Her ideologies reflect not

only appreciation for language diversity, but more importantly, language equity. In Mrs. Jimenez' view, both languages should be granted equal power at all times. Based on my observations, I agree that administrators intended to grant equal status to both languages; however, circumstances such as standardized testing did not allow for "equal" time and treatment of languages. This will be addressed in another section in this paper.

Principal Smith connected translanguaging to real life when saying that in life outside of school, students will navigate across languages. The notion that translanguaging is the way bilinguals commonly communicate (Garcia & Wei, 2014; Gort, 2015; Hornberger & Link, 2012; Esquinca, Araujo, & de la Piedra, 2014) is shared by many researchers, as well. Mrs. Smith's view on language was equally shared by the DL teachers in her campus.

Mrs. Guevara – Tratamos de hacer la lección en el idioma del día y ya trabajan en el idioma que van a tomar el examen, pero si los niños nos hablan en inglés y es día de español, les aceptamos lo que estén diciendo. Nada más les contestamos en el idioma del día.

Mrs. Galván – Mi creencia es respetar como maestra el idioma que te toca enseñar, respetarlo, pero no forzar al niño a que te lo hable. Me ha tocado que muchos niños no participan simplemente por la maestra, "No, pues es día de español, tienes que contestarme en español," cuando el niño tiene una idea muy padre que explicarte o una conclusión que saco. Yo, pues en lo personal, los forzó cuando es como, "¿Me dejas ir al baño? ¿Me dejas ir a tomar agua?" cuando son preguntas muy sencillas que no tienen nada que ver que ellos están expresando que entendieron algo. Entonces como que divido lo académico con lo no académico. Entonces en lo no académico, lo exijo.

Mrs. Guevara began by mentioning that students completed their assignments in the language they would be tested in. The theme of “testing” and language will be discussed in detail in another section. This quote was included in this section to show how Mrs. Guevara was flexible when it came to language in the class. According to Mrs. Guevara’s statement, she would teach in the language of the day and expect students to complete assignments in their tested language. However, she accepted students’ oral comments in either language. My observations corroborated her statements. The lesson would be taught in the language of the day; then, students would complete their assignment in their tested language as shown in my fieldnotes below during an English day. Perhaps, without teachers being aware, these practices entailed translanguaging, as students shifted from one linguistic code to another. Students became “monolingual” by expressing only specific categorical nodes at one moment, only to express different nodes in the next moment.

Students and Mrs. Guevara finish the whole group discussion on strategies for working on their writing passages in English. At 8:18, Mrs. Galvan takes some students to the small library in the room. They will be working on the written passages in Spanish. Mrs. Guevara, who is in the classroom with a group of about 12 students, asks them, “OK, what page are we on?” “We’re gonna go over it?” a female student asks. “Yes, it’s revising and editing. I need to go over it with you,” Mrs. Guevara says.

(Fieldnotes, 03-29-18)

Mrs. Galvan separated “academic” and “nonacademic” student responses. When a student’s intentions were to express an academic thought relating to subject content, teachers allowed the use of the preferred language allowing him/her to communicate effectively. Even though the lesson might have been during Spanish time, for instance, the student was allowed to

use English to express the thought. I observed this practice many times. For the most part, teachers allowed students to use their preferred language when engaging in whole group discussions and/or small group activities. This was common practice. While teachers reiterated they, as teachers, maintained the language of the day, this was not always the case. I often observed teachers shifting their language use according to students' preference. I would see Mrs. Guevara using Spanish with students who used mostly Spanish. I also saw Mrs. Galvan using English with students who preferred English. For instance, Carlos, a Spanish-learner, always used English. Many times, when teachers communicated with him, they also used English. Mrs. Galvan begins teaching the math lesson in Spanish. She reviews the problems with the class one by one in detail. Students participate as she asks them questions. When Mrs. Guevara steps in the conversations, she speaks Spanish as well. **“Si usan el reloj, y se van de cinco en cinco, no hay oportunidad que se lo saquen mal,”** Mrs. Guevara says. When Carlos raises his hand, Mrs. Guevara responds to him in English, “Did you get it right? I just want to know how you solved to see if you still need help.” Christian nods to all of her questions. Mrs. Galvan continues with the lesson. **“Esta probablemente es nuestra respuesta porque no son equivalentes,”** Mrs. Galván continues.

Mrs. Galvan usually taught in Spanish, while Mrs. Guevara taught in English. I often heard Mrs. Guevara use Spanish, however, as in this example. Except for a few times, Mrs. Galvan used Spanish almost all the time during the times that I observed. In this occasion, the lesson was in Spanish, so Mrs. Galvan was teaching. Mrs. Guevara wanted to add to what Mrs. Galvan was saying, so she did, in Spanish. When communicating with Carlos, however, she switched to English. Even though Carlos' first and stronger language was English, he did understand Spanish. In fact, I usually heard Mrs. Galvan speaking in Spanish to him. Mrs.

Guevara seemed to switch to English to accommodate to his language preference. Perhaps, by adjusting to Carlos' language preference, Mrs. Guevara wanted to make sure Carlos understood the lesson. Teachers' practices reflected complexity. They performed distinct entities of their being in different situations.

5.4.1 Translanguaging

Embracing more than one language was clearly a language ideology held by administration, teachers, and students at Ramos Elementary. Whether, or when, languages should be mixed is a much more complex topic. The ideologies about translanguaging at Ramos were complicated, and often contradictory, and varied significantly. Mrs. Smith, the principal, expressed her beliefs below.

Researcher: My next question is about your views on mixing languages, and you talked about that a little bit. Is there anything else you'd like to add?

Mrs. Smith – No, it's just that that's life, people codeswitch, you know. I think when we're providing the instruction, it's our job to try to stay in that lane of the 50/50, but I've even seen teachers codeswitch during the day. I've seen it, but you know, it does happen. I see students doing it all the time, but I see that that's part of life. It's communication. That's just what it is.

Even though the DL model in this school focuses on a 50/50 separation of language, Mrs. Smith acknowledged that "codeswitching" is part of communicating and that it does happen. As mentioned earlier, Mrs. Smith embraced language in its various forms. "I see codeswitching at any given moment, and that's fine," she stated. While codeswitching was not explicitly encouraged, based on my observations, Mrs. Smith perceived it as a way to navigate across

languages. Mrs. Smith's ideologies reflect pluralism and acceptance of students leveraging their linguistic semiotic repertoire in meaning-making (Michaels, 2005). These instances in which features of students' entire semiotic repertoire are selected for communication (Garcia & Wei, 2014) are not constrained in this DL learning context, according to Mrs. Smith.

Mrs. Jimenez also acknowledged that translanguaging does happen, yet her own ideologies about this form of communication were in tension. She mentioned her views are "mixed." While she said she "doesn't see anything wrong with it" and accepts translanguaging as natural for emergent bilinguals (Garcia & Wei, 2014), she asserted that, "in the real world, it is necessary to be able to communicate fully in that language" depending on the context and the audience. Studies have shown that this is the case of many DL teachers and administrators (de la Piedra, Araujo, & Esquinca, 2018; Martinez, Hikida, & Duran, 2015). Perspectives on language and translanguaging are often conflicting in formal education contexts. On one hand, they express ideologies of linguistic purity and monolingualism (Garcia & Sylvan, 2011; Palmer & Martinez, 2013), while on the other hand, they express and engage in pedagogical practices that support translanguaging (Creese & Blackledge, 2010; Garcia, 2009; Martinez, Hikida, & Duran, 2015).

In some ways, Mrs. Jimenez's beliefs reflected an ideology of purism (Lindholm-Leary, 2016) in which each language is completely separate from the other (Cummins, 1979). She reiterated that "when you're in a business meeting or in your professional career, you can't switch." In her view, there will be situations and contexts that require the use of only one language. As an example of what can be perceived as a monoglossic perspective, she mentioned the STAAR tests, academic writing, and conversations with speakers of only one language. As she mentioned, "the test will not be in Spanglish. It will be in a single language. We have to

teach them what a sentence looks like.” She also mentioned academic writing, for the most part, is expected to be produced in a single language – “Even if you speak Spanglish, you don’t write your work like that, correct?” Additionally, she added that, “as a form of respect,” it is necessary to speak to others in the language they understand. Mrs. Jimenez believed in the importance of teaching students how to communicate in English and Spanish, yet she also believed it is important to be aware that there are occasions when they can translanguage and use “Spanglish,” and there are other occasions when they will be expected to communicate in only one language.

She related the use of “Spanglish” with informal conversations usually held with “buddies.” She said she uses this form of communication with people she knows speak both languages. Moreover, Mrs. Jimenez displayed an ideology of acceptance towards translanguageing by expressing that it is also crucial not to “embarrass” kids or not “be so firm” when students do engage in translanguageing when they speak, as she realizes mixing languages is a natural occurrence in emergent bilinguals. She mentioned it is important to teach them the words they don’t know in both languages, but also to be “flexible,” “accepting,” and “go with the flow.” She attributed translanguageing to the lack of skills in a certain language, “that means they don’t have the skills to find that word,” as she herself often does not remember a word in English or Spanish and says it in the other language. In her view, these practices are common, particularly in this border region composed of a mix of languages and cultures. Using “Spanglish” is often the norm in Hispanic or Latinx communities where Spanish and English are used (Ardila, 2005; Martinez, 2010; Morales, 2002).

The 4th grade DL teachers at Ramos also held complex ideologies about mixing languages. While, on one hand, they expressed flexibility in accepting students’ responses in the language they understood and felt more comfortable with, they also believed they need to respect

and maintain the languages pure by using a single language in every sentence. Mrs. Galvan and Mrs. Guevara expressed similar beliefs about translanguaging. Mrs. Guevara's opinion on the topic is provided below.

Mrs. Guevara – No me gusta. No me gusta. No me gusta y yo creo que- y estoy de acuerdo que son bilingües, y el español es tan importante como el inglés, pero a la hora de mezclarlos, siento que no le da, no respetan los idiomas y los niños quieren mezclarlos, pero ya no lo hacen mucho porque siempre desde el principio de año, “está bien que me hablen en inglés o en español, pero me terminan la oración en español o en inglés, pero no me mezclen los idiomas.” No me gusta. Siento que no es algo que les va a ayudar. Siento que es algo que, si les permitimos que lo sigan haciendo, al contrario, les va a afectar y no se van a escuchar profesionales. Entonces no se los permitimos y ya lo saben que terminan en español o terminan en inglés.

“Mezclar” languages, in Mrs. Guevara's view, will harm students, as they won't develop their linguistic abilities. Mrs. Galvan believed, like Mrs. Jimenez, that students need to develop both languages and stated, “No me gusta que los esten mezclando. Eso si no me gusta porque siento que no están desarrollando uno ni el otro.” Neither language is being fully developed when words are borrowed from the other language, in their view. Teachers reflected an ideology of language purity in which “borrowing” from another language was frowned upon and reflected negative evaluations of the linguistic abilities of students. Mrs. Guevara mentioned it is best if students switch to the language they know instead of mixing languages. Similarly, Mrs. Garza also mentioned the same idea and was critical of translanguaging theories, “Yo sé que ahora traen mucho esa teoría y que muchos lo aceptan y lo ven como bonito. Digo, yo no tengo ningun problema en que cambien de [idioma] pero no en la mezcla.” Teachers did not accept when

students engaged in intra-sentential code-switching, yet they accept inter-sentential code-switching (Zentella, 1997). There were mixed and complex ideologies and/or, perhaps, a misunderstanding of what translanguaging entails. Teachers seemed to have a narrow understanding of translanguaging. They opposed when students mix languages within a sentence, since this robs the language of its purity, yet they did allow students to switch the language they use, as long as they finished the sentence in one language. In essence, they allow translanguaging without accepting it.

Mrs. Guevara and Mrs. Galvan stated several times that they do not like the mixing of languages - “no me gusta.” While Mrs. Guevara often expressed her beliefs and support of additive bilingualism, her imposition of the use of a single language at a time can be directly connected to what are viewed as “centripetal” forces in language that strive towards unification, standardization, and monolingualism (Bakhtin, 1981). Teachers mentioned they value language, yet only when used in its pure form. They display an ideology of language as separate systems that work independently (Garcia, 2009).

A recurring theme in Mrs. Galvan and Mrs. Guevara’s views on translanguaging was that mixing languages won’t sound professional. This was a common belief held by administrators and teachers at Ramos. Researchers have argued, however, that “it is precisely the ability to switch languages in the same sentence and situation that characterizes the most effective bilinguals” (Zentella, 1997, p. 270). Mixing languages within sentences, as frowned upon by educators in this context, captures the complexity of languaging that bilingual students are capable of performing. Rather than a deficiency, sociolinguists recognize the way complex language rules are followed when determining when and where languages are linked.

Teachers and administrators, to some extent, held deficit perspectives of translanguaging.

Engaging in the mixing of languages, in their view, did not reflect professionalism nor did it give each language the “respect” it deserves. Language purity seemed to be a dominant concern for teachers in this school. They also mentioned mixing languages would disable growth in either language. In effect, research has shown the rationale behind language separation versus mixing languages comes from experiences and research that has shown code-switching often leads to mixed results in language development for students where some students do not reach their full potential in either language. In a “language switching scenario, students building skills in their second language could tune out or daydream while one language is being used because they know the material will be repeated in the other language” (Thomas & Collier, 2012, p. 35). Perhaps, teachers at Ramos were interested in developing each language fully by granting each equal value and time. They may have intended to avoid leakage of English due to its overwhelming power inside and outside of school contexts. Their reasoning behind deficit views on translanguageing, however, seemed to revolve around monolithic ideologies and the notion of maintaining each language pure in order to sound professional.

When speaking about mixing languages during class, for the most part, students corroborated what Mrs. Galvan and Mrs. Guevara stated. Students were encouraged to speak in only one language and to avoid mixing languages. Teachers viewed bilingualism as the junction of two separate, independent languages in which speakers move from one language to another as if they were static and independent (Heller, 2007). As Gaston mentioned, mixing languages was accepted, “solo que a uno de nosotros nos decían, jugando, que hablemos en un solo idioma.” Students were told to speak in a single language. Gaston stated he mixed languages when “cuando no sé alguna palabra o a veces se me olvida que estoy hablando en un idioma y me paso al otro.” Gaston’s idea of translanguageing shows a different perspective than that of teachers,

since he uses translanguaging because he does not know a particular word, but he also does it because he forgets, which is a natural way of using languages from his repertoire of knowledge. His interpretation of why he switches languages closely reflects his teachers' beliefs about why translanguaging occurs. He says when he doesn't know a word in a particular language, he shifts to his other language. While the ease with which he can move from one linguistic code to another is a common practice of bilinguals (Garcia, 2009) and allows them to negotiate their belonging as bilinguals, he interprets it as a deficit, lack of skill in one language. Deficit notions of translanguaging that, in this school, may stem from administrators and teachers trickle down to the micro-level and are appropriated by students in interesting ways. Several other students confirmed the notion of mixing languages as a lack of ability to communicate in a single language – “If I don't know how to say a word I say it in English (Zoey),” “When I'm talking in Spanish, and I find no word, I say it in English (Omar),” “A veces se nos facilita mas un idioma y el otro se nos dificulta (Ale).” Students mixed languages because they felt it was the best way for them to communicate, since they could say words at a particular moment in a specific language. Students embodied their ability to communicate and negotiated their belonging by becoming bilingual in moment-to-moment interactions (Wagner, 2017). In this manner, students expressed how they perceived themselves as emergent bilinguals in the process of developing their bilingualism (Garcia, 2009b).

Despite discourses of acceptance of classroom language policies, students also resisted and communicated by translanguaging. Karol expressed her heteroglossic ideologies and practices, “Sometimes they correct us when we say it, but we still don't say it right, and then keep saying it in Spanish.” Saying it “right” would entail adhering to monoglossic ideologies and expectations that circulated in this classroom. Even though they were expected to maintain

languages separate, students' agency became a powerful resource in their languaging practices. My observations corroborated their agentic performances. Students utilized their diasporic linguistic repertoire (Wagner, 2017) in one-on-one conversations with peers, during group discussions, and even during whole group discussions and one-on-one conversations with teachers. Teachers often corrected them and reminded them of the expectations only to correct them again in the next conversation. Students believed, however, that translanguaging was helpful for communicating – “Sometimes you just need more help learning new things (Rodrigo),” “I believe I should use both because I think that helps me better (Eduardo).” In this manner, bilingual students engaged in multiple discursive practices to make sense of and act in their bilingual worlds (Garcia, 2009). Their categories in assemblage were negotiated in every interaction (Fitzgerald & Housley, 2015). In order to understand and be understood, they used features from their entire semiotic repertoire to express themselves and become bilinguals moment-to-moment. For instance, during a time I observed a group interaction, Gaston and Karol conversed about boats. Karol added, “We used to build boats when it rains a lot, and we let them....los dejamos que se los lleve la corriente.” Karol accessed her linguistic knowledge base to leverage and transcend expectations. She paused for a few seconds and completed her thought in Spanish. Gaston understood her and continued with the conversation. In this sense, Karol's use of her entire linguistic resources allowed her to communicate her thoughts and add to the conversation.

Students did not perceive translanguaging as a limitation. Rather, they viewed it as a resource for them in the process of achieving bilingualism (Garcia, 2009b). Translanguaging was a heteroglossic language practice that interrupted linguistic norms and expectations in the classroom (Makoe & McKinney, 2009). Regarding teacher expectations for language separation,

Anahi also said, “Ah, pues eso va a ser un gran problema para nosotros.” Students believed communicating in only one language was difficult. They felt they were able to express themselves with ease when they could access their entire linguistic repertoire (Garcia & Wei, 2014), while they did try to speak in only one language, as expected – “yo solo si no me recuerdo alguna palabra solo lo mezclo, pero casi siempre solo hablo, solo intento hablar en un idioma.” As Jose explained, he mixes languages when he can’t remember a specific word; however, he tries to maintain languages separate whenever possible. In this fashion, Jose intended to appropriate the classroom language policies by following them, yet his natural form of communication involved translanguaging. During my observations, I mostly heard Jose speaking Spanish with his classmates. During English time, he did communicate with his teachers in the expected language. I rarely heard him translanguaging. In this sense, language was a means of categorizing (Wagner, 2017). Those who performed a “monolingual identity” and met teacher expectations of language separation were accepted; while those who performed their diasporic categories by mixing languages were corrected.

I often heard other students mixing languages during group interactions. During one of my observations, students were working on a writing assignment in Spanish. They were writing a narrative about an event in their lives. Those who had finished the assignment were asked to complete other unfinished assignments for that week. The students who were finished with everything were allowed to work on another project. On the kidney table located in the back of the room, the few students who were finished with all their work engaged in a science project about building bridges out of popsicle sticks. The goal was to construct a sturdy bridge meeting a specific list of criteria. The following conversations emerged.

“Imagine your name is Oscar and you win the Oscar?” Gaston says jokingly. They all giggle. They begin discussing their designs. Gaston says about Karol’s design, “Wait that may not work because, **porque no se va a detener.**” Karol says, “OK, so let’s put all our ideas right here.” She lays out the worksheets. They all discuss why they think it would work or not. “Karol, **pero no se va a poder hacer y si se hace, va a estar todo asi,**” he says referring to the curves on her bridge. They decide to take a vote on what to do. They agree to take parts of everyone’s design. “We can take some of Ale’s bridge and, for the bottom, we can do some of all of ours,” Karol says. “Do we have to make it 3d?” one of the students asks. “No,” Ale says. Karol says, “Why don’t we do triangles on top and **los picos** on top?” “Yeah,” Emmanuel says, “**Si nos sobran palitos, hasta podemos hacer un carrito,**” Gaston adds. “**Pues si,**” Ale replies. “**Si nos sobran si, pero no es a fuerza,**” Karol says. Ale says they should draw their final design. She draws it out.

In this particular example, students engaged in translanguaging to communicate and jointly perform an academic task. These types of interactions usually took place when the group consisted of students of diverse linguistic needs and abilities. For instance, in this group, Gaston, who is a native Spanish speaker, prefers to use Spanish. I usually heard Omar speaking English, yet his primary language is Spanish, according to informal conversations I had with teachers. I often heard Karol speaking English with some classmates and Spanish with others. Ale had expressed her preference for Spanish, yet I mostly heard her speaking English because, as she expressed often, her Spanish was not as strong. It is important to mention that translanguaging often occurred to facilitate communication and, also, to accommodate to classmates’ linguistic needs and preferences. Even though some of the students in this conversation were usually heard

speaking in English or some in Spanish, in this instance, they used both languages to accommodate to each other's linguistic abilities and, in this manner, make the conversation meaningful for everyone involved. It is also relevant to point out the flow of this conversation. Students did not pause as they switched languages. They simply continued with the conversation as a natural process of communication. The change in language was not an interruption to the flow of information being transmitted by students within the group. Translanguaging became a resource (Garcia, 2009b) during this conversation among emergent bilinguals as they performed acts of identity through their linguistic behavior (Wagner, 2017).

Translanguaging was also observed during whole group interactions, as well. As mentioned before, teachers allowed students to use their language of preference to express their thoughts, especially if they were content-related. I also observed translanguaging when the lessons were in a certain language, and students used another language to speak to the whole group. They used content/vocabulary terms in the language the content was taught in yet maintained their language of preference during the conversation. An example is presented below.

During a math lesson in Spanish, Mrs. Galvan is copying notes on the interactive white board. Students do so, as well. **“Un recipiente,”** Mrs. Galvan reads and writes, **“¿Sabes que es un recipiente? Es cualquier contenedor donde pueden tener líquido,”** she says. **“Luego sigue cuartos,”** Ale says out loud. the teacher continues taking notes and reading them out loud. **“La siguiente unidad es cuarto de galón,”** she says. **“Estamos creando las imagenes de galón. ¿Que pudiera ser?”** the teacher asks. Jeremias says when called on, **“Like a quarter of the gallon.”** **“Si, como un cuarto de un galón de leche,”** the teacher says. The teacher, then, displays a picture of a quarter gallon and a

full gallon in the same picture. The teacher goes back to the notebook and draws a quarter gallon. “Miss, I did that one for the **galón** (galón said in Spanish)!” a student is heard saying. “**Pues ese es el cuarto de galón,**” Mrs. Galván says and continues writing. **(Fieldnotes, 04-11-18)**

While the entire lesson was in Spanish, Jeremias responded to the teacher’s question in English. His response is accepted as valid regardless of the language being used. Another student also responds in English with only the subject-content word “galón” being used in Spanish. His answer is also accepted as valid. Even though teachers expressed their strong beliefs against codeswitching, I observed an established practice of mixing languages, or translanguaging, in this DL classroom (de la Piedra, Araujo, & Esquinca, 2018; Martinez, Hikida, & Duran, 2015). Students used both languages to communicate with their classmates and teachers. Often times, as students expressed, teachers corrected them. Other times, they accepted their input as valid and moved on with the lesson.

During whole group lessons, I observed Mrs. Guevara translanguaging. Despite her adamant beliefs against mixing languages, she often switched from English to Spanish during her lessons. As mentioned, Mrs. Guevara was the teacher assigned to teach content in English. Her lessons were, in fact, in English most of the time. Whenever she engaged in conversation with students during the lessons, however, she often translanguaged.

Mrs. Guevara explains the expectations for the writing stories. She, then, asks a female student to read the story she wrote. “**Ah, yo pense que ya estabas lista,**” she tells the student when she starts looking for her story. Another female student is asked to read her story. “**Pero nos gritas. Asi como gritas afuera,**” Mrs. Guevara says. The female student reads it. “You guys are writing so much better! Oh my God, you make me so

happy!” Mrs. Guevara says. “Anahi? Ready? **Andele. Fuerte!**” Mrs. Guevara says. She begins reading out loud. Anahi starts reading then stops. “What happened?” the teacher asks. “I don’t want to read it. It’s weird. Everyone’s looking at me,” Anahi says. “OK, let me know when you’re ready,” Mrs. Guevara says. She tells another student to read. After Carla finishes, she hugs her and says, “Hay, good job.” She tells the class they will continue in the afternoon. “Wait, and the candies?” Ale asks out loud. Students giggle. “**Es que ya casi no tengo,**” Mrs. Guevara says as she pulls out a bag. “OK, **los que se sacaron 100...**” she says. Students begin lining up to get candies. (**Fieldnotes, 03-23-2018**)

In this example, students used English to communicate with their teacher, since it was designated English time. They modified their linguistic behavior and performed a monolingual category as expected. However, the teacher translanguaged throughout this discussion. The complexity of teachers’ own categories in assemblage with a mixture of entities that become salient in some situations and diffuse in others (Wagner, 2017) became apparent. Mrs. Guevara had finished teaching subject content and moved on to informal assessments in which she asked students to read to the class the stories they wrote. During what might be considered an informal conversation with students, Mrs. Guevara used English and Spanish to communicate with them. They accessed their diasporic multilingual repertoire (Wagner, 2017) and transgressed educational structures and their own beliefs about translanguaging (Garcia & Wei, 2014). During her interview, Mrs. Guevara had mentioned in regard to students, “Que terminen la oracion en el mismo idioma.” This ideology accepts switching languages, as long as the thought or sentence is completed in one language, as in inter-sentential codeswitching. In the excerpt above, Mrs. Guevara completed her sentences in one language, then, shifted to the other

language. Mrs. Guevara and Mrs. Galvan expressed they disagreed when students engaged in intra-sentential codeswitching. Translanguaging, however, was observed when students conversed, as illustrated in the previous example above; Their multilingual practices in these instances were flexible and fluid (Tabouret-Keller, 1985). This school and classroom were sites of complex and competing discourses and practices. Heteroglossic practices were often accepted at the practice level, yet, at the discourse level, they were frowned upon and considered a threat to linguistic purism and professionalism.

5.5 Acknowledging Students' Cultural Experiences

One of the most significant characteristics of a DL bilingual program is the emphasis on embracing languages and cultures. It is stressed that “equitable treatment requires a clear understanding of the needs of culturally, linguistically, and socioeconomically diverse students and includes the integration of multicultural themes into instruction” (Alanis & Rodriguez, 2008; de Jong, 2011). Celebration of diversity and inclusiveness are relevant themes for this study as they are main components in dual language education. The way diversity is defined and described at the discourse level can index beliefs about language, culture, and markers of identity and provide a lens as to how and why multicultural practices are adopted, or not, in school contexts. Based on administrators' words, the DL program at Ramos Elementary integrated students' linguistic and cultural backgrounds into daily practices.

The administrators and teachers responded with pride and affirmed their school's initiative to promote multiculturalism at their campus. Mrs. Jimenez stated, “Absolutely. We have Cinco de mayo parties, and dieciséis de septiembre. It's just awesome. We embrace it, we embrace it, absolutely.” Mrs. Guevara corroborated this by saying, “Si, definitivamente sí.

Siempre celebramos, afortunadamente, celebran todo: 5 de mayo, la independencia de México, de Estados Unidos, todos los días festivos de haber y hasta los que se inventan, hasta el día del niño celebran aquí.” They celebrated traditions from Mexico and from the U.S. To the DL teachers, these celebrations meant more than simply celebrations. As Mrs. Guevara expressed, “Somos una escuela dual. Nos toman mucho en cuenta y nos respetan muchísimo. Me gusta mucho eso.” For them, these celebrations represent two cultures, two languages, two histories. In their view, they are celebrations that support and value DL students’ histories, cultures, and languages. Interestingly, however, celebrating diversity, based on the excerpts above, entailed celebrating “cinco de mayo,” “dieciseis de septiembre,” etc. A multicultural curriculum entails more than a few cultural celebrations, however. Culturally responsive pedagogy integrates students’ funds of knowledge (Moll, 1994) in every aspect of the curriculum and establishes its relevance for classroom learning and for developing various forms of engagement (Moll & Gonzalez, 1994). “Sociocultural development is as critical as language development in a dual language program (Howard et al., 2018, p. 34).” Curricula should include opportunities for students to develop positive images and perspectives about themselves and others. This can be attained through development of knowledge of their own and others’ ethnic, linguistic, and cultural markers of identity (Sleeter, 2016).

I observed several “celebrations of diversity,” as perceived by teachers and administrators. I saw students wearing Mexican attire during several celebrations throughout the year. I also observed students representing different countries during “Countries Around the World” week. Students wore different clothes that they perceived as a representation of a country. For instance, I observed Anahi wearing a Kimono on that day with her hair in a bun. When I asked her why she was dressed that way, she responded, “Today we are celebrating

‘Countries Around the World,’ and I am representing Japan. Other students were in line to enter the classroom that morning, and they also wore different clothes to represent different countries, such as Mexico, India, France, etc.

In the classroom, I observed what might be perceived as inclusion and multicultural diversity in the form of integrating students’ histories and cultures into discussions. Jose’s language, culture, and knowledge of his background was often welcomed and included in the lesson. Jose was a newcomer from Spain. The 2017-2018 school year was his first full school year at Ramos Elementary. During class discussions, he was anxious to provide his unique experiences from Spain and his point of view on the topics being discussed. For instance, during an occasion when solar panels were the topic of discussion, Jose added that in Spain, citizens pay a tariff to be able to own and use solar panels at their homes. Mrs. Galvan became interested in his input and asked him to explain. Jose was enthusiastic about speaking about his experiences with solar panels in Spain.

Mrs. Galvan also expressed the ways in which Jose’s cultural background was integrated into classroom discussions and lesson.

Mrs. Galván – Este año nos ha gustado mucho. Nos toca hablar de toda la historia de Texas, entonces pues mucho del principio de la historia de Texas viene de todos los españoles que nos querían conquistar. Entonces ha sido muy padre porque José nos explica toda la parte que a él le enseñan allá. Entonces eso nos ha gustado mucho. Sí, sí trato de meterlos mucho entonces, por ejemplo, el día de acción de gracias que todo mundo decimos el día del pavo, les digo, ‘Pues no es el día del pavo, en realidad que se celebra. Haber vamos a ver,’ y yo inclusive les platico, les digo, ‘Esa celebración yo la adopté cuando llegue aquí,’ les dije, ‘porque yo no lo celebraba.’

In Mrs. Galvan's words, Jose's historical knowledge of Spain was integrated and admired in this DL classroom. He was not only able to provide his perspective on the history of Texas, he was also allowed to provide his own view of its history as it was taught to him in a different school and country. While I was not present when this discussion took place and do not have evidence of his exact view on the topic, Mrs. Galvan expressed that his views and funds of knowledge were appreciated and integrated into that discussion.

Mrs. Galvan also explained her own experience as a Mexican entering the U.S., as she was not aware of festivities celebrated here that were not celebrated in her country of origin. In this manner, students learned about the history of Texas and the United States through others' own histories. Mrs. Guevara also stressed in her interview that, in her role as a teacher, she would like students to be proud of their roots and feel free to express themselves in her classroom. It is Mrs. Guevara's belief that students should maintain and feel proud of their "bilingual identities." She intends to provide support for her bilingual students that she feels she did not receive as a newcomer when she came to the U.S. as a 7th grader in an ell-English classroom. She said, "Yo quiero ser maestra bilingüe toda mi vida y poder ayudar a esos niños a que no pasen lo que yo pase." As an educator, she fulfilled her role as a policy agent (Johnson, 2013) who supported and helped others thrive through difficult and oppressive situations. Her agency allowed her to appropriate the language policy of her school in a very personal way. She integrated her own experiences of struggle as an English learner to the ideologies and policies of the DL program at Ramos.

Students and teachers engaged in "becoming" categories in assemblage by reinforcing their existing cultural assemblages through a process of shaping and being shaped through

interactions with other entities as multiplicities (Wagner, 2017). The funds of knowledge (Moll, 1994) of teachers and students were integrated into discussions in day to day interactions.

Various celebrations took place at Ramos Elementary. Specifically, Mexican and American traditions were celebrated throughout the year. While my theoretical stance suggests that the “Mexican” and “American” cultures and histories are not static nor are they binaries, they are socially constructed as such. Students and teachers, in this context, were categories in assemblage (Wagner, 2017) with “Mexican” and “American” entities in constant flux. They were becoming diasporic through moment-to-moment interactions and, in this case, celebrations. They may have been performing their “Americanness” at one moment, while displaying “Mexicanness” or “Spanishness” at another.

During the focus group sessions, students expressed their thoughts about cultural traditions and their inclusion in the classroom and their school. Students demonstrated appreciation for diverse cultural representations and celebrations. The excerpt below illustrates how Maribel, Emmanuel, and Veronica viewed the celebration of traditions at their school. More importantly, through this conversation, students co-constructed their ideologies about multiculturalism and their sense of belonging.

Researcher: ¿Y qué opinan de todas estas tradiciones y que se celebren aquí en la escuela?

Maribel: Yo digo que está bien, porque están como que dando parte de tradiciones de México y Estados Unidos. Entonces pues se me hace bien.

Emmanuel: Yo digo que es sí también porque hay unas clases bilingües y hay unas como en inglés y en español y está bien que celebren como las dos cosas cómo a veces un día, I

don't know -whatever holiday y luego otro día el otro día, como cinco de mayo. Eso sería bien para unir los dos tipos de clases más juntos.

Verónica: Yo digo que tratar de, que tratan de que todos los estudiantes se sientan bien, que no se sientan como que puro inglés o puro español, que todos los dos- todos los niños de la escuela como que se sientan no como que, "Estoy encerrada en nuestra cultura", y sigue encerrada en esta, como que pueden disfrutar de los- de su propia cultura también.

Emmanuel: Sí, está bien porque todas celebran algo muy especial que paso en la- en este in this country.

Researcher: Okay

Verónica: Yo opino que le quieren dar honor a nuestra bandera, a nuestras banderas porque-

Maribel: Es de dónde venimos.

Verónica: Como lo que dije ahorita, todos quieren que se sientan a gustos- a gusto los demás. **(Group 8 Interview 2)**

Students expressed agreement with celebrating diverse traditions at their school. The conversation began with Maribel immediately separating traditions by country (Mexico and Estados Unidos) and mentioned her agreement with celebrating both. Emmanuel also expressed satisfaction with these cross-cultural celebrations and goes on to separate traditions, as well. He directly associated cultural celebrations with the DL program and the all-English classes at his school. He seemed to relate DL classes to “Mexican” traditions and all-English classes to “American” traditions. However, most students in the DL program, with some exceptions, were

diasporic students. Veronica, as an exception, considered herself Mexican. She mentioned her family is from Mexico, as shown on Table 4. By *descent* and *place*, she could connect to the Mexican cultural traditions. While she did not express it, she had a connection to the U.S. through her *place* of education. Most were “Mexican” by descent and “American” by place, despite the classroom they were in. They were assemblages with material and expressive entities with many moving parts along various dimensions (Grosz, 1994) in constant flux.

Emmanuel explained, “Está bien que celebran las dos cosas.....eso sería bien para unir los dos tipos de clases juntos.” For Emmanuel, celebrating the traditions of students in DL and in English-only classes means to “unir”, it entails bonding, crossing socially constructed boundaries and categories amongst classes. Celebrating all traditions represents a common ground for Emmanuel that can unite all students whether they are in the DL program or not. In a sense, this unison he imagines amongst students is what defines his own assemblage (Wagner, 2017) and that of many students in this classroom. He is a single system composed of many entities that cannot be disentangled.

Veronica added to Emmanuel’s comment by expressing her view of celebrations as a form of inclusion – “tratar de que todos los estudiantes se sientan bien.” In her view, this can be achieved by encouraging students to access to their entire knowledge base and heritage (“languages” and “cultures”). She also made a direct connection between traditions and language by mentioning, “que no se sientan que puro inglés o puro español.” Veronica describes English and Spanish as two separate systems (Garcia and Wei, 2014). Being at a comfort zone, according to Veronica, entails being able to celebrate traditions and use your primary, as well as your secondary language. More importantly, she feels it is necessary to enjoy and celebrate “nuestra cultura” and not feel “encerrada en esta cultura.” Through her words, Veronica seems

to be describing the process of assimilation in the United States where people are expected to immerse and adopt the American culture and ideals as a result of living in the U.S. Rather, she believes it is necessary to continue to celebrate “nuestra cultura” in order not to feel “encerrada” in the traditions and “cultura” of the United States. Veronica describes culture and language as static. She makes clear distinctions between “puro ingles,” and “esta cultura” (referring to the American culture), and “puro espanol” and “nuestra cultura” (referring to the Mexican culture). While Veronica describes these constructs as static binaries, because they tend to be defined in this way by adult figures in her life, these constructs push and pull against each other (“languages,” “culture,” spaces, and practices) simultaneously to compose her own assemblage.

Veronica then added that the school wants to “dar honor a nuestra bandera, a nuestras banderas.” “Dar honor a nuestra bandera” is a common ideological discourse of unity, pride, and a strong sense of history in Mexican schools (Levinson, 2001). Veronica was a transfronteriza student who, during the time of my study, lived across the border and crossed the bridge between the U.S. and Mexico daily to attend school. The previous school year (2016-2017) had been first year in a U.S. school. The strong admiration and respect for “nuestra bandera” might have stemmed from common practices in Mexican schools that pay respects and tribute to the flag on a daily basis before classes begin. For Veronica, it was important for her current school to honor her flag (referring to the Mexican flag) and “nuestras banderas” referring to her and her classmates’ flags, as well. Maribel responded to Veronica by stating, “es de donde venimos.” She connects Veronica’s “nuestra bandera/nuestras banderas” to her and her classmates’ place of *descent* as part of who they are, part of their assemblage. As shown earlier in this chapter, Veronica’s identity map only shows the Mexico flag. She chose to only include that flag as a significant entity of her assemblage.

When speaking about celebrating traditions, the topic of assimilation resurfaced with another group. In regards to traditions commonly celebrated in the U.S., such as 4th of July and Presidents Day, the following conversation emerged.

Gastón - Que es igual- es importante celebrarlas para estar acostumbrado a la cultura americana.

Researcher: ¿Es bueno estar- acostumbrarse a esa cultura?

Gastón: No acostumbrarse pero como-

Jose: Conocerlas sí.

Gastón: Sí. Yo creo que es importante porque puedo saber más la historia de Tejas ya que representa todo el pasado como el presente.

Researcher: ¿Qué opinan de las tradiciones como el 16 de septiembre, cinco de mayo, día de los muertos, todas esas festividades? ¿Qué opinan de todo eso?

Gastón: Qué es igual de importante celebrarlas si en parte eres mexicano, es tan importante celebrarlas como las tradiciones de aquí.

Researcher: Okay ¿Por qué es importante?

Gastón: Porque así puedes recordar tu parte mexicana.

Researcher: Y ustedes ¿Qué opinan?

Julio: Son la- son tradiciones importantes porque esa recuerda su- su ¿Cómo se llama?
Como se llama? (Smiles)

Researcher: You can say it in English. That's fine.

Julio: To remember your language and other languages that have passed before you.

(Group 1 Interview 2)

In this conversation, students co-constructed an opinion about what it means to celebrate U.S. traditions. Gaston first responded by saying it is important to “estar acostumbrado a la cultura americana.” It was relevant for him to get used to what he perceived as the static “American culture.” In his view, assimilating could be achieved by celebrating U.S. traditions. When prompted to explain further, he corrected himself and said, “No acostumbrarse pero como-.” It was apparent he was developing his opinion about assimilation and the significance of celebrating American traditions during this conversation. Jose provided his insight on the topic by adding, “Conocerlas sí.” He shifted the conversation from assimilation to simply knowing these traditions. Gaston agreed and added that these celebrations are important because he can now know, “saber mas la historia de Texas.” In this line, he drifted away from assimilation.

I then asked the group their opinions about traditions such as 16 de septiembre and cinco de mayo. Gaston mentioned it is also important to celebrate them if you are part Mexican – “si en parte eres Mexicano.” This line revealed how he perceived his own assemblage as part Mexican and part American. His diasporic sense of belonging became apparent when he added, “puedes recordar tu parte Mexicana.” Again, he describes part of him as “Mexican,” as if it were a static part of himself. Rather, different dimensions of categorization constructed his assemblage as multiplicities. Interestingly, Gaston seemed to assign a historical place and value to his “Mexican side” - “parte Mexicana” by saying celebrating these traditions entailed remembering – “recordar” his Mexican side as if it is not part of his present. Perhaps, he connects these traditions as connected to him only by *descent* and not so much by current *place*.

Julio added to this notion by referring to language as part of his past, as well. He mentioned, “to remember your language and other languages that have passed before you.” Julio connected traditions to language. He thought it was important to celebrate traditions from Mexico to “remember your language,” as if it was now part of his past. Celebrating these traditions was a way for him to retain his language heritage. Julio and Gaston connected to their Mexican roots as part of their past, their descent. Their entities of social life: “language,” “culture,” and space, were perceived by them as a part of their assemblage. Some part of their past and some part of their present.

Incorporating different traditions at Ramos may help students maintain their cultural and linguistic backgrounds as part of their assemblages as multiplicities. Rather than subtracting entities from students’ diasporic belonging, the DL program at Ramos, and the school in general, fostered an environment in which diverse cultures were valued and celebrated. An even more inclusive learning environment where multiculturalism prevails might incorporate aspects of students’ lives in the curriculum rather than only sparingly. If “cultures” and “languages” were viewed from a more dynamic, fluid perspective, students may view themselves as diasporic beings with multiple entities in flux, and not view certain aspects of themselves only as part of their history.

5.6 Empowering Spanish

The dual language curriculum at Ramos Elementary supported language and concept development in both languages. The program attended to the use of both languages during their allocated time. The division of languages based on time of the day and subject, however, was not static. Teachers were flexible in allowing students to communicate content knowledge in the language they felt most proficient. As Mrs. Guevara stated, “Si los niños nos hablan en inglés, y

es día de español, les aceptamos lo que estén diciendo. Nada más les contestamos en el idioma del día.” Teachers assisted them in expressing their thoughts in the language of the day. Even though both languages were given equal learning time, teachers were aware of the hegemony of English outside and inside the school. They expressed their efforts in guiding students to value and support linguistic and cultural diversity. This was seen in the form of empowerment of the minoritized Spanish language. During their individual interviews, the DL teachers expressed the following beliefs about Spanish.

Mrs. Galván – Es nuestro deber como maestras duales el enseñarles que es la importancia de hablar español no nada más como apoyo para que puedan aprender un segundo idioma sino de que en realidad lo van a usar en un futuro y que en realidad es algo importante ser bilingües.

Mrs. Guevara – Cuando los niños salen hacia afuera, que los escuchan hablando español, yo pienso que lo aceptan porque no los hacen a un lado, ni mucho menos, ni tanto las maestras como los niños. Siento que el idioma es completamente aceptado. Hay uno que otro niño, claro, que se va a, y que todavía los codifica como los niños que no hablan inglés, pero como el apoyo que reciben en la escuela, tanto de las maestras de las directoras o administración, los niños no se sienten con ese miedo de usar su idioma. Mis expectativas serían que ojalá, ojalá agarren ese amor por el español y lo continúen usando.

It was important for these teachers to create a nurturing environment inside and outside their classrooms where students felt safe to use their native language, especially Spanish. They made sure to make students aware of the significance of knowing and maintaining the Spanish language for communication purposes and for their futures as bilingual individuals.

Additionally, as Mrs. Guevara stated, ELs at Ramos are supported and valued by other students and teachers. When they speak Spanish, they are not frowned upon or labeled. Teachers' support for Spanish was also a result of their own experiences as ELs. Mrs. Guevara explained, "Cuando yo llegue a este país y estaba en la escuela, no me dieron el apoyo que ahora afortunadamente los niños bilingües tienen, pero yo amo a mi, mi lenguaje. Yo español para mí es lo máximo y que lo apoyen en las escuelas y yo como maestra que pueda enseñarlo y que pueda darle el valor que tiene, pues esta fenomenal. ¿Que pienso yo del lenguaje? Pues, no debemos quitárnoslo. Es nuestras raíces y es nuestra tradición, nuestro idioma, y tenemos que ser orgullosos de ellos." Her experiences as an emergent bilingual in English-only learning contexts triggered her to develop strong ideologies towards her native language, promoting and giving it value in her classroom.

Linguistic diversity, multiculturalism, and equity are promoted in this campus by creating "multiple opportunities for students to develop positive attitudes about themselves and others and to develop cultural knowledge and a sense of their and others' identities - ethnic, linguistic, and cultural – in a non-stereotypical way (Howard et al., 2018). Not only did the teachers empower the Spanish language through their discourses of inclusiveness and acceptance, they also demonstrated it through their own actions. Teachers used Spanish as the sole mode of communication during informal conversations with each other and with other teachers. In several conversations, I heard teachers voice their preference for Spanish. On the day of the interviews, I gave them the option of an English or Spanish interview and they both opted for answering the questions in Spanish and told me, "Ah pues si quieres en español entonces para que me desplaye más" and "Me siento más a gusto en español."

Teachers stated their comfort level with Spanish, and students corroborated their

language preference. Jose, for instance, mentioned his teachers speak, “Mas como en español.” In effect, I observed teachers using more Spanish than English in the classroom despite the DL 50/50 model separation. These linguistic practices may have granted power to the minoritized language influencing students’ own perceptions and beliefs about the language.

Mrs. Galvan and Mrs. Guevara engaged in frequent efforts to empower the minoritized language. During classroom observations, I often observed that both teachers would encourage students to use both languages during their allocated time. Since the classroom consisted of native-English speakers and native-Spanish speakers, the teachers found themselves pushing students who were not fluent in their second language to use that language in order for them to develop academic-level proficiency. As will be described in the section Hegemony of English, some students preferred to use the English language even though their level of proficiency in Spanish was high. Teachers made sure to promote the use of Spanish during classroom conversations to empower the Spanish language. In the classroom, displays were in English and Spanish.

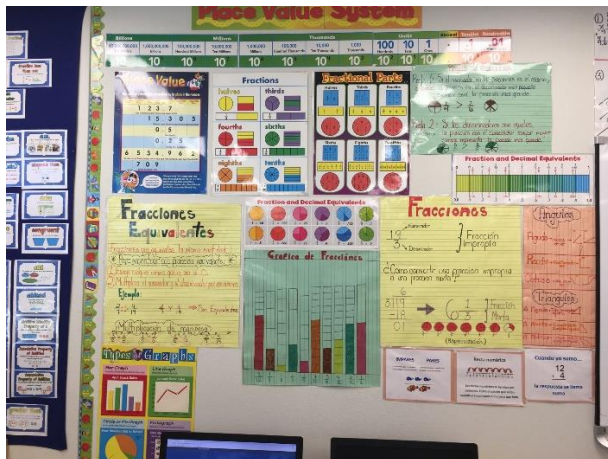


Figure 7. Classroom Picture 1



Figure 8. Classroom Picture 2

Interestingly, many of the posters that were in Spanish were handwritten or typed and printed. While the resources might not have been available for teachers in Spanish, they took the time and, most importantly, the initiative to make sure students were exposed to concepts and ideas in Spanish, as well. Power Point presentations were also in Spanish during Spanish time. The hand outs and some of the workbooks were also available in Spanish. When asking students to take out a workbook, teachers had to specify which one, as they had them in both languages.

Appreciation for the socially minoritized language was visible in various ways. Below is an example of a time when Mrs. Galvan praised students during Spanish time for making the effort to respond to one of her questions in Spanish. I did not observe this type of praise towards use of English.

“Me gustaron mucho todas sus respuestas y más que todos están contestando en español.

Estan intentando,” Mrs. Galvan remarked after students were asked why it was necessary to start using the rule at zero during a Mathematics lesson.

Furthermore, during group work activities, I observed students encouraging each other to use Spanish during Spanish time. While many times I observed them using English during Spanish time, or Spanish during English time, on several occasions I heard them motivating each other to practice the language of the day as illustrated in the example below. This example can be viewed as students motivating each other or as language policing (Blommaert, Kelly-Holmes, Lane, Leppänen, Moriarty, Pietikäinen, & Piirainen-Marsh, 2009) and students were trying to make sure students followed expectations on language use. In either case, students were pushing each other to speak the minoritized language.

In Ale’s group, students are working together and conversing about the math problems

Mrs. Galvan has assigned. Ale tells the group, “It is twenty-seven. She told us to measure the side first.” “¡En español, Ale!” Denise is heard. Ale smiles and says, “La respuesta es veintisiete.” Denise smiles. They all write their answers to the problems on their workbook. **(Fieldnotes, 03/09/2018)**

I also observed the valorization of Spanish from the administrators in this campus. When Mrs. Jimenez (Assistant Principal) explained the benefits of being bilingual during her interview, I asked her if she believed students were aware of these benefits. She expressed that she placed a significant amount of effort in ensuring students were aware of the value of Spanish. She expressed some of the ways in which she intended to grant equal or higher status to Spanish in her campus. Her intentions to create an inclusive environment were put into action in several ways, as expressed below.

We really, really make sure that we empower the language, that we have rallies, and I’ll say things in Spanish, or I’ll say like we have the no place for hate, la promesa, la resolucion de respeto, (referring to school initiatives for respect). So, we have the pledge in English, and then I always say it in Spanish because then it’s part of our culture.

By “empowering the language,” Mrs. Jimenez referred to Spanish. During school events, she made sure to use Spanish in efforts to grant it equal power as the English language. It was important for her to “make it part of their culture” of the campus by integrating it. Additionally, she made sure to normalize speakers of the Spanish language by making sure they were not isolated or “othered” during lunch time. She mentioned, “ I systematically arrange, and nobody knows this, the lunch seating arrangement for each kid, I purposely do it in a way that my ELLs, my classes that are dual, interact with the monolingual English from the other class, so that at times they don’t feel like, ‘Oh, they’re dual language,’ ‘cause it happens.” As an EL herself and

teacher of ELs, she expressed her familiarity with learning environments where students are separated and labeled based on their primary language.

During lunch time, I observed students sitting on assigned tables with their class. All of the students in the DL class were on one table. Other classes were on their own tables, as well. During the 30 minutes students were allotted to eat their lunch, students engaged in conversations in English, Spanish, and/or translanguaged. On their 15-minute recess time, I was surprised the first day I noticed the DL class was alone on one side of the school on the playground, while the other 4th grade classes were on the other side of the school on the open field. I first walked to the open field and asked the monitor about this, she mentioned, “The dual language students are on the other side of the school. These are the monolingual students,” she said. I walked to the other side of the cafeteria. I recognized some of the students outside. A teacher was outside watching them. I asked her if they were the dual language students. She said they were. She mentioned that because this group is a large group, they separated them. So, it was the monolingual (3) classrooms on one side of the cafeteria and the dual language (2) classrooms on the other end of the cafeteria. She added, “It has nothing to do with the language. It’s just to keep it more manageable. Otherwise it’s chaos.” The reasoning behind the separation of students seemed to make sense. However, students could have easily misinterpreted the situation or associated it with language. Unconsciously, perhaps, the school may have been reproducing inequalities based on language or ideologies about language and bilingual programs through separation of students based on language even outside the classrooms.

During my observations, I noticed students felt comfortable using their primary language in this school. Students expressed the difference between this school and others they had previously attended in regard to language use and acceptance. An example is provided below.

Berenice: -all of the schools that I've been to, which is English, except this school. Some kids - a lot of kids know my language because a lot of like, a lot of kids in Houston Elementary School, we know Houston-- I mean-

[laughter]

Berenice -English. (**Group 5 Interview 2**)

Berenice noticed a change from other schools she had attended and Ramos Elementary. At Ramos, English was not the only language used. Other languages were also incorporated into the curriculum and outside of the classroom, as well. Linguistic diversity was supported in this DL school whose goals centered on bilingualism, biliteracy, and sociocultural competence (Howard et al., 2018). Berenice noticed that “a lot of kids know my language.” Defining characteristics of her assemblage, such as her language, were a part of this school where students were proficient in her primary language. Schools are frequently sites where linguistic power is reproduced (Foucault, 1990). At Ramos, the power as a communicative resource was not only granted to English, it was also given to other languages, such as Spanish.

To counteract the dominant status of the mainstream language inside and outside schools, it is crucial to ensure that the minoritized language receives more attention. The less socially prestigious language in society is often subject to language loss (Howard et al., 2018; Lewis et al., 2012; Thomas & Collier, 2012). At Ramos, I observed teachers and administrators devoting special attention to the empowerment of the Spanish language and fought against monoglot ideologies and practices they had experienced. They intended to make sure students felt free to speak Spanish without being “othered” or left out by their classmates or other students in school. They focused on fostering an inclusive environment where linguistic diversity was

accepted and encouraged.

5.7 Being Bilingual - Empowering Bilingual Identity

The vision of dual language programs is framed around bilingualism and biculturalism. Effective DL programs value and support cultural and linguistic diversity. At Ramos Elementary, administrators and teachers played a crucial role in the development of students' "bilingual identities." Discourses that valued and empowered bilingualism were common support systems in this school.

Principal Smith demonstrated commitment to her goal of embracing bilingualism and biliteracy. Even though she did not consider herself bilingual, she firmly believed in the importance of language in content instruction and in bilingualism inside and outside of school. The lack of opportunities she received to acquire a second language led her to provide a learning environment for students where language development was one of the main targets, as her words below demonstrate.

I believe that the more languages you can acquire, the greater the benefit it is for you. I feel I wish I knew Spanish. I feel I'm at a disadvantage. I feel that it disadvantages people in the community that I serve that I'm not fluent, I'm not fluently bilingual, so I believe it's very important, so that's why I try to create that opportunity for everyone else because I didn't receive that opportunity. It's very important to me that everyone else receives the fair opportunity that they need that if they want to be bilingual this is the place that will make it happen for you, so I don't put up any barriers for students or teachers when it comes to second language acquisition or bilingual education because I feel we need to create every opportunity that we can for people or for students to be become fully bilingual.

Mrs. Smith's ideologies, as the leader, are relevant for the way state-level policies are appropriated at the level of the school. In order for DL programs to be effective, it is important for the leader of the school to be the "main advocate for the program, providing guidance for an equitable program that is of high quality (Howard et al., 2018). Mrs. Smith's beliefs about bilingualism and equitable learning environments are relevant for the success of the program. Effective principals are often described as strong leaders and agents of change (Castellano, Stringfield, & Stone, 2002) when they carry out their leadership responsibilities and have extensive knowledge and commitment to the DL program they implement in their campus (Alanis & Rodriguez, 2008).

The DL teachers at Ramos also expressed support for bilingualism. They voiced their goals of designating equal value to English and Spanish and making sure students cherished being bilingual. Mrs. Guevara and Mrs. Galvan expressed their beliefs during their individual interviews.

Mrs. Guevara – Me gustaría que terminaran el programa bilingüe después de los seis, siete años que tiene que pasar 100% bilingües, 100% hablando español académicamente, 100% hablando inglés académicamente.

Mrs. Galván – He platicado con maestras que tienen a niños bilingües, siempre dicen que los niños que han estado en programas duales sobresalen de los otros niños. Yo estoy pensando en inglés y en español, pero en otras partes del mundo se utilizan otros dos idiomas entonces es para ayudar al crecimiento del niño, para el futuro, para sus oportunidades. O sea, en realidad yo siempre, por ejemplo, les comento a los míos, 'Va a ver una posición disponible contra un niño que nada más sabe un idioma, y los dos tienen las mismas capacidades. Por esa pequeña diferencia de que sepas dos idiomas o tres, o

sea, te lo van a dar a ti,” es como que es prepararlos también para para el futuro, para que tengan mejores oportunidades de trabajo, mejores oportunidades de vivir.

Once again, Mrs. Guevara described her wish to see students become “100% bilingües.” By this, she referred to students’ bilingualism and biliteracy in English and Spanish. While the notion of a full bilingualism, or balanced bilinguals (Creese & Blackledge, 2010; Garcia, 2009) has been problematized, Mrs. Guevara firmly believed that her goal as a teacher was to help students achieve bilingualism by helping them attain both socially constructed languages at academic levels.

Mrs. Galvan mentioned that even all-English teachers notice the benefit of DL programs in that students in these programs are able to close achievement gaps and surpass their all-English peers academically. The academic achievement students accomplish in DL programs has been seen in research over the years (Thomas & Collier, 2012). Additionally, Mrs. Galvan stated that another benefit of being bilingual is having “mejores oportunidades de trabajo” and “mejores oportunidades de vivir.” This is a theme that has surfaced throughout my findings. Administrators, teachers, and students firmly believe in the power of bilingualism for finding employment. Bilingualism is perceived as symbolic for economic capital (Bourdieu, 1986).

I also observed a focus on developing bilingual students who appreciate more than one language perceived during classroom practices. The development of academic skills and bilingualism was extended to real-world contexts and events. As an example, during Mother’s Day week, students worked on creating a card for a mother figure they are grateful for. Mrs. Galván told students, “Pueden usar el idioma que ustedes prefieran o el idioma que sus mamás entiendan mejor.” About half the class used English and the other half used Spanish. Jose, a newcomer from Spain, used Catalan for his card. Mrs. Guevara was delighted to hear Jose used

his primary language during class. “Que padre!” she expressed when she noticed his letter. She was very excited to know students in this dual language class felt comfortable using their primary language. In this manner, bilingualism, and even trilingualism, were appreciated and encouraged in this classroom. I asked Jose about his perspective on his use of his native language in the classroom and he reported feeling “Bien porque podía utilizar el idioma de mi país.” Being able to use “el idioma de mi país” was important for Jose. Students were given the option to use the language of their choice for this activity, and Jose chose the language of “mi país.” His assemblage was directly connected to Spain through *descent* and through *place* as he lived there many years before coming to the U.S. Students from non-dominant linguistic and cultural backgrounds were not positioned as a problem in this classroom (McKinney, 2017). Instead, their linguistic practices were acknowledged in their negotiation of belonging in a new school and country (Wagner, 2017).

During another activity, students were also given the choice to select to complete it in their language of preference. Some students completed the assignment in English and others in Spanish. They were asked to come up with a poster about themselves. It was focused on aspects about themselves that they felt makes them special. Two examples are included below. The first image was drawn by Gaston. He chose to use Spanish to complete this assignment in which he described activities and school subjects he enjoys and that make him unique. Karol chose to use English.

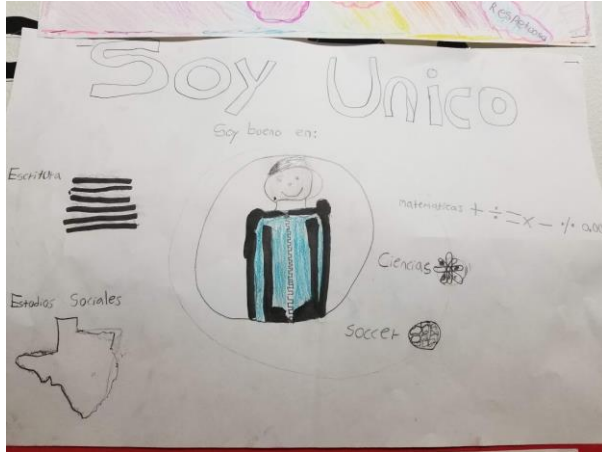


Figure 9. Assignment 1

Figure 10. Assignment 2

Another example of how students negotiated their belonging as bilinguals and legitimate speakers in the classroom is illustrated below.

Students who are taking the test in English work with Mrs. Guevara on their writing passages. At this time, they are working on their own. Mrs. Guevara walks around to monitor and answer students' questions. Students who are finished are reading a book. The majority are working on their passage. At 10:23, Mrs. Guevara tells students to highlight their answers to both passages. They start checking the passages as a class. One of the questions focused on months and days. Ale answered the question incorrectly. She seems surprised. Maribel says out loud, "Remember, in Spanish, we don't capitalize the name of the months. In English we do." "Yes, she is exactly right, mi amor," Mrs. Guevara tells her and reminds the class of the rules in Spanish. They move on to grade the next passage. **(Fieldnotes, 2/20/18)**

In this example, students were working on English passages. The rules of grammar being addressed were English rules. When Ale missed one of the questions on capitalization, Maribel was quick to share her knowledge about grammar rules in English and in Spanish. Being aware

of the rules in Spanish was not a reason for her to feel ashamed or embarrassed. Instead, she seemed to feel proud to know the rules in Spanish, as well. Maribel could have only focused on the English rule, as it was English time, yet she felt comfortable sharing the Spanish rule. This practice showed that Maribel felt her contribution did not exclude her or mark her as the “other” for knowing Spanish and its rules. On the contrary, it granted her a sense of belonging for knowing the rules and expectations in this DL classroom, since she was greeted with a “Yes, she is exactly right, mi amor” from her teacher.

The meaning and beliefs about language and its power are socially produced (Silverstein, 1979). In this context, ideologies about language were appropriated by administrators by students in different ways. These ideologies about language are not only about language; there are direct ties between beliefs about language and “identities” (Woolard, 1998). Students were given access to a diasporic linguistic landscape (Wagner, 2017) they could use that, in turn, enhanced their diasporic belonging. From the macro-level to micro-level, at Ramos, bilingualism was valued, supported, and encouraged. Administrators expressed their pluralist ideologies about language and their emphasis on empowering bilingualism and bilingual students. Teachers at Ramos Elementary strived for bilingualism from all students and provided the resources and support necessary for them to reach the desired level of proficiency for their grade level. Students, as shown below, also recognized the benefits of their diasporic belonging.

5.7.1 Being bilingual – Benefits as recognized by students

According to students at Ramos Elementary, being bilingual had many benefits. They reported a range of positive aspects that come with bilingualism, such as enhanced cognition and academic advancement, employment opportunities, helps understand others, facilitates helping others, it makes life interesting, and it allows them to know more people.

A predominant belief among students about bilingualism was its potential effect of producing employment opportunities. In separate moments, Jazmin, Maribel, and Zoey explained their ideologies about bilingualism and how they valued it for the employment and economic capital opportunities it can produce.

Jazmín - Cuando crezcas, cuando vas a trabajar, te van a contratar más si sabes los dos idiomas o más idiomas.

Maribel: Estoy *muy agradecida* de tener el idioma y saber los dos idiomas porque una vez dijo Miss Galván que si sabes más idiomas, tienes más oportunidades en el futuro, entonces, pues, estoy dice- dijo en mi mente que, que bueno, ahora estoy agradecida de tener- de saber los dos idiomas porque me va a- a dar un mejor futuro, que los que no más saben uno. Si tu jefe nomás habla un idioma, por decir, tu jefe habla inglés y tú no más sabes español, como que te da así, como que ahí dices, "Oye, es una muy buena compañía, pero no puedo estar aquí porque no le entiendo a mi jefe." Ya, pero ya, cuando sabes los dos idiomas, ya, puedes entrar a esa compañía o al trabajo que te estén aceptando. Y puedes tener la habilidad de hablar los dos idiomas en vez de uno-uno solo.

Zoey: If you're applying for a job and, for example, I'm gonna go apply for a job, and I just know English but Karol knows English and Spanish, she will be probably be the one to get the job because people might be able to speak, not be able to speak English but speak Spanish, and she'll know what they're trying to tell you.

Verónica: Es como decir "¿A quién contratar? ¿A alguien que hable dos idiomas o alguien que hable uno?" Porque que tal que llega una persona que nada más hablan inglés pues, no tú no vas a saber español y vas a estar como que ve con el de inglés.

Emmanuel: Como los que nacen como de ellos tal vez han de tener un poco más de dificultad para encontrar un lugar para trabajar porque- porque tal vez o así- tal vez más- tal vez si sabes más idiomas te pueden-te pueden hacer *hire* entonces sí.

The participants above seemed to reproduce ideologies expressed by their teachers. Maribel explicitly mentioned Mrs. Galvan had discussed one of the benefits of knowing two languages was the opportunities it provided for a better future. In effect, during my observations, Mrs. Galvan relayed this information to students, as mentioned in previous sections in this chapter. Being bilingual in this border region was described as very important, since, as students revealed, if applicants don't know both languages, it is likely they will not be employed.

Another recurring theme was how being bilingual was beneficial at a cognitive level. Students felt that knowing two languages made them smarter.

Omar: It helps your brain like expand more like it how to-- Like understand things much better than just speaking one language. There's people that speak a lot of languages and they get like, they're like very good at their work and stuff like that, like their job or like the more languages you know, the more like smarter you'll get.

Jazmín: Es como un sacapuntas y un lápiz, cada vez que dices-- Ya va. Cada vez que hablas los dos idiomas, le das punta al lápiz y ese lápiz sirve mejor, o sea, tu cerebro.

Denise: Porque me ayuda mucho a mí -como ser inteligente, saber otras cosas que yo nunca sabía y cosas así.

Researchers agree that being bilingual can have significant benefits. Cognitive and linguistic proficiencies are recognized benefits of knowing more than one language (August &

Shanahan, 2006; Howard et al., 2018; Thomas & Collier, 2012). In their words, students also see the effects of bilingualism as “your brain like expand[s]” and “me ayuda a ser inteligente.” Their heteroglossic ideologies about language are expressed through the ways in which they believe they benefit from being bilingual. Jazmin provided an interesting metaphor to describe how knowing two languages makes her brain function more effectively. She compared the bilingual brain to a pencil. Every time you sharpen your pencil, meaning “cada vez que hablas los dos idiomas”, the tip gets sharper and the pencil, in turn, “sirve mejor.” The more you use your two languages, the better your brain works. Her ideologies about language and about her diasporic belonging demonstrate deep admiration and value in the ability to speak two languages. The opinion below on the effects of bilingualism on the brain is constructed through a focus group conversation among students.

María: -así puedo - aprendemos más.

Ale: [conversación cruzada] aprendemos más cosas con el idioma.

Researcher: Okay

Denise: Y porque sabemos más idiomas que los otros salones, porque los otros salones-

María: Nomás tienen-

Ale: O sea, cuando hablas más idiomas, tu cerebro funciona más. Con un idioma solo, sí funciona muy bien, pero en los dos idiomas, piensas mucho más.

Denise: Ujum

Ale: Por ejemplo, allá en- en mi otra escuela, este, hablaba puro inglés y siempre me-me sacaba 80s, 90s y a veces 100s en mi calificación, mis calificaciones. Aquí siempre me saco 90s y 100s por el español. **(Group 4 Interview 2)**

Students scaffold upon each other's responses and derive at opinions on one of the benefits of being bilingual. They seem to firmly believe that knowing more than one language helps them learn more and it helps their brain function more effectively. Additionally, Denise made a comparison of the DL classroom and other classrooms where they only learn one language. Denise and Maria were aware of the differences in classrooms and how their classroom encouraged the use of more than one language, while others did not. This conversation demonstrates how students were aware of the benefits of being in a DL classroom and being bilingual, as a result. This discussion shows students' pluralistic ideologies and how they valued their linguistic abilities. Some of these beliefs may have stemmed from teachers' communication of ideas and ideologies to students. For instance, Mrs. Galvan was often heard speaking about the benefits of being in a DL classroom and about being bilingual as in the example below.

Mrs. Galvan walks in the classroom from the other small room and tells the class, "Niños, un problema que estaban teniendo también los de español, cuando van a usar 'en otras palabras' o 'in other words' quiere decir que lo que escribieron antes, lo van a cambiar a otras palabras. Por ejemplo, si yo digo, 'La mayoría de la gente está de acuerdo que estar en un programa bilingüe tiene muchos beneficios. En otras palabras, estar pensando en dos idiomas ayuda a desayunar mi cerebro.' O sea, asegúrense que cuando usen 'en otras palabras' sea del mismo tema. Tengan cuidado de no usar otra nueva idea." Then she tells them to get ready to go to PE. **(Fieldnotes, 2/20/18)**

Embedded in classroom subject-matter, Mrs. Galvan communicated some of the benefits of being in a bilingual program. Students may have appropriated the teacher's ideologies about language and about being bilingual and expressed them through their own words, as shown above.

Students also believed knowing two languages helped them communicate effectively, speak with others, and help those who are not bilingual. Andrea mentioned, "A mí me gusta porque me puedo comunicar con las otras personas y también me puedo hacer con-- me puedo hacer más, eh, ya puedo hablar más con las personas y me puedo comunicar con los que yo quiera." Jazmin also mentioned that when communicating with others and she doesn't know a word, she can "improvisar" and use her other language. This statement illustrates how translanguaging helps to communicate more effectively. Damian mentioned a significant scenario that many students experience in this border region. He mentioned that "if your family talks in English, you can understand them.... if your parents or someone in your family member know Spanish, you can understand them, too." Bilingual families are prevalent in this bilingual community. Through his input, he revealed the importance of being bilingual in a border city where two languages, or more, are used.

Students at Ramos Elementary seemed very aware of the benefits of being bilingual. Different students perceived the positives aspects of knowing two languages in different ways. To some extent, this awareness of their "bilingual identities" and their sense of proudness can be attributed to their learning environment at Ramos Elementary, while it may also stem from families who value bilingualism and other external factors. Maribel mentioned Mrs. Galvan as a contributing factor for her bilingualism and its benefits for her future. External factors, such as family language policies may also play a role in students' appreciation for language. Culturally

constructed meaning (Vygotsky, 1999) plays a pivotal role in language development and reasoning. In this case, the meaning of being bilingual was constructed at Ramos through discourses and practices of appreciation towards the “bilingual identity.” Students’ diasporic belonging as multiplicities was recognized and embedded at different levels in this school. In this manner, participation in socioculturally and institutionally organized practices mediated students’ perceptions of reality, their ideologies about language, and the complexity and benefits of their assemblages as multiplicities.

5.7.2 Being bilingual – Emotions students expressed

While expressing their satisfaction with being bilingual, students’ emotions surfaced. For students in this bilingual education context, being bilingual triggered a variety of emotions. Their “emotional experience” was determined by the role and the influence of the environment on their character (Vygotsky, 1994). In this case, the emotions they exhibited may have been an influence of the DL classroom they were immersed in. Below are a few more occasions when students’ emotions became apparent when speaking about being bilingual.

María – Feliz!

Emmanuel: Proud

Anahí: Me hace sentir poderosa-poderosa.

Rodrigo: Exciting

Maribel: En mi escuela, que me ha enseñado todo lo que sé, mis maestras les doy gracias por enseñarme todo, mi lenguaje estoy muy, muy, muy agradecida de tenerlos, de saber inglés y español.

“Feliz,” “agradecida,” “excited,” “poderosa,” and “proud” were some of the words used by students to describe how being bilingual made them feel. Students’ identity maps also illustrated how students felt about knowing two languages, as they included both on their drawings. Emmanuel and Rodrigo’s identity maps are shown below.

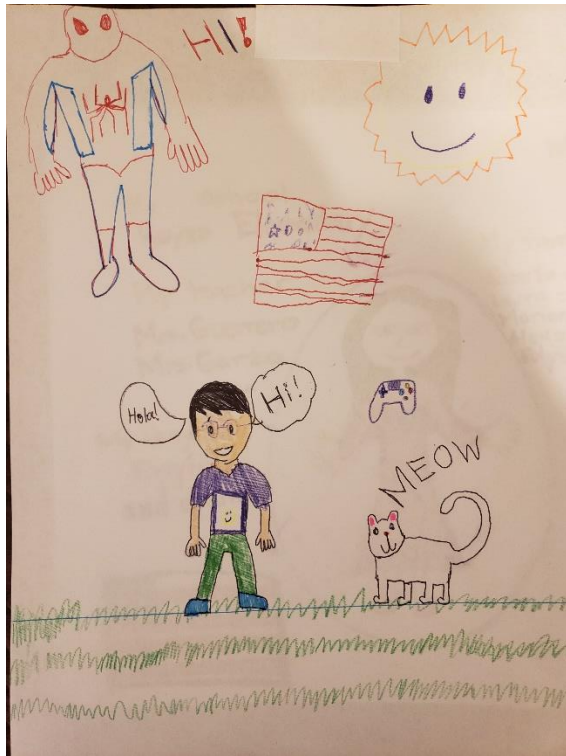


Figure 11. Identity Map - Emmanuel

This image shows Emmanuel languageing by using both English and Spanish. He also illustrated a smiley face on his body indicating his emotions when being able to express himself in more than one language. Emmanuel included the U.S. flag, as that is his place of birth, as explained later in the findings.

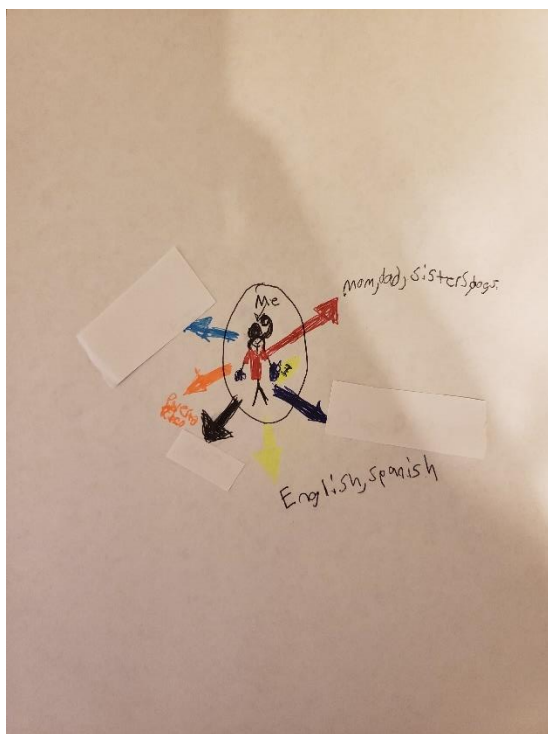


Figure 12. Identity Map - Rodrigo

Rodrigo, who expressed being bilingual is “exciting,” drew himself in the middle of his identity map surrounded by important people and things in his life. He included his family, his teachers, names of friends, and “English, Spanish.” Most participants included both languages in their maps to state their knowledge of both languages as relevant entities of their assemblages.

I propose that the construction of emotions as psychological tools was developed through participation in culturally organized activity (Vygotsky, 1997). Students’ practices in the DL program at Ramos, as well as other external factors, have an effect on the way students’ emotions were formed. Their mention of such emotions indexes their lived experiences as bilingual beings and the ways in which their diasporic belonging has been valued and encouraged throughout their lives. Students’ voices, in these excerpts, as well as in identity

maps, reveal their pluralist ideologies about language that value and grant power to all of their linguistic knowledge that composes their assemblages as multiplicities.

5.8 State Standardized Testing, Ideologies, and Identities

The state-level bilingual education policy is flexible as to what language model districts will follow. Policies are appropriated based on the needs of districts' specific population of students and on ideologies held by those in positions of power. Testing highlights the ideology of homogeneous standard languages and the belief that there is a single "best" way to literacy (Genishi & Dyson, 2009, p. 12). In this manner, the language and language practices of powerful groups is promoted through these ideologies of uniformity (McKinney, 2017).

While the DL program at Ramos appropriated the state-level policy in a way that embraces English and Spanish, the state of Texas holds schools accountable that students learn English. As Howard et al. (2018) expressed, "most of the standards have not been designed with English learners in mind and therefore curriculum adjustments may need to be made to reflect contextualized funds of knowledge of students and their families" (p. 32). This is what I perceived happening at Ramos. Even though students were allowed to take the test in Spanish for three years, they were expected to be fluent and proficient in English and to take the test in English. Because the push was for students to take the state standardized tests in English, teachers felt the need to make adjustments to the DL curriculum in order to help students perform satisfactorily. Teachers confronted pressure to teach students monolingually in their stronger language to help them succeed in state tests (Palmer, 2008). Due to standardized testing, even DL learning contexts had a language shift to English as a consequence. During informal conversations with teachers, they expressed the following.

“Ellos pudieran hacerlo en el idioma que fuera y que tiene. Sin embargo, pues el distrito lo ve, ‘No, hay que empujarlos al inglés. Hay que empujarlos al inglés.’ Y entre menos español... y te cuestionan el número de niños que están tomando el examen en español. O sea, eso ya no es algo local. O sea, ya es el distrito cuestionándole a las maestras, ‘¿Porque todavía tienes a tantos niños tomándolas en español?’ Y en realidad si es en un dual, tu pudieras decirles, Pues ellos son duales, es en el idioma, a la mejor que--como el caso de Gastón, ‘pues yo me siento mejor en español, dámelo en español.’ Entonces ahí como que si hay un poco de controversia porque por decisión del distrito, y ni siquiera es el distrito, es el estado diciéndote que porque todavía hay tantos niños en español. Como, por ejemplo, Gastón es un niño que si lo doy en cualquiera de los idiomas... tengo varios niños. Tenemos yo creo que la mitad de la clase este año que lo pueden tomar en cualquier idioma y no importa. Lo van a pasar, pero si como que ahí ya no es tanto decisión como maestra sino es el distrito, es el estado de que no, más inglés, más inglés, pero pues en un dual si deberíamos tener esa libertad, pues tómallo en el idioma que quieras. ¿Verdad?

As teachers pointed out, the state of Texas holds districts accountable for the number of students who continue to test in Spanish. Even though the state’s bilingual policy allows the implementation of programs that foster bilingualism, such as the DL program, it still expects districts to push for English testing. Mixed messages are sent: the language policy promotes bilingualism, yet accountability policies promote monolingualism (Palmer et al., 2016). I perceived the hegemony of English in the practices of the state of Texas through its emphasis for testing implementation in the language of power. While many students in the DL class felt capable of taking the test in either language, and some would prefer to take it in Spanish, they

ended up taking the test in English.

More importantly, testing affected the implementation of the DL model. Teachers felt they were not able to give each language its allocated time due to the state's push on testing in English. This "inherent tension between preparing children for monolingual standardized tests and meeting DL goals of bilingualism, biliteracy, and high academic achievement" (Palmer et al., 2016, p. 394) has often been expressed by teachers implementing two-way bilingual education. In this 4th grade DL classroom, in order to prepare students for the English test, teachers separated students to provide instruction based on the language of their test.

Mrs. Guevara – En este tipo de momentos, muy cerca del examen, es cuando las cositas ya empiezan a cambiar y no se respeta exactamente, no se lleva el programa como debe de ser y, honestamente te lo digo, ahorita cuando estábamos haciendo escritura, pues hasta separábamos a los grupos para que Mrs. Galván pudiera darles aquí clases en español y yo me quedaba allá porque mi grupo era más grande y era en inglés. Ahorita que vamos a hacer lectura y matemáticas, la mayoría lo va a hacer en inglés, entonces a todos los dejamos juntos porque pues números son números y van a entenderlo en los dos idiomas. Tratamos de hacer la lección en el idioma del día y ya trabajan en el idioma que van a tomar el examen.

Since more students were expected to take the test in English at this high elementary grade-level (4th grade), Mrs. Guevara, as the English component teacher, worked with the larger group of students who were going to take the test in English. Mrs. Galvan took the smaller group, who would take the test in Spanish, to the back of the room and worked with them on the same assignment as Mrs. Guevara but in Spanish. For the math component of the test, students

worked together; they felt students would perform well in any language, since “números son números⁹.”

In the DL classroom, according to teachers, some students displayed a “preference” for taking the test in English, while others would “prefer” to take it in Spanish. Rather than a simple “preference,” the choice students actively made revolved around ideologies of language they held, those their teachers held, and how these ideologies situated them as particular students. Taking the test in English may have granted some students in the class a sense of belonging in the class, school, and outside the school for now being “fluent” enough in English to take the test in that language. It also seemed that students, such as Veronica, wanted to be challenged and take the risk of taking the test in her second language. In addition, despite students’ language preference for the test, a committee of parents, teachers, and administrators made the final decision based on students’ grades on assignments in each language, history of testing scores on each language, and the recommendation from the committee.

Students displayed a variety of reactions to the language of the test they would be taking.

Mrs. Galván – Como te comento de este estudiante, a él si le afecto mucho que lo estuviera tomando todavía en español. A Gastón fue al revés, ‘porque lo voy a tomar en ingles si yo te he dicho todo este tiempo que me gusta más el español.’ Maribel, es una niña muy inteligente que al hacer su examen inicial en pre-kinder, pasa la parte oral en inglés. Automáticamente la codificación que le dan es como non-LEP, como una estudiante que no necesita ayuda en el inglés y hasta la fecha me dice, ‘¿pero porque yo

⁹ This belief about math as solely numbers can be contradicting and misleading. Mathematics does consist of numbers, but there are many words involved, and understanding the numbers immersed in these words requires fluency in that language. “Language” is present in Math as in other subject content

lo tengo que hacerlo en inglés? Si yo lo quiero hacer en español. Yo me siento más a gusto en español,’ y le tengo que explicar todo, ‘mira mi amor, cuando entraste en pre-kinder te hicieron un examen y ya sabias mucho inglés oral y bla bla bla, pero, ‘nooo, pero yo lo quiero hacer en español.’ Y fíjate ella es aún más difícil porque con ella no hay opción como estaba codificada como una estudiante que Non-English Language Learner que le llaman, pues automáticamente se lo dan en inglés. Claro que, si se puede hacer, se puede hacer una carta al estado explicando y todo, pero es un proceso largo, pero ella también es otra de las niñas de que, ‘pero porque si yo lo quiero hacer en español.’

Entonces, si como que ahí sería caso por caso. Te digo, como hay los niños que, pues no importa. Ernesto, es otro niño que ese todavía está la historia un poquito más triste porque su codificación desde un principio debió haber sido non-English language learner. El año pasado, y se la pusieron como un LEP, que le llamamos. El año pasado le toco sus pruebas en español. Este año se dan cuenta del error de la codificación y las tiene que tomar en inglés. Entonces es otro que dice, ‘no, ¿pero por qué? Yo el año pasado las tome en español.’ Entonces como que, imagino que ya de, es el niño sintiéndose más seguro en el idioma y sabe la importancia del examen, y no pues dámelo en el idioma que yo sé que voy a ser exitoso. También está el niño que no es tanto en que idioma me siento exitoso. El más bien es, ‘los demás sí, ¿porque yo no?’ Yo con él lo veo así. Con los otros si es, ‘no, pero es un examen importante, dámelo en el idioma que me va a ir mejor.

Students’ “preferences” for language of the test varied. While some would have liked to take it in English, others would rather take it in Spanish. Students’ individual assemblages were revealed through their preferences and choices. Maribel and Gaston, for instance, had a high regard for Spanish and felt comfortable using this language. While Maribel was not coded LEP,

she still felt pride in her Spanish and wanted to test in this language. Gaston, on the other hand, was coded LEP. He also wanted to take the test in Spanish. They did not feel the need to perform an “English-dominant identity” to feel accepted or to feel a sense of belonging. Other students simply wanted to do well on the test. To some students, high scores were a significant marker of their assemblages as good students. Other students, as the teachers mentioned, were interested in taking the test in English because others were also taking it in English. Taking the test in English, for them, meant belonging. Since most students were now taking it English, these students wanted to feel included. They performed an “English-dominant identity” in order to be accepted as part of the in-group that tests in English. For these students, knowing English indexed intelligence, ability, and academic success.

Students’ voices below show how they make meaning of the language of the test and the way in which teachers separated them for test preparation: I asked Veronica “Y cuando los separan, así como mencionaste allá para el STAAR que ustedes en español ¿cómo te sientes de eso?” and she responded:

Me siento un poco como que, como si estu- no sé si los otros que están conmigo se sientan como atrasados, me siento como si no supiera tanto inglés y que trato de leer más inglés así cuando pasa eso cada vez que hay un *staff*, cuando se acerca trato de leer inglés y así para que me puedan dar el inglés. (¿Te gustaría tomar la prueba en inglés?) Ahm, no, me gusta más. Quisiera que- quisiera que me la dieran en inglés para poder ¿cómo se dice? Como que estar en el nivel. La verdad quisiera que me dieran la oportunidad de tomar el inglés claro por si acaso. (Ok) Pero- quisiera que me dieran la oportunidad de hacerlo en inglés, pero si por ejemplo no lo paso por si acaso lo quisiera en español. (**Group 8 Interview 2**)

For Veronica, taking the test in Spanish and being separated from the rest of the class for test preparation made her feel academically behind, “atrasada” and as if she does not know much English, “como si no supiera tanto ingles.” Veronica seemed to be deeply affected by the state’s expectations and the accountability placed on learning the English language and getting students to test in English. Veronica had internalized a need to take the test in English in order to be perceived as less “atrasada.” She mentioned that when she sees “staff,” referring to teachers or administrators, she tried to read in English “para que me puedan dar el ingles.” She performs and tries to pass as “English-fluent” in order to be perceived as capable. In these particular occasions, the complexity of her assemblage was trimmed down to her English abilities as she tried to display fluency in English. Being fluent in English indexed power, smartness, and belonging. If you know the English language well, you are perceived as a particular type of person for knowing that language that situates you at another level. According to Veronica, if you know English well, then, you get to take the test in English, and you are no longer “atrasada.”

While Veronica had strong beliefs about English and its relation to her own assemblage and lack of a sense of belonging as a student who does not know it well, other students would have liked to take the state test in Spanish.

Maribel: Yo quisiera tomar la prueba en español porque a veces me siento muy incómoda en inglés.

Researcher: ¿Ah sí?

Maribel: Uh-hu. Entonces se me haría más fácil tomar la prueba en- en español.

Researcher: Ok

Emmanuel: Solo una vez quisiera tratarla hacerlo en español, porque a mí se me hace un poco difícil como contar, como leer en español, entonces estaría bueno para que practique un poco más y para que me den un poco más de ¿cómo se dice?

Maribel: More opportunities?

Emmanuel: Yeah. Yo- yo lo quisiera el mock en español. Aunque el real es en inglés, porque el inglés se me facilita. Es solo más uso. Lo único que necesito es solo un poquito más de práctica del español. **(Group 8 Interview 2)**

Emmanuel and Maribel would have liked to test in Spanish. Maribel mentioned she would prefer the assessment in Spanish because she feels “muy incómoda en inglés.” English is her second language, and, even though she is fluent in both languages, she would prefer to take the test in Spanish, since “se me haría más fácil tomar la prueba en español.” Maribel forms indexical relationships between language and identity (Bourdieu, 1991), as Valentina does. In Maribel’s case, her confidence level in Spanish is high, and she does not feel shame in wanting to test in her primary language. She does not feel it would position her as less smart or less fluent in English. Spanish is her strong language, and she is not afraid to show it. Emmanuel, on the other hand, did not feel as comfortable with Spanish, yet he would like to try to take it in Spanish. He says he only needs “un poquito más práctica del español” in order to feel ready for the assessment in this language. Emmanuel speaks English and Spanish at home with his father. His mother enforces the use of Spanish when she is around for him to build bilingualism. Emmanuel seemed to be interested in acquiring the Spanish language to a level where he can take the assessment and perform well. He did not link Spanish to a language of lesser value.

These examples show the complexity and richness of bilingual lives and desires. The test and its ideologies of accountability in English suppress these complexities in a way that forces

schools, teachers, and students to comply to homogeneous ways of being bilingual.

Accountability measures disable the use of translanguage practices, as only the English “language” is to be emphasized in order for students to perform successfully. Languages are kept as separate and as static in efforts to comply with expectations. Only certain expressive entities of students’ complex diasporic belonging are valued through state-level accountability measures. While macro-level language policies allow for flexibility in language programs, the state dictates the desired language of the test, leaving minimal room for a solid implementation of bilingual programs that foster bilingualism, biliteracy, and biculturalism.

5.8.1 Identifying students through a language

Deficit categorizations based on physical, cultural, and linguistic characteristics are often visible within bilingual programs. Labels such as “at-risk,” “Spanish students,” “LEP,” “EL,” etc. are very common. Many of these labels index students’ lack of proficiency in the mainstream language. For instance, the term LEP (limited English proficient) is based on the notion that students lack fluency in English and are, therefore, “at-risk” of failing academically and dropping out of school. These students are categorized as students who are not yet at the linguistic level of a native English speaker. This section will discuss the ways in which the labels “Spanish kid” and “English kid” were used, and avoided, in this DL classroom.

At Ramos Elementary, the teachers and the assistant principal stated they did not like to use the term “Spanish kids.” When talking about her experience as a teacher in a dual language program, Mrs. Jimenez mentioned her efforts to abstain from addressing students through a label.

Mrs. Jimenez - I don’t like to use that word ‘Spanish kids.’ I like to use the ‘bilingual Spanish speakers’ because I don’t like how it sounds at times when we say, ‘the Spanish kids,’ I’ve never liked that. The way that it’s said sometimes, and you can say it like

nicely, ‘Oh yeah, my Spanish kids,’ but I’ve never liked it, ‘cause, well, they’re not from Spain. I just- it sounds a little bit offensive, per se, at times, and it’s just a personal thing. I like to use the right terminology with kids. If it’s a bilingual ESL, it’s a bilingual, parent denial, it’s a bilingual, limited English proficient, it’s a whatever it is, you know, you have your roster, you have your bilingual students, you have your monolingual English students.

Mrs. Jimenez’ reasoning behind disliking the use of the term “Spanish kids” revolves around the notion that it is not the appropriate designation for students, since they are not from Spain. She believes there are other ways to describe students in ways that may be more accurate representations of students who speak Spanish. She also mentioned she believes the term is offensive, but she could not quite pinpoint how or why this term may offend students. Historically, Spanish has often been viewed from a deficit perspective, as it has not been considered the language of “truth and value” (Mertz, 1996) in the U.S. Political, social, and cultural attitudes towards this language have disabled support for investment in Spanish (Gonzalez-Carriedo, 2015). Associations with this and other minoritized languages index a particular history and a particular type of identity (Woolard, 1998). Mrs. Jimenez held ideologies about Spanish she was not aware of and, thus, viewed terms such as “Spanish kids” from a deficit perspective. This label was been associated with the way the Spanish language has been perceived in power relations.

The DL teachers, however, believed the reason the term is inappropriate is because its use entails a form of oppression, “minimizing” of those who speak the Spanish language. When speaking about the state assessment and how students were tested in two languages, Mrs. Galvan mentioned the following.

Tratamos de nada más manejarlo como es el idioma en el que vas a tomar tu prueba. No eres tú 'el niño de español.' Tratamos de- porque inclusive la maestra Guevara y yo hemos tenido mucho cuidado en no decir, 'los de español' vénganse para acá y 'los de inglés' para acá.' Hemos tratado de usar mucho, 'los que van a tomar el examen en el idioma español,' vénganse para acá.

Por alguna razón, tienden a minimizarse 'los niños de español.' No sé si como escuela o de otras escuelas que vengan, es su misma casa y si decimos 'los niños de español,' sentimos que los estamos minimizando también o que estamos también orillándolos a ellos a sentirse minimizados. O sea, me estas, ya me estas separando, y luego todavía me estás diciendo 'el niño de español.'

Desafortunadamente, se le da mucha validez al inglés y al español no sé porque se le ve como que algo raro. Inclusive las clases de los niños monolingües a veces se refieren a nuestros niños como 'los niños de español.' Les dicen 'the Spanish kids' como si fuera algo malo. Lo ven así como que algo malo. Entonces tu como maestra, siempre tienes que estar creando esa cultura de - es muy bueno que sepas los dos idiomas. Entonces también es las otras maestras explicarles que es un programa y no nomas es educación dentro de un salón dual. Es educación en si en toda la escuela. Es en toda la escuela.

Based on the comments above, different, and often contradictory, ideologies circulate in the school and Mrs. Galvan was aware of the role teachers in resisting and challenging the hegemony of English prevalent in the school. Mrs. Galvan believed, based on her comments, that in order to avoid the type of stereotyping and categorizing involved in using terms such as "Spanish kids," the entire school, in this case, needs to take a stand against it and supports the use of Spanish. I did not observe or hear other students who were not in the DL program

referring to students as Spanish kids, yet this form of categorization is very prevalent among students with diverse linguistic abilities and backgrounds (McKinney, 2017). In several informal conversations, Mrs. Guevara mentioned she felt the support of administrators, staff, and other teachers in the efforts of the dual language initiative to promote linguistic equity in the campus. Mrs. Guevara also agreed with this belief and expressed it during her interview. She also expressed her awareness of the racist and exclusionary discourse involving the “Spanish kids.” She mentioned this was common practice at another school where she worked before applying at Ramos Elementary. When I asked what “Spanish kids” meant, she said, “Pues que no hablan inglés. En esa escuela, eran los niños que no les podías hablar inglés porque no te entendían y no querían juntarse con ellos, los hacían menos, o no sé, o les hablaban muy rápido y los niños no entendían.” When referring to the practices at Ramos, she said, “Nosotras como maestras lo hemos detenido al instante y hablamos con ellos y todo. Aquí es 50/50 y todos los niños están acostumbrados a que un día es inglés y un día es español y hay niños hablando en español y es totalmente normal. No lo ven algo malo por así decirlo.” Es como algo muy bueno.”

As I explained in previous sections, the teachers in this study demonstrated their willingness to provide a learning environment that promotes linguistic and cultural equity through their pedagogical practices. I observed their discourses and practices of inclusion many times during classroom discussions and whole-group lessons. They made sure to place equal or higher value on the minoritized language, Spanish. They also intended to achieve this by refraining from using categorical terms, such as “Spanish kids” or “los de español.” As they stated, they were observed referring to students as “los que van a tomar la prueba en ingles” and “los que van a tomar la prueba en español” on most occasions. A few times, however, I observed them using the term “los de español.” While this may have been said unconsciously or

unintentionally, it promoted the reproduction of negative categorizations they mentioned in their interviews.

On an occasion when the class was divided based on the language students would be tested in for the writing standardized test, students were given a writing prompt. They were to write about a symbol, a description of its significance, and what it meant to them and their lives. Mrs. Galvan worked with those students who would test in Spanish in a small library in the back of the classroom, while Mrs. Guevara worked with the students who would be testing in English in the main classroom, as they were a larger group. After about 30 minutes of working separately, Mrs. Galvan's group joined the larger group in the classroom. Those students working on the assignment in Spanish were already finished. Mrs. Guevara's students continued working on the writing prompt as Mrs. Galvan's students read a book or completed other assignments. At this time, both teachers walked around the classroom checking students' progress on the assignment. They appeared to be dissatisfied with what students were writing and how they interpreted the meaning of a symbol.

Mrs. Galván – ‘Los de inglés’ tienen la confusión. Están escribiendo acerca de un símbolo. Are you sure all of you guys know what a symbol is? Some of you are writing about a football team not a symbol. Do you know what triple P means?” “Peter Piper Pizza....” a student responded. “That’s their logo, their symbol,” Mrs. Galvan continued. “Miren, ‘los de español’ están hablando de un animal salvaje. Léeme tu descripción de un animal salvaje,” she told a female student. She reads it to the class. “Ya ven, ellos están hablando de animales salvajes y los están definiendo primero. Ustedes tienen que hacer lo mismo. Primero tienen que definir lo que es un símbolo,” Mrs. Galvan told the students who were writing their essay in English.

Mrs. Galvan explained what was meant by a symbol and how students should have been describing it. She used one of the essays from a student who had written it in Spanish who she refers to as “los de español.” While she did use the categorical term “los de español,” in this instance, she set them apart as the group who met the expectations in completing their assignment. She presented them as an example of how the topic should have been approached. This example shows how Spanish-dominant students were positioned as capable and knowledgeable students.

During a focus group session, several students mentioned their awareness of categorical terms and ways in which they were identified based on their linguistic abilities.

Verónica: Una vez mi maestra- dice como que los niños de inglés, las niñas español como que para-- Como si fuéramos idiomas cuando, no somos idiomas.

Researcher: ¿Eso te molesta?

Maribel: Sí me molesta.

Researcher: ¿Quién hace eso?

Verónica: Una vez Miss Galván lo dijo, pero los días de inglés no las-- Los que les gusta más español y los que le gusta más el inglés.

Researcher: Ah.

Verónica: Así que muchas personas hacen eso y me molesta. No les digo, así como que "Ay" nada. Solamente como que pienso, no se me hace bien, la verdad no me gusta.

Maribel: A mí tampoco me gusta, porque están separados, te están separando en grupos por sus características.

Researcher: Aja.

Maribel: No está bien porque, como hace mucho tiempo, que hacían con las personas de co- de color, las separaban y unos lugares no eran permitidos para que entraran ellos, y a mí no se me hacía justo, porque o sea todos, todos somos personas, todos tenemos dos nariz [sic], dos pies, dos ojos, una boca, entonces pues, no se me hace justo para otras personas.

Verónica: Bueno yo no tengo-

Maribel: Yo tampoco. (Joking about having two mouths)

Researcher: Okay, entonces cuando, cuando los han separado en el salón, ¿no les gustaba eso?

Verónica: No, en el salón como que no me importa mucho, porque si me siento más cómoda en español, pero, qué tal si por ejemplo es una actividad muy divertida y en inglés como que a veces dan más cosas nada más porque son de inglés.

Researcher: Aaahh. **(Group 8 Interview 2)**

This conversation shows how students in this group derived at a critical perspective about linguistic exclusion. Veronica began by mentioning teachers separated them as “los niños de ingles” and “los niños de español.” This separation of students based on language is not something Veronica appreciated, “muchas personas hacen eso y me molesta,” since she felt she was not a language, “como si fuéramos idiomas, cuando no somos idiomas.” The language/s she

speaks does not define who she is. She is not “Spanish” or “English.” Veronica made a clear statement about herself and her assemblage in this excerpt. In her view, she is more than just a language. Veronica’s diasporic belonging consisted of more than just one “language” and more than just “language.” The full multiplicity of aspects of her social being were complex and in constant flux, and consisted of various forms of embodimentality, not only “language.” In Veronica’s identity map, she did not include “my language/s” even though it was one of the suggestions in the instructions. Most students included one or both, English and/or Spanish, while Veronica did not include either one, as shown below.



Figure 13. Identity Map - Veronica

Maribel agreed with Veronica and provided a unique explanation as to why she did not like to be separated based on personal characteristics. She associated the separation by language made in class to the way in which people were separated based on skin color. She found this unfair and believed all people should be treated equally. She mentioned, “Todos somos personas, todos tenemos dos nariz, dos ojos, una boca, entonces pues no se me hace justo para otras personas.” While this group of female students demonstrated firm disagreement with

separation based on language of the test, their beliefs were complex. At the end of the discussion, Veronica mentioned that she agrees with the separation of students based on languages because she felt more comfortable in Spanish (referring to the test being in Spanish), yet she also mentioned that when students were separated, there were times when fun activities were given in English, “como que a veces dan mas cosas nada mas porque son de ingles.”

When students were separated in the classroom, it was often to accommodate to the language students would test in. As teachers mentioned, it was not their intention to identify students through a specific language. However, as described above and as perceived by some students, categorical terms and practices indexed identities (in static form) students did not feel were clear representations of who they are.

5.9 Hegemony of English

Despite the school’s efforts to address issues of equity that may stem from outside the school context, students continued to display a preference for English, according to administrators and teachers at this school.

Mrs. Jimenez – The kids you hear them in the playground, they’re speaking English. It’s very different the playground to the classroom. The classroom you hear both: ingles, español. When you go to recess, the majority, 90% of them, they’re speaking in English, and it’s so interesting, but it’s the social, the social language, so they have all their classes, so they wanna play with the other friend from the other class, well they don’t speak Spanish, so they gotta, it’s just part of it, and so like for me, I have to make it a point to remember, español, español, español. At times, I do see myself, it doesn’t mean that I don’t care about not teaching the Spanish, ‘cause my girls both know Spanish, it’s just it’s easier for me. I just think that they use English more.

Mrs. Jimenez mentioned English is “just the easiest thing to do.” Her beliefs about the English language are centered on the notion that this language is easier to use than Spanish. She mentioned she understands that students prefer to use English because of her own experiences being bilingual. The majority of students use English in the playground, according to her statement, to fit in with other students from other classes. Despite the value given to the Spanish language, ideologies of Spanish as a more complex language remain strong. English seems to retain its power within this DL school as the “social language” through which socialization occurs in the playground. Another reason why students may prefer English at Ramos is the fact that the DL program is only a small fraction of the entire school’s population. Only one classroom (or 2 at the most) in each grade level implemented a DL model during the year of my observations. Mrs. Guevara attributed students’ preference for English to this factor in the school.

Mrs. Guevara – Pues porque la mayoría de los niños es el idioma que hablan. No tenemos tantas clases duales como me hubiera gustado o la escuela completa no es dual como yo sueño que algún día pase. Entonces, en realidad, el idioma fuerte de la escuela, pues, es el inglés. Las clases duales lo ven como un apoyo a los niños que necesitan, bueno los otros niños, que necesitan aprender inglés, pero ellos como quieren encajar con todos también, pues usan el inglés para poder encajar.

According to Mrs. Guevara, the entire school is not a DL school; therefore, English remains the language of power, “el idioma fuerte,” of the school. The majority of students in the school are English fluent, while not every student is fluent in Spanish. For this reason, many students in DL prefer to use English, as Mrs. Jimenez also mentioned, as a way to fit in, “encajar,” with others who may not speak Spanish. Mrs. Galvan also believes that the language

students use will define their identities and dictate who will accept them and who won't. She explained, "El lenguaje que usan los define como personas e indica quien los aceptara como amigos." In this sense, ideologies of language are not only about language; there is a direct link between language and identity (Woolard, 1998). Students language use will position them as a particular type of person.

As Mrs. Guevara suggests, an ideal learning context where equity may prevail would be composed of all DL classrooms. Since this is not the case, she stresses her role in empowering the Spanish language by making sure students are aware it is not only a resource to learn English, it is, rather, a benefit for their future as bilinguals. In order for students to continue using Spanish, it is necessary to enforce it, as the DL model suggests, at least 50% of the time and not give students the option to use their preferred language, since it is likely they will opt for English in efforts to fit in and/or use the language everyone else uses.

Mrs. Guevara – Mis expectativas (para mis estudiantes) serian que hablen más español, que hablen más español, y que ya se puedan comunicar con sus papas en español.

Muchos de los papas que vienen a la junta me dicen que cuando estaban en los programas duales, al principio cuando estaban en primero, segundo, pues no, no hablaban español.

Toda la tarea era en inglés, los trabajos eran en inglés, los proyectos eran en inglés, sus presentaciones orales eran en inglés porque no siguen el programa dual, pero para que los niños no batallen, se les pide que escojan el idioma preferido y obviamente terminan por escoger el idioma ingles porque es más fácil, porque batallan menos. Entonces este, mis expectativas serian que ojalá ojalá ojalá agarren ese amor por el español y lo continúen usando.

When speaking about her expectations for students, she emphasized that she would like them to speak more Spanish and develop love for Spanish. Mrs. Guevara was aware of the hegemony of English in this campus, as she intended to engage in counterhegemonic practices by granting higher power to the Spanish language, so students learn to value it and use it consistently (Williams, 1977). She mentioned parents had made her aware that in the lower grades there at Ramos, students were given the option to complete their work in their preferred language. This resulted in an overuse of English and, undeniably, a reproduction of its power within this learning institution (Foucault, 1980). In her view, this is not following the DL model.

During several observations, I would hear students using English during group activities even during Spanish time. As mentioned by the teachers and administrators at Ramos, students did display a preference for English. On the instances presented below, I observed students trying to complete their assignments in English even though they were expected to complete them in Spanish.

After Mrs. Galvan asks students to begin with their assignment, Eduardo asks, “Ms., lo puedo hacer en ingles?” “Noo, hay entre todos se pueden ayudar. Entre los cuatro cerebros se pueden ayudar,” Mrs. Galvan says. She tells them Cassandra, who is in their group, is not complaining. Denise responds, “It’s ‘cause she knows Spanish,” she says referring to Casandra. **(Fieldnotes, 03-29-18)**

Mrs. Galvan begins explaining the activity they will be working on. In Spanish, she says they will be working in groups. They will be scoring compositions together. “What if I don’t know how to read in Spanish?” Mathew asks. “Alguien de su equipo le puede ayudar. ¿Como que no sabe leer en español si usted es dual?” Mrs. Guevara tells him.

“But I don’t understand,” he responds. “Si entiende. Usted ha escrito y leído muy bonito en español,” Mrs. Galván tells him and continues explaining. **(Fieldnotes, 03-09-18)**

In these examples, Mrs. Galvan insisted in counteracting students’ preference for English by pushing them to use Spanish. She reminded students that other classmates can help them if they don’t understand. She also reiterated the fact that they are “dual” and, therefore, they know English and Spanish well. In fact, all students were able to read and write in English and Spanish in this classroom.

During the focus group interviews, two students mentioned their preference for the English language and their minimization of Spanish.

Researcher: I've noticed that you speak mostly English. Whenever I hear you, you're speaking in English.

Diego: Mm-hmm.

Researcher: Why do you think that is?

Damian: [clears throat] 'Cause-'cause we wanna practice English more. Well, we already know it, but-

Eduardo: Yeah.

Damian: -it's like we don't feel like talking in Spanish anymore.

Researcher: Why?

Damian: I don't know.

Eduardo: I don't know. **(Group 6 Interview 2)**

Eduardo and Damian were two students in the DL classroom who I often heard speaking in English. Their primary language is Spanish, though. Damian, as shown in the Participant Table continues to be coded as LEP. He has not performed successfully in state assessments of English fluency. Eduardo mentioned he uses Spanish at home. They are both fluent in English and Spanish. However, as indicated in this excerpt, they both preferred to speak English. They mentioned they “wanna practice English more” even though they accept “we already know it.” At first, they attribute their preference for English to their need to practice it. Then they confirm they are already fluent in this language. They, then, say they prefer English because they “don’t feel like talking in Spanish anymore.” This statement implies that Damian did speak Spanish before and he liked using it before, but now, he does not want to use it. When asked the reasoning behind their linguistic practices and preferences, both students responded with “I don’t know.” Their language ideologies are apparent. They wanted to speak English, and they do not like Spanish anymore. These complex feelings take place even in a context where bilingualism and the Spanish language are empowered on a daily basis. Damian and Eduardo also mentioned that when they do speak Spanish, it is at home.

Despite the goals of this DL program to develop English and Spanish at academic levels, as expressed by administrators and teachers, the hegemonic power of English is pervasive even in this type of learning setting (Achugar & Pessoa, 2009; Babino & Stewart, 2017; Freeman, 1998; Potowski, 2004). By negating the use and knowledge of Spanish, Damian and Eduardo negotiated their sense of belonging and membership in social networks that they felt valued English over Spanish, as is often the case with many ELs even in DL programs (Heller, 1992). They performed a monolingual identity in order to be recognized as such, rather than as assemblages of multiplicities.

Eduardo: - Spanish is the one that I talk more at my house

Researcher: So, why do you feel that you're forgetting even though you-you speak it at home?

Eduardo: I don't forget it.

Damian: Well, 'cause it's-

Eduardo: I know both, but I like to talk English at school and Spanish at home.

Damian: Mm-hmm, that's me right there.

Researcher: Why do you do that?

Eduardo: I don't know.

Researcher: Why do you think that happens, Damian, that when you're here, you speak English, and when you're home, you speak Spanish?

Damian: Well, 'cause most of our classmates speak English, and almost none of them speak Spanish, so- **(Group 6 Interview 2)**

As mentioned earlier, these students had the impression that most students in their class speak English. They clearly felt that English was the dominant language of the class. They used this language to communicate with classmates and reserved Spanish for use at home. English privilege leakage (Freeman, 1998) was a pervasive issue in this school despite teachers' and administrators' efforts to privilege Spanish and its users, as has also been noted in previous studies (Volk & Agelova, 2007).

Several students mentioned using Spanish at home with the family. Some explained it was a family language policy. Parents enforced the use of Spanish at home in order for students to retain their native language.

Researcher: ¿Y creen que es importante saber español?

Ale: Para mí sí porque mi mamá nació en Chihuahua y ella solo quiere español en la casa. Pero cuando vienen mis amigas, solo hablamos puro inglés; para mí sí es importante aprender el español mucho, porque mi mamá siempre me dice que hable español en la casa. Fuera de la casa está bien, adentro de la casa sí tengo que. Fuera de la casa, sí, pero hay- hay algunas amigas que- que, solo hablan inglés y no pueden hablar mucho español, así que les hablo inglés.

Researcher: Ujum.

Denise: Pos, a mí sí -

María: Pues, se dice "pues"

Denise: Porque es el idioma que yo hablo mucho y porque toda mi familia, toda mi familia habla mucho español y tengo muchas amigas que sí, sí saben mucho español y es, por eso es importante para mí y así como dijo Ale también de saber dos idiomas te ayuda mucho a aprender, a aprender ¿verdad?

Researcher: Melissa ¿qué opinas? ¿Es importante saber el español?

María: Sí porque mi mamá como que- como que, como le digo yo en inglés se queda así callada, "¿Qué?" y después yo digo algo en español, "Mamá, ¿sí sabes qué significa esa pregunta?", y después, "Ah, sí". **(Group 4 Interview 2)**

Ale mentioned she uses Spanish at home because it is enforced by her mother. She attributes this to her country of origin. Being born in Chihuahua is connected to knowing Spanish, according to Ale. Ale felt forced to speak Spanish at home, “adentro de la casa si tengo que,” while outside the home, she uses English with those friends who are not fluent in Spanish. Similar to Ale, several students at Ramos mentioned parents enforced language policies at home in which Spanish is expected to be used as the sole mode of communication. Denise mentioned Spanish “es el idioma que hablo mucho.” She uses it at home with her family and with her friends, since they also know Spanish.

Denise also expressed one of the benefits of knowing two languages. In her view, knowing two languages helps you learn. In the section “Being Bilingual,” a detailed analysis of how students perceived being bilingual and the benefits they attribute to bilingualism is included. Maria said it is important for her to speak Spanish to communicate with her mother, since she does not know English. A variety of factors, including external influences such as family, may play a role in the language ideologies displayed by students.

Furthermore, the hegemony of English prevalent outside school contexts permeated through the education institution and affected the way students acquired their second language. According to Mrs. Galvan, many parents perceived the dominance of English inside and outside of school, leading to challenges for their children’s acquisition of Spanish. In their view, exposure to Spanish was limited to the school context. As Mrs. Galvan explained in the excerpt below, those students who were learning English found it easier to learn it than those students

learning Spanish, since they were exposed to this language in various domains of their social lives.

Mrs. Galván – Si me han tocado papás dicen, ‘¿Por qué? ¿Por qué ellos si aprenden el inglés y nuestros hijos no aprenden el español?’ Yo mi respuesta, te digo, pues es esa, es que ellos ya no lo escuchan, ya no escuchan el español. Se van a su casa y es puro inglés y si todo donde viven está rodeado de inglés, los programas de televisión que ven son programas en inglés, los video juegos están en inglés. Todo a lo que los niños tienen acceso ahorita, pues está en inglés. No es tanto en español. No tenemos tantas cosas en español como en inglés.

Based on parents’ beliefs, it is difficult for second language learners of Spanish to acquire this language. In their view, those who were learning English, were able to acquire it faster because they are exposed to it in different ways. She also mentioned that a lot of the shows and technology available to kids are only in English. Interestingly, however, in this border city, there is exposure to the Spanish language outside the school context. Many people in this region know Spanish and interact in English, Spanish, and both are heard in public. Several of the local TV channels are in Spanish, as well. While there is significant exposure to Spanish in this city where many people come from Mexico to shop and/or to visit family and where many of its residents speak Spanish, the parents Mrs. Galvan mentioned in her interview were concerned their children may have limited access to Spanish.

Mrs. Galvan also pointed out that even in school, they don’t have as many resources in Spanish as they do in English.

Mrs. Galván – “Inclusive los libros, cosas tan sencillas que a veces les digo, ‘¿Porque no sacan libros en español?’ ‘Hay no, los libros de la biblioteca están bien aburridos en español,’ eso es lo que me contestan. Los de ingles son los que están padres.’ Yo veo los libros en ingles ahorita son de artistas, son de equipos de futbol americano, de cualquier deporte, son los del diario del Wimpy Kid. Me acuerdo, así como de los intereses de los niños y no muchos de ellos existen en español. Otra cosa de las que eh visto- el español que utilizan muchas veces no es el español de frontera. Es otro tipo de español. Entonces a cada rato, ‘que significa esta palabra, y que significa esta palabra, y que significa,’ puede ser de Sudamérica o de Centro América o el de España, ¿verdad? Entonces eso como que siento yo que no les gusta tampoco que están como que averiguando que significan las palabras porque si muchas veces el español, no es nuestro español, el español aquí de frontera.”

According to Mrs. Galvan, students also preferred to read in English because books that reflect their interests are not available in Spanish. If they are in Spanish, they are not in the same variety they are used to hearing in the classroom. It is not “español de la frontera,” as Mrs. Galvan called this language variety. In this excerpt, Mrs. Galvan recognized this Spanish variety as viable and valid. She valued it as the variety that students are most familiar with yet is not available for them to read in school books, as they are in other varieties of Spanish. I wonder what else teachers can do to recognize the multiple varieties of Spanish.

5.9.1 Forgetting Spanish

The hegemony of English became apparent, despite the school’s efforts to promote cultural and linguistic equity. The dominance of English was evident during student conversations within focus group interviews. Students reported forgetting the Spanish language

even though it was their primary language. In this conversation, students co-constructed their experiences with language in schools.

Denise: Pero como antes yo hablaba puro español y luego, desde que comencé- desde que comencé a hablar en inglés, nada más hablé puro inglés y luego después cuando ya me fui otra vez para español, ya no supe casi tantas cosas español ni cómo decir unas palabras.

Ale: Por es- por eso me cambio mamá- mi mamá de-

María: De escuela.

Ale: -de escuela, porque se me se me estaba olvidando el español.

Researcher: Ahm

Ale: Y luego pues ella no quiso que hablara inglés. Porque no quiso que no sé por qué, este, por eso me cambio a dual... Yo- yo hablaba puro- puro español cuando era chiquita, y luego cuando- me moví al Paso fui a una guardería y ahí aprendí a hablar inglés y luego, pues, fui muy seguido a esa guardería has- hasta que hablé mucho inglés y este pues, me gustaba hablarlo y como- como el español también pero ya se me- ya se me olvido un poquito porque yo no nací en México, yo nací aquí en El Paso y es raro porque pues que mi primer idioma fue español. **(Group 4 Interview 2)**

This conversation is an example of how students were forgetting Spanish and, in this manner, language shift occurred even in families that value Spanish. The hegemony of English is prevalent despite families' efforts to retain the native language – Spanish. Understanding language shift of this sort entails a consideration of historical positioning of the Spanish language in U.S. schools (Achugar, 2008; Babino & Stewart, 2017) and how some of the deficit ideologies

of Spanish have prevailed. Ale's mother made the effort to bring her to Ramos – a dual language campus – in order for her to retain her Spanish. Being bilingual is a characteristic her family valued and wished to strengthen in Ale. Denise and Ale used “puro español” growing up. They both recounted accounts of forgetting it as they started learning English. Denise mentioned that when she started learning English, she continued using that language only and forgot words in her primary language. Ale recounted a similar account. She mentioned that she also knew only Spanish when she was younger. She was then exposed to only English and forgot some of her Spanish. Forgetting Spanish is common in contexts where transition into all-English is the norm (Herrera-Rocha & de la Piedra, 2018; Palmer, 2011). Even though Ramos was a campus where bilingualism was valued, hegemonic ideologies prevailed. Despite efforts to maintain and strengthen Spanish, it is difficult for DL schools to become disconnected from monolithic values and ideologies of the dominant society outside of it (Freeman, 1998). Interestingly, both Denise and Ale included Spanish in their identity maps, as shown below. Denise included both languages on the top right-hand corner of her drawing yet only assigned Spanish to the “my language” category, as shown towards the bottom of her identity map. Ale's identity map almost resembled Denise's map. Ale, however, had written English and Spanish under “my language” and decided to erase English and only leave Spanish.

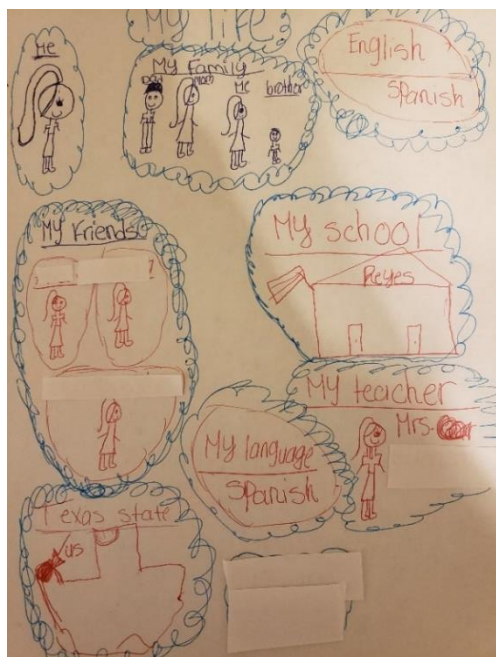


Figure 14. Identity Map - Denise



Figure 15. Identity Map - Ale

During my observations, I noticed Denise and Ale using English during Spanish time or answering the teachers' questions in English. Other times, they tried to persuade the teachers to

allow them to complete their work in English even though it was Spanish time as discussed in another section.

During an interview with his focus group, Eduardo and Damian expressed their limited use of Spanish.

Researcher: Do you all use Spanish?

Damian: Well, sometimes, well-

Eduardo: English, mostly English. We don't use that much Spanish.

Damian: Uhu

Researcher: Even on Spanish day?

Eduardo: Mm-hmm.

Researcher: Why?

Eduardo: I don't know.

Damian: 'Cause we feel comfortable using-

Eduardo: English.

Damian: -English.

Researcher: Okay. And do you feel comfortable using Spanish?

Damian: Yes, but mostly it's kinda hard for us, 'cause we kinda forget it when we grow old, so.

Researcher: Oh. Why do you think you forget it?

Damian: 'Cause we're starting to like the other language like English or something.

(Group 6 Interview 2)

This groups' preference for English was apparent in this conversation. It is important to mention that Damian and Eduardo were friends. For the focus groups, students were grouped with their friends by teachers, so they felt comfortable expressing themselves and engaging in conversation with their peers. They mentioned they "feel comfortable using English and not Spanish because "we kinda forget it when we grow old." In Damian's view, as students grow older, they forget their primary language because they are "starting to like the other language, like English, or something." In this discussion, it became apparent that students "forget" or, perhaps, simply don't want to speak the minority language because they would rather use English, the language of power in school and outside of it. These students display a dichotomized language ideology of either "English" or "Spanish." They didn't speak about using both. They speak English and "forget" Spanish. Their diasporic belonging, however, is composed of a multiplicity of entities constantly in flux. They do not have a static identity with only one static language. While they may be speaking English and, while they may have ideologies of English as the dominant language, their assemblages are composed of a variety of entities, including what are socially perceived as languages, that are in state of becoming through every interaction. They may become English-speakers during a specific situation only to perform the Spanish-speaker "identity" in another situation. Students only display either/or

dichotomies without considering the complexity of their constant state of becoming. They may have felt that the English language granted them a higher position or status than the Spanish language (Achugar, 2008). The language they opted to use granted them a sense of belonging and a categorial stance that they desired. It is the hegemonic ideology that defines monolingualism as the norm and only possibility.

While many students in this DL class do not mind using Spanish and are proud of being bilingual, students like Ale, Denise, and Eduardo tried to use English as much as possible and avoided using Spanish, especially during instances in which academic learning took place. It may have been relevant for them to prove their fluidity in English for fear of being assessed in Spanish. Considering that discourses are “practices that form the objects of which they speak” (Foucault, 1972, p. 49), perhaps, through discourses of “not knowing Spanish” and “knowing only English,” students may have been trying to position themselves as knowers of English who could now take state assessments in English.

5.9.2 English as the global language

Students at Ramos Elementary elaborated on the importance of English, not only in the United States, but in the entire world. In some of these conversations, students constructed a uniform ideology of English as a global language, while in others students resisted this belief about English.

José: Porque también el inglés es uno de los idiomas más importantes del mundo, porque si vas a alguna parte del mundo y no entiendes el idioma de esa parte del mundo, casi siempre también hablan inglés, también hablan inglés.

Julio: [Sic] Be- because, three fourths of America talks English and if someone comes

from another country, you can translate to them. **(Group 1 Interview 2)**

Researcher: ¿Es importante saber el idioma inglés?

Jazmín: Sí porque es el- como el-- ¿Cómo se dice--? [crosstalk]

Andrea: Main- main.

Jazmin: -main language.

Andrea: El primer lenguaje de todo el mundo, como en Japón hablan inglés, en China hablan inglés, aquí hablan inglés.

Anahi: Um-- Porque- Yo aprendí esto, allá en Arizona, porque siempre me dijeron que aprendiera inglés porque, como todo el mundo tiene inglés, pero también es importante aprender un poquito español. **(Group 3 Interview 2)**

Carla: And like how- like almost all the world talks English

Berenice: Well, not the whole world- **(Group 5 Interview 2)**

When the students in the interviews above were asked why they believed English is important, they mentioned English as a “main language” and as language everyone speaks, “todo el mundo tiene ingles.” It is a language students felt proud to speak, since they regarded it as a language used in many countries, including America. Speaking English situates you as a particular type of person (Silverstein, 1996), as someone who can communicate with most people in this world. Students expressed the communicative power of English through their ideological discourses.

Anahi and Berenice problematized the ideology of English as the most important and well-known language in the world. Anahi mentioned that she was always told to speak English because of its relevance as a communicative tool because “todo el mundo tiene ingles,” yet she also believed “pero tambien es importante aprender un poquito español.” While she believed it is important to know English, she also assigned value to Spanish by stating it is important to also know that language. Interestingly, she said, “un poquito español.” Anahi did believe in the value of Spanish, but only to a limited degree. She assigned it a subordinate position to English, as it did not possess the same importance. Berenice also seemed to resist the ideology and discourse of English as a global language. When Carla mentioned “almost all the world talks English,” Berenice was quick to doubt her claim and said, “well, not the whole world.” While Berenice magnified the power of English as a communicative tool in the entire world, Carla opposed her belief about English and expressed her own ideologies.

5.9.3 Accommodating to others’ linguistic preference

Despite teachers’ and administrators’ efforts to empower the Spanish language, a preference for English seemed to prevail. One of the reasons why students may have preferred to use English was to fit in with their peers and feel they formed part of the group. Mrs. Galvan explained this perspective through an informal conversation.

Mrs. Galvan mentions how it is interesting how students prefer to speak English. She says they speak Spanish whole group, and they understand it, but when it comes to working in groups, they speak English. She says maybe it’s due to the students they hang out with. She says that was the case with her son who hangs out with two English-native speakers. She says he accommodated to them and felt he had to learn English to communicate with them and to get around. She says maybe students in the class feel the

same way. She mentions it has a lot to do with their identities and who they are. She says the language they use determines how they are seen and who accepts them. ‘El lenguaje que usan los define como personas e indica quien los aceptara como amigos,’ Mrs.

Galván said. (**Fieldnotes, 03-29-2018**)

Students’ linguistic and embodied practices for negotiating belonging (Wagner, 2017) were centered on how well they may know the language of power. As Mrs. Galvan mentioned, if they speak English, they are viewed as a particular type of person and will be accepted by a specific group of people. Certain communicative production holds more power and value than others (Bourdieu, 1991; Gal, 1989). Speakers, therefore, varied their practices signaling adherence or distancing from markers of class, racial, ethnic, gender, and other markers of ‘identity’ (Schiefflin et al., 1998). In this case, as perceived by Mrs. Galvan, students used English to communicate with their peers, and this defined their perceived “identities,” “los define como personas” and signals who will accept them as part of their group, “indica quien los aceptará como amigos.”

Students confirmed Mrs. Galvan’s beliefs about the power of English and its use as conscious and purposeful.

Researcher: What do you think, Zoey? Is it important to know English?

Zoey: Uh-huh, because if you don't know English most people speak English and if you don't know English, you kind of feel like you're left out. (**Group 2 Interview 2**)

Researcher: Why do you think that happens, Damian, that when you're here, you speak English and when you're home, you speak Spanish?

Damian: Well, 'cause most of our classmates speak English, and almost none of them speak Spanish, so-

Eduardo: Except for-

Damian: Except for Jose

Researcher: Okay. So, when you're with Jose and Gaston, what language do you speak?

Damian: Spanish.

Eduardo: Spanish (**Group 6 Interview 2**)

These were two instances communicated students' belief that "most people speak English;" therefore, they speak English to communicate with them. They stated that they communicated in Spanish with those students who were not perceived as proficient in English. Even though the teachers and my observations reiterated that mostly all students in this DL class were proficient in both languages, students used English because they felt it was the common language. It seemed as though Spanish did not count. It was invisible in their accounts – "Almost none of them speak Spanish." They only used Spanish with students like Jose and Gaston who were described as students who did not speak English. However, as stated by teachers and as I observed, they were both fluent speakers of English yet preferred to use Spanish. Gaston and Jose valued the Spanish language and did not mind using it. Damian and Eduardo, on the other hand, held deficit perspectives of Spanish and deemed it invisible. Interestingly, the students included in the excerpts above were students who expressed preference for the English language.

Other students mentioned the use of English and Spanish to accommodate to their classmates' linguistic needs. They did not express a preference for either language. They simply switched to make sure their classmates would understand them. Several examples are provided below. The focus group sessions allowed students to build on each other's responses and, in this manner, construct their opinions on what language meant to them, when and how they would use it, and how it influenced their sense of belonging.

Andrea: Yo uso los dos porque tengo amigos que no hablan español o amigos que no hablan inglés, como Verónica, este- Carlos, Jacob y otros amigos, que no saben inglés.

Researcher: ¿Entonces, depende de con quién estés?

Andrea: Depende con quien estoy, les hablo en inglés o español.

Researcher: ¿Y ustedes chicas, cuando están con sus amigos o amigas?

Anahí - Depende- [crosstalk]

Jazmín: En español. [crosstalk]

Researcher: ¿En español?

Jazmín: Sí, pero también depende, como dijo Anahí, de quién persona está. **(Group 3, Interview 2)**

Researcher: Y cuando están, vamos a suponer que están en la hora de la comida, la hora de educación física, ¿qué idioma usan?

María: español

Denise: ¿español?

Ale: español

Researcher: ¿Por qué?

María: Porque estoy hablando con mi amiga Verónica y después-

Ale: O sea-

María: No le cre- no le- después me dice "¿Qué?", "Dilo español por favor", "Y yo 'ah okay.'" **(Group 4, Interview 2)**

Veronica: I know, Andrés got to choose Spiderman or--

Emmanuel: Yes. [laughs]

Verónica: Bye-bye [laughs]

Researcher: Oye, Veronica, noté que a Emmanuel le hablas inglés, ¿por qué es eso?

Veronica: Mmm, I don't know. [laughs] A veces le hablo a niños en inglés y a veces en español.

Researcher: ¿Por qué crees que a algunos en inglés y a otros en español?

Verónica: Mmm, porque me siento más cómoda, así como, a Berenice siempre le hablo inglés y a veces, pienso en mi mente, "¿Cómo se dice esto en inglés?"

Researcher: ¿Y a Emmanuel?

Verónica: También

Emmanuel: Well, I don't really care what language I speak. I just want to know, if they understand it, I'm okay.

Maribel: - Como yo sé hablar los dos idiomas, si la persona nomás habla uno y yo tengo habilidad para hablar los dos, le puedes- le puedes hablar a esa persona el idioma que están más cómodos hablando.

Verónica: Es lo mismo que yo hago ahora.

Researcher: ¿Tú crees que eso lo hacen en el salón? ¿Como, por ejemplo, tus compañeros de clase, tú crees que hacen eso también?

Maribel: Yo digo que sí.

Researcher: Porque yo he visto que algunos hablan en español, otros en inglés, y como tú dices, aunque tengan la habilidad- [crosstalk]

Verónica: Sí, por ejemplo, Maribel, cuando está con Karol y Zoey habla inglés, pero cuando está con Ale, hablan español y a veces inglés. **(Group 8, Interview 2)**

During the interaction above, Veronica engaged in translanguaging as she switched from speaking to Maria to speaking to Emmanuel. Emmanuel was a fluid speaker of English and Spanish, yet Veronica decided to switch to English to speak to him. When asked about this change, she mentioned, “Mmm. I don’t know. A veces le hablo inglés y a veces le hablo español.” Then she adds, “Me siento más cómoda.” Being able to translanguage and use her entire linguistic repertoire to communicate with peers, makes her feel comfortable – “cómoda.”

She feels at ease moving from one language to another as she converses with different classmates. Her “inventory is not constrained by societal definitions of what is an appropriate ‘language’” (Garcia & Wei, 2014, p. 23). She actively makes the conscious effort to switch languages and to translate her thoughts to produce the expected outcome. She said, “Y pienso en mi mente, ‘¿Cómo se dice esto en inglés?’” Her group agreed with their conscious awareness using a particular “language” to speak to specific people depending on their level of comfort and linguistic abilities. Maribel acknowledged this active switch and attributed to her “habilidad para hablar los dos.” While she views her “languages” as separate, as do her classmates, she proudly affirmed her ideology of language and how knowing more than one is an ability, an attribute she can use when communicating with others. In students’ diasporic belonging, their “languages” are very important mediating tools to communicate and to belong.

These students were willing to shift their language of use depending on the classmates they were with at a particular moment. They translanguage with ease to accommodate to their classmates’ linguistic preferences and to establish a sense of belonging in different contexts and with different groups. Bilinguals’ multiple discursive practices allow them to make sense of their worlds and communicate effectively (Garcia & Wei, 2014) with their peers, in this case. Their diasporic belonging and access to the diasporic linguistic landscape allowed them to access the necessary resources for an effective conversation with their classmates at any given time. The complexity of students’ assemblages (Wagner, 2017) in this DL classroom is illustrated here. Students expressed their language ideologies through the ways they chose to communicate with their peers. They valued their bilingualism and chose to focus on certain attributes of their complex beings while diffusing others in order to communicate effectively in their classmates’

preferred language. I observed this very frequently during classroom interactions. Below are two examples.

During one of my observations, students were working on a writing assignment. As they completed their assignment, teachers allowed them to go to a kidney table in the back of the room and work on a science/engineering project. A few students had finished the assignment and went to the table. The project consisted of meeting criteria and constraints in building a stable bridge with popsicle sticks. The following conversation characterized by translanguaging took place between Gaston, Omar, Karol, and Ale.

“Va a estar toda bumpy porque uno va a tener que estar arriba del otro,” Gaston tells Omar referring to the bridge. “Omar, I’m gonna start gluing them like that. How open do you want them?” he asks Omar showing him two sticks side by side. “I don’t know,” Omar says. **“Karol, voy a empezar a pegar estos. Que tan abiertos los quieres?”** Gaston says referring to the triangle he will be making with the sticks. **“Asi,”** she says agreeing with the way he already has the triangle. “Did you put the glue on the entire stick?” Omar asks. “No, only on the ends,” Emmanuel tells him. “Well, look, only two sticks stuck to it because you only put glue on the ends,” Omar says. They all giggle. “So, you don’t have to use that much sticks, you can just do this,” Ana tells the group as she tries a new design by separating the sticks. **(Fieldnotes, 2-22-18)**

Gaston’s preferred language was Spanish, yet he chose to speak English to Omar during this interaction. Even though Omar’s first language was Spanish, I often heard him speaking English in class. To Karol, Gaston spoke in Spanish. This was an interesting choice, since Veronica had stated in the previous excerpt that “Maribel, cuando esta con Karol y Zoey habla inglés.” This demonstrates how students chose the language of use based on who was around.

While Karol's first language was Spanish, and several classmates used Spanish with her, when she was around Zoey, whose Spanish was limited, she used English. Karol stated during a conversation that, while she prefers to use Spanish, she uses English to communicate with her close friend, Zoey. Students' metacognitive awareness of his classmates' linguistic abilities and preference triggered their shift in language use, even within the same conversation, as seen in the example above. They negotiated and performed their belonging through using only English, only Spanish, or translanguaging. Another example is illustrated below.

Students who are finished with their assignment are asked to read their chapter books. Several students who finished the math work are allowed to help their classmates. I see Anahi walking around helping some of her classmates. I hear Anahi explaining to Veronica entirely in Spanish. **“Pregunta por tres digitos. ¿Sabes porque pide tres digitos?”** she explains. **“Y este porque es 3 entonces?”** Veronica asks. Anahi explains to her in Spanish for a few minutes. Then she goes over to Carlos. He speaks mostly in English. Anahi explains to him in English and incorporates the math concepts taught in Spanish. “So, a **‘pulgada’** is too small to measure. A **‘yarda’** is larger, so...” she explains. A few second later, the timer goes off. **“Si ya terminaron, regresen a su lugar,”** Mrs. Galvan says. Students who are finished can read or use the computers. If they are not finished, they are allowed to finish during this time. **(Fieldnotes, 02-28-2018)**

Anahi is a student whose primary language is English. I often observed her trying to practice her Spanish skills even though she struggled pronouncing some words. She was always willing to help her classmates. In this case, I observed Anahi helping two of her classmates:

Veronica and Carlos. Veronica was a recent immigrant and transfronteriza from a nearby city across the border who was rapidly acquiring the English language. Carlos had been in a DL for several years, yet the language he preferred to speak was English. Anahi helped her classmates by automatically using the language she knew they would prefer or were fluent in. With Veronica, she used Spanish. With Carlos, she used English, while maintaining the mathematical terminology in the language they were taught on the day this interaction took place. She used intra-sentential code-switching to maintain the terms they had just learned in class in the language they were taught that day, while using the language of her classmates' preference in the rest of the sentences. In this diasporic linguistic landscape (Wagner, 2017), Anahi was able to access her linguistic repertoire to translanguage in a creative and powerful way for meaning-making (Garcia & Wei, 2014).

As discussed, students often accessed their entire linguistic repertoire to communicate with their peers. The complexity of their assemblages, as speakers of two “languages,” enabled the use of specific traits with certain people while disabling others (Wagner, 2017). The way students accommodated to their peers' linguistic preference was a trait they were able to practice in their DL classroom, as both languages were valued and accepted.

5.10 Ethnic Identities

Students were asked to draw identity maps in which they illustrated their ethnic, cultural, and linguistic identities. When conversing about their diagrams, students engaged in dynamic discussions about their beliefs about their language and their “identities.” Many students in this study described themselves as Mexican American. They felt they could directly relate to being both, Mexican and American. Some students viewed “Mexican” and “American” as static binaries with clear characteristics.

5.10.1 Being American

Through these conversations, students built on each other's opinions to construct their own beliefs about "language" and "ethnic identity," which seemed to be more contradicting and complex than they envisioned.

Researcher: ¿Y si alguien les dice "Soy americano" qué es eso? ¿Qué significa?

José: Están en la américa, y se habla mucho- mucho americano. Americano es la- Inglés.

Gastón: Ser americano es nacer aquí, en parte no saber español, pero sólo inglés o sino, estar viviendo aquí.

José: Provenir, eh, provenir de- de Estados Unidos, eh---saber inglés y haber vivido aquí por un tiempo. **(Group 1 Interview 2)**

Jazmín: Que nació en El Paso y de-- Bueno, no debe pero a- a veces sabe que se, tiene que hablar inglés.

Andrea: Sí. **(Group 3 Interview 2)**

María: Pues vienes de los Estados Unidos. Puedes venir de- ¿Del paso?

Ale: Sí, naciste- naciste en algún Estado de- de Estados Unidos, pero a veces visitas México. **(Group 4 Interview 2)**

Paola: You speak English. **(Group 5 Interview 2)**

Eduardo: You were born here. [crosstalk]. You were-

Rodrigo: That you were born here-

Damián: El Paso

Rodrigo: The States [crosstalk].

Eduardo: No, in USA. [laugh].

Rodrigo: El Paso. **(Group 6 Interview 2)**

Maribel: A mí se me hace que- que tu país de donde viniste es América y pues, que ahí perteneces. **(Group 8 Interview 2)**

Some of these students directly related “ethnic identity” with place of birth and language. They mentioned being American entailed being born in the United States and speaking English. For some, speaking English was a determining factor when it came to being American. As Jazmin mentioned through her conflicted opinion, “Tiene que hablar ingles.” At times, students perceived the category American as a static identity characterized by being born in the U.S. and speaking English. Many students felt a strong bond to being American due to *place* for being born and they now live in the U.S. In their identity maps, several students drew the American flag, despite the fact that they mentioned they connected with both, the U.S. and Mexico. Jazmin and Maribel’s identity maps are shown below as examples.



Figure 16. Identity Map – Jazmin

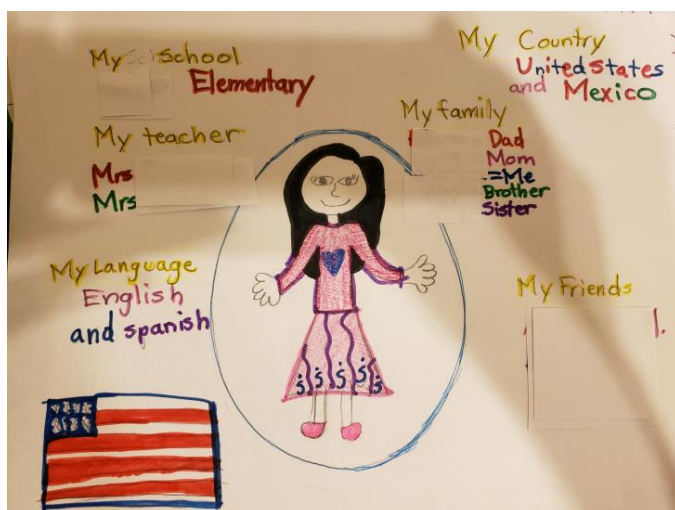


Figure 17. Identity Map - Maribel

Maribel expressed in the focus group conversation that ethnic identity meant more than where you were born. It meant “que ahí perteneces” - that you belong in that place where you were born. Being American grants you a sense of belonging to America, “tu país,” your country. In her identity map, shown above, she drew the American flag even though on the top right-hand corner she had written “United States and Mexico” to the “my country” label. Her *place* of birth and where she feels she belongs “perteneces” in the United States.

During the conversation, conflicting views surfaced relating to ethnicity and descent

and/or place. Students connected ethnicity to a variety of factors. Jazmin, for instance, problematized the static view of the connection between ethnicity language. While she mentioned being Mexican meant “que nacio en Mexico y sabe español,” being American meant being born in the U.S. and “bueno, no debe pero a- a veces sabe que se, tiene que hablar ingles.” She seemed to have conflicting and contradicting beliefs about ethnicity. She first formed a clear relation between place of birth, linguistic ability, and ethnicity. Then she said perhaps, sometimes, you need to speak English to be American. They don’t have to – “no debe” but sometimes he/she knows “sabe que” he/she must speak English – “tiene que hablar ingles.” For Jose, being American entailed “saber ingles y haber vivido aqui por un tiempo.” In order to be American, you must speak English and you must have lived in America for some time. He tied ethnicity to language and to *place*. To be American, you must live in America for some time – “un tiempo.” For others, like Ale, it means being born in America and also visiting Mexico – “a veces visitas Mexico.” In her view, even if you visit Mexico, you are still American.

5.10.2 Being Mexican

In a very similar way as students described what it means to be American, students described the “Mexican identity”. In their view, being Mexican entailed being born in Mexico and knowing the Spanish language. Some students believed that if you are Mexican, you were “born in Mexico” and “you speak Spanish, mostly”. Omar and Zoey expressed that being from Mexico means “you learn a lot of.....Spanish,” because “they talk a lot of Spanish.” For Gastón, it meant “que nació y que vivió parte de su vida en México.” He connected “being Mexican” to *place* of birth and *place* of residence. The following conversations show how, through focus groups, students constructed their opinions about what “being Mexican” meant.

Researcher: ¿Qué tal si alguien les dice "Soy mexicano"? ¿Qué significa ser mexicano?

Jazmín: Que nació en México y saben-- y sabe español.

Andrea: Eh, que pues, nace en México como Jazmín dijo, pero como dijo Anahí no nomas porque nacen en México, tiene que aprender español.

Anahí: Ah, pues, estoy diciendo que Andrea dijo porque no es que nacistes [sic] ahí porque-- porque como yo, yo no estaba nacido en México, pero aprender español primero, no inglés o country, como se dice. **(Group 3 Interview 2)**

Ale: ¿Que vienes de Juárez?

María: O de Chihuahua.

Denise: Uhm, ¿vienes de México? **(Group 4 Interview 2)**

Rodrigo: That you-

Eduardo: Where you're from-

Rodrigo: -family is-

Eduardo: Where your family or where you were born there-

Researcher: Where?

Damian: You were born in Mexican-

Eduardo: México.

Researcher: Okay.

Damian: Mexico, Mexican, [laugh].

Rodrigo: That you're Mexican – **(Group 6 Interview 2)**

Verónica: Que te gusta la cultura de México, como mariachis y todo eso. **(Group 8 Interview 2)**

Anahi presented a different perspective than most of her classmates. She shared that being born in Mexico does not necessarily mean you speak Spanish. She used herself as an example and explained that, even though she was not born in Mexico, Spanish is her first language. Her beliefs are contradictory to most of her classmates who firmly stated being Mexican meant speaking Spanish. Veronica also presented a different belief about “ethnic identity” and mentioned that being Mexican meant you like the Mexican culture. She did not mention Mexico as the designated birthplace of Mexicans nor Spanish as their assigned language. To her, being Mexican simply entails liking the Mexican culture. Most students did not tie being Mexican to *descent* except for Eduardo and Rodrigo who co-constructed their opinion through their conversation. Eduardo mentioned being Mexican is “Where you’re from.” To what Rodrigo added, “-family is-.” Eduardo then said, “Where your family or where you were born.” In their view, you do not need to be born in Mexico to be Mexican. You can be Mexican by *descent*.

For most students at Ramos, ethnic identity is trimmed down to two main characteristics, language and place of birth. Two students included food as one of the main elements of ethnic

identity. Two other students added *descent* as relevant in ethnic identity. The ways in which students defined being Mexican and being American provide insight, contradictory at times, into the next section in which many students described themselves as Mexican Americans.

5.10.3 Being Mexican American

When I asked students to draw and explain their identity maps, as well as during the second focus group session, I asked about their “identity” in different ways. They were asked about their language, their country, and their ethnicity (See Appendix). Most students identified themselves as Mexican American. Language was a significant marker of “identity” for students. As a means of categorization, demonstrating ability to communicate in one language or not, assigned students to a specific type of person (Wagner, 2017), in this case, students identified as both Mexican and American because of their bilingualism.

The excerpts below show how these conversations came about and the ways in which students described their “identities” through language and ethnicity.

Researcher: Okay, hay mucha gente que se identifica de diferente forma ¿verdad? Hay gente que dice que son hispanos, otros latinos, otros americanos, otros Mexicanos, otros México-Americanos, y de muchas otras formas. Ustedes ¿cómo se identifican?

Ale: Este, México-Americano

Researcher: ¿Por qué?

Ale: Sí, porque la mayoría, este mis abuelos viven en Chihuahua, en México lo que sea, este y visito mucho- mucho México y- y pues yo vivo aquí en El Paso que es en América

y también- también en México. Tengo una casa allá, por eso me describo México- México- Americano.

Researcher: Okay, y ustedes ¿cómo se identifican?

Denise: México-Americana.

Researcher: ¿Por qué?

Denise: Porque yo tengo mi casa, mi familia que vive en Juárez y Juárez está casi cerca de México, ¿qué no?

Researcher: Juárez está en México, ujum.

Denise: Y, ahm-- -por eso casi toda mi familia habla puro español y es lo que más sabemos. Es el idioma que más nos gusta.

Researcher: Okay ¿Tú María? ¿cómo te identificas?

Maria: Americana y mexicana porque toda mi familia vive allá, toda, también mi papá. Yo me quedo aquí con mi mamá a vivir. **(Group 4 Interview 2)**

Most participants from Ramos Elementary described themselves as Mexican Americans. They attributed this form of identification to several factors. Some mentioned their connection to Mexico and America as a birthplace of either themselves or close family. Gaston, for instance, mentioned, “I am Mexican-American because my family comes from Mexico, and I was born here.” He expressed a connection to Mexico through *descent* even though they had previously defined being Mexican as being born there. Now, students identified as Mexican because family lives/d there or because their parents/family are Mexican. Several of these students were

transfronterixs, as they had family living in Mexico and traveled there often. For this reason, they categorized themselves as Mexican. Other students mentioned they considered themselves Mexican Americans because of their knowledge of English and Spanish. Julio, as an example, mentioned "... because I talk Spanish, but I also talk English." In their identity maps, some students, such as Gaston and Christian, drew both, the American flag and the Mexican flag as important factors of their assemblages.

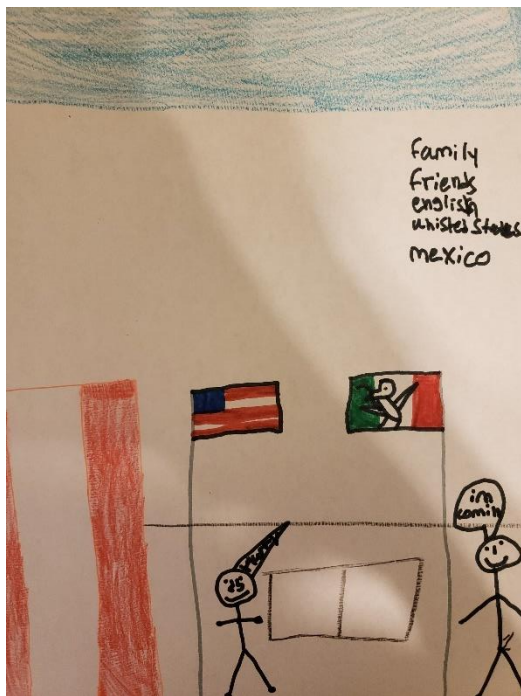


Figure 18. Identity Map - Christian



Figure 19. Identity Map - Gaston

While students connected speaking Spanish to their “Mexicanness” and speaking English to their “Americanness,” some, such as the examples above, only included one of their languages in their maps even though they expressed a connection with both. Despite their views of “identity” as static, students had a conflicted sense of belonging. At times, they may be more “Mexican” and, at others, more “American.” Students were becoming diasporic through every interaction, through their embodimentality, and through the multiplicity of entities that characterized them. Their linguistic repertoire, their *descent*, and their *place* all contributed to their assemblages as multiplicities of complex, and often contradictory, dimensions.

The language ideologies and practices at Ramos Elementary and at Valley School varied significantly in certain areas, while in others, they were similar. The way macro-level policies were appropriated, through negotiation and/or resistance, by administrators and teachers was relevant to how students developed their own ideologies and identities through discourses and practices. The next chapter focuses on a comparison of language ideologies and the ways students’ identities were constructed in both schools.

Chapter 6: Conclusions

Emergent bilinguals form a growing population of students in the U.S. (Pew Hispanic Center, 2018), and it is critical to find effective ways for them to succeed. This can be achieved by providing formal learning spaces where they feel a strong sense of belonging. Rather than assimilating them into the mainstream language and culture, it is important to provide opportunities for them to develop bilingualism, biculturalism, and biliteracy (Howard et al., 2018) where they can feel valued and develop a sense of belonging. This is of significant relevance, particularly in a border city characterized by fluidity of individuals, languages, and cultures, as well as asymmetrical relationships (de la Piedra, Esquinca, & Araujo, 2018). Bilingual programs vary in their approach to teaching emergent bilinguals. While the TBE program, subtractive in nature, focuses on the transition from the bilingual context to an all-English context, the DL model, known as additive, emphasizes the acquisition of content knowledge through two languages (Thomas & Collier, 2012).

In this dissertation study, many commonalities were found across the TBE and the DL contexts that formed part of this study. Major differences, however, distinguished the ways in which emergent bilinguals were viewed and were taught in these two schools. In order to gain insight into students' language ideologies and the ways in which their identities are constructed in bilingual programs, this study focused on the following question: How are students' language ideologies and identities constructed in a transitional bilingual program and a dual language program?

6.1 Language Ideologies

Beliefs about language held at the macro-level take different forms at the micro-level (Johnson, 2013). These ideologies have a major impact on the ways in which emergent bilinguals are taught. Nationalist ideologies that emphasize one nation/one language beliefs (Blommaert and Verschueren, 1998) often lead to the implementation of subtractive programs that are governed by monoglossic ideologies and practices (Garcia, 2009). On the other hand, macro-level pluralist ideologies that accept and value more than one language of “truth” and value (Woolard & Kroskrity, 1998) and way of being can lead to more additive and/or dynamic programs characterized by heteroglossic ideologies and practices (Garcia & Wei, 2014). In this dissertation, I documented how language ideologies look in the everyday contexts of two bilingual education programs.

6.1.2 Macro-Level: The State of Texas

In the state of Texas, the language policy for ELs focuses on the acquisition of the English language. While it provides choices for districts as to different bilingual programs that can be implemented, such as DL (one-way and two-way) and TBE (early exit and late exit), ultimately, the goal is to acquire English. Interestingly, in both, the DL and the TBE models, the state-level expectation is for students to acquire their second language by using their first language as a resource (Ruiz, 1984). In both, students are to be taught through the inclusion of their primary language and culture into the curriculum. In TBE, the end goal is for students to shift to an all-English setting. In DL students are to acquire content language through both languages and remain the program for its entirety of 5 – 7 years. While the policy seems to place value in primary and secondary languages, schools are only held accountable for the acquisition of the English component at academic levels. State-level assessments can be taken in Spanish

for the three years students are tested in elementary, yet there is a push for students to test in English, regardless of the bilingual program in place. It is often considered that the English-only nature of standardized tests is a major reason why English learners fail to meet passing requirements (Valenzuela, 2000). The way these macro-level language policies and expectations are appropriated through negotiation and/or resistance at the micro-level varies drastically (Ricento & Hornberger, 1996). In the two schools in this study, the bilingual education model implemented in each campus and the complex language ideologies held by administrators and teachers were relevant to the ways in which emergent bilinguals were viewed and the practices they engaged in, as a result.

6.1.3 Micro-Level: The Schools

Administrators - In their interviews, administrators in both campuses expressed pluralistic language ideologies, to some extent. They mentioned they believe in the power of bilingualism and its benefit for students. The administrators at Ramos emphasized the unique opportunity to learn and expand on two languages that the DL model provides. Mrs. Smith mentioned that, while she is not bilingual herself, she would like to provide students in this school the opportunity to learn English and Spanish. Mrs. Jimenez, who grew up labeled an EL, affirmed her desire for students to acquire and develop bilingualism.

The administrators at Valley mentioned that they support bilingualism, but the purpose of the TBE program is to help students acquire “the language,” referring to English. Spanish is to be used only for support when students do not know English well. They affirmed on several occasions that in order for students to remain bilingual, their parents need to enforce the primary language, Spanish, at home. Both, Mrs. Williams and Mrs. Gonzalez, mentioned that they acquired bilingualism because their parents made the effort to teach them Spanish. They

described a diglossic setting in which the two languages, or varieties, were acquired through different domains (Ferguson, 1959).

While the administrators in both campuses expressed pluralistic beliefs about language, the TBE administrators emphasized that, in practice, the language of value is English, reflecting monoglossic ideologies. The administrators at Ramos did reflect pluralistic ideologies in that they mentioned they valued bilingualism. The focus seemed to remain in the acquisition of two languages, however, and the biculturalism and biliteracy aspect that characterizes DL programs (Howard et al., 2018), was not given as much emphasis by them. In both schools, administrators expressed marked dichotomies. In both, they separated English and Spanish as two static “languages.” They did not perceive them as a body of knowledge in a single repertoire (Garcia, 2009) bilingual students access fluidly. The TBE administrators expressed the dichotomy of “here” and “there” in which only English should be acquired “here” at school, and Spanish should be acquired and used “there” at home. At Ramos, I also observed a form of dichotomy. Mrs. Jimenez was firm in her belief of language separation. She clearly engaged in a discourse of translanguaging as a “non-professional” variety that should be used only in non-academic instances, such as with friends or classmates. She marked the dichotomy of “English” and “Spanish” as completely separate systems that should not be mixed. The notion that students are two monolinguals (Cummins, 1979) and can use only one language at a time was prevalent in both learning settings.

Teachers - Teachers in both campuses also expressed various ideologies and discourses of appreciation for language, in general. At Valley, for instance, mentioned they would like their students to retain their native language, but they acknowledged the focus of the TBE program, as implemented in their campus, was the acquisition of the mainstream language. Discourses of

transition, of English as the necessary language, of Spanish as the language learned at home were some of the discourses and ideologies prevalent in this campus. Mrs. Swanson said that losing the primary language is often a consequence of the TBE program, as she has seen it, and she would not like her son to be in this type of learning context. Instead, she would like him to be in a DL program, where he can be a “true” bilingual. She reiterated that in her class, Spanish is not used very often, as it is reserved for those students who are recent immigrants and will take the state test in Spanish. My observations corroborated this assertion. Mrs. Garcia mentioned she wants her students to retain their primary language and acquire English, yet she said repeatedly that bilingual students have a “barrier” they must overcome. Her language as a problem ideology (Ruiz, 1984) led her to believe that emergent bilinguals’ limited experiences and linguistic knowledge in the mainstream language placed them at a disadvantage compared to their peers who were native English speakers. Despite these teachers’ personal pluralistic ideologies about language, in the context of the bilingual program in this school, they displayed subtractive and monoglossic ideologies that led to deficit views of emergent bilinguals. They were considered deficient in the mainstream language in this formal learning setting.

Various ideologies and discourses were also perceived at Ramos Elementary. For instance, bilingualism for economic reasons, for academic achievement, and as a form of identity empowerment, to name a few, circulated in the school. DL teachers believed in the value of bilingualism and the opportunity that the DL program, as implemented in their classroom, could provide for the acquisition of bilingualism, biculturalism, and biliteracy. They expressed it in their interviews and I also often heard them saying it during class. Embracing and empowering Spanish was something they believed in, as they were aware of the hegemonic power of English (Woolard, 1985) outside and inside the school and the English leakage (Potowski, 2007) that

often took place even in DL programs. While they displayed pluralistic ideologies about language, they were firm supporters of the language separation policy that characterized DL programs. They believed that students should try to maintain their languages separate.

Translanguaging (Garcia, 2009) was frowned upon. Teachers said that, if students could not express their thoughts in a single language, they suggested they switch over completely to the other language, but never engage in intrasentential codeswitching. These complex ideologies about translanguaging entailed the acceptance of mixing languages, but never within the same sentence. They expressed “Spanglish” was a lack of respect to both English and Spanish that indexed limited linguistic abilities in both languages. Ideologies of language as pure in these contexts seemed to “authorize uniformity by suppressing the inherent variability of language” (Dyson, 2009, p. 13).

Students: The way students in both campuses appropriated, by negotiating and resisting, the policies, ideologies, and expectations that circulated in each school varied significantly. At Valley School, students expressed a dichotomy of “here” and “there” with their language use. In a similar fashion as their teachers, students reflected the ideologies and expectations of the school’s TBE program and their teachers. They discursively described English and Spanish as binaries that they kept separate. For the most part, students viewed English as the academic language to be used at school. They affirmed that they used only English in the classroom. They mentioned using Spanish only with those classmates who did not speak English well because they were newcomers. They also revealed they used some Spanish outside of the classroom with friends who speak Spanish. In effect, I rarely heard them using Spanish in the class. This mostly happened when Mrs. Swanson called a small group of students to her table in the back of the room to work with those students who would be taking their state assessment in Spanish. In

those instances, Mrs. Swanson and students engaged in translanguaging practices. When I asked students if Spanish was important for them, many of them responded it is important to communicate with newcomers and with family. They marked English as the academic language and Spanish as the language to be used with family and classmates who don't know English. Also, two students mentioned that those who know English, such as those in their classroom who were not labeled "bilingual," were smarter than them. They viewed their linguistic abilities as deficient in the power language of the school, English. One student repeatedly affirmed his English fluency and how he should exit the program because of his advanced English knowledge. He was apparently aware of the transition process in the TBE program at his school and the value granted to those who know the mainstream language at high academic levels. The discourse of transition (Palmer, 2011) was pervasive in this context to the point where students had appropriated it and internalized it.

At Ramos, students expressed they valued English and Spanish. I often heard them speaking both languages inside and outside the classroom. While they were expected to keep the languages separate, students often resisted this aspect of the language policy in their classroom and engaged in translanguaging practices. They affirmed several times that they believed mixing languages helps them to "improvisar" and to express their thoughts more accurately. Their ideologies of language were heteroglossic, as they believed using more than one language allowed them to derive meaning and communicate effectively. Students also valued language as a mediating tool for networking and accommodating to the linguistic needs of others. Their knowledge of two or more languages, in their words, allows them to get to know and help more people.

Many students, however, seemed to place more value in the English language, as they believed it was the global language that most people knew, even in their classroom. Ironically, everyone in the classroom was bilingual, despite students' discourse of "everyone knows English here, not everyone knows Spanish." Some students did try to use English more than Spanish for classroom discussions and written work. They often said their Spanish was limited and tried to persuade their teachers to allow them to complete their work in English. The hegemony of English (Woolard, 1985) was evident even in this DL context where teachers placed emphasis on the valorization of Spanish over English. For Veronica, taking the state test in English indexed "smartness" and a sense of belonging in the classroom and the school. She also mentioned she disliked the times when students were separated by groups based on the language they would be taking the state assessment. She explicitly said students are not languages and should not be separated. In a sense, this reflects the belief that "languages" are not separate; they are a single repertoire of knowledge. In a similar way, this student believed that students are not to be separated based on their language proficiency, but rather united as a whole. Additionally, language is only one aspect of their assemblage. There are many other entities that characterize who they are. Veronica did not want to be recognized solely through her language entity.

Administrators and teachers' contradictory ideologies about language were appropriated by students in various ways. While teachers expressed pluralist ideologies about language, their practices and expectations revealed monoglossic views. On the other hand, students at Ramos expressed heteroglossic views about language and their practices showed it, as they resisted language separation policies. They expressed the need to translanguage to communicate and derive meaning. A student also resisted language separation during test preparation, as described.

6.2 Assemblages as Multiplicities

My theoretical framework of assemblages clearly departs from traditional views of identity as a static notion in which specific traits always index a particular type of person. It also departs from notions of hybridity, as this concept is based on a dichotomy of two static extremes. A category in assemblage, on the other hand, is composed of many complex and fluid entities in constant state of becoming through every interaction and practice (Wagner, 2017). This theory of “identity” closely resembles the theory of “language,” known as translanguaging, as described by Garcia (2009). In this view, “languages” exist within a single repertoire of language practices and are used fluidly by bilinguals to express themselves in every day interaction. The view of categories in assemblage asserts that language is one of the many entities of “diasporicness.” A diasporic sense of belonging is composed of many interacting parts, including those often described as “English,” “Spanish,” “American,” “Mexican,” for instance. Students in this study, in both bilingual programs, are diasporic as shown through the findings. Their materialities (ranging from physical appearance to clothing) and expressivities (language choice, bodily gestures, etc.) make them who they are through every performance. In every instance, they are in a state of becoming. At a given moment, they become “monolingual” by not allowing certain entities to become salient (their “bilingualism”) while expressing only their “English” entity. In this way, and many other different ways shown in this dissertation, students in both contexts negotiated their belonging based on the expectations of each school and classroom.

6.2.1 “Language”

Discursive practices index particular categorizations (Foucault, 1972). “Language,” as socially constructed, is a marker of “identity” (Blommaert & Verschueren, 1998). In this study, the way students chose to perform their expressivities at different moments was done to

intentionally portraying a particular “identity.” It was relevant for them to display specific aspects of their assemblages in order to be categorized as a particular type of person in a specific time and context.

In the DL classroom at Ramos Elementary, students, teachers, and administrators expressed pluralistic ideologies about language. English and Spanish were valued, although at times separately, and built upon through the acquisition of content knowledge. Teachers aimed at developing bilingualism, biculturalism, and biliteracy in students. Students were aware of this and expressed their enthusiasm for being bilingual. They valued their assemblage as bilinguals for its many benefits for their current and future lives. Students mentioned being bilingual helped them make friends, communicate with those who only know one language, and it would open opportunities for employment in the future. Language as economic capital (Bourdieu, 1986) was one of the most recognized benefits of being bilingual for students and teachers. In this DL classroom, students felt “proud,” “happy,” “excited,” and “powerful” for being bilingual. This environment influenced students’ emotional experience (Vygotsky, 1994) in significant ways. Students often mentioned their teachers would tell them about the benefits of being bilingual. In effect, I often observed teachers empowering students’ bilingual assemblages.

Despite the discursive appreciation for being bilingual, students would perform the “English-speaker” identity for several reasons. As Veronica revealed, she made sure to speak English and be recognized as English-fluent when her teachers were around in efforts to be considered smart enough to take the state assessment in English. Other students also intended to pass as English-fluent speakers or Spanish-fluent speakers to fit in with their friends. They explicitly mentioned they used only English or only Spanish when hanging out with particular classmates. Students also negotiated their belonging by meeting the expectations of the

classroom language separation policies by using English during English time and Spanish during Spanish time. Students were aware of the expectations and tried to perform accordingly, yet it was difficult –and they were aware of this difficulty--for them not to access their entire semiotic repertoire to make meaning and to communicate, as some of them mentioned.

In the TBE classroom, students were expected to display a “monolingual identity” almost all the time. As teachers and administrators mentioned, the purpose of the TBE program, as implemented in this campus, was the acquisition of “the language.” The hegemonic power of English was prevalent in this school where it was considered the only language of truth and value (Mertz, 1996). Spanish, the inferior and not legitimate language of the school (McKinney, 2017), was only used for support during small group instruction, for the most part. Students were aware of the expectations, and they performed only the accepted entities of their assemblage.

Despite their bilingual assemblages not encouraged in classroom context, during focus groups, students expressed complex emotions towards being bilingual. They mentioned they felt “normal,” “bad,” and “inspired.” Incongruously, it was the same student who said she felt bad and, later, inspired for being bilingual. This shows the emotional experiences of these students, as results of the learning context (Vygotsky, 1994), were sometimes contrasting. A student explained he felt bad for being bilingual because it meant they were not fluent and smart enough to be English-fluent and exited from the program. What is important to highlight is what “being bilingual” meant in this context. In contrast with the DL program, “being bilingual” did not mean being fluent in two languages. Instead, it meant being deficient in the mainstream language. It was a code attached to students who were not “proficient” or “smart” enough to be in a “normal/regular” classroom. It was a socially constructed category, a boundary that students

needed to cross. If they did not cross this boundary, they were perceived as not smart enough, not academically successful. Moreover, this was not even a possibility; all students needed to be exited from the “bilingual” code. Certain linguistic characteristics in their assemblages were invisible in this context where only certain linguistic traits were relevant. They were deprived of opportunities to be heard (Blommaert, 2005) by subtracting their native language from the formal learning context and from their semiotic repertoire. Students were aware of this and valued and performed the valued “English monolingual identity” in efforts to feel a sense of belonging in this TBE context where the language of power was English. They accessed their entire linguistic repertoire in different domains away from the formal learning context, such as with family and with a few of their friends.

Access to students’ entire diasporic linguistic landscape was given through translanguaging practices during occasional small group interventions. In these instances when newcomers who were taking the state assessment in Spanish were separated to work with their teacher, they were allowed to access their entire linguistic repertoire (Garcia, 2009) and translanguage as a natural practice. Translanguaging, at Valley, that took the form of “Spanish for support.” Students and teachers could use Spanish only to support students in their acquisition of English. During their interviews, administrators and teachers engaged in discourses of acceptance towards translanguaging, yet I only observed it being used as an intervention for students acquiring English. At Ramos, translanguaging took a different meaning. Students expressed this practice allowed them to make meaning, communicate with others, make friends, and to “improvisar.” They saw the benefits of this practice and resisted expectations of language separation. Teachers and administrators opposed translanguaging and viewed it as “non-professional” and lack of “respect” for both languages. Interestingly, they

allowed only intersentential codeswitching without recognizing it as translanguaging. Purist ideologies prevented students from accessing the multiple expressivities in their assemblage.

In both contexts, students performed expectations through every practice and interaction to establish a sense of belonging. For different reasons and to achieve different goals, students in both settings felt that the “English” entity of their assemblage would grant them access to certain things that the “Spanish” entity would not. The “Spanish” entity of their assemblage would allow them to communicate with some friends and with family and, as students at Ramos mentioned, it would allow them to make friends and communicate with those who don’t speak English fluently. The constant negotiation of who they were in a given time and space allowed to feel accepted and to meet expectations, and/or often resist them.

6.2.2 “Culture”

The language policy for the state of Texas encourages the inclusion of students’ experiences and cultures in the TBE and the DL bilingual models. When I asked administrators in both campuses if they included students’ experiences and cultures in their schools, they all seemed proud to affirm their schools valued diversity and made it part of their yearly school practices. In both campuses, administrators mentioned cultural inclusion in their schools revolved around celebration of holidays, such as 5 de mayo and 16 de septiembre, celebrations originating from Mexico. At the level of discourse communicated during interviews, multiculturalism took a very simplistic meaning in both campuses, as it only meant including occasional celebrations. In practice, though, culture was integrated in the curriculum in more in-depth ways, as I will develop later. Sociocultural competence, as a way to promote equity and multiculturalism in emergent bilingual students, is a critical aspect of bilingual education (Feinauer & Howard, 2014) that was given priority in these bilingual programs.

Students in both contexts acknowledged that such celebrations did take place in their schools. At Ramos Elementary, students mentioned they liked celebrating traditions from Mexico because it helped them “remember” their “past.” They directly connected to these Mexican traditions as part of their assemblages through *descent*. However, some students seemed to regard the “Mexicanness” of their diasporic belonging as something that is part of their “past.” Other students, tranfronterizx participants, regarded Mexico as part of their current *place*, as they (one student) traveled from Mexico to the U.S. daily to attend school or visited family across the border (three students) frequently. Also, they connected to the “Mexican” aspect of their assemblages because of their language abilities. Most students said they considered themselves “Mexican” because of their Spanish fluency and *descent*, while they also considered themselves “American” for their language and *place*, as they were born and/or now living in the U.S. Andrea, however, problematized the dichotomy of Spanish from Mexico and English from the U.S. and mentioned it is not necessary to know English in the U.S. to be “American.” Students, perhaps unconsciously, acknowledged the complexity and multiplicity in their diasporic belongings. Even though they seemed to see English and the U.S. and Spanish and Mexico as binaries, they still believed they all formed part of their “Mexican-American-ness.” Their diasporic belonging was in state of becoming through every interaction (Wagner, 2017) as they met the expectations of every context and its participants.

“Culture” was integrated into classroom practices for learning through students’ funds of knowledge (Moll, 1994) in different ways in both classrooms. Aspects of their knowledge, values, beliefs, and experiences were integrated into classroom discussions. For instance, in both classrooms, teachers often made connections to students’ experiences when introducing new concepts. As a SIOP strategy, Mrs. Swanson integrated making connections before reading a

new passage. The first strategy of AQRAA, a testing strategy used almost daily, was Analyze. Through this strategy, students analyzed passages and stories and tried to make connections to their own lives before reading them. Mrs. Swanson also frequently asked students questions about their lives such as, “Do you all have dogs? Imagine having a dog as big as this one (referring to the one in the passage)! That doesn’t seem real. So, what type of story is this? Fiction or non-fiction?” trying to help them connect stories and concepts to their lived experiences. In a similar manner, teachers at Ramos made frequent connections to students’ lives. For instance, when trying to relate specifically to a transfronteriza living across the border, Mrs. Galvan stated, “Ustedes han ido a una tortilleria? (Veronica and other students raised their hand). Ellas y yo si porque hemos vivido en Juárez y sabemos lo que es ponerse en línea para comprar tortillas.” She mentioned this as a connection to a mathematics lesson. There were many other instances when, in both classroom, connections were made to students’ lives and lived experiences.

Similarly to students from Ramos, for students at Valley School, being “Mexican” meant speaking Spanish, having family from Mexico, and visiting Mexico. They also connected being “Mexican” to eating authentic Mexican food. Most students mentioned being “Mexican” because they knew how to speak Spanish. To a few students, it also meant a particular way of speaking and utilizing expressions, such as “Ay, mijita,” frequently. It also entailed eating tacos with soft corn tortillas and spicy food. To other students, being “Mexican” meant visiting family across the border. *Descent* was a critical marker of their “Mexicanness,” as many students mentioned their family lives or lived in Mexico. These were all traits that students could identify with through what they considered the “Mexican” side of their “Mexican-American-ness.” They

also identified as “Americans” through *place* for living, attending school (Veronica), and/or being born in the U.S. and speaking English.

Students’ recurrent discourse of speaking English as going hand-in-hand with “being American” echoed nationalist language ideologies reflected in mainstream ways of thinking about nations and national identification (Blommaert & Verschueren, 1998). Perhaps unconsciously, their own beliefs and ideologies revolved around notions of nationhood that stemmed from macro-level ideologies and policies. The state of Texas and its recognition of English language practices as the “standard” and valid form of knowledge (McKinney, 2017) was a powerful ideology often reproduced at the different levels of policy implementation (Ricento & Hornberger, 1996). The way state-level ideologies and expectations were implemented varied across bilingual programs, but practices were, indeed, limited by the state standardized assessment that authorized uniformity through its emphasis on a single variety of language (McKinney, 2017). Macro-level nationalist ideologies permeated through every layer of policy implementation all the way to students, their own beliefs about language, and their assemblages.

6.3 Summary

Most students in both campuses considered themselves “Mexican American” in spite of their school administrators’ and teachers’ limiting interpretation of multiculturalism and inclusion. For students, their sense of belonging in the “Mexican American” category was granted through many entities of their assemblages including language, food, family, place of residence, and place of birth. There were some students who did not identify through this category, since they had lived and were born in Spain (one student from Ramos) who identified as “español,” were born and had family in Cuba (one student from Ramos) who identified as

Cuban American, lived (at the time of the study) and was born in Mexico (one student from Ramos) and identified as Mexican, or had never lived in Mexico and were in a bilingual program only because there was not enough space in all-English classrooms (three students at Valley) and identified as American. While the students who categorized themselves as “Mexican-American” often displayed all their traits as static, some students were quick to point out the complexity of these traits and how they look in real life.

Students’ diasporic belongings were rarely encouraged in their entirety in either campus. They both were influenced by “monolingual” ideologies, in different ways, that only allowed students to display particular expressivities at given times. The main goal of the DL program at Ramos centered on pluralist ideologies of inclusion and linguistic, cultural, and literacy growth. In this campus, they did allow and promote bilingual identities and expressivities as powerful aspects of students’ lives. However, language separation policies and assessment expectations allowed students to display only certain expressivities at different times. At Valley, only the English “monolingual identity” was encouraged most of the time, except during times when students were separated to meet state assessment expectations. In both cases, the state assessments had a strong effect on the ways the models were implemented and interrupted. At Valley, Mrs. Swanson used Spanish, otherwise rarely seen, to help students with the content of the Spanish assessment. At Ramos, teachers broke away from the 50-50 language distribution aspect of the model, in order to make sure students were prepared to take their tests in the expected language, often leading to more English or more Spanish exposure for many students.

6.4 Implications for Education

In this study, I have explored how the ideologies at the macro-level and the ways in which they are appropriated at the micro-level have a significant impact on the construction of

ideologies and assemblages of emergent bilinguals in two bilingual programs: DL and TBE. While it is important to analyze common practices and expectations in diverse bilingual programs, it is of most critical importance to learn about the different ways in which such expectations are appropriated through negotiation and/or resistance in the classroom. Despite pluralistic ideologies expressed at the discursive level, in practice, the hegemony of English is pervasive in DL and TBE contexts. As seen through this study, it is difficult to resist a hegemony that stems at the state-level through pressure and accountability measures in English, even in bilingual programs that are known as additive or dynamic. Teachers' agency, however, can work to promote spaces where students can develop and express their diasporicness in all its forms. This would entail a shift from monoglossic to heteroglossic ideologies that grant legitimacy to students' entire semiotic repertoire and assemblages. As some of these students cross the border to visit relatives or to attend school, educational systems should be characterized by border-crossing ideologies that allow fluidity in all its forms. Students' assemblages with all their materialities and expressivities should be purposefully integrated into inclusive learning environments where linguistic borders are not predominant features of bilingual programs.

6.5 Implications for Research

Accountability measures center on numerical data and who is or is not producing the desired test scores. The pressure to succeed in state-standardized tests is pervasive, and the amount of research on this information shows it (Menken, 2008; Valenzuela, 2000). It is of critical relevance, however, to see the effects of nationalist ideologies on students, which should ultimately be the most important piece of the educational system. There is significant research and comparisons across bilingual programs on student scores and administrators' and teachers' ideologies and identities, yet there is not enough on students' own ideologies and assemblages,

expressed through their voices, as constructed in these formal learning contexts. How are they viewing themselves as a result of monoglossic ideologies? To what extent do expectations of language proficiency affect their confidence in themselves as learners and as members of their own community and society at large? The body of research on the characteristics of bilingual programs is extensive, but there is not enough literature on how these bilingual models and their ideologies are appropriated at the micro-level. Also, there is not enough research on how students adhere to and resist policies and expectations to meet their immediate needs and develop a sense of belonging, particularly in border cities where linguistic and cultural diversity prevails. The study presented here adds to the scarce body of knowledge on these important topics.

6.6 Conclusion

State-level language policies on bilingual education seem to foster bilingualism, biculturalism, and biliteracy, as they provide a range of programs where students can enhance their linguistic and academic abilities. However, accountability measures in the mainstream language trigger many districts to opt out of additive and dynamic learning contexts and, instead, implement programs that focus only on the language of the state assessment, English. Even within additive programs, practices often take the shape of subtractive programs, as there is a powerful force that disables them from focusing on more dynamic approaches. Teachers' and administrator's own ideologies about language purity are complex and prevent inclusive learning environments. Students' language ideologies and identities often take the form of their teachers' expectations, while at other times, they resist them. However, counter hegemonic discourses and ideologies that promoted bilingualism and students as "powerful" and "proud," as they expressed, allowed bilingual spaces, specifically the DL classroom, to promote inclusive learning environments. The empowerment of Spanish, the discourses of the benefits of being bilingual,

and acknowledging and including students' experiences and cultures in the curriculum, to name a few, were all powerful messages intended to promote bilingualism, biculturalism, and biliteracy in students.

This study provided relevant insight into the experiences of emergent bilinguals, through their own voices, that may resemble those of many other Latinx students in DL and TBE programs. Through my analysis of classroom interactions, administrator and teacher interviews, focus groups, and identity maps, I sought to reveal powerful messages of language and identity displayed at different levels and dimensions of the school systems in this study. The ways in which students made sense of their learning environment and negotiated a sense of belonging despite complex expectations was a major focus of my study. My findings are a contribution to the body of research on emergent bilinguals' experiences in bilingual programs.

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Appendix

Identity Maps - Protocol

Today I will be asking you to draw. How many of you like to draw? This isn't for a grade or anything like that. It is a fun activity. I have colors, markers, and paper for you. Here is what you have to do. There is a list of words on the sheet of paper you all received.

Me

Family

Friends

School

Teacher

English

Spanish

Catalan

Mexico

United States

Puerto Rico

You will need to make a drawing of each of these on your white paper. You can draw each one once, twice, or as many times as you want. You can draw each one close to you, far from you, however you decide. You can also include other things on your paper if you want. You can talk to each other as you make your drawings. It is not group work, though. Each of you will turn in your own drawing. Any questions?

Focus Group Protocol

(3 to 4 students)

Day 1 – Identity Maps (Discussion)

Hello,

We will be talking for a little while about the drawings you came up with.

When I call your name, tell me about your drawing and what everything you drew on that paper means to you. We can all ask questions or make comments about each other's drawings. Would anyone like to go first?

Possible questions if students don't address these topics.

1. What does each drawing mean to you?
2. Is "family" in your drawing? Explain
3. Are "friends" in your drawing? Explain
4. Is "English" in your drawing? Explain
5. Is "Spanish" in your drawing? Explain
6. Is "Me" in your drawing? Explain
7. Is "Mexico" in your drawing? Explain
8. Is "United States" in your drawing? Explain
9. Is "school" in your drawing? Explain
10. Is "teacher" in your drawing? Explain

Day 2 – Open-ended discussion about students' ideologies and identities

How is everyone doing today?

I'd like for us to have a conversation today as a group. I will be asking questions. I would like for everyone to participate. Let's remember that we need to be respectful and listen to each other as we answer. Got it? I will call out names, but you can also feel free to raise your hand or comment after someone is finished speaking.

General Questions

1. How long have you been in this school?
2. How is this school different from others you've attended?
3. What is your first language?

Language Ideologies

1. What language do you all use when you are in class?
2. Why do you think you use that language?
3. How do you feel about using that language?

4. Do you use any other language during class?
5. What language does your teacher use?
6. Are you comfortable speaking in that language? Why?
7. Does this classroom make you feel comfortable using English? Spanish?
8. What about when you are in class talking to a classmate, what language do you use? Why?
9. What about when you are with your teacher (one-on-one), what language do you use? What language does she use? Why do you think that is?
10. During lunch, with your friends, what language do you all use? Why?
11. During PE, what language do you use? Why?
12. When you are at home, what language do you use? Why? With who?
13. How do you feel about using that language?
14. Do you think it is important to know English in school? In your life outside of school? How about in your future?
15. Do you think it is important to know Spanish in school? In your life outside of school? How about in your future?

Identities

1. Some people characterize themselves as Hispanic, Latino, Mexican, American, or in other ways. How do you all characterize yourselves? Why?
2. What makes a “Mexican?”
3. What makes an “American?”
4. What makes a “Hispanic?”
5. What makes a “Latino?”
6. What do you think about Mexican traditions, such as 16 de septiembre celebrations, 5 de mayo, posadas, dia de Muertos? Do you have experience with any of these? How do you like these festivities?
7. What do you think about Mexican food, such as tamales, menudo, flautas, tacos, etc.? Have you eaten these foods? What do you think of them?
8. What do you think about American traditions and celebrations, such as 4th of July, President’s day, Christopher Columbus Day, Thanksgiving, etc. Do you have any experience with any of these? How do you like these festivities?
9. What do you think about American food, such as burgers, fries, hotdogs, etc.? Have you eaten these foods? What do you think of them?
10. So, some/all of you have mentioned you speak two languages, are you bilingual?
11. What is “bilingual?”
12. How do you like being bilingual?
13. Are you always bilingual? Do you always use your two languages?
14. Where are you bilingual?
15. How does that make you feel?
16. Are you comfortable using English and Spanish in class? Why?

17. Are you comfortable using English and Spanish with friends? Why?
18. Are you comfortable using English and Spanish at home? Why?
19. Have you heard of a “bilingual” program? Some students are in “bilingual.” Do you know what that means?
20. What do you think of being in “bilingual?”

Principal Questions

Thank you very much for taking the time to talk with me today. As you know, I am a doctoral student from UTEP. I am interested in learning about language use, ideologies, and identities in schools. This interview will be used for my dissertation study and will be completely confidential. I will not identify you by your name. I will always use a pseudonym. I will now ask you some questions.

1. How long have you been a principal in this school?
2. How long have you worked with the district?
3. How long have you worked at a school with the DL/TBE program?
4. What is the purpose/goal of this program?
5. What do you think of this program? What do you think about bilingualism?
6. What do you think the district thinks about bilingualism and bilingual education?
7. Would you change any aspect of this TBE/DL program?
8. Do you think it is a good program for English Learners? How?
9. What language do you use with students? Why?
10. What language do you use with teachers? Why?
11. What language do you hear in classrooms? Why is that?
12. What language/s do you expect students to use orally (in whole group? with classmates?) and in written form? Why? How do you feel about that? How do you think they feel about using that language/s?
13. What language do you think your students use at home?
14. What do you think about that?
15. What kind of expectations do you have for DL teachers?
16. What kinds of expectations do you have for English Learners?
17. How do you communicate your expectations to DL teachers?
18. How do you communicate your expectations to students in DL?
19. How confident do you feel in teaching ELs in your campus?
20. If you were to give any advice to other school principals working with ELs, what would you suggest to them?
21. Is Spanish used in your campus? If so, when and by whom?
22. What are your views on mixing languages/code switching?
23. Are bilingual stories read in your school?
24. Do you incorporate elements from the Mexican, or other, culture in this school? When and what?
25. Do you feel that diversity is celebrated in this campus? District? How?
26. What language do you expect teachers to use with their students?

Teacher Interviews

Thank you very much for taking the time to talk with me today. As you know, I am a doctoral student from UTEP. I am interested in learning about language use, ideologies, and identities in schools. This interview will be used for my dissertation study and will be completely confidential. I will not identify you by your name. I will always use a pseudonym. I will now ask you some questions.

1. How long have you been teaching 4th grade?
2. How long have you been with the district?
3. Have you always taught in a bilingual/DL classroom?
4. What is the purpose/goal of this program?
5. What do you think of this program?
6. Would you change any aspect of this program?
7. Do you think it is a good program for English Learners? How?
8. What language do you use in your classroom? Why?
9. How do you feel about using that language/s?
10. What language/s do you expect students to use orally (in whole group? with classmates?) and in written form? Why? How do you feel about that? How do you think they feel about using that language/s?
11. What language do you think your students use at home?
12. What do you think about that?
13. What kinds of expectations do you have for English Learners?
14. How do you communicate your expectations to ELs?
15. How confident do you feel in teaching ELs?
16. If you were to give any advice to other school teachers working with ELs, what would you suggest to them?
17. Is Spanish used in your classroom? If so, when and by whom?
18. What are your views on mixing languages/code switching?
19. Are bilingual stories read in your class? How frequently? Examples?
20. Do you incorporate elements from the Mexican culture? When and what?
21. Do you feel that diversity is celebrated in this campus? District?

Teacher Interviews – Spanish

Muchas gracias por tomar el tiempo de hablar conmigo hoy. Como usted sabe, soy estudiante del doctorado en UTEP. Estoy interesada en aprender acerca del uso del idioma, ideologías, e identidades en las escuelas. Esta entrevista será usada para mi estudio de disertación y será completamente confidencial. No la identificare por nombre. Siempre usare un seudónimo. Le hare algunas preguntas.

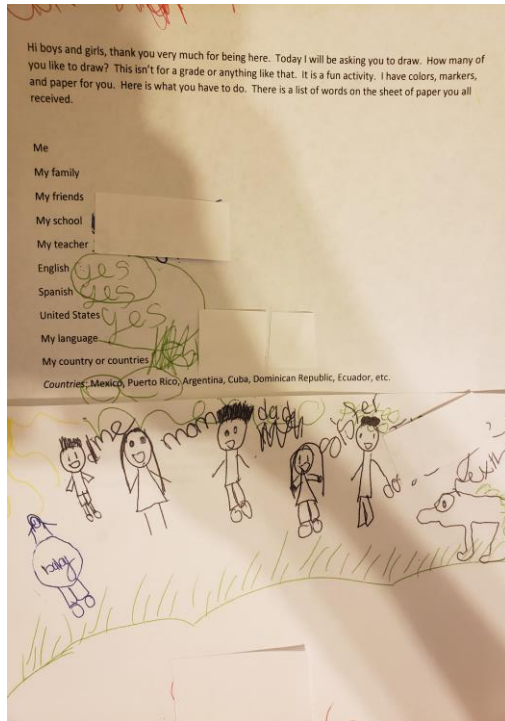
1. ¿Cuánto tiempo ha sido maestra de cuarto grado?
2. ¿Cuánto tiempo tiene trabajando con este distrito?
3. ¿Siempre ha sido maestra en clases bilingüe/dual?
4. ¿Cuál es el propósito de este programa?

5. ¿Qué opina de este programa?
6. ¿Cambiaría algún aspecto de este programa?
7. ¿Cree que es un buen programa para ELs?
8. ¿Qué idioma usa usted en el salón? ¿Por qué?
9. ¿Como se siente de usar ese idioma?
10. ¿Cuál idioma/s espera que usen los estudiantes oralmente (en grupo/con compañeros de clase) y en forma escrita? ¿Por qué? ¿Cómo cree usted que ellos se sienten al usar ese/esos idioma/s?
11. ¿Qué idioma cree usted que los estudiantes usan en casa?
12. ¿Qué opina acerca de eso?
13. ¿Qué tipo de expectativas tiene para los niños EL?
14. ¿Como comunica sus expectativas con los niños EL?
15. ¿Qué tan cómodo se siente en dar clases a ELs?
16. ¿Si usted diera consejos a maestros de otras escuelas que trabajan con ELs, que sugerencias le daría?
17. ¿El idioma español se usa en el salón? Si es así, ¿cuándo y con quién?
18. ¿Qué opina usted de mezclar idiomas?
19. ¿Se leen historias bilingües en este salón? ¿Qué tan frecuentemente? ¿Tiene algún ejemplo?
20. ¿Incorpora usted elementos de la cultura mexicana? ¿Cuándo y qué?
21. ¿Siente usted que se celebra la diversidad en esta escuela? ¿En el distrito?

Identity Maps – Valley School

Alberto

Allan



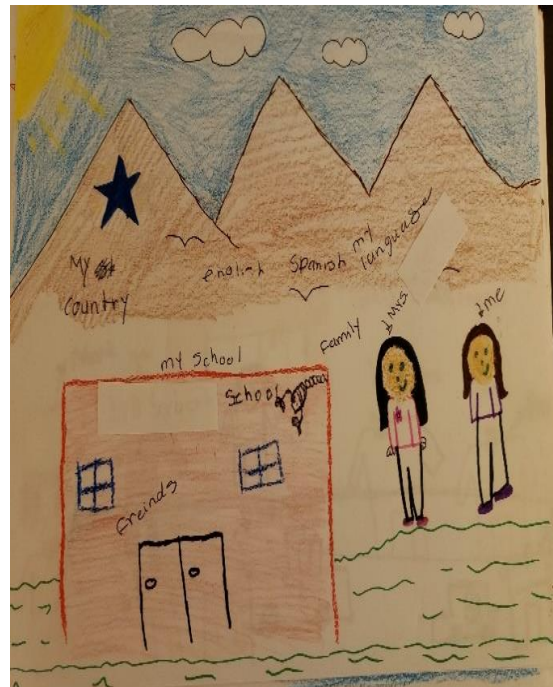
Angel



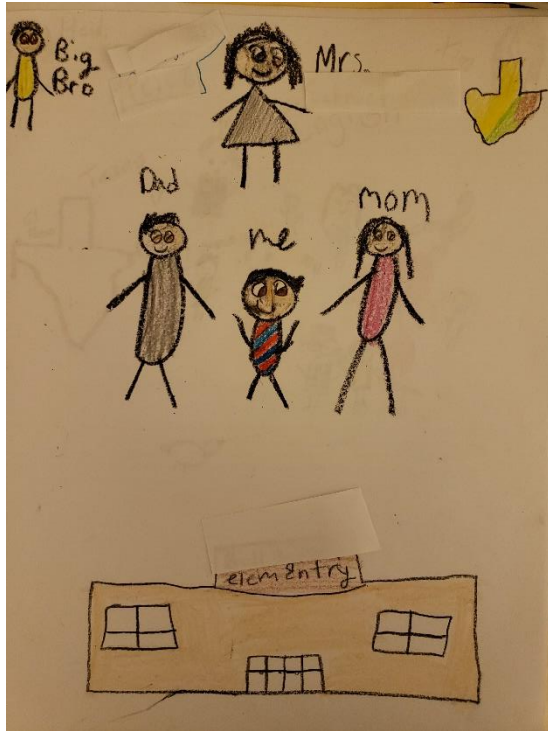
Beatriz



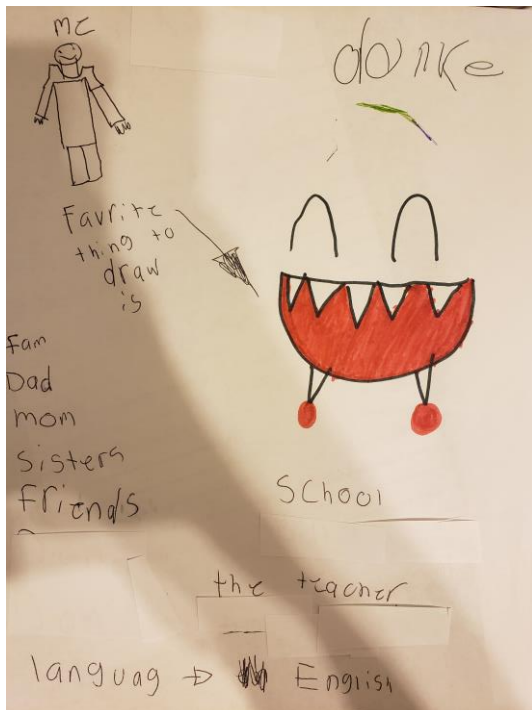
Carlos



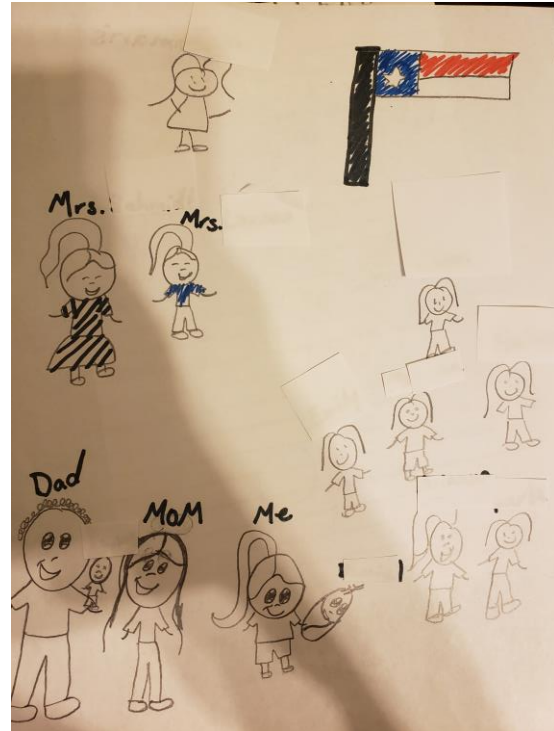
Daniela



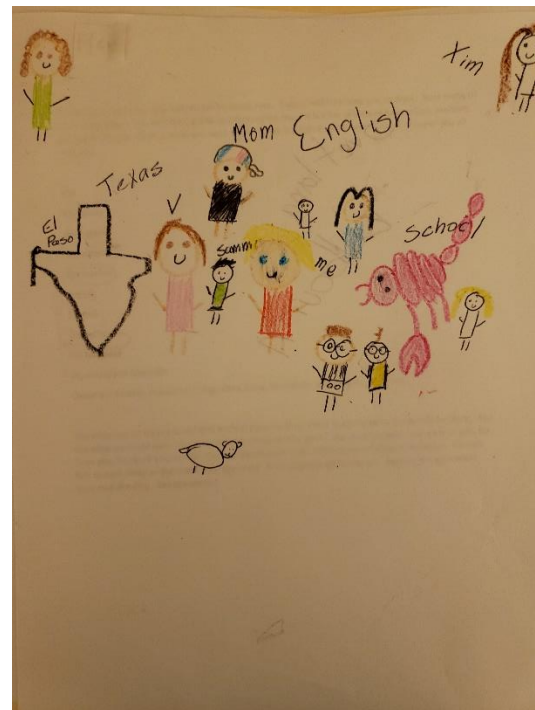
Ruben



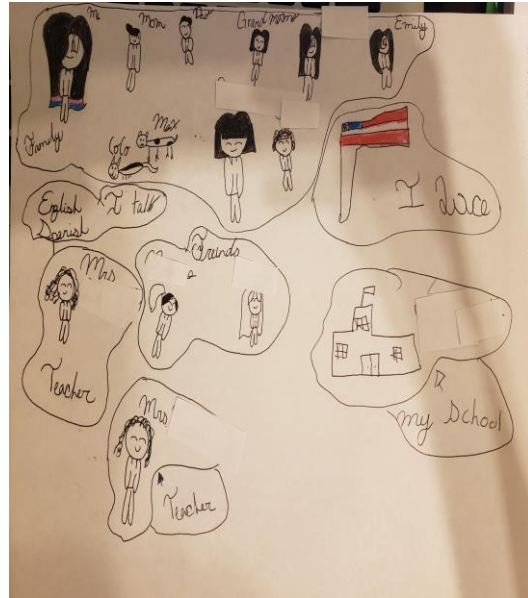
Carlos



Sabrina



Adamari



Identity Maps – Ramos Elementary

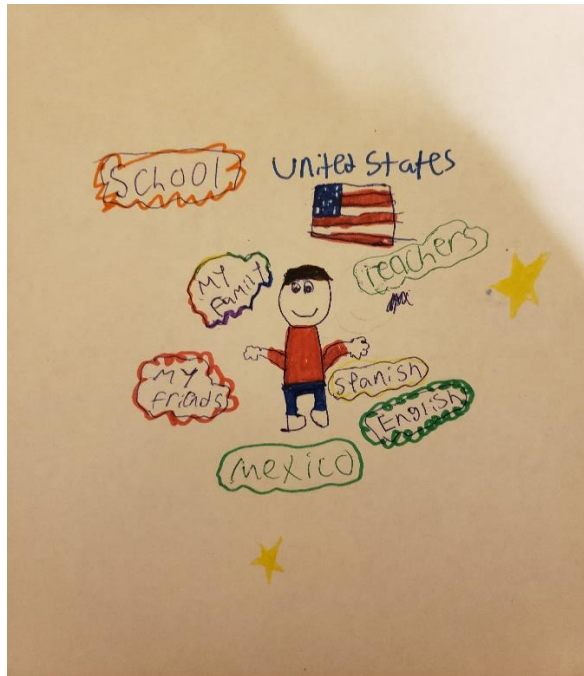
Karol

Zoey

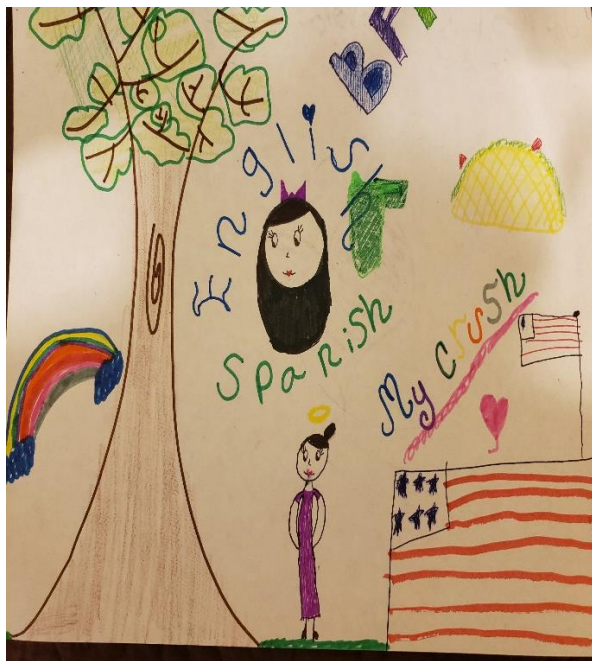


Omar

Anahi



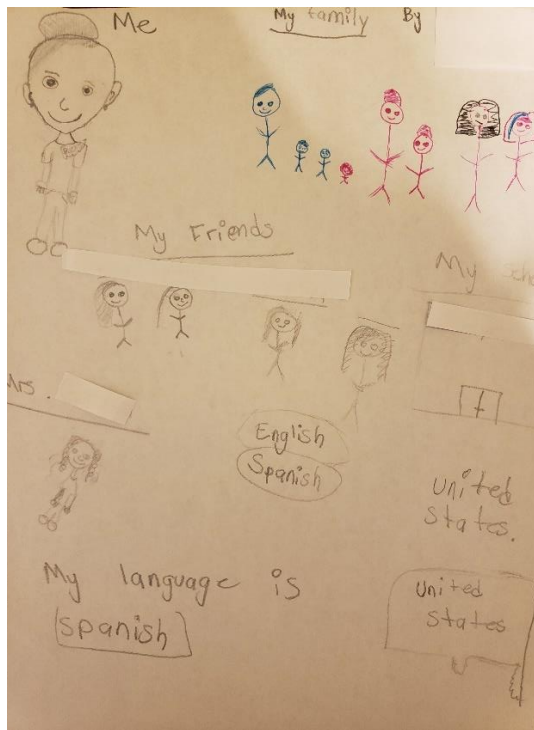
Jazmin



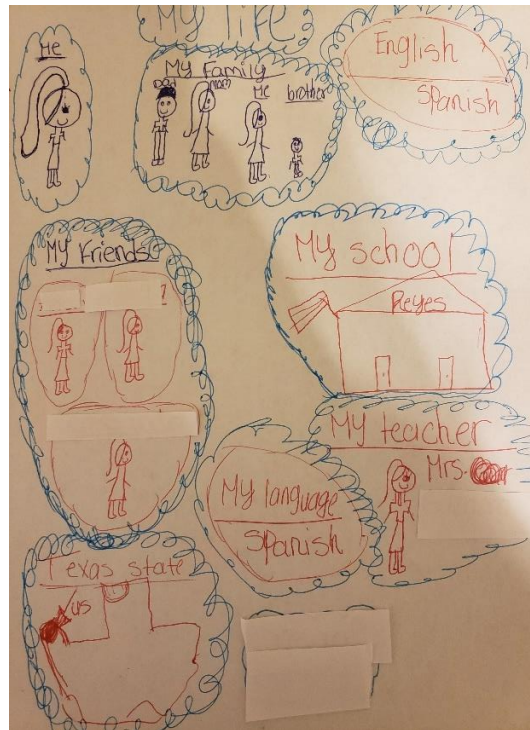
Andrea



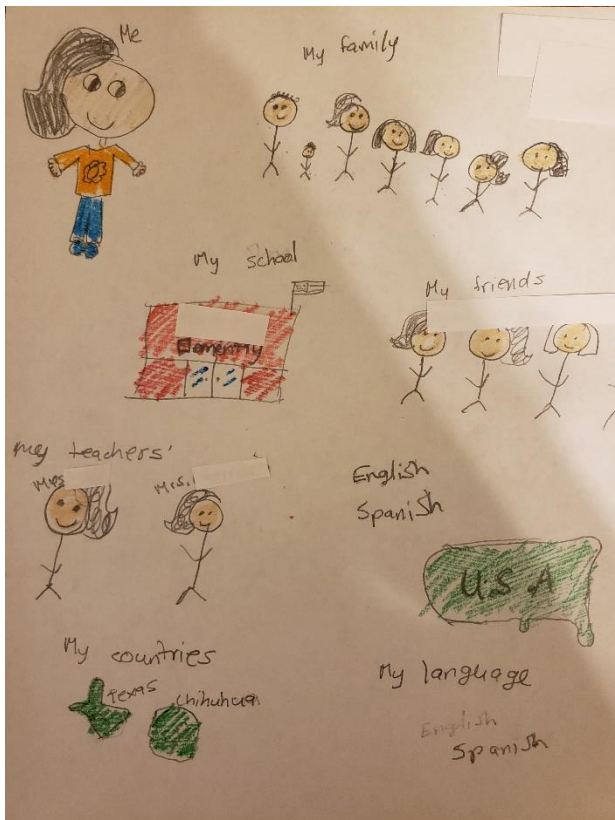
Maria



Denise



Ale



Carla



Jose



Gaston



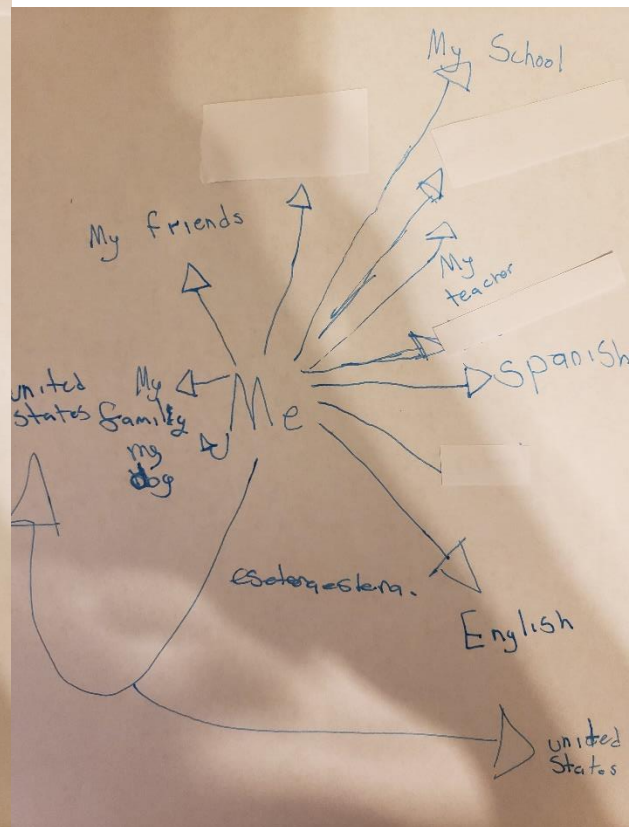
Perla



Berenice



Eduardo




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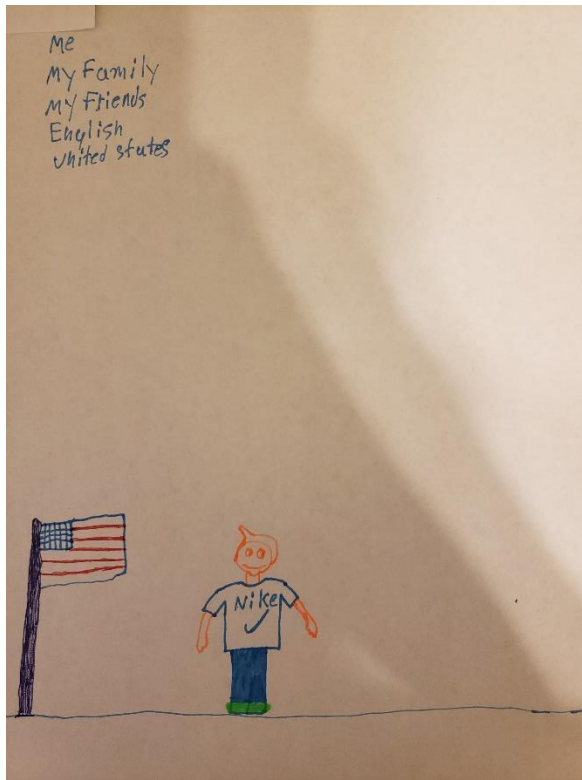
family
friends
english
united States
mexico

A hand-drawn cartoon on a piece of paper. At the top right, the words "family", "friends", "english", "united States", and "mexico" are written in a simple, handwritten font. Below this, there is a drawing. On the left, there is a thick, vertical orange bar. In the center, a stick figure stands next to a large, empty rectangular box. The stick figure has a speech bubble above its head that says "i'm coming". Above the box, there are two flags: the United States flag on the left and the Mexican flag on the right. The Mexican flag features a stick figure in the center, which is a reference to the cartoon's title. The background of the drawing is a light blue and green textured wash.

ME
My family
My friends
English
MEXICO
united States



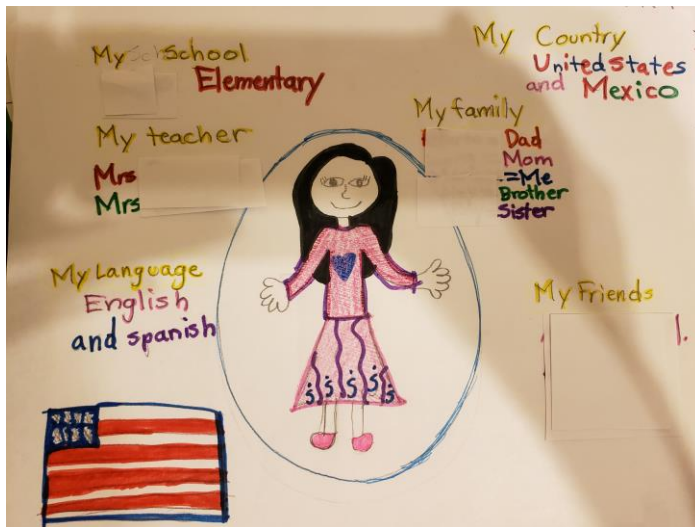
Jremias



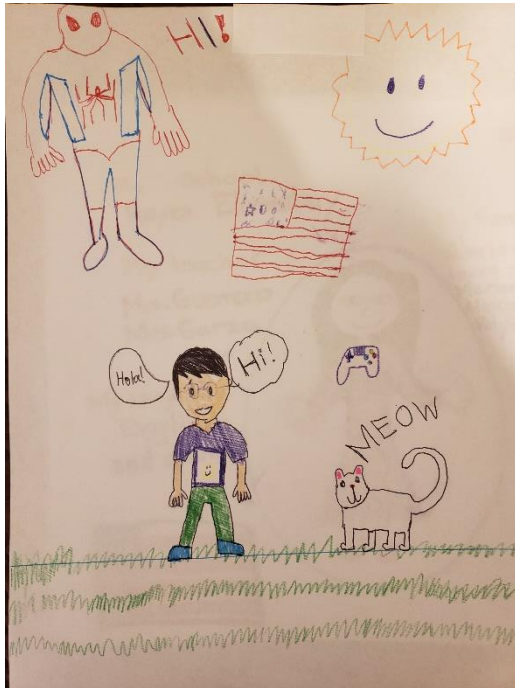
Veronica



Maribel



Emmanuel



Julio



Vita

Lidia Herrera-Rocha earned her Bachelor of Science degree in psychology from UTEP in 2005.

In 2014, she received her Master of Education degree in bilingual education, also from UTEP.

She joined UTEP's doctoral program in teaching, learning, and culture (literacy/biliteracy strand) in 2015.

Dr. Herrera-Rocha has presented her research at several conferences including the 2017 American Anthropological Association Annual Conference. Her work has appeared in the proceedings of these conferences as well as the *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, *Handbook of Research on Pedagogies and Cultural Considerations for Young English Language Learners*, and *Policy Futures in Education*.

While pursuing her degree, Dr. Herrera-Rocha worked as a research assistant in the Education Department under two grants. In 2018, she worked as a teacher assistant on a teacher education course. After graduation, she will work at UTEP as Assistant Professor of Practice/Site Coordinator under the Department of Teacher Education and the Education Preparation Program.

Dr. Herrera-Rocha's dissertation, "Language Ideologies and Identities of Emergent Bilingual Learners in a Dual Language and a Transitional Bilingual Education Context: A Comparative Study" was supervised by Dr. de la Piedra.