

ABSTRACT

Title of dissertation: EQUITY IN SPANISH/ENGLISH DUAL LANGUAGE
EDUCATION: PRACTITIONERS' PERSPECTIVES

Julie Sarice Sugarman, Ph.D., 2012

Dissertation directed by: Assistant Professor Melinda Martin-Beltrán
Department of Teaching and Learning, Policy and
Leadership

Dual language programs have been shown to be one of the most successful models for closing the achievement gap between English-speaking and English-learning students, which can be considered a strong indicator of educational equity. However, questions remains about how equity is achieved within these programs and what equity means to practitioners. This study examines how practitioners define and interpret the concept of equity in the context of dual language education and what program- and classroom-level policies and practices may contribute to an equitable environment. Two interviews were conducted with fifteen teachers and administrators from a variety of Spanish/English dual language programs. In the first interview, participants defined equity and described examples of equity and inequity in their program or classroom, and in the second, participants used six key points from the *Guiding Principles for Dual*

Language Education (Howard et al., 2007) to stimulate their thinking about what evidence they would look for to determine whether the practice described in the key point was being effectively implemented.

Five imperatives emerged as key elements of an equitable dual language environment: practitioners cultivate an environment where English and Spanish have equal status, students of diverse ethno-linguistic backgrounds are positioned and recognized as equals, the curriculum and program model reflect the goals of bilingualism and biliteracy, multicultural curriculum and materials are used, and students have access to the curriculum and to educational resources. The types of evidence that participants felt were salient to the evaluation of equity reflected a variety of practices, including teacher and student language use, student grouping, and multiculturalism in curriculum and instruction. Participants also noted the importance of taking contextual factors into account when evaluating equity in a dual language program, including the reasoning behind teacher decision-making, developmental appropriateness and/or alignment with the dual language model, and the effect of the socio-political context in which dual language practitioners operate. Two ways that participants framed their examples of equity were, first, in terms of the challenges that stem from societal attitudes toward bilingualism and minority languages and cultures, and second, that efforts to increase equity have both academic and symbolic purposes.

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By

Julie Sarice Sugarman

Dissertation submitted to the Faculty of the Graduate School of the
University of Maryland, College Park in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy
2012

Advisory Committee:

Assistant Professor Melinda Martin-Beltrán, Chair

Professor Paula Beckman

Dr. Perla Blejer

Associate Professor Roberta Lavine

Associate Professor Kellie Rolstad

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Acknowledgements

There are scores of people who deserve acknowledgement for significant contributions to my scholarly development (and many more for my development as a person), but lest this front matter exceed the length of my dissertation, I will stick to the highlights. First, I want to thank my adviser, Melinda Martin-Beltrán, whose insights and analytical connections improved this dissertation immeasurably. She has been extraordinarily patient as everything took three times longer than I thought it would, which I greatly appreciated. I am also very grateful for the input of my committee, Paula Beckman, Perla Blejer, Roberta Lavine, and Kellie Rolstad, as well as those who participated in earlier incarnations of my committee, Connie North, Rebecca Oxford, and Megan Percy.

I have been extremely lucky to have been supported through my graduate school journey by my colleagues at the Center for Applied Linguistics who have been patiently waiting to regain my full attention. My greatest appreciation goes to Donna Christian, who gave me valuable feedback from the earliest planning stages to the complete draft of this dissertation. Although she has not been at CAL for this latest saga, I can't imagine where I would be without the mentoring of my first boss, Liz Howard, who helped put the *equity* bee in my bonnet as we wrote our first book together. I'm also particularly thankful for the suggestions, persistent nudging, and wordsmithing prowess of present and former CAL colleagues Carolyn Adger, Aileen Bach, Francesca di Silvio, Anne Donovan, Annie Duguay, Sandra Gutiérrez, Dora Johnson, Deborah Kennedy, Meg Malone, Julie Mazrum, Nancy Rhodes, Terry Wiley, and Annette Zehler.

A great number of colleagues from outside of CAL have been extremely influential on my understanding of dual language education. Many of these friends have also provided moral support along the way, and I want to particularly thank Ester de Jong, Rebecca Freeman Field, Fred Genesee, Kathryn Lindholm-Leary, Rosa Molina, and David Rogers for their amazing mentorship. I also want to thank Nenette Adelson-Rodriguez, Michelle Anberg-Espinosa, Linda Hardman Greene, Erin Mason, Marjorie Myers, and Kim Potowski for their friendship and collegiality over the years and for their support of my dissertation research.

I wish I could thank the fifteen participants in my study by name, because these are some pretty extraordinary people who cheerfully offered a few hours of their time to talk with me. I really appreciate everyone's candor and reflectiveness, without which there simply would not have been a study.

There is one person who deserves a double nod of thanks. Dr. Robert Sugarman served as my on-call sounding-board for thinking through problems logically during the planning and writing of this dissertation. I also want to thank him as one-half of the team of mom and dad (along with Joan Sugarman), who have been constant cheerleaders and insightful question-askers during my entire academic career.

Finally, I'm so grateful for the support of all of my friends, especially those who kept up with my page count and cheered me on to the finish line. It would have been quite a bit less pleasant to do this work without their good humor and encouragement.

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Chapter 1: Statement of the Problem

Providing all students with equitable access to high-quality education has been at the forefront of education research and policy debates for decades. Persistent “achievement gaps” between students from different class, race/ethnic, and language backgrounds on indicators such as test scores and high school graduation rates are deeply troubling to educators, policy makers, and the general public. However, there is a lack of consensus as to what to do about these continuing inequalities in outcomes.

The question of what constitutes an equitable learning environment for minority¹ students is complicated by deep-seated disagreements on the goals of education, the value of multiculturalism, and definitions and worth of various educational approaches. People involved with educational policy and practice bring to their work a set of implicit beliefs and discourses about these concepts based on their philosophical and political orientations and the professional training and experiences that shape their interpretation of educational environments. Therefore, designing and implementing educational programs for minority students involves negotiating challenges that arise out of conflicting priorities in goals and values across society and the educational system.

Dual language programs have been shown to be one of the most successful models for closing the achievement gap between English-speaking and English-learning students (Collier & Thomas, 2009; Lindholm-Leary, 2001; Ramirez, Yuen, & Ramey, 1991; Thomas & Collier, 1997, 2002). For English language learners, a fundamental aspect of creating an equitable learning environment is the use of the native language for instruction (Ovando, Combs, & Collier, 2006). In addition, the success of the dual

¹ In this dissertation, *minority* refers to those cultural groups that are socioculturally and economically marginalized based on race, class, or language (Ogbu, 1995; Sleeter, 1996).

language model is credited to the creation of an educational environment that emphasizes additive bilingualism, learning as a constructive and social process, the value of multiculturalism, instructional practices based on the research on second language acquisition, and the integration of diverse students (Cloud, Genesee, & Hamayan, 2000; Lindholm-Leary, 2001; Howard & Sugarman, 2007; Soltero, 2004). While much is written about how these concepts, writ large, contribute to more equitable outcomes for minority students, less is known about how practitioners operationalize these concepts in the dual language classroom and understand how their resulting practices foster equity.

This study examines how practitioners define and interpret the concept of equity in the context of dual language education. Specifically, the findings shed light on what program- and classroom-level policies and practices may contribute to an equitable environment, how dual language is a unique environment for studying equity, and the way that practitioners frame equity in practice by talking about challenges to equity and the academic and symbolic consequences of addressing these challenges. Developing a better understanding of how to identify and evaluate indicators of equity may help dual language practitioners meet the lofty educational and sociocultural goals that the model lays out.

Background on Dual Language Education

Dual language is a type of bilingual education in which native² English speakers and native speakers of a partner language (most commonly Spanish in the U.S.) are integrated for instruction in both English and the partner language. The goals of these programs are for students to achieve high levels of oral proficiency and literacy in

² Note that “native speaker” is a problematic term but will be used here as it is customarily used in the literature on dual language to denote a student’s first or dominant language.

English and in the partner language, to demonstrate mastery of academic content at grade level or higher, and to develop an appreciation for and an understanding of diverse cultures (Cloud et al., 2000; Howard & Christian, 2002). Ideally, each classroom is made up of a balanced group of native English speakers and native speakers of the partner language, with neither group making up more than two-thirds of the population. Dual language programs also commonly enroll students who are native speakers of both program languages. In this model, all students have a chance to act as language models and language learners (Howard & Christian, 2002).

Dual language programs³ provide literacy and content instruction in English and the partner language for an extended period of time (minimally K-5, preferably K-12) and promote additive bilingualism, which is the process of developing a second language while maintaining the first (Lambert & Tucker, 1972). What defines dual language as immersion education (as opposed to transitional bilingual or foreign language education) is that these programs use the partner language for at least 50% of instruction at all grade levels and teach language through academic content, rather than as a separate subject. Some programs, called 90/10, use the partner language for about 90% of the day in Kindergarten, increasing the amount of English used year by year until each language is used 50% of the time by about third grade. In 90/10 programs, initial literacy instruction is provided in the partner language to all students. In contrast, 50/50 programs use each language 50% of the time from Kindergarten on, and provide initial literacy instruction in

³ The term *dual language* is frequently used to refer to the immersion model with a linguistically-balanced population, and this is how the term is used in this dissertation. However, it may also be used as an umbrella term for any program that shares the aforementioned goals and has the characteristics of immersion education described in this paragraph. The term *two-way immersion* (or a variation, *dual immersion*) also refers to dual language programs with a linguistically-balanced population.

both languages or in the students' native language (Cloud et al., 2000; Howard & Christian, 2002; Howard & Sugarman, 2007).

Because native Spanish speakers are the largest group of English language learners in the U.S., the vast majority of dual language programs are Spanish/English, although a handful of programs exist where the partner language is Chinese, French, German, Japanese, or Korean (Center for Applied Linguistics, 2012). Historically, the classic dual language population in Spanish/English programs has been middle-class, European-American native English speakers (NES) and working-class, Hispanic native Spanish speakers (NSS), although such class and ethnic distinctions are not always clear cut (Howard & Sugarman, 2001). As the number of dual language programs has grown, they have become increasingly diverse, with some serving 100% Latino populations, some with a significant number of African-Americans, and some with native speakers of languages other than English or the partner language (Center for Applied Linguistics, 2012). The fact that dual language programs serve historically at-risk students and the fact that they are an intentional meeting point of students from different cultures, ethnicities, language groups, and socioeconomic classes makes the notion of equity an important focus of program implementation and dual language research.

The development of dual language programs. The modern era of bilingual education was born out of a recognition of unacceptably poor test scores and long-term outcomes for English language learners (ELLs) in U.S. schools. The 1968 Bilingual Education Act (enacted as Title VII of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act) was designed to provide federal funds for the education of ELLs whose academic performance was poor compared to fluent English speakers. The Supreme Court decision

in *Lau v. Nichols* (1974) stated that ELLs could not receive an education equal to English speakers when they were instructed in a language they did not understand. This decision paved the way for bilingual education as an accommodation for ELLs (Baker, 2006).

Great controversy ensued (and continues to this day) over how ELLs should be educated. Throughout these debates, both pro- and anti-bilingual advocates have argued their case on the basis that their approach will lead to greater educational success of ELLs (and then to economic success and integration into the American way of life), and both sides have used notions of equity to support their case (Cummins, 2000). Pro-bilingual advocates point to decades of research that indicate that using the native language for instruction helps ELLs develop higher levels of English proficiency (August & Shanahan, 2006; Genesee, Lindholm-Leary, Saunders, & Christian, 2006), while anti-bilingual advocates rely on the logical—but scientifically unsupportable—assertion that students who need to learn English should spend all of their time in an English-medium environment so as to maximize their access to English and academic content (Cummins, 2000).

The first dual language programs were started in the early 1960s. Coral Way Elementary in Miami, FL, served a mostly Cuban population in a Spanish/English public school, and Ecole Bilingue (now the French-American International School of Boston) was a private school in Cambridge, MA. By 1987, there were thirty such programs (Lindholm, 1987), and to date, there are over 400 programs in the United States (Center for Applied Linguistics, 2012). The reasons for the growth of dual language programs include the success that early programs had in demonstrating high levels of first and second language proficiency and academic achievement for all students, the recognition

of some policy makers and educators that bilingual residents are critical for our country's future competitiveness, and the rapidly rising number of ELLs across the nation, the majority of whom are native Spanish speakers (Howard & Christian, 2002). Along with the rapid growth in numbers of programs, the number of variations on the basic program model has also expanded as practitioners work to meet local needs.

A recent development affecting dual language education is the No Child Left Behind Act of 2002 (NCLB), which has forced program administrators to consider how to meet federal and state mandates that are often contradictory to dual language program goals. In many cases, programs have had to sacrifice long-term dual language goals for short-term improvements in English-language test scores in order to remain open, and many have closed when they could not reach test score benchmarks. At the same time that conservative forces have pushed an anti-immigrant and anti-bilingual legislative agenda in several states, a number of large-scale research studies have emerged that demonstrate the effectiveness of dual language programs in comparison to transitional bilingual or English-only programs (Collier & Thomas, 2009; Howard & Sugarman, 2007; Lindholm-Leary, 2001; Thomas & Collier, 1997, 2002). All of these factors have led to a tension within dual language practice. On the one hand, practitioners believe in the goals of bilingualism and biliteracy and try to implement their programs on the basis of dual language research. On the other hand, they feel great pressure from states, districts, communities, and parents to raise test scores and to demonstrate that ELLs are learning English as quickly as possible.

Theoretical foundation of dual language education. Although there has been an increasing diversity of program variations within dual language to meet local needs and

to address state and federal educational policies, successful programs continue to align their practices to the theoretical foundation and empirical research supporting effective education for second language learners, which will be outlined below.

Second language acquisition. The field of second language acquisition (SLA) focuses on the teaching and learning of languages. An early theorist who continues to have profound influence on the field is Stephen Krashen. In the 1970s, Krashen proposed theories of language learning focused on acquiring language through meaningful and comprehensible input, with new linguistic structures—especially those that are just beyond a speaker’s current abilities—learned in predictable sequences (Lightbown & Spada, 2006). Understanding the importance of comprehensible input—speech and writing that is made understandable for language learners—has led to the development of a wide variety of techniques for effective instructional practice, such as scaffolding, using appropriate rate and enunciation of speech, gestures, modeling, repeated exposures, and so on (Echevarría, Vogt, & Short, 2008; Krashen, 1985).

As the field of SLA research has grown, researchers have both refuted and built upon Krashen’s early work. Recent SLA research has emphasized the social nature of language learning, particularly the importance of interaction (Block, 2003; Swain & Lapkin, 2002). The Input-Interaction-Output (IIO) model, described by Gass (1997) and Block (2003) brings together work across SLA that has explained the process by which linguistic input is noticed and negotiated by language learners in interactions where they receive feedback, compare the new structures to those that have already been acquired, and test the new learning through use of the new linguistic output (Block, 2003). The IIO model draws from Long’s Interaction Hypothesis which states that negotiation for

meaning in those moments where communication breaks down facilitates language acquisition by modifying language input until it is comprehensible to the learner (Long, 1996) and, in some settings, by orienting the language learner to compare his or her production of language with optimal target output as produced by the native speaker (Gass, 2003; Mackey, 1999). Criticisms of the Interaction Hypothesis focus on the lack of attention to social context, including identity formation and performance in communication, a monolithic view of what it means to be a language learner, and a focus on processing new information within the brain rather than learning as a constructed process (see next section) (Block, 2003). Researchers such as Swain and Lapkin (2002) have considered the role of output not just in information processing but “as a tool in cognitive activity” (p. 286). They posit that linguistic output and *metatalk* (discussion of language forms) provide opportunities for language acquisition, which has particular resonance in a dual language setting, where native-speaking peers are in a position to provide expert guidance to language learners in peer interactions.

Sociocultural theory. In sociocultural or constructivist paradigms, learning is a constructive process in which knowledge is mediated by cultural artifacts such as tools, symbols, and language (Lantolf, 2000; Vygotsky, 1978). According to this theory, thinking is mediated by what one has learned in a particular socio-historical context about how the world works. Vygotsky (1978) posited the *zone of proximal development* as a metaphor for the space in between what a person can do alone versus what he or she can accomplish with support from another person or from cultural artifacts. It is in this space that new understandings can emerge, either for novices learning from experts, or by peers who “co-construct contexts in which expertise emerges as a feature of the group”

(Lantolf, 2000, p. 17). Additionally, knowledge is not transmitted from a teacher to a student or “banked” in the learner’s head but is constructed based on the learners’ cultural and personal background and prior knowledge (Freire, 1970). Knowledge is also constructed in different ways by students engaged in the same task because learning may or may not take place depending on each student’s motivation or attitude toward the task (e.g., complying with teachers’ instructions so as to pass a class versus active interest in and engagement with new ideas) (Lantolf, 2000). In programs such as dual language, connecting new knowledge to students’ prior experiences and adopting instructional practices that are culturally relevant to students enables the learning process and facilitates student engagement (Cloud et al., 2000). In other words, learning takes place in a context of interactions and relationships (Nieto, 2002a) and what happens in the mind to make meaning of some phenomenon is unique to a given socio-historical, sociocultural, and interpersonal context (Barab & Plucker, 2002).

Multicultural education. Building on sociocultural theory, proponents of multicultural education argue that broadening the traditional educational canon to include non-hegemonic perspectives has affective and pedagogical benefits for diverse students (Cummins, 2000; Gay, 2004; Sleeter, 1996). Traditional education reflects “coercive relations of power” (Cummins, 2000, p. 46) in which minority voices are excluded, subordinated, or assimilated. Furthermore, schools are set up to reproduce power relations between cultural groups (e.g., rich and poor), as students from the dominant group come to school possessing a particular kind of cultural capital (cultural tastes and knowledge [Bourdieu, 1977]) that is highly valued by teachers and is the basis of the curriculum, whereas students who come from minority backgrounds are frequently

viewed from a deficit perspective, lacking knowledge that is seen as essential to being educated (Banks, 1995; Gay, 2004; Lynch & Baker, 2005). Multicultural education attempts to broaden the notion of what traditions, viewpoints, and skills are relevant to academic learning (see Chapter 2 for a more complete review of this concept). Related approaches, such as transformative or critical pedagogy, attempt to develop students' critical thinking skills so as to be able to question hegemonic forms of knowledge and power in and out of the classroom and effect change on a broader, societal level (Cummins, 2000).

Integration. Consistent isolation of minorities and students in poverty has contributed to a lack of equitable access to education in the United States (Nieto, 2010). In his landmark study, Kozol (1991) illuminated the segregated nature of the American school system, with students from different backgrounds receiving vastly different types of education based on their local community's resources (or lack thereof). Further evidence shows that racial bias and assumptions about minority communities leads to different approaches to curriculum, student discipline and instructional approaches in schools with a predominance of poor or minority students compared to schools in middle-class neighborhoods (Nieto, 2010). In some cases, tracking students into honors/gifted, regular and vocational plans of study leads to internal segregation within an integrated school; similarly, there are consistent patterns in American schools of disproportionate numbers of minority students being segregated into special needs classes (Artiles & Ortiz, 2002; Kozol, 1991).

In dual language programs, integrating ELLs and native English speakers is based on the principle that isolating ELLs in separate programs or schools is not beneficial to

their academic, social, or emotional growth, and that the perspectives and skills of minority students are assets to all students in the integrated classroom (Brisk, 2006). Whereas other models of ELL education hold a significant stigma of remediation and marginalization, dual language is considered academically enriching and is intended to help students become more cross-culturally understanding through working together in the classroom (de Jong & Howard, 2009).

Additive bilingualism. Dual language programs differ from other forms of education for language learners in that students develop language proficiency in an additional language without intentionally or unintentionally giving up their native language (Cloud et al., 2000; Lambert & Tucker, 1972). Additive bilingualism necessitates high expectations that all students can develop literacy in two languages, contrasting with subtractive bilingual approaches (where the first language is not supported to the point of being fully developed) that are based on the belief that learning in two or more languages is confusing or will delay the development of the second language (Cloud et al., 2000; Cummins, 2000). In an additive bilingual environment, the native language is seen as an asset for the development of the second language and bilingualism is seen as a positive attribute. Additive bilingualism also has positive cognitive and affective benefits for students beyond the development of language proficiency (Cummins, 2000; Lindholm-Leary, 2001).

Summary. The above-mentioned theoretical approaches put the social context of language learning at the center of the conceptual framework for developing an effective model of education for linguistic minority students; specifically, they emphasize that sociocultural factors are key to explaining the educational experience and outcomes of

minority students (Cummins, 2000; Gay, 2004; Nieto, 2002b). Rather than locating the source of persistent academic failure within the students or their culture, researchers working within this paradigm demonstrate the ways in which the learning environment does not align to the needs and norms of the students they serve (Banks, 1995; Gay, 2004).

An equitable learning environment for linguistic minority students is an environment that includes characteristics of effective schools and pedagogy for all students and also those practices that specifically support language learners (Echevarría et al., 2008). In order to create an equitable environment for language learners, practitioners must be able to rely on their professional training and experience to shape their understanding of what is happening in the school or classroom and to respond by effectively implementing appropriate practices. One tool that is intended to help dual language practitioners with this effort is discussed next.

Theory to Practice Through the *Guiding Principles for Dual Language Education*

One of the great challenges of dual language education is to design and implement a program, a curriculum, and instructional approaches that are rooted in the principles outlined above and to ensure that those principles continually inform daily practice. It is in this context that a group of researchers and dual language practitioners developed the *Guiding Principles for Dual Language Education* (Howard, Sugarman, Christian, Lindholm-Leary, & Rogers, 2007). The principles were based on the *New Mexico Dual Language Program Standards*, a document created by a group of New Mexican educators who were concerned with the lack of fidelity to core dual language principles that they saw in the quickly-expanding number of programs in the state (Dual

Language Education of New Mexico, 2003). These educators joined with an expert panel in early 2003 to expand the New Mexico standards so that they might apply to a variety of programs and contexts in the United States.

The principles are grounded in research on effective schools, the instruction of language learners, and second language acquisition; and as a whole demonstrate a vision of education that is “inclusive and equity-focused, student-centered, academically challenging, driven by multiple forms of evidence of student learning, and based on shared decision-making (including all stakeholders)” (Sugarman, 2008, p. 8). The authors intended that the document be used as “a tool for planning, self-reflection, and growth” (Howard et al., 2007, p. 1), and they consider it to be one tool among many that programs can use for program planning and evaluation.

Equity is a theme that figures prominently in the *Guiding Principles* across a number of strands. For example, in assessment, several key points address the collection of student background data and outcomes in English and Spanish; in instruction, a key point addresses the need to deliver instruction that is appropriate for both language learners and native speakers; and the strand on support and resources addresses the dual language program’s equitable access to resources as compared to other school or district programs. In other words, the *Guiding Principles* operationalize notions of equity into key points that delineate best practices, often, but not always, using the term *equity* to identify the purpose for those practices.

In one part of this study (described in Chapter 5), I use six key points from the *Guiding Principles* as a scaffold to prompt participants’ discussion of equity. Although this study does not explicitly compare participants’ ability to identify specific practices

with and without this scaffold, part of the research purpose was to investigate how the *Guiding Principles* might facilitate conversations around equity. The second of the two interviews for the study simulated, to some degree, the types of discussions about equity that practitioners might have if they were to look at these key points as part of a formal or informal evaluation of their program. Therefore, in addition to facilitating the collection of data related to policies and practices that may be evidence of a program's alignment with the key point, the format of the interview allowed me to investigate how the principles and key points facilitate meaning-making around these concepts and self-reflection about how one's own practices foster or inhibit equity.

Research Questions and Design

The purpose of this study is to provide an empirically-based framework for understanding educational equity in the context of dual language education. The following research questions guided the development of the research design and data analysis:

1. How is the term *equity* defined and interpreted by dual language practitioners (teachers and administrators)?
2. What program- and classroom-level policies and practices do practitioners believe contribute to an equitable environment?
3. How may the *Guiding Principles for Dual Language Education* act as a tool for interpreting equity?
4. Are there systematic differences among practitioners or in the contexts in which practitioners work in how equity is defined and described?

In this study, fifteen dual language immersion teachers and administrators participated in two semi-structured interviews. In the first interview, participants provided a definition of equity and then were invited to describe examples of equity and inequity in their program or classroom, with minimal prompts from the interviewer. In the second, participants explored particular aspects of equity in depth, using six key points from the *Guiding Principles for Dual Language Education* to stimulate their thinking about what evidence they would look for in a program or classroom to determine to what degree the practice described in the key point was being effectively implemented.

The fifteen participants represented a variety of dual language contexts (in terms of location, dual language program model, and student demographic profiles) and personal characteristics (professional role, years of experience, ethnicity, and grade and language taught). This breadth was central to the study because my interest was in understanding the diversity of possible interpretations of the term *equity* and comparing the interpretations made by participants with certain characteristics (e.g., novice vs. veteran teachers, teachers vs. administrators) or from different program types. Indeed, the importance of understanding the context in which a participant worked was confirmed by the participants themselves, as one of the ways they framed their descriptions of their own practice was to describe the challenges they faced in the implementation of their program and to situate the appropriateness of their instructional choices as reacting to these challenges and to other contextual factors such as the grade or language that they taught or the characteristics of their students.

Limitations and Delimitations

This study focused on elementary dual language immersion programs in order to look at equity in a unique educational context where language and cultural diversity are foregrounded, and resistance to the monolingual English hegemony of American society is woven into the program model itself. Because of this, the findings cannot be generalized to the experience of ELLs in other educational contexts. Likewise, all of the participants in the study work in Spanish/English programs, and the findings indicate that the sociolinguistic context of Spanish and being Hispanic in America figures into the way that equity is defined and operationalized in the participants' programs. There may be considerable overlap with the experience of staff and students in dual language programs that partner other languages (e.g., Chinese, Navajo, Korean) with English, but it is likely that practitioners in those programs view equity in different ways.

One of the goals of this study was to examine the meaningful variation in definitions and interpretations of equity across a variety of contexts. Because there are so many variables that the literature indicates may be salient in shaping a practitioner's viewpoint (see Chapter 3), one would need a very large sample to be able to have enough participants with key similarities (e.g., teachers in East Coast 50/50 programs that are Hispanic, have decades of experience, and teach in Spanish) in order to be able to posit causal connections between any of those factors and study outcomes. There are several findings in this dissertation that point out correlations between respondents and their positions (e.g., the only participants who commented on how the design of the program model supports the development of two languages work in 90/10 programs), but overall

the sample size was too small to determine which school- or individual-level characteristics are most likely to correlate with meaningful variation in the findings.

This study relies exclusively on self-report through interviews and does not triangulate those findings with any other types of measures, such as observations of teachers' actual practices (to see if they do what they say they do) or student outcomes (to know if the practices that participants believed were academically beneficial actually were). Because there has been no research to date that looks at how practitioners define and interpret equity, hearing practitioner voices and understanding their definitions and interpretations is a contribution to the literature. There also is very little research on how practitioners understand program standards (such as the *Guiding Principles*), so having practitioners talk through their understanding of the key points was a strong first step that might be augmented in the future by research that uses other methods.

In a similar vein, it is important to bear in mind the constructivist nature of the findings. Participants' explanations were not drawn only from their own experience but were shaped by the way that I designed the study and phrased the questions that I posed to them. Many of the participants were familiar with my work in dual language education, and undoubtedly saw my name on the cover of the *Guiding Principles* as an author. My expertise on the subject of dual language education was a strength in terms of being able to understand and empathize with participants, but it is also possible that participants felt some constraints in the opinions they expressed. Overall, participants' comments seemed quite genuine and, in fact, participants were sometimes surprisingly blunt about the shortcomings of their programs or their own practice.

In the end, the limitations on the degree to which the findings from this study can be generalized to a broader context honor the research finding that the definition of *equity* depends on the myriad contextual variables that make up any educational environment. The fact that participants used the *Guiding Principles* and spoke with one of its authors is not mere noise in the data, but parallels real-world instances in which practitioners reflect on and make meaning from their own experiences. Future research may profitably use the findings from this study to explore equity in other contexts.

Organization of this Dissertation

Following this introduction, a literature review explores the nature of equity in education in general and in dual language, and then discusses the use of program standards (such as the *Guiding Principles*) in reflecting on practice. After the literature review, the third chapter describes the methodology of this study, including the selection and characteristics of participants, design of the interview protocols, and approach to data analysis. Findings are presented in two chapters, the first of which focuses primarily on participants' definition of equity, and the second of which focuses primarily on the identification of salient types of evidence of policies and practices that contribute to an equitable learning environment in dual language programs. In the final chapter, I synthesize the research findings to answer the research questions and highlight important themes that emerged from the analysis, and discuss implications of the findings for research, teacher education, and program evaluation.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

This dissertation is grounded in two disciplines within educational research: the study of equitable learning environments for minority students—particularly language minority students⁴ in dual language programs; and the literature on program standards and school effectiveness indicators, and how they are interpreted, used, and supported with evidence. In the first half of this chapter, I will explore the definition of equity in the education of linguistically diverse students, first in a general sense, and then by looking at ten studies that explore equity in dual language education. These studies provide an insight into what positive and negative characteristics of programs and classrooms can be associated with equity. The second half of the literature review sets the context for the research questions and methodology laid out in Chapter 3 by reviewing the research on program standards: the purposes to which they are put, the complexities in using them to judge program implementation, and how individual practitioners might view standards and evidence of practice through different lenses depending on their background, experience, and professional role.

Equity

The notion of educational equity is complex, encompassing the study of students' background and culture, their educational environments, their educational outcomes, and

⁴ In the U.S., the term *language minority student* is used in various ways. It may refer to English language learners, English-proficient students who come from homes where a language other than English is spoken, students who speak African American Vernacular English (AAVE) or another variety of English associated with a social group or a geographical region, or a combination of these groups (Adger et al., 1993; Ovando, Combs, & Collier, 2006). I use the term *language minority* in this dissertation to refer to students who are speakers of a language other than English (more specifically speakers of Spanish and its many varieties), in order to align with previous research on Spanish/English dual language education. I acknowledge the lack of attention to AAVE and other language-minority students as a limitation to this dissertation, and hope that future research can shed light on this broader population of students of diverse cultural and linguistic backgrounds.

the political and sociocultural context of the education system. There are overlaps and contested boundaries between the concepts of equity and equality, and among related terms such as social justice, multicultural education, and critical pedagogy (Lynch & Baker, 2005; North, 2008). In order to develop a working definition of equity, in this section I will explore key terms and concepts in the literature on educational equity and discuss the intersection of these concepts with the theoretical foundation that is the basis of dual language education.

Background. The literature on educational equity focuses on three major topics: equity of inputs, in terms of student access to schooling and resources available; equity of outcomes, which generally compares student achievement in terms of test scores and long-term indicators such as graduation rates; and equity of what Murphy calls “alterable educational variables” (1988, p. 145), which include such important features of education as instructional approaches, program design, and curriculum (Jordan, 2010; Murphy, 1988).

In the contemporary literature on equity, the discussion of equity of inputs and outcomes overlaps to a considerable degree. This has been the case since the Civil Rights era, as that movement was motivated, in part, by the fact that the inferiority of schools for African-Americans under segregation had educational, social, and economic consequences (Murphy, 1988; Nieto, 2010). Since that time, a large body of literature has accrued that examines unequal outcomes among students from diverse backgrounds (see reviews in Ladson-Billings, 2006; Lee, 2002) and unequal access to or distribution of resources (e.g., Gay, 2004; Kozol, 1991; Lynch & Baker, 2005). In this literature, writers examine the systematic connection between low educational outcomes and minority

status, as pertains to racial and linguistic minorities and students living in poverty (Harvey & Klein, 1985). Early writers approached this topic from a compensatory point of view, indicating that the lower average outcomes for minority students were a result of something lacking in the intellectual capability or background of those students that could be provided by schools (see reviews in Banks, 1995; Gay, 2004). Later writers focused on the resource gap (both financial and pedagogical) between schools that serve mostly minority and poor students and those that serve mostly white and middle class students (Darling-Hammond, 1995). A well-known example is Jonathan Kozol's *Savage Inequalities* (1991), which draws sharp lines connecting communities of poverty, schools with impoverished resources, and low academic outcomes, as compared to the environments and outcomes for middle class children.

Although access to schooling, the distribution of resources in terms of school financing, and educational outcomes persist as concerns, the third topic noted above, equity of alterable educational resources, has emerged as a significant focus of equity research. Within this literature, a contrast is generally drawn between *equality* and *equity* which notes that the former implies a quantitative judgment of sameness, whereas equity denotes that a qualitative judgment of fairness or justice is applied to the provision of a common good (Espinoza, 2007; Lynch & Baker, 2005). Another way to frame this distinction is to point out that *equality* requires one simply to avoid discrimination, while *equity* links with social justice, as it requires active attention to compensate for group differences (Duru-Bellat & Mingat, 2011) and it is firmly rooted in the broader socio-historical context (Jordan, 2010).

Equity becomes a social or political issue when one group is disadvantaged relative to others, and the disadvantaged group requires different or additional provisions in order to attain the same level of outcomes as other groups (Espinoza, 2007). This is the case with racial and linguistic minority students in the U.S., who, because of “the deep-rooted history of social inequality... require more resources than others to become productive, participating citizens in our democratic society” (North, 2008, p. 1187). In education, the provision of different or additional resources—which we may refer to as *differential access*—means providing special teacher training, adopting specially-designed materials or instructional strategies, or even rethinking the role of the teacher to benefit one particular group. In contrast, *equal access* would only require an education system to ensure that students in underprivileged groups are able to enroll in the same educational programs as majority students (Espinoza, 2007; Harvey & Klein, 1985).

A significant area of inquiry related to differential access for linguistically and culturally diverse students falls under the umbrella of *multicultural education*. One conceptualization of multicultural education is Banks’ five dimensional model, which includes content integration (the inclusion of diverse cultural perspectives in the curriculum), knowledge construction (the demonstration to students of how knowledge is based on specific cultural frames of reference), prejudice reduction, equity pedagogy (described below), and an empowering school culture that leads to personal and cultural transformation (Banks, 1995). This model allows us to describe a broad range of ways that multicultural education can be implemented in schools, from the fairly superficial (e.g., the acknowledgement of non-European cultural traditions), to the accommodating (e.g., the use of specific instructional strategies), to the transformational (e.g., approaches

such as anti-racist or culturally-relevant pedagogy that develop a critical stance toward the status quo in teachers and students) (Banks, 1995; Ladson-Billings, 1995; Nieto, 2010).

The dimension of *equity pedagogy* is particularly relevant to a discussion of differential access as a means to foster equity. Banks (1995) defines equity pedagogy as “techniques and methods that facilitate the academic achievement of students from diverse racial, ethnic, and social-class groups” (p. 4), but in another paper, Banks and Banks (1995) emphasize that equity pedagogy is integrally related to the other dimensions in the model, and “requires the dismantling of existing school structures that foster inequality. It cannot occur within a social and political context embedded with racism, sexism, and inequality” (p. 153). For linguistically diverse students, this fundamental rethinking of the educational context is manifested in dual language education, as will be described next.

Overview of equity in dual language. Dual language education fosters equity for language minority students by incorporating effective pedagogical approaches and by transforming the environment in which those approaches are implemented. At a basic level, well-implemented programs for ELLs provide appropriate instructional accommodations in order to allow ELLs to succeed academically and to successfully integrate into American society. These accommodations include, for example, developing oral language and vocabulary, using sheltered and interactive instructional strategies, and encouraging family literacy engagement (August & Shanahan, 2006; Echevarría et al., 2008; Genesee et al., 2006; Howard, Sugarman, & Christian, 2003). Bilingual programs (including dual language) provide differential access to the curriculum by giving English

language learners access to academic content in a language they understand (Ovando, Combs, & Collier, 2006). In dual language education, creating a culture of equity involves establishing a learning environment that draws on the background, culture, and skills of diverse students. The program works to raise the status of non-English languages and cultures and to foster cross-cultural communication and understanding, with the intention of challenging stereotypes and discrimination in American society (Howard & Sugarman, 2007; Soltero, 2004).

The theoretical principles supporting dual language education are related to equity in several ways. First, the development of additive bilingualism has been shown to promote better outcomes in terms of English proficiency, academic achievement, graduation rates, and attitudes than other bilingual or monolingual approaches (Collier & Thomas, 2009; Lindholm-Leary & Borsato, 2001; Thomas & Collier, 1997, 2002). By promoting additive bilingualism, dual language programs address the language deficit point of view of mainstream programs (that ELLs *lack* language skills as opposed to having language skills in a language other than English) and encourage students to see their first language (L1) as an asset (Valdés, 1997). Second, dual language programs also address the equity-related issue of segregation by integrating ELLs and native English speakers, on the principle that isolating ELLs in separate classrooms, programs, or schools is detrimental to their academic, social, and emotional growth (Brisk, 2006).

Another important foundational characteristic of dual language programs is the use of multicultural approaches to curriculum and pedagogy (what Banks [1995] called content integration). In dual language, one way that multicultural approaches are used is as a means to develop high levels of literacy and academic achievement by making

connections between new learning and students' background experiences and knowledge (Cummins, 2000). Additionally, "multicultural appreciation" (Olsen, 2005) is a goal in dual language programs in and of itself—the others being bilingualism, biliteracy, and academic achievement (Cloud et al., 2000; Howard & Christian, 2002; Olsen, 2005). The knowledge, skills and attitudes that dual language programs are expected to foster are intended to provide all students the opportunity to:

- Strengthen their sense of their own cultural and language identity
- Strengthen their ability to form and sustain friendships across cultures and languages
- Develop resilience in the face of prejudice and exclusion aimed at them and their own language or ethnic group
- Develop cross-cultural mediation and conflict-resolution skills
- Develop awareness of privilege and power dynamics among various language and cultural groups (Olsen, 2005)

These skills prepare students to function in an increasingly global society and are critical skills for students in an educational setting where students from majority and minority groups are deliberately integrated and where ethnic and linguistic status issues play out on a regular basis (Soltero, 2004).

Dual language programs are also transformative in the way that Banks and Banks (1995) indicated is critical to equity pedagogy. It is intended that dual language programs foster a learning environment that elevates the partner language and culture in ways that counter prevailing societal attitudes, as the alternative is to allow social inequities to be perpetuated (Cummins, 2000; Freeman, 1998; Palmer, 2007). The goal is not to say that

minority languages and cultures are better than English and European-American culture, but to raise the status of minority languages and cultures so that within the school, at least, they are of equal status. These conditions are intended to help minority students develop pride in their language and heritage and, especially in the case of Spanish/English programs, to motivate all students to use a language that is not highly valued in wider American society, giving them the best possible chance of developing high levels of language proficiency and literacy in Spanish. Some dual language educators also incorporate critical pedagogy into their instruction, providing students with the opportunity to examine power and social norms and to develop the capacity to value the diversity of experiences and voices in the classroom (Arce, 2000).

In spite of these stated goals and the high levels of optimism that many educators have expressed about the potential of dual language programs to provide an equitable education for language minority students, one of the most frequently-cited papers in the literature on dual language is a cautionary note written by Valdés (1997). Valdés argued that simply using the native language of minority students would not solve all of their educational problems. She was concerned that the Spanish used in dual language programs would be watered down in order to accommodate the learning needs of native English speakers in the program. Thus, the Spanish spoken in a dual language program might not be equivalent to the quality of Spanish spoken in maintenance bilingual programs that serve only native Spanish speakers. Valdés' second caution was that mixing students from two linguistic and cultural groups was potentially harmful. Minority students might feel a sense of exclusion as they witness middle-class children discussing out-of school activities to which the minority children were not invited, or as

English speakers are praised for learning Spanish while Spanish speakers are simply expected to learn English. She also noted that if dual language programs were truly successful in raising English speakers' Spanish proficiency to native-like levels, they might take away the advantage that native Spanish speakers traditionally have had as bilinguals in the job market. This paper pointed to a need for more research to truly understand equity and equitable outcomes for language minority students.

In fact, research over the last fifteen years has yielded mixed results in terms of how well dual language programs have done in providing an equitable environment and producing equitable outcomes for linguistically diverse students. In terms of outcomes, research studies to date (Collier & Thomas, 2009; Lindholm-Leary, 2001; Thomas & Collier, 1997, 2002) have shown that on measures of English language and literacy and in academic content areas, students in dual language programs do as well or better than their peers in English-only programs (comparing dual language students to peers who speak the same native language). However, among dual language students, there is a persistent native language effect, where students tend to do better on language/literacy and content area tests in their native language than in their second language (i.e., programs are not fostering full bilingualism). Furthermore, in many cases there is still a gap between fluent English speakers and ELLs in English language and academic achievement, although dual language programs do a better job than other educational models in closing that gap (Howard et al., 2003). Research on the educational environment, to be reviewed in the next section, demonstrates that there are many dual language programs and classrooms that implement promising practices described in the literature on equity, but others where practitioners fall short. These cases demonstrate “leakage” (Freeman, 1996) between the

ideal and actual implementation of a program that can be linked to the sociolinguistic and political context of dual language programs in the United States (Amrein & Peña, 2000). These studies reflect the need for more research on how to recognize and evaluate equity in a program and how to help teachers develop the knowledge, skills, and attitudes necessary to foster equity in their classrooms.

Empirical studies of equity in the dual language literature. In this section, ten empirical studies of the implementation of dual language programs are examined in order to establish a preliminary list—based on researchers’ priorities and observations—of specific policies and practices that contribute to a culture of equity or inequity in programs and classrooms. The studies were primarily qualitative, although a few of the studies also used quantitative methods for such purposes as comparing the amount of English and Spanish used in the classroom, and all but one were published in peer-reviewed journals (the exception was a book that was also peer-reviewed). Because no studies to date in the dual language literature explicitly attempt to operationalize the notion of equity, studies that were selected were ones in which the authors framed their investigation as relevant to equity, equality, empowerment, social justice, or dual language programs as serving the needs of English language learners or at-risk students.

These qualitative studies use a variety of methodological approaches, including action research, ethnography, and discourse analysis. Because dual language programs are relatively new educational innovations, qualitative research that describes actual classroom practice and connects it to the underlying theoretical principles of dual language is essential for establishing how these educational contexts are different from other types of programs. However, the studies described in this section vary in the detail

in which the study's methodology is described, including explaining how sites and subjects were selected, how data were coded and analyzed, and alternative hypotheses that were considered, making judgments about the soundness of the findings difficult to establish in some cases.

The ten studies examined below are grouped thematically. The first four studies portray exemplary programs or classrooms that generally demonstrate a high level of attention and commitment to equity. The second group of studies identify practices that the authors interpret as diminishing equity within the classroom and detract from the attainment of program goals. The final three studies focus on language ideologies and student language use, particularly the complicated influences on the choice to speak English or Spanish. After describing the findings, I will summarize the policies and practices that were documented in the literature into a list of traits that contribute positively toward an equitable learning environment and a list of traits that negatively impact equity. These lists then inform the methodology of my dissertation research as discussed in Chapter 3 by suggesting areas of focus for empirically investigating what elements practitioners would identify as constituting valid evidence of equity.

Conditions that create a positive climate of equity. In this section, I discuss four studies that describe dual language programs that are exemplary in their commitment to equity. In these studies, the authors illustrate classroom practices and systemic processes implemented program-wide that contribute to an equitable educational environment for language minority students. The authors also describe ways in which the programs occasionally fall short.

Freeman (1995) used ethnographic and discourse analytic methods to render explicit the “abstract, underlying ideological notion of equal opportunity” (p. 41) that was the underlying philosophy of the Oyster Bilingual School in Washington, DC. The school, which opened as a 50/50 dual language program in 1971, actively promoted a multicultural and multilingual education for all students. Freeman summed up the program’s basic orientation toward equity as follows:

The mainstream U.S. notion of equal educational opportunity places the burden of responsibility on the *LEP* [limited English proficient] *and language minority students* to change so that the school can treat all students equally according to language majority norms. In contrast, the Oyster notion of equal educational opportunity places the burden of responsibility on the *educational program and practices* to work in a variety of ways with their diverse student population so that all students can meet equally high expectations. (p. 46, emphasis in original)

The first way that Freeman demonstrates how this approach is evident in the school is through analyzing the discourse of the teachers and founding staff in terms of their motivation for the selection of the dual language program model. Teachers vocally opposed traditional methods for teaching ELLs in the U.S., including transitional bilingual and English as a second language programs, as isolating English learners, denying them the possibility of bilingualism, and being characterized by low expectations. In contrast, they saw language as a resource and bilingualism as an asset.

Second, teachers’ classroom practices demonstrated an emphasis on cultural diversity, as they used a multicultural, rather than Eurocentric, curriculum and emphasized the perspectives of the African-American, Latino, Caribbean, and African

students who made up the majority of the school's population. Third, teachers created equal educational opportunity by using a variety of approaches to engage students in the learning process: encouraging students to learn from each other, drawing on students' individual strengths, and providing a variety of types of learning activities to accommodate students' interests. Teachers consistently tapped into and built on students' background knowledge, and assumed that not all students from the same ethnic group had similar experiences.

In spite of the stated intention to use both English and Spanish equally, in practice, Freeman found that English was often afforded higher status. For example, in a Kindergarten class, the Spanish teacher switched to English to discipline students (using the comment "excuse me" to get their attention). In some cases, more skills were required to complete English work, while Spanish activities called for less (e.g., writing complete sentences in English vs. sentence fragments in Spanish). Students were also heard speaking English to each other during Spanish time, especially in the upper grades.

To sum up, Freeman uses two main sources of evidence to look at equity at Oyster: the ways that teachers frame their discourse around creating a learning environment that values multiculturalism, multilingualism, and differences of all types; and the evidence of classroom practice that allows students to use their strengths to be successful at learning. She also found that codeswitching into English and asymmetrical learning activities in English and Spanish to some degree impeded the program's stated goal of fostering equality of English and Spanish.

Like Freeman, Arce (2000) looked at the intersection of educational philosophy and practice, but her study was set in a first grade classroom in a 90/10 dual language

program in northern California. The teacher Arce observed applied a philosophy of critical pedagogy in her Spanish-language classroom. Arce defined this as a pedagogy that connected learning to students' lives, aimed to build students' empowerment and development of their voices, and built a sense of community through valuing all participants' contributions and emphasizing cooperative learning. Arce observed that activities in this first grade classroom were characterized by a focus on meaning rather than form, constant student interaction in order to develop interpersonal relationships among the children, and raising social consciousness. Native Spanish speakers (NSS) in the class were valued as experts to whom native English speakers (NES) would turn for help using their second language (L2). Arce stated that this philosophy and practice were meant to empower students to find their own voices, to develop critical thinking skills, and to counter prevailing attitudes of low expectations for minority students. In particular, the teacher implemented a pedagogical approach that fostered an acceptance of diversity and helped students negotiate the social dimension of studying in a minority language and in an integrated L1/L2 classroom.

A third grade teacher in a 50/50 program in New Mexico also used culturally relevant teaching to support her students by building on their background knowledge and experiences and explicitly discussing issues of ethnicity and power (Takahashi-Breines, 2002). She created a classroom culture that mirrored the respect, relationships, and family structure of her predominately Mexican-American students' home lives, and she focused attention on cultures and ethnicities not represented by the students in the class. In structured lessons and while explaining complex academic concepts, she built on students' background knowledge to make concepts understandable. She also provided

access to learning through sheltered instruction strategies such as comprehensible input, explaining academic tasks clearly, Total Physical Response (TPR), and wait time. Finally, the teacher promoted the status and use of Spanish by refraining from code-switching and insisting that students speak in the language of instruction. Like Arce, Takahashi-Breines argued that evidence of an equity-conscious classroom includes culturally relevant and diversity-oriented learning as well as a student-centered curriculum focused on making content accessible to language learners and developing a deep understanding of lesson concepts.

Howard and Sugarman (2007) profiled four programs that had demonstrated success in developing first and second language proficiency and high academic achievement in order to identify what instructional practices might correlate with student success. Having collected data on a wide range of variables, including teachers' beliefs, grouping of students in the classroom, school-level policies, and assessment practices, the authors identified three foundational "cultures" within each school—cultures of intellectualism, equity, and leadership—that operated at the program and classroom level. Additionally, they found that teachers were quite aware of the strengths and weaknesses of their programs, particularly in terms of how they did or did not promote equity. In many instances, issues of equity drove ongoing program improvement, for example, as teachers and administrators worked to raise the status of Spanish.

The authors identified a number of ways in which program staff created equity by promoting the partner language. One important consideration was balancing the number of NES and NSS so that neither group would dominate the classroom population. In order to balance the classrooms by language, the programs used selection procedures on

enrollment in the program including screening students for language dominance and using a separate lottery for each group of students. They also limited entrance to the program after first grade to NSS in order to ensure that instruction in Spanish could be taught at a high level at all grades. One program had an exchange program with upper elementary students from Mexico intended to promote the use of Spanish in authentic situations. In spite of the presence of NSS and these procedures, teachers from several of the schools noted that students chose to use English most of the time outside of the classroom.

Protecting Spanish instructional time was an area in which there was great agreement across the teachers that were interviewed for the study. The teachers all agreed that it was critically important not to speak English during Spanish time because if they did, “the flood of English will just come” (Howard & Sugarman, 2007, p. 91), as one teacher stated. Teachers strictly separated languages for instruction, although some teachers believed that using Spanish during English time was not as big a problem as using English during Spanish time. In other words, the separation of languages was not based on treating each language equally, but on creating a language policy that would equalize the sociolinguistic status of the two languages.

Other ways that the schools created linguistic equity were by consistently using both languages in school-wide announcements and activities, employing teachers with a positive attitude toward language learners and bilingualism, and ensuring that classrooms had abundant and high-quality materials in the partner language. On the other hand, one aspect of linguistic inequity seen at the schools was that although each conducted summative assessments in Spanish, interviewees noted that there was increasing pressure

to adjust the model and the curriculum to increase English instruction due to high-stakes English standardized tests.

The focal schools also promoted equity by including and supporting students with special needs in their programs. Interviewed program administrators and teachers spoke of their belief that all students should have access to bilingualism and biliteracy, not just those students that are typically-developing or who test at grade level. To support this belief, one program whose dual language program was a strand within the school changed the screening for and focus of its school-wide gifted and talented program when parents complained that it excluded native Spanish speakers.

Several teachers from the focal schools stated that balancing the model, curriculum, and other program components between English and Spanish was a challenge. For example, at one school, staffing challenges made it difficult to provide small group instruction for Spanish language arts as they were able to do for English language arts (with specialists provided by the district). In response, this school made changes to its program to increase the time for and staffing in Spanish language arts, formalized their program of Spanish oral language and writing assessment, and developed a Spanish language arts framework to make instruction in the two languages equally rigorous.

Finally, the four programs promoted an atmosphere of mutual respect for cultural diversity. Staff called attention to cultural and linguistic diversity and included the study of culture (the idea of culture in general as well as specific cultures around the world) in the curriculum.

In their study, Howard and Sugarman provide insight into the program-level and classroom-level processes that promote equity in a dual language program. The equal status of English and Spanish was promoted through balancing the student population, protecting time for Spanish instruction, using both languages school-wide, employing teachers with positive attitudes toward language and culture, and ensuring teachers had abundant materials in Spanish. Teachers also included the study of students' culture in the curriculum. This last concept was also foregrounded in the other three studies reviewed in this section, in which the authors argue that curriculum and instruction that explicitly took advantage of students' diversity of skills and experiences promoted the achievement of linguistically and culturally diverse students and helped elevate the status of minority languages and cultures.

Shortcomings in the implementation of dual language programs. Unlike the authors describing the schools in the previous four studies, other authors have focused on documenting circumstances in which dual language programs fall short of promoting Spanish language and culture or valuing the contributions of all students in the program. In her study, Palmer (2007) juxtaposed the characteristics of an ideal dual language program with the reality of dual language programs that co-exist with a larger school context and with the norms of mainstream society. The school she studied (focusing on the second grade classrooms) was a 90/10 program in California with a rich, diversity-oriented curriculum; fluently bilingual and well-trained teachers; and high expectations for all students. However, she found that the school did not create a welcoming context for bilingualism, citing the following evidence:

- While some notices were sent home in English and Spanish and there were some signs in both languages throughout the school, the name on the front of the school and some bulletin boards were in English only
- Not all staff that had contact with students and families were bilingual
- Students used English almost exclusively outside the classroom
- All specials classes and school-wide assemblies were in English only
- School-wide meetings and family events were in English with Spanish translation using headsets; attempts to shift the balance to Spanish were met with limited success

In spite of this evidence, Latino parents did not seem disturbed by the imbalance of Spanish in the school, and Palmer concluded that parents were pleased to have their children continue to learn Spanish at all, given the monolingual English hegemony of American society.

Another positive finding of Palmer's research was that parents noted that the linguistic and cultural understandings that students developed in school crossed over to how they interacted with others in their home lives. However, there were some cultural strains and misunderstandings between African-Americans, who predominated in the surrounding neighborhood and in the mainstream strand of the school, with white and Hispanic families. This may have been due to the fact that African-Americans were underrepresented in the dual language program, so Hispanic and white students in the dual language program did not get to interact as much with students from all cultures represented in the school.

Finally, Palmer reported that teachers attempted to create an alternative discourse within the dual language program, where Spanish students acted as models for English students (unlike power structures in mainstream programs), and where the teacher was aware of and embraced cultural difference. However, outside the dual language program, stereotypes and deficit perspectives were evident in the interactions between non-dual language staff and minority students from both the dual language and mainstream strands in the school. In this way, the school as a whole demonstrated conflicting philosophies and did not promote a unified voice to create conditions of equity.

In sum, Palmer demonstrated many visible ways in which English was more prevalent and prominent in a school that housed a dual language program. She also noted that conflicts between the whole school culture and philosophy and that of the dual language program hampered the development of equity.

As opposed to Palmer's study that contrasted dual language programs with mainstream ideologies, Amrein and Peña (2000) looked at asymmetry in practice between the English and Spanish sides of a 50/50 dual language program in Phoenix, AZ. The program had recently opened, so the study focused on K-2 classrooms. The authors found several ways in which language use within the program was asymmetrical. First, because Spanish-medium teachers were bilingual, they frequently code-switched to English to help students understand while English-medium teachers were monolingual and not able to code-switch to help the Spanish speakers. Likewise, Spanish teachers understood students' questions in English and were able to answer them without forcing the student to restate in Spanish (although one of the three focal teachers did ask students to do this), while, again, the English teachers were not able to understand Spanish

questions and asked students to rephrase in English. Although it would seem that this would benefit the students who received the cues in their native language, in reality it served to foster greater proficiency in English for English learners than proficiency in Spanish for Spanish learners, as students who practice their second language are more likely to develop higher levels of proficiency (Gass, 2003; Swain & Lapkin, 2002). Furthermore, when students were allowed to make the choice of with whom to interact in or out of the classroom, they frequently chose peers of their same language group and spoke their native language with them.

The authors also noted asymmetry in terms of resources. Students in the Spanish classroom used both English and Spanish materials and saw environmental print in both languages, while only English materials and print were available in the English room. In addition, only about 20% of the materials in the library were in Spanish. Those were isolated in one section as opposed to being shelved alongside English materials and thus were less likely to be chosen for free reading unless the students deliberately sought out the Spanish section of the library.

The authors concluded that these inequalities in language use and resources (privileging English) represented “leakage” (Freeman, 1996) between the ideal and real implementation of a dual language program and that this leakage was mediated by the sociolinguistic context of dual language programs in an English-only society. Although connections were not made from these conditions to student outcomes, the authors presumed that the reproduction of societal inequalities evident in the program did not provide the conditions necessary for overcoming the pressure of English as the higher status language from the wider society.

A third study also provided evidence of how a program can lack equity in its implementation. Grounding her work in Bourdieu's notion of *cultural capital*,⁵ McCollum (1999) examined how school staff in a newly-implemented middle school dual language program in the southwestern U.S. devalued the cultural capital of Mexican-background students in favor of European-American, English-language norms even though most of the students in the dual language program (70%) were of Mexican descent.

One of the ways that Mexican students' cultural capital was devalued was that the language arts teacher McCollum observed modeled and taught 'high' forms of Spanish, explicitly correcting the vernacular usage of NSS as incorrect. As a result, these students switched to English when speaking to the teacher in order to avoid being corrected. She also denigrated their language forms as uneducated. On the other hand, NES were praised for any attempt at Spanish, however rudimentary. Furthermore, some of the NSS in the program also struggled with English, where their teacher was equally disparaging about their skills. Finally, students viewed speaking English as a way to gain entry to popular peer groups and as a form of rebellion against the mandate to speak Spanish on days when it was the formal language of instruction.

There were more subtle cues about the status of English and Spanish in the school as well. Although there was Spanish environmental print around the building, daily announcements were always in English followed by Spanish and ended with a new English vocabulary word to learn (and not one in Spanish). Further, although students

⁵ McCollum (1999) defines this as class-based cultural and linguistic knowledge. The cultural capital one possesses is related to one's cultural background, and parents from the dominant class pass on capital that matches the norms and expectations of an educational system set up by other members of the dominant class, allowing their own children to be more successful than children who possess different types of cultural capital (cf. Bourdieu, 1977).

took standardized, end-of-year tests in both English and Spanish, students knew that the English test was the one that counted for their advancement. The English test was marked by intense preparation, while the Spanish test was “given almost as an afterthought” (McCollum, 1999, p. 125). In the second year of the program, the dual language model was abandoned due to low test scores, and Spanish was used by teachers only for clarification.

In short, McCollum demonstrated that although the program was created with the express purpose of maintaining Mexican heritage and the Spanish language, it had the opposite effect. Her major examples included the devaluing of vernacular Spanish in favor of standard Spanish, the relative importance placed on English-language standardized tests, and using English more predominantly in school-wide announcements.

The three articles reviewed in this section demonstrated how program characteristics and teacher practices can create inequity in a dual language program. Most of the examples cited by the researchers involve an imbalance in the use of English and Spanish (including the amount of time each is used and for what purposes). In the Howard and Sugarman (2007) study discussed above, dual language practitioners in exemplary programs stated that creating a learning environment where the two languages are truly equal involves the occasional “overpromotion” of the language and culture in order to create a level playing field for English and Spanish. The programs studied in the articles discussed in this section failed to realize this critical component of dual language education.

Focus on language ideologies and student language use. Three studies in the dual language literature looked explicitly at the manifestation of language ideologies in day-to-day school life. They examined how programs frame appropriate language use (through rules about when and how each language can be used) and to what extent students conform to or rebel against that framing. They demonstrated the self-reinforcing cycle of language status, language framing/rules, and language use,⁶ and suggest reasons why elements of equity related to language use and status may be lacking in a program or classroom.

Studying one of the oldest dual language programs in the country, Potowski (2004) analyzed language use at Inter-American Magnet School in Chicago from both a quantitative and qualitative point of view. She noted several positive ways that the school was “marked as a Spanish-speaking space” (p. 78), including the following:

- Environmental print and student work in Spanish throughout the school
- Announcements made in Spanish without English translation
- Spanish was used to discipline or direct students in the hallways

Further, the school devised a “Curriculum of the Americas” that focused on one culture per year through interdisciplinary units.

However, as in other schools, Potowski found that the ideal was not always being realized. She saw teachers instructing in English during time that was dedicated to Spanish, intense preparation and concern over English tests but not Spanish tests, all the specials (music, gym, and computers) taught in English, school-wide competitions held in

⁶ Note that *language use* includes both receptive (listening and reading) and productive (speaking and writing) skills (Saville-Troike, 2006), although Potowski, among others, operationalizes the concept in terms of production only.

English only, and she also noted that the English as a second language (ESL) teacher was highly qualified while the Spanish as a second language (SSL) teacher was not.

Focusing on a fifth-grade classroom, Potowski found that Spanish was used only about 40% of the time for instruction (it was intended to be used 60% in that grade) and that students' use of English during Spanish time sometimes went unchecked. She focused on four students, a male and female NES and a male and female NSS, counting the number of turns each made in English and in Spanish over the course of 53 hours of instruction. She found that the focal students used Spanish about 56% of the time (with no difference between NES and NSS but with both girls using more Spanish than the two boys). The students used Spanish most of the time for academic talk and to talk to the teacher, and they usually used English when speaking to each other for social purposes.

In addition to her quantitative findings on the language use of the four students, Potowski also examined why they used Spanish and English as they did. She explained their language use through the concept of investment, "which emphasizes that the overriding purpose of social interactions is for people to construct and present an image of who they are (Norton, 2000)" (Potowski, 2004, p. 88). People invest in speaking a language when they feel they will gain access to material or symbolic resources by being able to use the language, and their investment changes depending on the identity they wish to portray to their interlocutor. Potowski's findings demonstrated that neither merely giving students a Spanish-language task to do nor counting on NSS to speak their L1 were enough to ensure that students would speak Spanish. She described in detail the way that students' motivation to be seen by their interlocutors (parents, peers, or teachers) as a member of a certain group or possessing certain characteristics (such as coolness or

obedience) influenced their decision to speak English or Spanish. Potowski concluded that “if students’ identity investments compete with their investments in developing the target language, or if the classroom environment denies them opportunities to participate in ways that are acceptable to them, their target language growth will not be as great as educators might hope” (2004, p. 95).

In sum, Potowski showed that even in a well-implemented program, there were inconsistencies in the way that English and Spanish were used by staff. However, she also showed that students’ reluctance to speak Spanish was not exclusively related to those inconsistencies, but to some degree to students’ constructed notions of identity.

Language ideologies were also foregrounded in Volk and Angelova’s (2007) study of a first-grade dual language classroom, particularly how ideologies manifested in students’ likelihood to speak English versus Spanish in the classroom. Whereas Potowski argued that personal identity explained language choice, Volk and Angelova demonstrated that for the seven focal students in the study—four NSS and three NES—students negotiated and resisted dominant language ideologies that privilege English over Spanish in wider society. The NSS never complained about using English while the English speakers viewed Spanish as a problem to be overcome. This was evident from the NES asserting their ignorance and relying on help from Spanish speakers. Both groups of students attempted to follow the rules about which language to use during each portion of the day, but the idea of using Spanish during Spanish time was negotiated and mediated through students’ policing each others’ language production and asking the teacher to reaffirm which language was supposed to be used. These negotiations never took place during English time.

Volk and Angelova concluded that students' language choices and talk about using language reflected the dominant language ideology in American society (Hornberger, 1990; Woolard & Schieffelin, 1994); that is to say, it is expected that all students learn English, while learning Spanish is essentially optional (as evidenced by the NES's complaints about it and negotiations over whether they were required to speak Spanish during Spanish time). Volk and Angelova's analysis underlines the crucial importance of understanding the sociolinguistic context of dual language programs in order to understand language use and learning.

The final study examined a dual language program that was well implemented and employed staff that were highly aware of equity issues (Fitts, 2006). However, this awareness and attention to equity occasionally had unintended consequences. The 90/10 dual language program in Colorado that Fitts studied promoted an explicit goal that students would graduate with a well-developed awareness of diversity and tolerance. Teachers and administrators explicitly stated that the school's philosophy was that all children at the school were (or were becoming) bilingual and that all people should be considered equal in all respects. This ideology was operationalized through a policy at the school and classroom level for democratic decision-making, frequent use of heterogeneous cooperative groups, and downplaying differences between students. Teachers also promoted an educational philosophy of undercutting the hegemonic cultural norms of individualism and competition. While this policy encouraged students to view each other as equals, it also allowed teachers to gloss over real differences in culture and class that students experienced on a daily basis.

An example of a conflict that arose from this ideology that all students were equal and all were bilingual was a case in which students in a fifth grade class were asked to pair up with someone with a different native language. The problem was that this request did not take into account several realities: some students entered the program as balanced bilinguals and thus had trouble identifying an L1, students' language dominance may have changed over the years, and not all NSS were necessarily strong language models for the NES who picked them (which was the point of having cross-language pairs). In addition, although the prevailing narrative was that all students were bilingual by fifth grade, this glossed over the reality that "some people are more bilingual than others, and some people make more of an effort to become bilingual than others" (Fitts, 2006, p. 349).

Fitts further argued that while dual language programs create and protect spaces that are exclusively Spanish-speaking in order to promote the use of Spanish (cf. Howard & Sugarman, 2007), this practice creates a potential conflict with native Spanish speakers' lived experience of code-switching and linguistic borrowings ("Spanglish"). Although the situation was not as extreme as McCollum's (1999) example mentioned above, teachers at the school observed by Fitts clearly frowned on linguistic borrowings of English terms in Spanish, as these were corrected by teachers or by other students. The strict separation of the Spanish classroom and the English classroom also had the effect of focusing more attention on language production in the Spanish room, as students never code-switched in English but did so frequently in Spanish, and these occurrences were monitored and commented on by both teachers and students (in other words, because that

commentary only took place in the Spanish room, more attention was focused on language production in Spanish than during English time).

Fitts' analysis is very important for the study of equity in dual language programs, as it demonstrates that even programs that implement “best practices”—strictly separating English and Spanish for instruction, promoting the idea that all people and cultures are equal, using a minority language for academic purposes, and encouraging students to work in linguistically heterogeneous groups—can run into difficulties. It intersects with Potowski's and Volk and Angelova's work that demonstrated that larger sociolinguistic ideologies around investment and identity play a large role in how students use their L1 and L2. Taken together, these three studies caution against drawing a causal connection between program characteristics and teacher behavior on the one hand and student language use on the other. The sociolinguistic context and language ideologies also play a major role. The larger implication is that noting the presence or absence of elements of equity in a program or classroom may not be sufficient to evaluate whether it is an equitable environment without understanding how identities and ideologies are negotiated and enacted as well.

Analysis. The studies analyzed in this literature review reveal a wide range of potential sources of evidence of equity in dual language programs. The traits that the studies documented are summarized in Tables 1 and 2. In these tables, each row lists a characteristic and the studies where that characteristic was mentioned are marked with a checkmark (✓). It should be noted that the fact that a characteristic is not marked for a study does not mean that the characteristic was not evident in the program, just that the

author did not discuss it in the paper that was analyzed in this review. Table 1 shows the positive characteristics of equity documented in the studies.

Table 1. Characteristics that Contribute Positively to Equity

	Freeman, 1995	Arce, 2000	Takahashi-Breines, 2002	Howard & Sugarman, 2007	Palmer, 2007	Amrein & Peña, 2000	McCollum, 1999	Potowski, 2004	Volk & Angelova, 2007	Fitts, 2006
Multicultural curriculum is adopted	✓			✓				✓		
Critical pedagogy is implemented		✓	✓		✓					
Summative assessments are given in Spanish				✓						
Teachers have abundant, high-quality materials in Spanish				✓						
Teachers draw on students' cultural/personal strengths	✓		✓							
Teachers use sheltering strategies			✓							
Students learn from each other, cooperative grouping is emphasized	✓	✓							✓	✓
Students make cross-cultural friendships					✓					
Spanish environmental print is widespread							✓	✓		
School-wide announcements made in Spanish with no English translation								✓		
English and Spanish are both used in school-wide routines and activities				✓						
Spanish is used by adults for non-instructional purposes								✓		
Notices are sent home in both languages					✓					
Teachers and administrators espouse the ideology that all students are equal										✓
Teachers have a positive attitude toward language learners and bilingualism	✓			✓						✓
Teachers protect Spanish instructional time				✓						✓
The program limits enrollment to NSS after first grade				✓						
There is a balance of NES and NSS in each grade				✓						
Students with special needs are included in the program				✓						

The attributes listed in Table 1 include curriculum, assessment, instruction, materials, use of spoken and written English and Spanish, espoused beliefs and ideologies, and program-level policies and procedures. The traits that were mentioned most often were attributes of the curriculum and teacher beliefs and behaviors:

- Multicultural curriculum is adopted (3 studies)
- Critical pedagogy is implemented (3 studies)
- Students learn from each other, cooperative grouping is emphasized (4 studies)
- Teachers have a positive attitude toward language learners and bilingualism (3 studies)

This pattern is unsurprising given that the methodology of the majority of the studies involved classroom observations and staff interviews.

Table 2 shows the phenomena that the authors characterized as creating inequities in the dual language classroom or program.

Table 2. Characteristics that Negatively Impact Equity

	Freeman, 1995	Arce, 2000	Takahashi-Breines, 2002	Howard & Sugarman, 2007	Palmer, 2007	Amrein & Peña, 2000	McCollum, 1999	Potowski, 2004	Volk & Angelova, 2007	Fitts, 2006
Teachers speak English during Spanish time	✓					✓		✓		
Students choose to speak English in the Spanish classroom	✓					✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Students choose to speak English outside the classroom				✓	✓					
Students interact mostly with others from the same language group						✓				
Spanish vernacular is devalued							✓			✓
More language production is required in English than Spanish	✓					✓				
English and Spanish are used for different illocutionary purposes	✓									
Specials are taught only in English					✓			✓		
School-wide activities are only in English					✓			✓		
When translating for announcements or meetings, English is spoken first or predominates					✓		✓			
School-wide environmental print is mostly/all in English					✓					
There is more weight placed on English tests than Spanish				✓			✓	✓		
Spanish classroom has both English and Spanish resources; English room is English-only						✓				
The library has more materials in English than Spanish						✓				
Spanish teachers are less qualified than English teachers								✓		
Sociolinguistic and cultural differences between students are ignored										✓
Language negotiation takes place only in Spanish classroom									✓	✓
Some teachers are oriented to a language deficit perspective					✓					

Like the traits in Table 1, the traits in Table 2 cover a range of domains, including instructional practices, beliefs and ideologies, school-wide policies and procedures, assessment, and materials. However, compared to Table 1, these negative traits are more heavily weighted to one domain, which is evidence for inequality in the use of English and Spanish. Fourteen of the eighteen attributes listed explicitly relate to an imbalance of English and Spanish, with English holding the more valued or more prominent place. The traits that were mentioned most often also related to this imbalance:

- Teachers speak English during Spanish time (3 studies)
- Students choose to speak English in the classroom (6 studies)
- There is more weight placed on English tests than Spanish (3 studies)

Notably, the phenomenon that students choose to speak English inside or outside the classroom was mentioned in eight of ten studies, indicating that this is a major concern of researchers.

While stopping short of drawing causal connections between the educational environment and outcomes, the authors of the studies reviewed in this section point to practices such as raising the status of the minority language, implementing critical pedagogy, and integrating majority and minority students as practices that support language minority students' academic development. On the other hand, inequalities between English and Spanish point to leakage between the ideal implementation—as outlined in the theoretical work on additive bilingualism, second language acquisition, and so on—and reality on the ground. The features highlighted in Tables 1 and 2 foreground particular issues that emerged as salient in the researchers' investigations, but are not a comprehensive inventory of equity variables, nor do the studies use a common

metric for evaluating the presence or absence of a feature. One way to create such an inventory or rubric to measure equity would be with program standards that are discussed in the next half of the literature review.

The Use of Program Standards

Program standards define a minimum or ideal set of practices that guide a program's implementation so that the stated goals of the program (e.g., educating students, making sick people well, delivering a government benefit) can be achieved.⁷ Program standards may have binding consequences (such as when they are adopted as part of state accreditation requirements) or be voluntary. Program standards impact educational practice indirectly, through the development of curricula, assessments, and teacher professional development programs that are aligned to the standards (Weiss, 2006).

Little research exists to help us understand how practitioners use or interpret program standards. There is, however, some discussion within the literature on school effectiveness related to the use of educational indicators, of which program standards are one type. In the sections that follow, I will review what is known about educational indicators and the variety of ways they can be employed, what factors influence how different readers interpret the meaning of indicators, how practitioners might gather and evaluate evidence in order to judge their own schools against program standards, and how groups of practitioners might view standards and evidence of practice through different lenses depending on their background, experience, and professional role.

⁷ In education, *program standards* are different from *content standards* which lay out what students should learn or be able to do as a result of a course of study.

The research reviewed in this section sets the context for the findings described in Chapter 5, in which practitioners used a standards document, the *Guiding Principles for Dual Language Education*, as a tool to stimulate their thinking about how equity can be observed in dual language programs. This literature also raises implications for understanding what limitations must be imposed on the validity of self-assessment using standards, given the multiple factors (professional role, prior knowledge, attitude towards particular research methodologies) that appear to influence a user's evidence gathering and judgment.

Educational indicators. Educational indicators are variables related to educational processes, policies, and outcomes that can be measured and tracked over time to provide accountability for schools to various constituencies (Oakes, 1989; Porter 1991). The focus and purpose of indicator systems change over time with shifting political and pedagogical priorities (Teddle & Reynolds, 2000). Beginning in the 1980s, federal agencies, educational associations, and states developed indicator systems to monitor educational outcomes closely. This occurred mainly in response to the 1983 report *A Nation at Risk* and snowballed as a result of the availability of new and expanding sources of data, such as the National Assessment of Education Progress (NAEP). Efforts to track educational outcomes were later bolstered by other government activity, such as President George H. W. Bush's *America 2000* plan and the development of subject-specific content standards (i.e., what students should know as a result of the study of some domain). Institutions that developed sets of indicators intended them to serve as the foundation of educational policy at the federal, state, and/or local level; in

reality, they have been used by states and districts as mechanisms of control and management of individual schools (Bryk & Hermanson, 1993; Porter, 1991).

Types of indicators. As the movement to track and measure educational variables was gaining momentum, Oakes' foundational article on educational indicators (1989) argued in favor of expanding the realm of indicators beyond outcomes (most notably test scores and dropout/college attendance rates). State and federal indicator systems, she argued, should also include *context indicators*. These include such variables as the availability and deployment of resources; organizational policies and structures; school culture, relationships, and attitudes; and teachers' professional environment. Based on extant research on the effect of school conditions on outcomes, she delineated three categories of context indicators: those that illuminate how schools provide access to knowledge and opportunities to learn, how the school encourages students to work hard, and the professional conditions of teachers and administrators.

Shortly thereafter, Porter (1991) presented a three-part model of educational indicators, dividing context indicators into inputs (student, teacher, and community demographics and resources) and processes (school organization and environment), with outputs (achievement, participation, and attitudes/aspirations) forming the third part of the model. Another model of educational indicators includes those three elements and adds a fourth component of long-term outcomes, including retained knowledge and skills, values, and employment (Teddle & Reynolds, 2000).

Process indicators (school organization and environment), the second element in Porter's and Teddle and Reynolds' models, are particularly important for two reasons. First, process indicators broaden the scope of what schools are accountable for

demonstrating, measuring, and tracking. This is justified because “policy makers, educators, and parents place a high value on the quality of the resources, people, and activities that shape children’s day-to-day school experiences” (Oakes, 1989, p. 182) and because we as a society entrust schools with functions beyond academic achievement, such as inculcating citizenship and morality and educating students about social problems such as drugs (Bryk & Hermanson, 1993). In other words, process indicators keep schools accountable for elements of education that cannot be measured by quantitative assessments of short- or long-term outcomes.

Secondly, process indicators are a frame for understanding what variables affect student outcomes (Oakes, 1989). In a way, they are more direct measures of what schools do than outcomes, because “schools provide educational opportunity; they do not directly produce student learning” (Porter, 1991, p. 13). Unfortunately, we often overestimate the causal power of contextual or school process indicators with regard to outcome measures. As Oakes (1989) states:

We have only limited understanding about which school features most influence the quality of classroom experiences. We don’t fully understand which of these function as the most important mediators between school resources and student results. Additionally, like results, many school characteristics that most parents and educators value highly and that many researchers hypothesize as influences on achievement lie beyond our current measurement technology. (p. 185)

Nevertheless, as school effectiveness research helps us understand how to measure these factors and how to correlate them with outcomes, keeping track of process indicators

through accountability systems will provide useful data for future correlations between inputs, processes, and outputs.

A new conceptualization for process indicators. Traditional process indicators are grounded in a philosophy of schooling that is instrumental, technical, and bureaucratic in nature. In this model, external agents, particularly state and federal governments, gather information about schools via indicator systems, and then they apply pressure through educational policy and allocation of resources to make those indicators move in a particular direction. For example, a process indicator might state that class size should be no more than 30 pupils, and districts respond by hiring additional teachers. Schools are seen within a rational-bureaucratic perspective, in which actions of administrators and teachers are driven by rules and policies. Control is exerted by virtue of deference to authority (Bryk & Hermanson, 1993; Teddlie & Reynolds, 2000).

In contrast to this paradigm, Bryk and Hermanson envision a different model of schooling in which schools are seen as social systems “where personal interactions are primary and structural reform often requires changing the values and tacit understandings that ground these interactions” (1993, p. 453). Although there is still a sense of hierarchy and authority within this conception of school organization, authority “rests on a set of shared understandings that order the largely autonomous behavior of school participants” (p. 454).

Having this model as the basis of an indicator system not only changes the nature of the indicators themselves, which would focus less on rules and documenting arbitrary divisions of labor among practitioners, but would alter the *use* of the indicators. While the instrumental model of school organization posits that there is a direct chain of logic in

which indicators are rationally analyzed by administrators and changes are instituted from the top down in order to redress weaknesses in instruction or school environment, the constructivist model emphasizes the personal, interactive, and iterative nature of change in schools and the fact that change is rarely linear, with a single cause and predictable effects (Bryk & Hermanson, 1993).

In other words, the instrumental model conceptualizes indicators as tools to predict and ameliorate deficiencies. Because causes and effects are predetermined, “performance indicators thus become automatic triggers for specific actions. This means that diagnosis and decision-making can be largely avoided” (Darling-Hammond, 1991, p. 21, in Bryk & Hermanson, 1993, p. 460). In contrast, the constructivist model envisions educational indicators as a tool for opening a dialogue among practitioners about the various causes and possible consequences of change. In the absence of a comprehensive model of education that connects factors relating to personal and family background, teacher quality, instruction, curriculum, school organization, and societal forces to short- and long-term outcomes, data on school processes (organization and policies) must be seen as *partial* information that can be interpreted in a multitude of ways depending on the bias and understandings of the observer. They “can signal new problem areas, offer conceptual frames in which to discuss these issues, provide some useful information for initial brainstorming about possible solutions, and, more generally, inform the broader public” (Bryk & Hermanson, 1993, p. 465).

In sum, Bryk and Hermanson argue that educational indicator systems should not be used as mechanistic levers to trigger policy changes automatically in response to unsatisfactory outcomes but should be used to encourage reflection and deeper

understanding of educational and social processes by education professionals, policy makers, and the general public. It is certainly the case that the *Guiding Principles for Dual Language Education* are used in this reflective manner, particularly those principles related to equity, since dual language is an approach that is voluntarily implemented and not generally overseen by state or local accountability mechanisms. This means that it is imperative to understand what values and ideologies are brought to bear on such reflections and on the actions that may be taken as a result, which is discussed next.

The interpretation of standards and the development of evidence. Assuming that educational indicators such as program standards come to be used as tools for reflection and understanding (Bryk & Hermanson, 1993) and understanding that standards are not adopted directly in the classroom but are implemented through teacher training and the adoption of curriculum and assessments (Weiss, 2006), much responsibility rests on individual practitioners to ensure that the intended effects of the standards reach students. In this section, I examine the variables that affect practitioners' interpretations of standards and the development of evidence of alignment to them.

Standards, including the *Guiding Principles for Dual Language*, are purposefully vague, as the intent is to allow schools and teachers flexibility to reach the desired ends through locally-relevant means (Donmoyer, 1995). However, this vagueness means that to understand and work with standards, practitioners must have a thorough understanding of the same educational concepts that the standards writers relied on. For example, when reading a standard that states that instruction should be student-centered, it is possible that a teacher might only have the background knowledge to know that this means that students should do more talking than teachers. Rating herself on this standard, this

teacher might not know that she also needs to consider whether activities are meaningful and relevant to diverse students; that the success of a lesson is assessed on the basis of student mastery of the concepts, not teacher coverage of the curriculum; that the lesson is organized according to student needs and interests; and so on. The fact that little research has been done on the use of standards compounds this potential writer/reader mismatch. It is likely that additional attention to the use and understanding of standards would encourage standards writers to be more clear in their definition of terms and to provide additional supports, such as rubrics and examples, to help practitioners interpret standards.

Even if practitioners have the necessary background knowledge, the language of standards is particularly critical to readers' interpretations. For example, looking at a mathematics curriculum-writing committee's work, Hill (2001) uncovered instances of discontinuity between the intended meaning of the words used by state standards writers and the way that the local committee interpreted them. Hill realized that "the specific words that comprise state standards often hold specialized meanings [to the reform communities at the state level]... Yet locals, for the most part, did not have access to the reform communities that supplied particular meanings for those words" (p. 290). In her study, the teachers on the local curriculum writing committee did not perceive the differences in philosophies between the two documents they were reconciling—state standards and a publisher's scope and sequence. This was not because they lacked understanding of the different philosophies behind the two documents but because they did not have access to the specialized vocabularies used by the writers of each document. The state standards used "code" words with meanings specific to constructivist

instructional approaches, while the publisher's scope and sequence used the language of behavioral objectives.

Further complicating matters is that even if a practitioner can interpret the standard, he or she might have difficulty making the leap from the abstract language of standards to the concrete demonstration of the principle in use (Hill, 2001). Spillane and Miele (2007) explain,

In some cases, a person may even possess two mental models of the same phenomenon: an "espoused" model, which the person uses to explain the phenomenon to other people, and an "in-use" model, which guides the person's behavior when responding to the phenomenon directly. Teachers, for example, often activate an espoused model of how children learn when talking with each other, but activate a separate, in-use model when actually teaching (Strauss, 1993). (p. 52)

Negotiating the meaning of a standard would be difficult under such a condition, especially if participants were asked to support their statements with evidence from practice (which might contradict how they explain abstract concepts).

After understanding and interpreting an indicator or standard, the next step would be to consider how well the classroom, school, or district in question aligns to the ideal. For outcome indicators, this might involve comparing student test scores to benchmarks. For process indicators, qualitative and quantitative studies such as those conducted by the authors of the studies discussed in the first half of this chapter provide the kind of evidence that compares theoretical principles (e.g., it is beneficial to use Spanish and English equally in the classroom) with observed reality (e.g., students use Spanish

unevenly for academic purposes and primarily English for social purposes). Suggestions about where and how to collect evidence are generally not included along with standards and are up to practitioners to develop.

Schwandt defines evidence as “information helpful in forming a conclusion or judgment” (2009, p. 199). Teachers and other educational professionals make judgments about student learning every day. They use these judgments to frame new questions, diagnose problems, and assess progress. They also use contextual information such as student background and available resources to make judgments and determine next steps for instruction (Moss & Piety, 2007). However, teachers are generally poorly trained in program evaluation and often lack knowledge of research methodologies (Ikemoto & Marsh, 2007), thus calling into question the degree to which practitioners’ judgments are reliable in the scientific sense of the word.

Assuming that practitioners can understand and interpret a standard, relate it to concrete practices at the local level, and decide on ways of investigating how well their program aligns to the standard, gathering evidence can be conceptualized as a fairly straightforward cycle of collecting data (input, process, and outcome data), analyzing it, making decisions, implementing changes, and evaluating outcomes. However, again, there are variables that make this process particularly complex in educational systems:

- The extent to which teachers and administrators have knowledge and training on evaluation methods
- The availability and reliability of extant data
- The availability and quality of tools (such as software, rubrics, and worksheets) to help organize and study data

- The perceived validity of the data
- The amount of time available to study data
- The availability of and funding to engage outside organizations to help analyze and interpret data
- An organizational culture that views inquiry to be helpful rather than threatening (Ikemoto & Marsh, 2007)

Once data exist, they must be put to use to answer educational questions, and yet there is still no guarantee that evidence is an infallible basis for decision making, as practitioners' interpretations of evidence can be flawed, evidence can be reinterpreted in the light of new findings, deciding if evidence is conclusive is a matter of interpretation, and, of course, methodologies used to collect data are never perfect (Schwandt, 2009).

In sum, interpreting standards and finding evidence of alignment is confounded by a great number of complexities. The background knowledge of the readers and their access to the meanings of the standards writers have a potentially profound effect on the interpretation of the standard. The reader must reconcile the abstract standard with an understanding of what it looks like in practice. He or she may then conduct an inquiry despite a limited knowledge of program evaluation and research methodology. Finally, collecting and analyzing data in a school context is tremendously complex, and even if one does collect qualitative or quantitative data, their value as evidence can be contested on a number of grounds. Nevertheless, the alternative—failing to use evidence at all—can lead to erroneous conclusions and no way to monitor growth over time.

The complexities illuminated by the studies discussed above are worthy of empirical investigation so that researchers can better understand the strengths and

limitations of practitioners' skills in using standards as part of professional conversations aimed at improving practice. It is particularly important to understand what elements of professional and personal background might influence dual language teachers' use of the *Guiding Principles* as a tool for reflection. Dual language teachers, as a group, come from a variety of backgrounds in terms of professional training (e.g., mainstream, ESL, or foreign language), ethnic/linguistic heritage, and years of experience in the classroom. Any of these (or other factors) might influence their ability to effectively use the *Guiding Principles*. Understanding patterns in how practitioners' interpretations differ from each other might help standards writers and those who assist practitioners in using them to provide targeted supports that meet specific needs.

Stakeholder differences in the value of standards and evidence. At every stage of evaluating a program against program standards, data are interpreted against the evaluator's schema and mental models of how things work (Spillane & Miele, 2007). As Knapp, Copland, and Swinnerton (2007) state, "We acknowledge that 'data' are not the same as 'evidence.' Put another way, *data by themselves are not evidence of anything until users of the data bring concepts, criteria, theories of action, and interpretive frames of reference to the task of making sense of the data*" (p. 80, emphasis in original). In other words, what counts as evidence depends on the background of the user of that evidence. In this section, I review four studies that exposed how a practitioner's professional role might affect his or her judgment in the process of using data and evidence.

First, Little (2007) addressed the critique of some researchers that the only kind of evidence that teachers value is their own experience. This claim, embodied by the title of

a 1984 paper by Andy Hargreaves, “Experience counts, theory doesn’t: How teachers talk about their work,” holds that anecdotes and examples predominate in teachers’ evaluative discussions of their own practice and schooling in general. The fact that anecdotes predominate in these sorts of discussions is viewed as a hindrance to what critics think would *really* advance reform, which is a careful analysis of theory and quantitatively measurable evidence. In contrast, Little notes that research on professional learning communities demonstrates that strong workplace cultures can be created where teachers develop a shared language for interpreting complex teaching practices. She agrees that sharing stories without deconstructing them is not likely to generate new ideas and professional knowledge. However, in a professional learning community, such stories serve as the basis for analyzing practice and student learning. In other words, complaining just to vent may not be a useful way to find evidence to solve problems, but using anecdotes and personal narratives in a professional learning community can become valid evidence once the community develops the habits of investigating underlying causes and sharing possible solutions to instructional dilemmas. Little’s paper provides support for Bryk and Hermanson’s (1993) conception of standards as a tool for practitioners to co-construct a deep understanding of educational principles and to change behaviors and policies through negotiation of meaning rather than from the top down.

Although they did not include teacher narratives as evidence, three studies investigated how different stakeholder groups value different kinds of evidence of effective schools. Gaziol (1996) compared a number of stakeholder groups (parents, students, teachers, and principals) on which school effectiveness indicators were most salient to them. In the study, which took place in Israel, 64 participants were asked to

describe what constituted an effective school. The data from the interviews were filtered into a list of input, process, and output indicators that were then grouped into eleven categories. The author found that parents most commonly named academic achievement (output) as the type of evidence that they looked for to determine if a school was effective. Interestingly, outcome data was mentioned the fewest times by teachers compared to parents, students, and principals. Students most frequently cited teaching skills (process indicators) and academic achievement as important factors. Both teachers and principals cited academic achievement more than other factors, but teachers mentioned evidence that the school helped students form strong values (another output indicator) more than the other three groups, and principals cited resource mobilization (a process indicator) more than teachers, parents, or students. Although all four groups named student outcomes as an important indicator, these four stakeholder groups held process and output indicators to different levels of esteem.

In the second study on the differences in stakeholder groups, Guskey (2007) looked at the degree to which teachers and administrators shared similar perceptions about various indicators of student performance (thus focusing only on output indicators). The 320 participants in his study were instructed to rank fifteen sources of evidence (e.g., standardized tests, grades, portfolios) “based on what you believe or trust to best show what students know and can do” (p. 22). Both teachers and administrators ranked “internal” measures such as portfolios and teacher-developed assessments toward the high end of the scale and ranked “external” measures such as standardized tests low. However, administrators (who had, on average, seven more years of experience than teachers) ranked district assessments, state assessments, and nationally-normed

assessments higher than teachers did, and teachers ranked classroom observations and homework completion and quality higher than administrators did. The author attributes these differences to the pressure placed on administrators to demonstrate success on large-scale assessments and the resulting attention they pay to them, while teachers were more focused on day-to-day procedures and a broader spectrum of outcomes.

Finally, Coburn and Talbert (2006) provided a grounded typology of how senior district administrators, frontline district administrators (those who have most direct contact with schools), principals, and teachers conceptualized high-quality research and valid evidence of student learning. In terms of research, some of the 69 individuals in the study stated that high-quality research is based on quantitative (preferably experimental) studies published in peer reviewed journals. Others considered research to be high quality if it was part of a cumulative research base of many types of studies that point to findings that trend in the same general direction. Most participants, though, had only vague notions of what constitutes high-quality research.

Asking participants to what degree they value research, the authors found that some practitioners put great faith in research if it conforms to their definition of quality and others do so if they see the research-based findings as applicable in their own classrooms. Still others put faith in research only when it supports their positions or opinions, and yet others were skeptical of research entirely. Interestingly, top-level and frontline district administrators were more likely than principals or teachers to have well-developed conceptions of high-quality research. Top-level administrators evinced the strongest faith in research while the principals were most likely to be skeptical of research.

The research in this section demonstrates that the work that practitioners do to evaluate their programs for alignment to program standards will vary not only on the context of the program but on the backgrounds and beliefs of the stakeholders that participate in the process. These studies point to the need for additional research to investigate links between these background factors and interpretation of standards and evidence.

Summary. Indicator systems like program standards have become much more widely used over the last twenty years, particularly as more organizations have developed process indicators to measure how schools deliver instruction in addition to output indicators that measure student achievement. Using program standards broadens the scope of what schools are accountable for and serves as a frame for understanding variables that affect outcomes. Little research has been done to date on how program standards are used by practitioners. It is essential to understand how individuals with different backgrounds and beliefs and people in particular professional roles interpret and use standards because, unlike something like a textbook, standards are not directly implemented in a classroom. Instead, they may be used to guide the development of curricula, materials, and assessments and influence practice to the degree that they are used in teacher professional development.

The use of standards for reflection or accountability is made tremendously complex by the varied backgrounds of the users and users' ability to interpret standards and find evidence of their program's alignment to them. Stakeholders involved in evaluation may have differing perspectives on the validity of types evidence depending on their professional role. Additional research is necessary to understand how

practitioners bridge research and practice, reflect on their own strengths and weaknesses, construct theories on how program components affect outcomes, and contest the validity of research and evidence, and thus what supports would help practitioners build their capacity to conduct inquiries into their own practice and how such supports should be tailored to the needs of practitioners in diverse professional roles. This is particularly salient when considering the evaluation of a concept like equity that is complex and multifaceted and that is challenging to operationalize and measure. These research concerns informed the study that is described in this dissertation.

Chapter 3: Methods

The purpose of this study is to provide an empirically-based framework for defining educational equity in the context of dual language education. The following research questions guided the development of the research design and data analysis:

1. How is the term *equity* defined and interpreted by dual language practitioners (teachers and administrators)?
2. What program- and classroom-level policies and practices do practitioners believe contribute to an equitable environment?
3. How may the *Guiding Principles for Dual Language Education* act as a tool for interpreting equity?
4. Are there systematic differences among practitioners or in the contexts in which practitioners work in how equity is defined and described?

Data were collected from dual language practitioners using semi-structured interviews (Bernard, 1994) that allowed for both open-ended and quantifiable responses. Fifteen teachers and administrators from a variety of dual language programs participated in two telephone interviews; the first focusing on the definition of equity and examples of equity and inequity in the participant's program or classroom, and the second using the *Guiding Principles for Dual Language Education* (Howard et al., 2007) to flesh out policies and practices that provide evidence of equity.

Approach

This qualitative study was carried out by means of participant interviews whose purpose falls under Kvale and Brinkmann's (2009) classification of *conceptual interviews*, which "explore the meaning and the conceptual dimensions of terms, as well

as their positions and links within a conceptual network” (p. 151). In exploring the conceptual dimensions of equity, my interest was in understanding the diversity of possible interpretations of the term and comparing the interpretations made by participants with certain characteristics (e.g., novice vs. veteran teachers, teachers vs. administrators) or from different program types. The exploration of the dimensions of a concept is similar to one of the purposes of quantitative survey research; however, a qualitative survey approach is more appropriate in this situation, as I will explain below.

Whereas quantitative surveys focus on how many times a phenomenon was observed among a sub-group of the population, qualitative surveys “establish the meaningful variation (relevant dimensions and values) within that population” (Jansen, 2010, para. 6). Jansen notes that the term *qualitative survey* is not commonly used in methodological classifications. This type of study is frequently referred to as a “qualitative study” with no additional methodological justification as is found in studies labeled “grounded theory,” “case study,” or “phenomenology.” It differs from other types of qualitative studies in that it does not involve iterative data collection and analysis cycles (like grounded theory) or multiple, in-depth interviews and observations (like case studies). Studies using qualitative survey methods seek to explore diversity in a population rather than patterns of interaction or a common understanding of an experience (as in ethnography or phenomenology) (Creswell, 2003; Jansen, 2010). In this research, the data from the fifteen participants was analyzed as a collective case of dual language practitioners, with individuals or groups of respondents serving to illustrate variations in experiences or opinions within the larger case (Miles & Huberman, 1994).

The qualitative nature of this study is closely tied to the constructivist approach to inquiry which uses data to develop theories around participants' meaning-making or understanding of their experiences (Creswell, 2003). The constructivist approach is evident in this project in two ways. First, I assume that the responses given to the interview questions are co-constructed through the interaction between the participant and me (in my choice of questions and prompts). In other words, how participants describe evidence of equity is not based on their prior knowledge alone or on their description of an objective reality that exists apart from their interpretations. Instead, participants' responses are combination of what they knew before the interview and how they understand the concept as a result of discussing it in the context of the interview (Charmaz, 2006; Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009; Rogoff, 1998). Second, participants' knowledge about equity will be constructed through the mediating effect of the *Guiding Principles* as a semiotic tool (Lantolf, 2000; Vygotsky, 1978). The use of the document is, in effect, a scaffold to help practitioners think through the application of theoretical principles supported by dual language research to their own practice. One implication of this dissertation research will be to better understand how program standards (such as the *Guiding Principles*) serve as a scaffold; specifically, how the text of the key points and indicators facilitates (or hinders) meaning-making about equity in dual language programs and classrooms.

Participants

The participants in this study were fifteen educators from elementary, Spanish-English dual language programs in the United States. Drawing on the strategy of maximum variation sampling (Patton, 2002), a diverse group of participants was selected

to participate so as to allow for maximum variability in the data leading to a robust conceptual model of equity. Data collected in this way allowed for an examination of how equity is conceptualized by practitioners with diverse experiences and contexts, and patterns that emerged across participants “derive their significance from having emerged out of heterogeneity” (Patton, 2002, p. 235).

The participants represented a range of school contexts (geographic location, dual language program model, and student demographic profiles) and individual characteristics (professional role, years of experience, ethnicity, and grade and language(s) taught). Few research studies have systematically compared dual language programs across these variables; however, there is some indication that there are predictable variations in which program model (50/50 or 90/10) is selected in the eastern, southwestern, and western regions of the United States (Howard & Sugarman, 2001); that programs that have adopted different models have different outcomes (Lindholm-Leary & Howard, 2008); and that there are differences in outcomes among dual language students in predominately Hispanic dual language schools as opposed to more ethnically heterogeneous schools (Lindholm-Leary, 2001). Outside of dual language education, a number of research studies have identified a school’s student demographic profile as being a salient variable in research on school environments and outcomes (Banks & Banks, 1995; Organisation for Economic Co-Operation and Development, 2005; Teddlie & Reynolds, 2000).

There is a vast body of literature that investigates teacher variables and their salience in understanding variations in teachers’ attitudes, perceptions, and decision-making. Looking broadly at a variety of educational contexts, studies have found

differences between novice and experienced teachers (e.g., Krull, Oras, & Sisask, 2007; Peterson & Comeaux, 1987; Torff, 2005) and between teachers and principals (e.g., Barnyak & McNelly, 2009; Marchant, 1992; Stanovich & Jordan, 1998) on issues related to attitudes and beliefs. Some studies have drawn further links between teacher experience and teacher performance or student outcomes (see, e.g., review in Rice, 2003). Within the domain of language teaching, Borg's (2003) literature review cited numerous studies that connected relevant background characteristics (such as prior language learning experiences) with teacher cognition. One example of such research is Bos and Reyes's (1996) study, in which a bilingual special education teacher cited her own experiences as a second-language learner in the United States as among the most salient factors that shaped her instructional practice. Among dual language programs, Freeman (1996) noted that in the planning of Oyster Bilingual School, stakeholders from language majority and language minority communities demonstrated different levels of support for the program, based on the perceived needs of their own communities, and Lewis (2000) noted differences in perceptions and experiences of Spanish-side and English-side teachers in a newly-implemented program. Finally, Nieto (2002b) argues that mounting evidence suggests that having higher numbers of teachers of color and same-race role models positively impacts minority student achievement. Taken together, these studies support including practitioner factors such as role and experience, language background, and race or ethnicity as a way to investigate meaningful variation across study participants.

One dimension along which I did not seek a diverse range of participants was in terms of the partner language used in the dual language program, as all of the participants

were associated with Spanish/English programs. One reason for limiting the sample in this way was because 94% of all dual language programs are Spanish/English (Center for Applied Linguistics, 2012) and because all of the literature reviewed in Chapter 2 that addressed equity in dual language was concerned with Spanish/English programs. Additionally, the sociolinguistic positioning of Spanish and Spanish-speakers is critical to understanding the context in which these programs operate and the inequities they address. Equity might look very different in programs that focus on Chinese, French, Japanese, or Korean.

Participants were recruited by e-mailing school or district administrators with whom I was acquainted through my work with the Center for Applied Linguistics. These contacts were asked to forward a recruitment letter to the practitioners in their school or district, and several contacts went on to forward the letter to their colleagues in other districts as well. The recruitment letter invited classroom teachers and school-based administrators in dual language programs to take part in a research study on equity in dual language and it provided a link to an online survey through which they could volunteer. The online survey asked for participants' contact information, their school name and location, their position (grade/language or administrative title) and the extent of their teaching experience (whether they have taught for fewer than three years or three or more years), and it noted that this information would only be used for the selection of participants and would not be published.

Initial screening of the respondents was done on the basis of the school in which they taught. Respondents were included in the potential participant pool if they were employed in a dual language program in at least its second year of implementation and

that met the established criteria to be included in the *Directory of Two-Way Bilingual Immersion Programs in the United States*:

- **Integration:** Language-minority and language-majority students are integrated for at least 60% of instructional time (and ideally more) at all grade levels
- **Instruction:** Content and literacy instruction in English and the partner language is provided to all students, and all students receive instruction in the partner language at least 50% of the instructional day at all grade levels
- **Population:** Within the program, there is a balance of language-minority and language-majority students, with each group making up between one-third and two-thirds of the total student population
- **Duration of program:** The dual language program begins in Pre-K, Kindergarten, or first grade and runs at least five years (preferably through Grade 12) (Center for Applied Linguistics, 2012)

Program-level information (years of operation, model, demographics) was gathered from schools' listings in the CAL *Directory* or from public information on schools' websites. This information was used to determine respondents' eligibility as described above, as well as to provide a basis on which to select participants from diverse contexts. Criteria at the school level that were considered included the following:

- Geographic distribution throughout the United States and setting (rural, town, suburban, and urban)
- Dual language program model (90/10 [or similar model] and 50/50 programs)

- Diversity of student population by ethnicity (programs where native English speakers are a mix of Hispanic, white, and African-American students and programs whose population is primarily Hispanic) and poverty (as measured by the percent of students receiving free/reduced price lunch)
- Program size (either a strand within the school or the entire school implements dual language)

For almost all programs, location (state and setting), program model, and the diversity of student population at the school level could be determined by looking at publically-available information. Details of the program model (including the allocation of English and Spanish at each grade level) were discussed with all participants in the course of the first interview, and participants were asked whether they worked in a strand or a whole-school dual language program. Those who worked in a strand program were asked to estimate the ethnic make-up of the students in the dual language strand, as this may differ from the official school demographic profile (and it did differ in five of seven cases).

In addition, a number of individual participant criteria were taken into consideration as the participant sample was selected:

- Professional role (teacher, administrator, or both)
- Among teachers, amount of experience (less than three years, three or more years)
- Grade and language taught
- Race/ethnicity
- Gender

Respondents who were interested in participating in the study were asked to provide the first three types of information listed above (professional role, amount of experience, and grade and language taught) as part of the participant selection process. Race/ethnicity was of interest in order to ensure representation of both Hispanic and non-Hispanic participants. For purposes of participant selection, ethnicity was presumed on the basis of the respondent's last name but participants were asked their race or ethnicity during the first interview. Gender was also presumed on the basis of the respondent's name.

With 53 individuals volunteering to participate in the study and a target sample size of about fifteen (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009), there was ample opportunity to select a sample that had a reasonable balance of characteristics across each of the school- and individual-level variables listed above, and for the most part, that balance was achieved (see Tables 3 and 4 below). The only two teacher-level variables for which balance was not sought was years of experience and gender. In the original study design, I intended to recruit five novice teachers (less than three years of experience), five experienced teachers (three or more years of experience) and five administrators. After interviewing the first few participants, it became clear that school context was more salient than personal characteristics in terms of creating a richly diverse sample, so recruiting more novice teachers beyond the three who had volunteered was deemed to be less of a priority than including practitioners from across a variety of programs. Additionally, although only three of the fifteen participants were men, this imbalance reflects the general teacher population which is about 76% female (U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, 2011) and a previous survey of the dual language teaching population which yielded a sample that was 85% female (Howard & Loeb, 1998).

Tables 3 and 4 provide information on the individual- and school-level characteristics of the participants in the sample. Table 3 lists each of the fifteen participants in the study, organized by their professional role (teacher, administrator, or both) and grade taught.⁸ Table 3 also shows whether participants taught English, Spanish, or both languages at different times of the day; the participant's stated race or ethnicity; his or her total years of teaching (counting the year during which the interviews took place as one year); and his or her years teaching in dual language or as an administrator in a dual language program (as applicable). Four of the five administrators had overarching responsibilities as a principal or dual language coordinator, and the fifth was a part-time testing coordinator for her school.

Table 3. Demographic and Professional Background of Participants

Participant	Position	Grade	Language Taught	Ethnicity	Years Teaching	Years Teaching Dual Lg.	Years as Dual Lg. Admin.
Ms. Apple	Teacher	K	English	White	23	6	N/A
Ms. Becker	Teacher	1	Both	White	3	3	N/A
Ms. Coburn	Teacher	1	Both	White	6	5	N/A
Ms. Davis	Teacher	1	English	White	3	1	N/A
Mr. Evans	Teacher	2	Both	White	18	16	N/A
Ms. Fernández	Teacher	2	Both	Hispanic	32	4	N/A
Ms. García	Teacher	3	Both	Hispanic	2	2	N/A
Ms. Herrera	Teacher	3	Spanish	Hispanic	11	3	N/A
Mr. Irwin	Teacher	4	English	White	5	5	N/A
Ms. Jiménez	Teacher	5-6	Spanish	Hispanic	11	9	N/A
Ms. Keane	Teacher + Admin.	4-5	English	White	22	1	4
Ms. López	Teacher + Admin.	2-3	Spanish	Hispanic	18	10	3
Ms. Mora	Admin.	N/A	N/A	Hispanic	37	0	6
Mr. Navarro	Admin.	N/A	N/A	Hispanic	10	4	2
Ms. Oliver	Admin.	N/A	N/A	White	31	0	10

⁸ All names are pseudonyms.

Table 3 shows that there was a fairly even balance of lower-grade (K-2) and upper grade (3-6) teachers, language(s) of instruction, and ethnicity. The participants in the sample were relatively experienced, with only three who had less than five years of experience and five who had over twenty years of experience. All of the Hispanic teachers taught either in Spanish only or in both English and Spanish, and were fluent speakers of both languages. Most of the Hispanic participants lived all or most of their lives in the United States, except for Ms. López and Ms. Mora who came to the United States as adults. All of the white teachers taught either in English only or in both English and Spanish, and all except for Ms. Apple had some level of Spanish proficiency. No participant had any experience teaching in another dual language school prior to his or her current location, except for Ms. Davis and Ms. García who had done their student teaching in dual language programs.

The characteristics of each of the participants' schools are shown in Table 4. In addition to geographical information, Table 4 lists information about the dual language program model, setting, and population. In terms of the model, programs are listed as 50/50 or 90/10 based on how the participant characterized his or her program, although there are some variations within each type (e.g., a program where Spanish is used for 80% of instruction in the first year is technically 80/20, but is grouped with 90/10 programs as both are minority-language dominant in the early grades [Howard & Sugarman, 2001]). Schools are also categorized as to whether the dual language program encompasses the entire school or whether it exists as a strand-within-a-school (e.g., two of four classes at each grade are dual language and two are English only).

Additionally, schools with large numbers of key populations (defined below) are flagged, although exact population figures are not given in order to preserve confidentiality. Within the literature on dual language education, scant attention has been paid to African-American students' experiences in dual language education because they make up a small percentage of enrollment (Anberg-Espinosa, 2008). Nationwide, 59% of dual language programs enroll fewer than 5% African-American students (Center for Applied Linguistics, 2012). In this study, programs with larger African-American student enrollments were purposefully included so as to consider equity issues for students from diverse racial/ethnic backgrounds. The schools in the study ranged from 0% to 28% African-American, and the programs whose enrollment included at least 10% African-American students are marked in Table 4. Considering Hispanic enrollment, dual language programs that teach in Spanish may be assumed to have at least 50% Hispanic students (if they have a linguistically balanced population), and the schools in the study ranged from 34% to 91% Hispanic. Schools (or dual language strands) that enrolled at least 75% Hispanic students are marked in Table 4. To designate high-poverty schools, I used the definition from a report by the National Center for Education Statistics (NCES), which defined a high-poverty school as having 76% or more of its students receiving free or reduced-price lunch (Aud et al., 2010).

Table 4. Characteristics of Participants' Schools

Participant	Geographic Setting ¹	Location in U.S.	Model	Size	Large Populations ²		
					African-American	Hispanic	High poverty
Ms. Apple	Suburban	West	50/50	Strand		Yes*	
Ms. Becker	City	East	50/50	Whole	Yes	Yes	Yes
Ms. Coburn	Suburban	Midwest	90/10	Strand			
Ms. Davis/ Mr. Irwin	City	East	50/50	Whole	Yes		
Mr. Evans	City	West	90/10	Whole	Yes		
Ms. Fernández	Rural	West	90/10	Strand	Yes		Yes
Ms. García	City	Southwest	90/10	Whole		Yes	
Ms. Herrera	City	Southwest	50/50	Strand		Yes*	
Ms. Jiménez	Suburban	West	90/10	Strand	Yes		Yes
Ms. Keane	Town	West	90/10	Whole		Yes	
Ms. López	City	East	50/50	Whole			
Ms. Mora	Suburban	West	90/10	Whole	Yes	Yes	
Mr. Navarro	Suburban	Midwest	90/10	Whole	Yes		
Ms. Oliver	Town	West	90/10	Strand			

¹ Gathered from National Center for Education Statistics' (NCES) Common Core of Data (CCD) (<http://nces.ed.gov/ccd/>).

² Data on ethnicity and percent of students receiving free/reduced lunch were gathered from each district's or state's online 2009-10 enrollment data. For Ms. Mora's school, ethnicity data reflect 2010-11 enrollment. For Ms. García's school, data were gathered from the NCES CCD.

* Ms. Apple and Ms. Herrera reported that although Hispanic students made up less than 75% of the school population overall, they comprised more than 75% of the students in the dual language strand.

Table 4 shows that participants' schools represented a range of geographical, programmatic, and demographic contexts. It should be noted that Ms. Davis and Mr. Irwin were teachers in the same program, although at different campuses. Following long-standing trends in program characteristics (Howard & Sugarman, 2001), all three East Coast programs implemented 50/50 models, whereas nine of the eleven remaining programs were 90/10. Seven of the programs had large African-American populations and six had large Hispanic populations, with Ms. Becker's, Ms. García's, and Ms. Mora's programs enrolling very few white students (less than 10%). Although only three schools

qualify as high-poverty according to the NCES definition, eleven of the fourteen schools had poverty rates over 50%, and the remaining three were around 30% each.

Materials and Measures

Design and revision of the interview approach. Data collection was conducted through two semi-structured interviews. As such, the interview protocols (printed in their entirety in Appendix A) were used as a guide to indicate which questions would be asked and in what order; however, as the interviewer I pursued leads or skipped questions that were addressed in previous comments or were irrelevant to a particular context (Bernard, 1994). Other than background information, most of the questions were open-ended, which allowed me to probe deep understanding of the phenomena in question by exploring the experience and perceptions of the participant. The protocol for the second interview was more highly focused than the first so as to facilitate comparison across cases (Patton, 2002). The second interview reflected a more deductive approach, in which some dimensions are pre-defined by the researcher, whereas the first reflected an inductive approach, in which my invitation to participants to speak about any topic they felt was related to equity allowed relevant categories to be constructed in the analytical process (Jansen, 2010).

Initially, I intended to interview participants only once, and the protocol for this interview was piloted in July 2010 with two of my colleagues at the Center for Applied Linguistics who had experience teaching in dual language programs and conducting qualitative research studies. As a result of the pilot, the instrument was revised slightly to clarify, focus, and re-order questions so as to make the instrument more efficient and effective. After the proposal defense, at which time it was recognized that there was not

enough time allowed for participants to discuss their practice and experiences in an open-ended way, the interview was split into two sessions, with the first focused on participants' experiences and the second on the use of the *Guiding Principles* to identify specific educational practices related to equity. As the revised first interview contained new lines of inquiry related to participants' perceptions of equity and inequity in their own programs, it was piloted with a dual language administrator with a great deal of interest in equity as a philosophical basis for dual language programs. Her responses and her reflections on the interview as a whole allowed me to add additional prompts that would be appropriate for participants who provide highly reflective and analytical responses to the interview questions.

Another change that I made to the second interview protocol after the defense was to simplify the questions that guided participants' reflections on the six key points from the *Guiding Principles* that they read in the course of the interview. One question that was discarded asked participants to reflect on the impact of the policies and practices that they identified as being salient to each key point. Although this is an important line of inquiry (especially with the current emphasis on evidence-based decision making [Donaldson, Christie, & Mark, 2009]), dropping this question made the second interview, and thus the study, more focused. As a result, one of the original research questions from the proposal for this study was dropped (the question was, "What do practitioners believe is the impact of the presence or absence of equity in a program or classroom on the effectiveness of the dual language program in achieving the goals of bilingualism, biliteracy, academic achievement, and cross-cultural understanding?"). Future research might build on the present study by investigating this question.

Design of the interview protocol. The first interview opens with questions related to the participant's professional history and the model and demographic profile of dual language program where he or she works. Answers to these questions, as well as information gleaned from public sources about the characteristics of the school (as discussed above) were used to explore the relationships between contextual factors and concepts of equity as stated in Research Question 4. The rest of the interview addressed Research Question 1, concerning how the term equity is defined and interpreted, and Research Question 2, which addressed what practices (in the participant's experience) contribute to equity. As mentioned above, the approach to this interview was to invite participants to share any meanings and examples of equity that they felt were salient, so participants were generally encouraged to take the conversation in whatever direction they wanted. Some participants spoke about equity at length with little intervention from me except to ask clarifying questions, while there were others who were less loquacious and to whom I posed general questions about their program using a list of topics that were identified in the literature (see Chapter 2) as possibly being related to equity.

Prior to the second interview, participants were sent a copy of the *Guiding Principles for Dual Language Education*. As discussed in Chapter 1, the document was designed to be used by dual language practitioners to reflect on their practice and to facilitate discussion and evaluation of how well the program aligns to research-based practices in terms of program design, curriculum, instruction, and four other strands. Within each strand, there are two to six key points, and each key point is followed by four indicators of alignment. The *minimal* and *partial* indicators describe how a program or classroom would look if it was weak in its alignment to the key point, for example, if a

program was not attending to the needs of linguistically diverse students or failed to provide necessary resources. The *full* and *exemplary* indicators describe how a program or classroom would look if it was strong in its alignment to the key point, with the *full* indicator as the goal for reflecting best practices in dual language education, and *exemplary* describing a program that implements the components of the *full* indicator and has processes in place for reviewing and refining the relevant practices or policies.

During the interview, participants read six selected key points one at a time and answered questions related to them in order to illustrate specific policies and practices that relate to the key points (Research Question 2). I chose to use written texts to focus and narrow the discussion so as to be able to compare participants' responses on a small number of topics that were investigated in depth. Further, I decided to use excerpts from the *Guiding Principles* because it was a text I was intimately familiar with (as an author and having used it in professional development with many sets of practitioners over the last five years) and because it is well-known and widely used in the dual language community (with over 1500 copies sold between 2007 and 2012). This study's Research Question 3 addresses the use of the *Guiding Principles* as a tool for discussing and interpreting equity.

The six key points that were selected to be used in the second interview were chosen from among 26 (of 103 total) key points in the *Guiding Principles* that I determined in an initial analysis to be connected to themes that are present in the literature on educational equity (the full text of the selected key points can be found in

Appendix B). In the interview, the six key points were generally discussed in the following order:⁹

1. *Instruction Principle 4, Key Point A*: There is cultural and linguistic equity in the classroom.
2. *Instruction Principle 4, Key Point C*: Instructional materials in both languages reflect the student population in the program and encourage cross-cultural appreciation.
3. *Instruction Principle 3, Key Point C*: Student grouping maximizes opportunities for students to benefit from peer models.
4. *Instruction Principle 3, Key Point D*: Instruction incorporates appropriate separation of languages according to program design.
5. *Curriculum Principle 1, Key Point C*: The curriculum promotes equal status of both languages.
6. *Program Structure Principle 2, Key Point E*: Whether the dual language program is a whole-school program or a strand within a school, signs and daily routines (e.g., announcements) reflect bilingualism and multiculturalism.

I particularly sought to include key points that correspond to the analysis in Chapter 2 of empirical studies of equity in the dual language literature. I looked for key points that referred to the most frequently-cited traits that positively impact equity and that negatively impact equity (listed directly below Table 1 and Table 2 in that chapter).

Those traits were:

⁹ Occasionally, I would skip to a different key point if the participant began to discuss related ideas. Additionally, Ms. Herrera and Mr. Irwin discussed only five of the six key points as their interviews went dramatically over the estimated time.

- a) Teachers have a positive attitude toward language learners and bilingualism (positive)
- b) Multicultural curriculum is adopted (positive)
- c) Students learn from each other, cooperative grouping is emphasized (positive)
- d) Students choose to speak English in the classroom (negative)
- e) Teachers speak English during Spanish time (negative)
- f) Critical pedagogy is implemented (positive)
- g) There is more weight placed on English tests than Spanish (negative)

The connection between these traits from the research literature and the six key points chosen is discussed below.

Key points 1, 2, and 3 relate to the linguistic and cultural backgrounds of the students in the program. Key point 1 was selected because it addresses the central issue of cultural and linguistic equity explicitly, and in the text of the indicators it indirectly touches on trait (a), teachers have a positive attitude toward language learners and bilingualism, which is necessary for them to create a learning environment where all groups are valued (Fitts, 2006; Freeman, 1995; Howard & Sugarman, 2007). Key point 2 explicitly addresses trait (b), that multicultural curriculum and materials are adopted (Freeman, 1995; Howard & Sugarman, 2007; Potowski, 2004). Key point 3 captures trait (c), students learn from each other and cooperative grouping strategies are used in the classroom (Arce, 2000; Fitts, 2006; Freeman, 1995; Volk & Angelova, 2007). It also relates to trait (d) that students frequently speak English during Spanish time, because grouping students with the intention of maximizing opportunities for students to benefit from peer models requires that students actually use the intended language.

Trait (e) was addressed by key points 4 and 5. Key point 4 speaks directly to teachers maintaining a separation of languages in the classroom, which was addressed in the literature by pointing out the problematic trend of teachers using of English during Spanish (Amrein & Peña, 2000; Freeman, 1995; Potowski, 2004). At a programmatic level, trait (e) also relates to how English and Spanish are allocated according to the program model (to be used for a particular amount of time and in particular content areas). In the text of its indicators, key point 5 addresses the balance of instructional languages in terms of whether the program model allows for both languages to be used for equivalent social and academic purposes. This balance is fundamental to the dual language program model that aims to develop both conversational and academic language proficiency (Cloud et al., 2000). The key point also relates to several of Freeman's (1995) findings related to the exclusive use of English for specials and to a general unevenness in purposes to which English and Spanish were put.

Key point 6 was chosen for inclusion because, in my experience working with teachers using the *Guiding Principles*, environmental print and school-wide routines are among the most frequently-cited examples of inequity. This was not one of the most frequently-cited traits in the analysis in Chapter 2, but it did come up in different ways in the work of Howard and Sugarman (2007), McCollum (1999), Palmer (2007), and Potowski (2004).

Two of the traits in the list above are not explicitly represented in the key points that were selected for the interview. First, there is no explicit key point in the *Guiding Principles* related to trait (f), the implementation of critical pedagogy. Regarding trait (g), there is a key point related to testing in both languages (strand 1, principle 3, key point c:

“Assessment is consistently conducted in the two languages of the program”) although it does not address the weight placed on testing in the partner language. As I developed the interview protocol, I decided not to include this key point for the sake of keeping the interview as short as possible in order not to unduly tire participants. I considered it expendable because the evidence that could be considered credible for this key point is fairly obvious and constrained (the number and types of assessments used in each language), making it less useful as an interview item.

In sum, the key points were chosen so as to balance key theoretical principles, my experience in the field, and frequent mentions in the research literature. Due to the intentional conceptual overlap among principles and key points within the *Guiding Principles*, the close examination of these six key points should shed light on the interpretation of other key points and principles as well.

In the second interview, participants read each key point and its corresponding indicators and then were asked two questions:

- If you were looking at a classroom that was really *strong* in this area, what would you see?
- If you were looking at a classroom that was *weak* in this area, what would you see?

Participants interpreted *strong* and *weak* practice according to their own understanding of dual language, but if they asked for clarification, I suggested that strong programs would rate as *full* or *exemplary* on the key point rubric, and weak programs would rate as *minimal* or *partial*. Additional probes, such as “Is there anything else you would want to

find out in order to rate someone on this key point?” encouraged participants to fully flesh out what policies and practices they thought were relevant.

After discussing each key point, during which time I took notes on the main ideas proposed by the participant, I quickly reviewed these main ideas and read them back to the participant. In some cases, these summary statements were verbatim repetitions of what the participant had said, and in other cases I paraphrased what the participant had said or read a prepared version of the statement that I included in the interview protocol that conveyed the same meaning. This read-back procedure had two purposes. First, it allowed me to be sure that I understood the key ideas that participants wanted to get across and to allow the participant to clarify their ideas if they felt that I did not understand them correctly. Second, it provided a means to ask participants how they would weigh each idea—in essence, a type of evidence—in terms of its importance in rating a program on the key point (i.e., assigning the *minimal*, *partial*, *full*, or *exemplary* rating to an observed program or classroom). The participant rated each statement on a scale of 1-10, where 10 was something that a person should consider to be very important when rating the program on the key point and 1 was something that would be not very important to take into consideration.¹⁰ In some cases, participants did not mention an idea that I had anticipated would be salient for the key point, so I either brought this subject up during the discussion or introduced it during the read-back of items that participants rated on the 1-10 scale. Because the items read back to participants for rating were based on what the participant included in their discussion (as well as a limited number of ideas that

¹⁰ A scale of 1-10 with anchored endpoints (*very important* and *not important*) was used so as to maximize the availability of numbers that fall in the upper end of the scale. I found this to be most appropriate because during piloting, I had used a five-point scale (1-5), and discovered that the participants were reluctant to use numbers other than 4 or 5, limiting the amount of variation in numbers I could expect.

I suggested so that they would be rated by all participants), not all participants rated every possible item.

Depending on whether participants were describing a strong program or a weak program, they might describe a policy or practice from either a positive or a negative point of view. For example, a participant might have said that it is a *good* practice for a teacher to speak only in the target language in class or that it is a *bad* practice for a teacher to codeswitch between English and Spanish in class. These two statements mean essentially the same thing, with one phrased positively (good practice) and one phrased negatively (bad practice). For the purpose of composing the summary statements that I read back to participants and then in the process of aggregating those statements into the key ideas discussed in the analysis in Chapter 5, participants' ideas were generally framed from the positive point of view. Doing so allowed for consistent aggregation of ideas that are conceptually similar without concern with the positive/negative frame. It also became apparent in the first few interviews that participants had trouble assigning a high rating (10) to negatively phrased ideas, because high ratings were associated with things that are important (to do, to think, or to say), and a negatively phrased idea required a participant to reframe the question to match the scale.

As noted above, the read-back of items served as a member check (Miles & Huberman, 1994) for the ideas discussed in Interview 2. An additional member check was done after the completion of the interviews which focused on the content of Interview 1. Participants received a one to one-and-a-half page summary of their thoughts and were asked to review it for any clarifications they wished to make or to add any additional thoughts that occurred to them after the interview was over. Most participants

responded and said that they felt that the summary was accurate and that it was helpful to have in order to have a record of their thinking on the topic of equity.

Data Analysis

The goal of data analysis for this study was to understand the diversity of possible definitions and interpretations of equity. Coding data and making thematic connections allowed me to propose a framework for understanding what equity means in the context of dual language education programs and to posit connections between findings and relevant theoretical constructs.

As noted above, the majority of the questions in both interviews were open-ended. Open-ended questions were analyzed using the constant comparison method (Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Strauss & Corbin, 1990) which is also described as an appropriate technique for the analysis of qualitative surveys such as the present study (see Approach on p. 69). In the first stage of open coding, data are examined and categorized by looking for similarities and differences among responses. Categories are defined inductively, by discovering their properties and dimensions in the data. In the second stage, axial coding, each category is elucidated by subcategories, which explain the phenomenon “in terms of the conditions that give rise to it; the *context* (its specific set of properties) in which it is embedded; the action/interactional *strategies* by which it is handled, managed, carried out; and the *consequences* of those strategies” (Strauss & Corbin, 1990, p. 97, emphasis in original). The degree to which these sub-categories define the boundaries of each category can be tested against the data by looking for confirming and refuting examples. Finally, higher-level theorizing relates categories to each other to form an explanatory model.

Verbatim transcripts from all of the interviews were entered into Dedoose, a web application for qualitative data analysis. Because of the different approaches taken in each interview, with Interview 1 being more open-ended and Interview 2 following a more structured format, data analysis proceeded in slightly different ways. For the transcripts from Interview 1, coding focused on the ideologies, practices, and challenges that participants stated were related to equity. In the initial stage of coding the fifteen transcripts from Interview 1, a total of 228 codes were created (see Appendix C for codebooks). As more codes were added to the codebook, they were grouped topically, under headings such as language status (including such codes as “power of English” and “kids discuss language status with their teacher”) or authentic literature (including such codes as “authentic lit. in libraries,” “authentic lit. from foreign countries,” and “quality of translated materials”). In the second stage of analysis, several iterations of grouping codes into categories resulted in the development of five overarching themes related to the definition of equity (see Chapter 4). I then used the categorized list of individual codes to identify examples of classroom practice (mentioned in the interviews) that related to each of those five themes.

The transcripts from Interview 2 were also analyzed thematically, but because of the more structured format of the interview, a different codebook was developed (see Appendix C). The codebook for Interview 2 data consisted of the summary statements that were read back to participants during the interview (see p. 90). There was a great deal of thematic overlap between the two codebooks, but the units of analysis for Interview 2 data were these summary statements, rather than the category-label-as-code approach used for Interview 1 data (Miles & Huberman, 1994).

A total of 190 summary statements comprised the codebook for Interview 2. As noted above, during the read-back procedure, some of the summary statements were verbatim repetitions of what the participant had said while others were my own paraphrasing of the participant's thoughts. In cases where the summary statements read to different participants conveyed exactly the same idea with different phrasing (based on how I read them in the interview), they were combined into one item in the codebook. However, a great deal of specificity was retained so as not to lose important nuances in meaning. For example, many participants discussed the importance of having authentic Spanish texts for students to read (as opposed to translations), and this idea was encoded in two summary statements: "authentic Spanish texts are used in instruction" and "authentic Spanish texts are available in classroom or school libraries." The final list of summary statements was imported into Dedoose as the Interview 2 codebook, and transcripts of Interview 2 were electronically coded in order to identify which participants invoked which ideas (as represented by the summary statements) for each of the key points that were read. In addition to identifying the ideas mentioned by each participant, his or her ratings on the 1-10 scale were also recorded for each code, or a code of NR was entered when a participant mentioned an idea but did not assign it a rating.

Once the data were organized electronically, a table was generated that indicated the number of participants who cited each of the 190 summary statements and the average rating each statement received across participants (abbreviated versions of these tables, organized by key point, can be found in Appendix D). As was done for data from Interview 1, I proceeded with multiple iterations of categorizing the summary statements into the eight categories discussed in Chapter 5. Not all of the 190 summary statements

are discussed in detail in Chapter 5; instead, I generally focused on those that were cited by at least two participants, thus indicating that they were salient. In addition to identifying salience on the basis of being mentioned by at least two participants, average ratings for each type of evidence served to support the qualitative data by identifying which types of evidence were thought to be very important to participants (rated 9 or 10 by most people), and which had a greater variability of ratings (with a variety of ratings from 1-10) indicating a possible place where participants disagreed about the usefulness of a practice in fostering equity based on philosophical differences or differences in the context in which they worked.

The findings from my study are presented in Chapters 4 and 5. In Chapter 4, I address the first research question, “How is the term *equity* defined and interpreted by dual language practitioners.” In this chapter, organized into the five themes derived from analyzing the participants’ responses as a collective or composite case, participants’ responses illustrate different aspects of the definition of equity and supporting examples of equity and inequity in their own programs and classrooms. In Chapter 5, I address the second research question, “What program- and classroom-level policies and practices do practitioners believe contribute to an equitable environment?” The findings illustrate practices that participants stated are relevant to the definition of equity as reflected in six key points from the *Guiding Principles for Dual Language Education*. I also address the third research question on the use of the *Guiding Principles* in Chapter 5, and examine the systematic differences among practitioners, the fourth research question, in Chapter 6.

Chapter 4. Defining Equity in Dual Language Programs

For several decades, educational researchers and theorists have invoked the term *equity* to refer to a broad spectrum of issues relating to the outcomes, access to resources, socio-economic and political contexts, and educational environments of diverse groups of students (Jordan, 2010; Murphy, 1988). Although the basic definitions of equity used by these writers share some features, the literature that discusses equity and inequity in the American school system features a wide variety of examples, ranging from school finance (Kozol, 1991) to the physical isolation of minority students within a school building (Nieto, 2002b) to the use of native languages in instruction (Cummins, 2000). In the first of two interviews, participants in this study were asked their definition of equity as it relates to dual language education and were asked to provide examples of equity and inequity in their programs. The responses of the fifteen participants, who included teachers and administrators from a range of elementary dual language contexts, reflected the wide degree of topical variation seen in the literature. In addition to considerable variation in responses within the collective group of participants, most individuals in the study gave a multi-faceted response when asked their definition of equity, and most went far beyond their initial definition when discussing examples of what seemed equitable or inequitable in their own program or classroom.

Participants' definitions and examples of equity illustrated what they believe to be the ideal equity for linguistically diverse students. Their definitions characterized the ideal dual language learning environment, either at the abstract level of perceptions and fundamental educational philosophies or at the more concrete level of what challenges to equity exist and how practitioners address them. As they provided examples of equity and

inequity in their programs, participants expanded on this concrete level to construct a multi-faceted operationalized definition of equity. Looking across the fifteen participants' definitions and examples, five imperatives emerged as key elements of an equitable dual language learning environment:

1. Practitioners cultivate an environment where English and Spanish have equal status
2. Students of diverse ethno-linguistic backgrounds are positioned and recognized as equals
3. The curriculum and program model reflect the goals of bilingualism and biliteracy
4. Multicultural curriculum and materials are used
5. Students have access to the curriculum and to educational resources

Although the participants in this study did not state all five ideas at once, the collective group mentioned these themes repeatedly, confirming the importance of these imperatives as salient aspects of equity for practitioners in dual language programs.

In the first interview, which is the primary source of data for this chapter, participants were encouraged to talk freely about what they thought was important in terms of defining equity. In some cases, I prompted participants to think about particular aspects of their dual language program that were determined to be relevant to equity, social justice, and multiculturalism in the literature on dual language (see Chapter 2). These included aspects of curriculum, instruction, the educational environment, and the dual language program structure (see interview protocol in Appendix A).

In this chapter, the participants' conceptualizations of equity are woven together to form an overall picture of the conceptual dimensions of equity in dual language programs and classrooms. Each section addresses one of the five imperatives listed above and begins by quoting excerpts from the participants' definitions of equity that relate to each topic. The greater part of each section is taken up with examples that illuminate how the abstract ideas and ideals cited in the definitions play out in real programs. Although participants provide different examples of what they consider relevant to equity, the number of confirming cases within each section lend support to the salience of each construct.

Practitioners Cultivate an Environment where English and Spanish Have Equal Status

One of the goals of dual language that differentiates it (and other models of language immersion education) from other types of educational programs is that all students, regardless of language background, are expected to become bilingual and biliterate, developing oral proficiency and literacy in English and a partner language to equally high levels. In all other educational contexts in the United States, the only language in which students are expected to be fluent and literate at the end of their school careers is English, even if other languages are used for instruction. In the context of education, a language has high status when it is used to teach academic content and when the development of literacy in that language is a key, even high-stakes, outcome of schooling (Baker, 2006; Shohamy, 2007). Dual language and other immersion programs are unique in K-12 education in the U.S. in that two languages are supposed to share the high-status position. For the participants in this study, one way of framing equity was to

describe how practitioners actively resist the hegemony of English in the school system and society in order to create this context.

At the start of the first interview, each participant was asked “Being as specific as you can, what does the term *equity* mean to you in terms of dual language education?” Five participants referred to the equal status of English and Spanish in their answers; including the following four participants who did so explicitly:

- “In terms of dual language, I would think [equity] would mean treating each language fairly and the students receiving each language fairly. 50/50 as much as possible.” (Ms. Apple)
- “Equity means to me... that we are treating both languages, the Spanish and the English, as if they were equals, so that we’re not favoring just the English language over the Spanish language.” (Ms. Jiménez)
- “... the whole reason why dual immersion works is because there is such a strong aspect of equity in the classroom, in that the status of the home language... is equal to, has equal standing (well, that’s the ideal) to English.” (Ms. Oliver)
- “In terms of dual language, I would think, first and foremost, of equity between the two languages. So is Spanish being given as much importance as English.” (Ms. Davis)

The fifth participant, Ms. Herrera, defined equity by giving examples of what would be the “ideal equity” between Spanish and English in her school: having equal numbers of books in English and Spanish in the library, having library read-alouds and morning announcements in both languages instead of just English, being able to access needed

multimedia and text materials in Spanish, and providing students with authentic Spanish literature to read as opposed to translations from English. In sum, her definition of equity focused on ways that her school (within which her dual language program operated as a strand) could increase the status of oral and written Spanish throughout the building in order to reinforce what the teacher is trying to do in the classroom.

These statements from participants' definitions of equity proposed that in dual language programs, the ideal situation is that the two program languages are equal in status in terms of how much emphasis is placed on using them as languages of instruction and developing oral proficiency and literacy in them. The examples given by these and other participants that relate to the relationship between English and Spanish were illustrated in terms of how the languages are used and experienced in school and in wider society, and in terms of what dual language educators have to do in order to counter the dominance of English. Among those participants who described disparities in language use in the classroom or in the school, English was always described as the dominant or preferred language.

Throughout their interviews, a number of participants referred to the larger socio-political context of Anglo-centric language ideologies in U.S. society as an overwhelming force against which dual language teachers have to push in order to promote Spanish language learning and use. Even in a Midwest 90/10 school where equity is a central focus of staff efforts, Mr. Navarro noted "it never ceases to amaze me how much we continually have to combat the power and the influence of English." No participants discussed concerns about raising the status of English or about how to motivate students to use English; these concerns were always raised in reference to

Spanish only. It should also be noted that no one argued that Spanish should be *more* important in the dual language school or in society, but the implication was that it takes effort to raise the status of Spanish within the school to counter the overwhelming status and systematic support for English.

The examples in this section typify ways that practitioners strive for equity in practice in their schools and classrooms. At one level, all of the examples are related to the use of or attitudes toward English and Spanish; conceptually, they illustrate an awareness of how language ideology shapes hegemonic educational practices and dual language educators' efforts to counter these effects. Specifically, the examples that follow illustrate participants' observations about the status of the languages and their efforts to facilitate equity in the languages by (1) fostering the development of the Spanish language by using research-based teaching strategies and encouraging the use of Spanish in the classroom; (2) overcoming disparities between English and Spanish at the curricular level, in terms of the materials that are available, the lack of Spanish assessment and the emphasis on English assessment, and the value placed on dedicating a portion of the curriculum to Spanish; and (3) ensuring that the program model and the use of oral and written Spanish throughout the school building create an environment where Spanish is used and valued.

Encouraging Spanish language proficiency and use. At the classroom and school level, participants suggested many ways that students could be encouraged to produce Spanish and to develop Spanish proficiency, which are key elements of demonstrating the position of Spanish as a high-status language. In the Spanish-language classroom, teachers use the same sheltering strategies described in the literature on the

instruction of English language learners (ELLs) in English-language classrooms (e.g., Echevarría et al., 2008). For Ms. Herrera, these include using realia and having students pay attention to her body language, and for Mr. Navarro, explicitly teaching language structures needed to complete content-related activities. Participants also discussed ways to promote Spanish proficiency that would not be common to hear said about English-learning environments. Ms. Apple reported that in her school, a group of dual language teachers had discussed how to “increase Spanish,” especially in the upper grades, by conducting assessments in Spanish and buying more materials to support the teaching of academic content in Spanish. Ultimately, both suggestions were rejected as too costly. Two participants noted the importance of focusing on communication for real purposes, such as reading or viewing authentic popular texts or videos (Ms. Becker) or engaging in service learning where students have to use their second language with members of the community (Ms. Jiménez).¹¹ These examples contrast with the experience of learning English in the U.S., where assessments, instructional materials, and opportunities to use English for authentic communicative purposes are abundant.

In Mr. Navarro’s 90/10 school, all classes have a language use management system meant to monitor and encourage Spanish production. Teachers choose from a variety of systems, including appointing students to be the “language police” who take note of students using English during Spanish time; or the use of an empty jar which is filled with beans whenever the teacher hears students using Spanish, and the students get a reward when the jar is filled. Several other participants noted the importance of encouraging students to speak Spanish during instructional time, but few participants indicated that they discussed language with students beyond reminding them which

¹¹ Ms. Jiménez referred to this strategy as beneficial for both Spanish and English development.

language to use. Although participants acknowledged talking about language status with their colleagues, it was not a common practice to talk with students about the status of English and Spanish in the school or in society, as Ms. Davis explained about her first graders:

... Besides just talking about how amazing it is to speak Spanish and English and how I'm always talking to them about how I'm always trying to learn more Spanish and I'm reading books at home... I don't know if I really necessarily bring up the status between the two languages. ... I tell them, "you should be speaking Spanish in Spanish class." When I go into their Spanish class I don't speak to them in English.

Although most participants stated that English is the social language or the preferred language for students (even former ELLs), there were a variety of ways that they described this phenomenon. Ms. Herrera framed her students' lack of Spanish development as a inevitable outcome of the influence of the English-dominant sociolinguistic context. She repeatedly spoke of her distress about her native English speaking students' lack of Spanish development and her feelings of helplessness to overcome her students' lack of motivation. To illustrate how this looked in the classroom, she described a vicious cycle in which "non-Spanish speakers" in her third grade class would fail to understand something written or spoken in Spanish, look to their bilingual peers for a translation, continue their work without having learned the new Spanish terms, and subsequently fail to develop enough Spanish vocabulary to do their work without relying on their peers. Ms. Herrera explained that knowing that a peer translator or bilingual dictionary was always available undermined students' motivation to learn

Spanish, as did the fact that teachers don't always hold students accountable for their language production in content lessons. She also looked to home factors as the cause of her students' lack of motivation, such as the lack of practice speaking Spanish outside of school and the influence of parents' low expectations for their children to become fluent in Spanish.

Additionally, Ms. Herrera felt that her native Spanish speaking students were also demotivated by the status of English in society, as she has heard some students say that their language "isn't any good." She said,

From a child's perception, even though [this community is] on the border... their grocery store is in English. People who you know speak Spanish work hard to speak English, like the grocery store clerk, people helping you in a department store. So I think the kids become very aware of that and very quickly, they learn to speak English.

Other participants also identified a lack of student motivation to speak Spanish as the cause of inequitable language use (with English used more frequently than Spanish both inside and outside the classroom). Ms. Becker noted that some students, particularly those who don't speak Spanish at home, may "fight" speaking Spanish in class, while Ms. Coburn felt that attitudes toward using Spanish depend on the classroom dynamics, with some cohorts more willing than others to embrace sticking to Spanish when it is the language of instruction than others (such that peer pressure plays a role in whether students choose to use Spanish or not). Ms. Coburn also theorized that Spanish students may be reluctant to speak Spanish in the classroom because they speak Spanish at home, and the classroom is the place where they can practice their English. In Ms. Apple's

school, students have generally positive attitudes toward Spanish; however, they still use English primarily as a social language and Ms. Apple has even observed some upper-elementary-aged Hispanic children Anglicizing their name (as from Raquel to Rachel), implying that there is a strong social pull to identify with English over Spanish. In contrast, two administrators, Ms. Mora and Mr. Navarro, noted that although teachers at their schools emphasize the importance of speaking the target language in class, they see speaking English on the playground as normal, and not something they find troubling or want to try to regulate.

Spanish in curriculum and assessment. Another way in which the hegemony of English presents a challenge to practitioners is in the difference between English and Spanish instructional materials. Inequities in the status of English and Spanish are exemplified by what resources are considered to be a priority or are provided as a matter of course, in contrast to materials and assessments which are marked by their absence, the struggle to obtain them, or the view that they are an extra or even a distraction rather than central to the curriculum. Participants frequently compared the amount and quality of Spanish materials available for instruction and in classroom and school libraries to what was available in English. Five participants specifically referenced the lack of appropriate materials in Spanish as *inequitable* or *a disparity* (Ms. Becker, Ms. Coburn, Ms. Fernández, Ms. Jiménez, and Ms. Oliver). In some cases, participants emphasized that they did not have the *same* resources available in both languages; for example, Ms. Apple complained that there was no curriculum for Spanish language development to complement the district-mandated program for English language development and Ms. Jiménez noted that the Spanish-version of the fifth-grade science curriculum was not

approved by the state so it could not be used in her school. Library books, multimedia resources, and hands-on materials like games were reported to be unlikely to be accessible for schools to purchase in Spanish (Ms. Becker, Ms. Coburn, Ms. Fernández, Ms. Herrera). When materials are not available, Spanish teachers have to create or translate texts, which Ms. Becker called “challenging” and “a disparity” because this happens less frequently in English. Ms. Fernández added that teacher advocacy is necessary to ensure that district- or school-adopted materials have a Spanish equivalent when staff are making purchasing decisions. Ms. Coburn summed up the importance of having Spanish materials by saying

It’s hard to make sure that I’m providing equitable opportunities in terms of the games we use and the books we use because I have way more things in English than I do in Spanish. So I feel like those are subliminal messages that we send sometimes, that even though we are promoting Spanish, Spanish, Spanish, you know the reality of it is that it’s a hard thing to do sometimes in terms of what you can use to make that happen.

She added that despite difficulties in getting supplementary materials, she did have sufficient textbooks and workbooks in Spanish, which she said promotes equity.

Some participants noted that the materials that are available in Spanish in the U.S. are generally translations rather than authentic materials (Ms. Becker, Ms. Coburn, Ms. Herrera, Ms. Oliver). The implication of this is that when students are not exposed to texts that were written in Spanish, the language input they receive in Spanish is inferior to the input they receive in English in the sense that cultural, rhetorical, and semantic nuances may be lost in translation. Ms. Herrera noted that students are aware that not all

of the resources available in English are also available in Spanish, and they may draw the conclusion that Spanish is less important if, for example, the teacher uses English texts while teaching in Spanish, which she occasionally does. She also noted that she has heard students who are discouraged about working in Spanish say that “people do not write in Spanish,” and she connects this belief with the lack of authentic Spanish literature available to them. Finally, Ms. Oliver noted that even as translations, Spanish materials cost more than English materials, “and then so anybody—you talk about the politics—anybody within the system... at the budget office or purchasing that has any underlying feelings about having Spanish in the school and then they see these kind of differences... it undermines [equity].”

Assessment is another area where there is a disparity in instructional practice between English and Spanish. Several respondents, all of whom work in 90/10 programs (Ms. Coburn, Mr. Evans, Ms. Fernández, Ms. Keane, Ms. Mora, Mr. Navarro), described formative assessment that is conducted in their programs in Spanish which they concluded was useful for monitoring students’ progress. However, in Ms. Apple’s 50/50 program, very little Spanish formative assessment was done. This meant that teachers spent more time conducting assessments with students during English instruction than in Spanish (creating an imbalance in instructional time in each language) and that teachers had less formative assessment data that can be used to guide instruction in Spanish, and less information to provide to parents about how their students are doing in Spanish.

Many participants described high-stakes English tests as having a profound effect on attitudes toward language learning. Schools where significant numbers of students fail to achieve Annual Yearly Progress (AYP) on state-mandated tests can face negative

consequences. In regard to her school where ELL students (both within and outside the dual language program) performed poorly on the state achievement test, Ms. Oliver noted that “it’s really undermined the climate here, because... teachers will say, ‘well, you’re teaching them in Spanish and that’s why they can’t do the English test. And that’s why our school’s in trouble.’ And so, the program becomes scapegoated. And Spanish, in a way because of that, becomes scapegoated.” Similarly, Ms. Coburn stated that the dual language and bilingual programs in her school are blamed by members of the community for the school not making AYP, although it was actually the special education subgroup, not the ELLs, who continually fall short of the AYP target. Another way that high-stakes tests affect language learning is in terms of what modalities are emphasized: Ms. Jiménez noted that students in her 90/10 school were doing a good job of developing literacy skills in both languages because literacy is so critical for achieving high test scores (and her colleagues knew that literacy skills transfer between languages), but students were not developing high levels of oral language proficiency in Spanish, implying that this was because Spanish oral proficiency is not a tested skill.

Whether because of testing pressure or the status of English in society, two participants noted that it is common to view Spanish as an “extra” (Mr. Evans) or a “side-note” (Ms. Becker) within the curriculum, and they also said that there are teachers in their schools, even within the dual language program, who believe that English is a necessity in order to succeed in life and Spanish is not. Ms. Becker and Ms. López both stated that in their programs, under pressure to have students score well in English, Spanish-language teachers would sometimes switch to English for particular lessons on tested content. Ms. Herrera noted that parents sometimes view Spanish as an extra, as

evidenced by a set of parents that told her that they did not realize that academic curriculum would be taught in Spanish in the dual language program, and that they would be satisfied if their child just knew how to speak a little bit of Spanish. Ms. Apple, who is also the parent of a dual language student where she teaches, wrestles with this concept herself. When she goes to dual language conferences, she notes that the focus of the conference is usually on the English learner rather than the Spanish learner; while she sees ELLs becoming fluent in English as the “number-one priority” of the program, she also hopes that her native-English-speaking son will become “as fluent as possible” in Spanish.

Language use at the program and school level. In dual language programs, decisions about how much and in what circumstances to use Spanish convey meaning beyond practical or pedagogical concerns. These more profound meanings include a commitment to elevating the status of Spanish and to validating Spanish as a legitimate language for various types of communication beyond the purely academic. The examples in this section illustrate the connections that participants made between characteristics of their program (such as the program model or norms of Spanish usage outside the classroom) and the status of Spanish in their schools.

In the literature on dual language, the program model (50/50 or 90/10) is frequently referenced as a key element of how the program can promote the development of Spanish. All dual language programs, by definition, must provide at least 50% of instruction in Spanish at all grade levels, but the 90/10 model provides additional time in the early elementary grades to be immersed in the minority language. Although this idea is commonly discussed in the literature on dual language in reference to how programs

can be organized to promote Spanish (Cloud et al., 2000; Howard & Sugarman, 2007; Lindholm-Leary, 2001), only one 90/10 practitioner (Mr. Evans) noted that the 90/10 model is used at his school because of the dominance of English in wider society. Another 90/10 teacher noted that in *spite* of the 90/10 program, “it’s our job to ensure that they’re receiving experiences in both languages so that they can hopefully become bilingual and biliterate people” (Ms. Coburn). Two teachers in 50/50 programs noted that the 50/50 model promotes equity between the two languages by providing an equal amount of instruction in each language (Ms. Apple and Ms. Davis).

Beyond the amount of time in each language, other program model factors can affect the use and status of Spanish. According to Ms. Davis, her program had been operating with an unusual model where an English and a Spanish teacher taught in the same room, making English the dominant language even during Spanish time because there was always an English teacher present. In Ms. Davis’s experience, changing to a one-room/one-language model appeared to increase the value of Spanish by making Spanish the only approved language when students were in the Spanish room. Administrators also changed the model so that math would be taught exclusively in Spanish, with the express wish of associating Spanish with what is seen as “a very important subject,” as Ms. Davis put it. Additionally, she suggested that the status of Spanish would increase if more students spoke Spanish among themselves in the classroom or on the playground, and what hindered this was a lack of monolingual Spanish students with whom peers would *have* to speak in Spanish.

Language status is also influenced by the ways that Spanish is used orally and in writing throughout the school building. In his 90/10, whole-school program, Mr.

Navarro's expectation was that all school staff would speak Spanish with students (starting in the second half of first grade) regardless of the students' native language.

Another 90/10 teacher, Ms. Fernández, commented that after she and a group of teachers visited another school where they saw high expectations for Spanish use and high levels of language between students and teachers, they decided that students should only hear their teachers speaking Spanish and that they should make it clear that Spanish is the preferred language to use with Spanish-speaking teachers even outside the classroom.

Language use outside of the classroom has both symbolic and tangible effects on language status. Ms. Apple and Ms. Coburn discussed the fact that whether the leaders of the school—the people that the students look up to—speak the partner language has a impact on students' attitudes toward the language and also has ramifications for meetings and assemblies, as non-Spanish-speaking administrators who run these meetings need to hold them in English with concurrent translation into Spanish, instead of holding the meeting in Spanish (even when most or all of the participants are Spanish speakers). Ms. Coburn further noted three ways in which the number of Spanish-speaking staff in the school promoted Spanish: having a bilingual principal means that school-wide announcements could be done in both languages, students can successfully communicate with most teaching and non-teaching staff, and students could see that many adults speak Spanish.

In some programs that are a strand within a school, English is the predominant (or only) language for signs, announcements, assemblies, and other whole-school communication. This was the case for Ms. Apple, Ms. Fernández, and Ms. Herrera, who felt this contributed to a negative status for Spanish in their schools. In contrast, as the

strand in Ms. Jiménez's school rolled out, the atmosphere of the school went from one where the use of Spanish in the hallways was viewed with suspicion to one where there was a genuine "friendliness" and "warmth" around the use of Spanish, even among non-Spanish speaking staff. Although no one argued that there is a causal relationship between the status and symbolic use of a language and students' development of language proficiency, participants' equation of language status with equity and their emphasis on actively resisting the hegemony of English highlights this phenomenon as a critical component of dual language program success.

Students of Diverse Backgrounds are Positioned and Recognized as Equals

Closely related to the idea that practitioners resist the hegemony of English so as to create an environment where languages have equal status is the idea that practitioners also leverage the dual language model to challenge power and status differentials between majority and minority students, emphasizing inter-group equality and encouraging cross-cultural understanding. In dual language programs, there are not only two languages being learned but two (or more) groups of students who are purposefully integrated so as to learn from each other. One of the goals of dual language is to increase cross-cultural appreciation and understanding by including multicultural themes in the curriculum and by exposing children to peers from different ethnic, linguistic, and socioeconomic groups. In this section, I will explore how teachers reflected on student interactions and relationships across demographic lines.

Five participants referenced the importance of equal status of different student groups in their definitions of equity, including three (Ms. Davis, Ms. Jiménez, and Ms. Oliver) who had also included the idea of languages being equal in their definitions:

- “There is such a strong aspect of equity in the classroom... So if you’re a child, your home language is Spanish and you go into the classroom, when it’s Spanish time, you have the answers. It’s really profound for four and five year olds... They are raised in a dynamic of equity that is *real* in terms of who can answer the questions at what time. And because they take turns, when it’s English time, those children might need to depend on their English speaking peers. You know, those are the hands that shoot up with the answer. So they experience both sides. They know that, and so there’s this sort of sense of mutual understanding and respect....” (Ms. Oliver)
- “And also [in defining equity] you have to... link with the idea of social justice.... I think social justice is when you teach students collaboration and social skills.... Social justice in terms of teaching the kids we can learn from each other.” (Ms. López)
- “It [equity] also means that we’re not going to be giving more attention to students who are from an EO [English-only] background that are learning [Spanish].... So we have to make a big deal for both groups rather than just one group who traditionally hasn’t been... bilingual, such as the EOs.” (Ms. Jiménez)
- “[Thinking about equity in dual language, I would ask,] are the native Spanish speakers and the native English speakers being considered to be as influential in the classroom, do they have the same status in the classroom?” (Ms. Davis)
- “[One way I think of equity is] in terms of creating an equitable school climate where it’s very clear that all parents, all students, all staff members, all

community members have voice, have the capacity to impact what happens in the school in a substantive way.” (Mr. Navarro)

These definition excerpts focus primarily on the way that dual language practitioners capitalize on the integration of majority and minority students to create a dynamic where all students have the opportunity to be helpers and to be helped; this creates a sense of empathy and respect for the learning process. The examples in this section examine how teachers take advantage of the dual language model to facilitate the creation of a community of learners in their classrooms where all students have something valuable to contribute. Extending from this focus on interaction and mutual aid, other examples presented in the second half of the section examine how racism and bias that students pick up from home and society manifest in the classroom, and what steps teachers take to help students negotiate critical conversations around difference.

“We are in this together.” Equity of status between students from the two language groups is built in to the dual language program model by integrating students in the classroom so that all students are positioned as language learners for part of the time and language models/experts (using their dominant language) for part of the time. This contrasts with monolingual approaches to education where this status as the expert in a language is entirely the province of the majority-language speakers. In the examples that follow, participants illustrate how dual language classrooms are intentionally set up to equalize power and status between native speakers and language learners, what teachers can do to facilitate this context, and how social and intellectual life in a classroom is affected by pedagogical decisions that reinforce or break down status differentials.

As quoted above, Ms. Oliver emphasized that the equal status of students is not only powerful but is *real*, deriving from students' sharing the experience of being language learners, rather than contrived (which might occur, for example, if students in an English-only program are encouraged to think of each other as equals, but the structure of the program makes it so that English-proficient students persistently maintain the status of experts). In the context of talking about differentiating instruction, Ms. Keane commented on how native Spanish speakers and native English speakers come together in the dual language program:

I guess the nature of dual immersion has made it just that everybody's a language learner and everybody's a language model, so that being the case... I don't notice any sense of [differentiating between] the kids that have things and the kids that don't have things like you might see in another program, because everybody has an active role and everyone's a language learner. So you don't have the ones who know and the ones who don't know. Everybody doesn't know something, and everybody knows something.

Teachers can supplement the sense of equity facilitated by the model in a number of ways. Ms. Coburn described working with her first grade students to teach them how to ask for help from peers. Beyond its pedagogical benefit, this strategy showed that "...we're all here to help each other, and that if one person needs help with something, someone else in the room is there that can help you. In my eyes, that's... a form of equity." This idea was echoed by Ms. López, who commented that when teachers foster a safe environment where students feel "we are in this together" and teachers care about

them, students will feel safe to take chances in their learning and thus develop linguistic and academic skills.

In programs where the student population is diverse in terms of race, socioeconomic class, and ability as well as language, dual language staff facilitate a sense of shared community across those lines. Ms. Mora reported that several years ago, in the first year of dual language program implementation at her very ethnically-diverse school, students were self-segregating on the playground by ethnicity. In the second year, staff began to facilitate two new strategies: They instituted games on the playground that all students would play together and they began to use the “pair-sharing” strategy in the classroom, where students would discuss something in pairs before being asked to share their answer with the class. Ms. Mora reported that pair-sharing gave students the opportunity to help each other, particularly with native Spanish speakers (NSS) helping native English speakers (NES) during Spanish time, and NES helping NSS during English time. She said, “so in that regard, they were seeing, ‘oh! I can help you. I can support you when you don’t know. But you can also support me when I ask you.’” Ms. Mora noted that in the second year of the program, students were more willing to socialize across demographic lines, and she attributes the improvement in interaction between students of different ethnicities to this facilitation of interaction between students on the playground and in the classroom.

Related to facilitating interaction, Ms. Jiménez noted that part of her definition of equity is the teacher being aware of students’ race, gender, and socioeconomic or special needs status in order to pair students up with others who are different from them, or to create opportunities for her class to interact with other classes, particularly classes for

students with special needs. Ms. López also discussed this idea, as she described her efforts to integrate students identified as having special needs and to break down the barriers between them and non-identified students. During a year when she was co-teaching in a classroom with a special education teacher, when the class would break up for group work, Ms. López's co-teacher would call out the names of the special education students and bring them together so she could facilitate their work following the guidelines of the students' Individualized Education Plans (IEPs). Ms. López felt it was inappropriate to assume that the students could not do the assigned work without help before they had even tried, and she was uncomfortable with the idea of segregating that group of students within the classroom and calling attention to their differences. After some time, she told her co-teacher,

“We are going to have a new plan. We are going to ask the question, who needs help? [Then] we're going to take turns... and we will just work with the kids who need help.” And she said, “I don't know because I need to do the IEP.” [And I said] “We need to try.” And we tried that, and after four months it was amazing because my [student] said one day, “I don't understand, are you the classroom teacher or are you the special ed teacher or are you the ESL teacher? I don't know who you are!” And I said, “I'm a teacher, sweetie, I'm sitting and working with [those who] need help. We are a community of learners, that's it.” And the kids, you know, think about that idea. Would I want to keep this as a stigma, that the lower kids go with the ESL teacher, the lower kids go with the special ed. teachers? I erased it!

In her current position as a science teacher, Ms. López emphasized to students that for every project they do, all students bring strengths to group work, even if they are not strong academically. For example, “what I show the kids is, ‘he’s an incredible artist, he can help us with the design. You are [a] strong scientist and bring the concepts.’” She said that she noticed that some students give her a dubious look when she suggests they work with students they perceive as academically weaker than them, “but when you break that idea and they start [seeing that] everybody brings something to share, it’s a shared community of knowledge. I think that’s social justice.” Additionally, Ms. López finds that students who have graduated from her school have an expanded understanding of the world and an appreciation of different peoples and cultures because of the ways that they work together in the dual language program: “Because they are sitting with people different from them, speaking different languages, looking at different cultures, so they are getting a talent [at an] early age, [which is helping] them be ready when they go to be part of the workforce.”

Two other teachers noted that pulling students out of the classroom had an impact on learning and on equity. In one case, Mr. Irwin, a fourth grade teacher, felt that pulling students out for reading interventions is detrimental to their learning the content that he teaches to the rest of the class, and for one student, it actually impairs his academic growth because his learning disability makes transitions from room to room difficult. Ms. Apple was conflicted about the regrouping that takes place for second language instruction in the upper grades at her school. Dual language students who require ESL leave the classroom to be grouped with non-dual-language students with an ESL teacher for a class period; meanwhile the other students stay with the dual language classroom

teacher where they work on Spanish. Although Ms. Apple was glad that dual language students were able to have the opportunity to mix with non-dual-language students, she felt that “it just seems kind of odd that, well, you guys [fluent English speakers] stay here cause you’re in two-way, but you guys are in two-way but you’re Spanish speaking natively so you have to go away.”

On a similar topic, a number of teachers noted that students are usually mixed by native language for instruction so that they can benefit from cross-linguistic help, although there would be some occasions when teachers want to use a different method for forming groups (Ms. Apple, Ms. Becker, Ms. Coburn, Ms. Davis, Ms. Keane, Ms. López, Ms. Oliver). Ms. Davis was concerned that because students in her grade were so frequently grouped by language ability, that there might be a stigma attached to students who belong to the “low group.” Although she saw the value of this arrangement for differentiating instruction to meet students’ needs, she commented, “it would be better for them as far as learning goes to be grouped together sometimes... in varying levels of ability. And then also I think it’s just better for them not to always think about [where all the other kids are].”

According to Mr. Navarro, diversity is a central focus of the culture of his school, as he commented:

... the whole idea that we are diverse and it’s what makes us great as a school is something that’s been a part of the culture of the school. And I personally have been very pleased with how equitably the kids interact and how much the English-home-language and the Spanish-home-language kids interact and how

genuinely connected they are to one another. It's been really neat to see that, cause I know that's not always the way things are.

Mr. Navarro noted that there is some tendency for students "to gravitate to students of their own home language" but this is natural and not necessarily problematic as long as it's not how any student interacts all of the time.

Mr. Navarro's school also enrolls a significant number of African-American students. Including a large number of African-Americans was not a specific goal of recruitment, but in talking to prospective parents, the staff did place an emphasis on making it clear that students from all backgrounds "can and should be part of these programs" and that bilingualism is common throughout the world for both poor and rich students. Mr. Navarro also noted that his ethnicity has "helped at just a visceral level. When parents come to our school and they see me, the first visual they get is of an Afro-Cuban man as a principal of an immersion school so they think, well, my son or my daughter can do this."

In contrast to these positive examples of student integration, Ms. Coburn argued that the way that students socialize at her school is inequitable, as they often socialize only with others of the same ethnicity and who speak the same native language. She noted that the "cross-over happens more often when, for example, a native Spanish speaking child really has a lot of confidence in English and will engage the English speaking students independently, or an English speaking child is really highly motivated by Spanish and will even occasionally attempt some Spanish in social situations." The self-segregation at her school, Ms. Coburn said, may be due to cultural interests, such as Hispanic students' "obsession" with soccer to the exclusion of other playground games,

or students' inability to socialize outside of school if, for example, working-class parents do not have a car or the time to take their children to birthday parties on the other side of town.

Negotiating race in the classroom. Although not all Spanish/English dual language programs are racially or ethnically heterogeneous, addressing cultural diversity and encouraging cross-cultural understanding is an explicit goal of dual language programs. There were no indications in their interviews that any of the classrooms or schools where the study participants worked were sites of racial tension in terms of overt conflicts between students from different ethnic groups. However, the concept of race was invoked in several interviews as teachers described how curiosity about difference or ideas from home and society can infiltrate the classroom, which is a space that is intended to foster equity among groups. Some participants noted that they have not witnessed any conflict related to differences in race, ethnicity, language or socioeconomic status that play out between students. Ms. Coburn indicated that her first grade students sometimes express surprise that other students don't have the same things or experiences that they do, but not in a way that is judgmental. Ms. Keane emphasized that staff efforts to create an environment of safety and respect actually sets an example to the community "about building a sense of family."

On the other hand, there are sometimes conflicts or biased beliefs that participants in the study ascribed to influence from parents or cultural ideologies. Mr. Irwin described the need to occasionally "intervene on conversations or beliefs that are coming from outside the classroom" such as telling jokes about Asians or homosexuals. His strategy in those cases is to emphasize to his fourth grade students his expectations for them to act

“professional” and to acknowledge the difference between how one acts at home and in a public place. He sometimes finds this to be an easier way to deal with those comments “than getting into all the discussion” about why the comments or jokes were inappropriate.

In relation to conflicts or overt discussions of bias, Ms. Becker described a situation different from those in the previous examples, where race is dealt with more directly. In her context, nearly all of the students in the school come from the same neighborhood, speak some degree of Spanish at home, and have similar backgrounds (predominately Dominican with some students from other Latin American countries and a handful of African-Americans). The issue of race is particularly salient for Ms. Becker because she has studied social justice in her university education courses, and as a result questions her role in a system that is criticized by some academics and members of the public for having “all white people teaching all black students,” which is the case in many of the schools in her district (and to some degree in her own).

In her first grade classroom, Ms. Becker described various types of incidents related to noticing and discussing racial differences:

Ms. Becker: They’ll say things out of nowhere about like drawing themselves as a princess and drawing themselves as white. And so we have a lot of discussions about that. And our art teacher is incredible at discussions about that.

Interviewer: Where do you think this came from?

Ms. Becker: I think a lot of it comes from home. A lot of Dominicans, they talk about good hair/bad hair, so if you have... kinky hair, then that’s considered *bad hair* and you want to do whatever you can to straighten it. And I’ve lived in the

Dominican Republic, I've lived in Mexico, and as much as they'll say, "oh we don't have race problems like the U.S.," it's just expressed differently. So a lot of it comes from home. And when Obama was looking to be elected, one Mexican student came right out and said, "My parents [said] he shouldn't be elected cause he's black." And then all the Dominican kids were like "Whoa!" and so that stuff comes up a lot. And especially because... we're in a very rough neighborhood and [have] a lot of—primarily—children of immigrants, so the ideas that are coming through, they're just saying what their parents are saying.

Using their training from the Resolving Conflicts Creatively Program, Ms. Becker and her co-teacher discuss such racially-charged comments with the students who made and heard them. They also use these moments as fodder for discussions in their Friday community meeting, where, for example, students might practice how to respond when someone is bothering them.

Ms. Becker has found herself as the object of curiosity about race, as she is the only blond-haired, blue-eyed person in her classroom. She also speaks Spanish fluently, so people look at her "and they're like, 'hmm.' Students will often assume I'm Puerto Rican just because the only white people they know are Puerto Rican in that neighborhood. Whereas other people on the street might ask if I'm from Argentina." Students and parents have made comments to her about whether she wears contact lenses or dyes her hair. As a white person who speaks Spanish fluently, she's puzzling to students: She joked that when they hear her speak Spanish, "they're like, 'Oh, ok. We don't know what to do with this person but, whatever.'"

On the other hand, Ms. Becker described an undercurrent of tension around white teachers who taught in Spanish. When

she was teaching fourth and fifth graders “there was a kid who, if I used a word that was so obviously Dominican, he would say ‘you can’t use that word, you’re not Dominican.’”

She has also noted a divisive feeling around the fact that because of their academic language study, some of the non-native Spanish teachers have stronger Spanish writing skills than the teachers who grew up in the neighborhood. Further, the culture of the school is very Latino-dominated, so discussions about other cultures can be jarring and “out of left field” for the students. However, this exposure can be very beneficial:

I feel like, for the kids, it’s great that they have an incredibly diverse staff. I think if everyone on staff looked like them, it would be a handicap to them. Because... they rarely get out of their neighborhood. They’re already living in a neighborhood where everyone pretty much looks like them. And so, they need whatever exposure they can get and they need to trust people that are different from them at an early age. ... So if they can later meet someone and not feel any different from them because “oh, you look just like my first grade teacher, she was cool,” I think that’s huge in terms of equity later on in their lives.

Another teacher (who also has a particular interest in social justice from her education studies) has an equally proactive strategy for dealing with cultural conflicts. Ms. Davis reports that her class engages in a lot of community building and, like the previous example, this first grade class also has community meetings every week where they discuss how to treat people and why they are learning about other cultures. In particular, Ms. Davis’s class uses the idea of “hot spots” to identify issues that might be sensitive to discuss, as she explained:

Hot spots are anything that has to do [with] making fun of anyone or talking to anyone about their family, the color of their skin, their ability, how much money they have. So that's something that's very tangible for first graders to understand. And sometimes... they'll make a comment about each others' clothes, even if they're not making fun of it, you'll say "oh that's a hot spot."... It's a way to talk about racism and sexism and classism but in a way that first graders understand.... [We discussed that the reason] why we don't even really bring them up to people is basically because these are things that are so important to who you are that... if you feel like someone's making fun of you for them, it hurts your feelings a lot. And they get that. And then we talked about what all the different hot spots could be.

In sum, the participants in the study described a variety of ways in which, despite the intentional situating of dual language classrooms as spaces where all groups have equal status, bias or conflicts related to group differences that originate in home or peer group contexts emerge in classroom discourse. Of the three teachers described here, one (Mr. Irwin) preferred not to address the root of the problem but rather the behavior of his students, while Ms. Becker and Ms. Davis addressed both their students' behavior and the underlying beliefs and attitudes.

The Curriculum and Program Model Reflect the Goals of Bilingualism and Biliteracy

The third overarching theme in participants' definitions of equity is the opportunity afforded by the dual language curriculum and program model to develop proficiency and literacy in two languages, as illustrated by the following four excerpts:

- “Equity means that...all students are learning in both languages.” (Ms. Mora)
- “Equality of opportunities to learn two languages and... the opportunity to learn to read and write in your native language.” (Ms. García)
- “Equity [means] that both groups would be getting an equal amount of support in developing their second language.” (Mr. Evans)
- “All students, regardless of home language and home experiences, move through the program in a way that allows them to use and improve upon both languages, English and Spanish.... [Regardless of the program model] it’s our job to ensure that they’re receiving experiences in both languages so that they can hopefully become bilingual and biliterate people.” (Ms. Coburn)

These definitions invoke three ideas: students are learning in two languages, teachers are providing opportunities for students to develop their language skills, and the end goal of the dual language program is for students to be bilingual and biliterate.

This theme overlaps to a great degree with the previous two, as teaching two languages is the foundation of what makes equity in a dual language program different from how equity might be apparent in other types of programs. In particular, the first section of this chapter addressed equal development and equal treatment of the two program languages. The examples in that section emphasized the importance of raising the status of Spanish within the classroom and the school in order to counter the overwhelming power of English in the United States.

The four definitions of equity excerpted in this section take a step back from the privileging of Spanish to emphasize the equal development of the two program languages and the way that the dual language program model is set up to foster bilingualism and

biliteracy. These are not mutually exclusive positions, as the literature on dual language discusses the idea that Spanish and Hispanic culture may need to be “over-promoted” (Howard & Sugarman, 2007, p. 104) in order to have equal weight with English and Anglo-American culture when considering the totality of influences on students outside of school. In other words, the critical work of resisting the hegemony of English and equalizing power and status described in the first two sections of this chapter is an aspect of equity in dual language programs because of the sociolinguistic status of language minority speakers in the United States. In this section, participants discuss equity more in the sense of parity or equality between the languages that is emphasized in the program’s stated goals of bilingualism and biliteracy.

What is noteworthy about the framing of equity as equal development of the languages by these four participants is that they all are teachers in 90/10 programs, which use Spanish for 70-90% of instruction in the early elementary grades and in which students learn to read primarily in Spanish. This means that there is a period of time in the course of the program when the two languages are not being developed equally (at least in school). In their descriptions of their program model, none of the four participants were able to fully articulate how the 90/10 model squares with their definition of equity. Mr. Evans came closest to doing so, by explaining that the needs of each group to develop their second language were met programmatically, with NES receiving extra support in Spanish in the early years of the program and NSS receiving extra support in English in the upper elementary grades. He equivocated in his explanation of why more Spanish in the early grades is not detrimental to English by saying “...since we’re living in an English speaking society, the hope is that part of where they’re going to be getting

their English is just from their home environment, although I know that sometimes... they might be getting Spanish at home..." adding that "you don't really know" to what degree students are actually learning English outside of school. He went on to describe how because of political pressure, Spanish language proficiency is an "extra" for NES, whereas English is more of a priority in the educational system and the language that people are expected to be proficient in "in order to succeed in life."

Ms. Coburn also invoked the idea of supporting students' language growth programmatically in saying that students "move through the program in a way that allows them to use and improve upon both languages." At her school, the program recently changed its model from one in which students receive literacy in their native language (akin to a 50/50 program for NES and 90/10 for NSS) to one where all students receive literacy in Spanish (with 80% of academic instruction in Kindergarten delivered in Spanish). Several times in her first interview, she discussed how teachers have worked additional English literacy instruction into their curriculum (although Spanish is intended to be used for 70-75% of instruction at her grade level) and in her second interview, she twice indicated that a weak program would be one in which language use was not balanced (although she did not say that her program was weak in this regard). For Ms. Coburn, the program model in use at her school and her idea of ideal dual language instruction were in conflict to a certain degree. She said "I understand this new model that we're under, but previous to this program, I feel that I'm a proponent of simultaneous instruction, and I like there to be a little more balance."

Because teaching initial literacy in Spanish only was a new component for their model, Ms. Coburn explained that there had been some negotiation among teachers about

the appropriate use of English and that teachers were still trying to understand and get used to the model. Additionally, parents, having heard that their children will learn to read in Spanish, have expressed concerns about whether their children would be confused as a result of being taught sight words and participating in language arts interventions in English in addition to the scheduled 30% of instructional time. Parents of NES were also concerned that students' Spanish reading scores were not as high as the scores of NES learning in English and asked the teachers about what those scores mean. In regard to these conversations, Ms. Coburn reflected, "I don't always know if I'm giving them the right answers, I mean, this is brand new for a lot of us teachers, this new model, so we are unsure of ourselves sometimes." In other words, the perceived lack of balance in the new model was a source of concern for Ms. Coburn and raised tensions and questions within the school and between staff and parents about the best way to develop two languages.

Another participant who was fairly new to the dual language model used at the school where she taught was Ms. García. She emphasized in her definition of equity "the opportunity to learn to read and write in your native language." She was somewhat puzzled by the situation in which she found herself, because there were fewer NSS enrolled in the program in its second year of implementation than had been intended, so the lack of Spanish models made instruction very challenging for her students. She stated, "I did my student teaching at a school where we had more model students. So that to me was different. And the way I understood bilingual education, it was, you were supposed to teach students in their native or home language and so, it's kind of almost opposite." Like Ms. Coburn, Ms. García is puzzled by the model that is used with the population she is teaching, and confessed that her lack of training in foreign language instruction left her

under-prepared to work in a school where the majority of the students require support to learn Spanish as a second language.

The fourth participant whose definition of equity included the idea of students learning in two languages also expressed some statements that seemed to contradict the commitment that she as an administrator had to the 90/10 model. Several times, she indicated that it was an important value of the school that students should not be forced to speak their second language:

Here, when the students are talking in their own language, we acknowledge that. We don't say, "oh no, you need to speak [Spanish], right now we are in Spanish class." Or "we are in English class." We just acknowledge, because that way both languages are important. And we need to show the students that yes we encourage them to use the target language, but it has to come [from] within. It can't be "you must do this." ... We encourage the teachers, yes, you need to encourage the students to use the target language, but if they [don't] feel comfortable at that time, just acknowledge them, and not diminish because they're using not the target language.

This philosophy reflects the value of languages having equal status, such that no student is ever made to feel ashamed of speaking his or her native language. However, as a strategy used in a program where learning and developing proficiency in two languages is a goal, having low expectations for students to produce the target language during instruction is contraindicated by research showing the necessity of student output for learning (Block, 2003; Swain & Lapkin, 2002).

What is curious about these four participants' definitions of equity and descriptions of their program is the tension that seems to exist for them in terms of what it means to provide instruction in Spanish for the majority of the day in the early elementary grades. Research studies showing the effectiveness of the 90/10 model for developing both English and Spanish (Lindholm-Leary & Howard, 2008) and showing that developing Spanish to a high degree has a positive impact on the English proficiency of ELLs (Collier & Thomas, 2009; Lindholm & Aclan, 1991; Thomas & Collier, 1997, 2002) provide support for programs that choose this model. And yet, none of the four participants who invoked the idea of learning in two languages in their definition of equity talked about the benefits of Spanish immersion (90/10) in terms of developing *both* languages. Ms. Mora did explain why her school chose the 90/10 model, saying "it's the program that, for the Spanish speaking students, makes their Spanish stronger. For the English speaking students, the second language is better." She did not, however, note that the model also has been shown to strengthen English development for both groups of students. Of all of the ways to conceptualize the relationship between English and Spanish that have been discussed in this chapter, learning in two languages is seemingly the most straightforward, as it defines the very thing that practitioners argue provides an equitable school experience for linguistic minority students. However, the four examples described here expose the tensions inherent in implementing a program that is so counter-hegemonic.

Multicultural Curriculum and Materials Are Used

Incorporating multiculturalism into the life of the school and into the curriculum takes a variety of forms, from the celebration of traditions and holidays to the integration

of diverse cultural perspectives in the materials that students use to study academic content. Again, the frame of practitioners resisting cultural hegemony is relevant to this topic, as multicultural education is intended not just to be entertaining or a curricular add-on but a way of challenging hegemonic cultural frames in American education (Banks, 1995). Incorporating non-hegemonic or minority cultural traditions opens up space for alternative ways of participating that are more inclusive of students from minority cultures.

One participant referred explicitly to multiculturalism in her definition of equity by stating that she would ask herself the following question to know if her practices reflected equity:

- “Is the culture of the native Spanish speakers reflected in the curriculum?... Are the cultural values of all my students being reflected in the curriculum and being held to the same importance?” (Ms. Davis)

Other participants included more abstract ideas of empowerment in their definitions of equity: revealing the “hidden curriculum,” teaching to prepare students to be good citizens, and speaking out about injustices within the school or district—all of which are themes which are prominent in the literature on multicultural education:

- “I also think there is a strong leadership component to equity... in terms of... engaging those stakeholder groups in the conversation [about] their place in this process of [empowering]... underprivileged and underrepresented groups historically. And then also for our privileged groups, having that conversation as well—which is always a hard conversation to have—in terms of helping folks see the significance of making sure that we are creating equitable

environments for all of our parents and all of our students and all of our staff members.” (Mr. Navarro)

- “I think if we perpetuate... ideas inside the schools [about] those kind of hidden curriculums that we have, we keep some kids [from] success. We are not providing them what they really need.” (Ms. López)
- “Equity means teaching what is required of me to teach them—content standards—and in addition it also means that I am preparing them for beyond high school for things to make them, in my opinion, good citizens: go out into the real world, apply what they’ve learned, apply the language that they learned, in a way that they’re going to be able to participate in our society in a democratic way, and also in a caring way.... Equity also means that when a teacher sees, within the dual language context, something that is unfair or unjust or out of code, they have the courage to speak out. And not just speak out, but also do something about it. Because I know a lot of teachers who speak about equity or speak about social justice, and they like to complain about things, but that’s as far as it gets is complaining about it, and they don’t actually do anything to take action. And that action might be, ‘Go talk to the principal about it,’ ‘Go talk to this teacher about it,’ or it might mean get involved in certain things if you want to change the system that affects your dual language program.” (Ms. Jiménez)

In this section, participants describe ways in which their schools include multicultural pedagogy (teaching about cultural differences, using materials that depict diversity or encourage cross-cultural appreciation, teaching social justice concepts),

create an inclusive environment that celebrates all cultures, reflect on the connection between student background and culture and the way that schools are set up, and empower parents from all backgrounds. These examples illustrate active participation in reshaping the educational environment to be inclusive of minority voices and cultures in both symbolic and profound ways.

Multicultural pedagogy and curriculum. The schools in which the participants in this study work represent a range of levels of commitment to incorporating multicultural approaches into curriculum and instruction in terms of explicitly teaching about diversity, culture, and justice. These approaches include incorporating materials and instructional themes that reflect students' backgrounds to help them make connections between their experiences and new learning, as well as a curriculum that teaches about non-Anglo cultures in order to enrich all students' learning and help students be able to see others' perspectives. Only one of the schools had a teacher-designed multicultural curriculum that was incorporated systematically into all grades and subject areas. During their summer planning, teachers at Ms. Mora's school worked together to incorporate the discussion of a variety of ethnic groups and cultures into the curriculum that is based on state content standards. The principals of the school also play a part in the multicultural curriculum, as they lead monthly discussions and activities with students on topics such as social justice. At another school, Ms. García noted that all teachers have a set of multicultural books in their classroom libraries and projects incorporate cultural activities.

In contrast, most participants reported that there were pockets of multicultural pedagogy in the activities that individual teachers chose to implement, but there was no

school-wide effort to implement multicultural pedagogy or teaching for social justice. Several participants noted that multicultural themes might be explored within the social studies curriculum. At Ms. Apple's school, fifth grade students wrote reports about famous Latin American people. According to Ms. Oliver, one teacher at her school incorporated the distribution of clothes to the poor as part of a unit on César Chávez and another teacher used interactive role-plays to explore the various perspectives of groups of people, as in units on the early explorers and immigration to Ellis Island.

Even in schools where there is no systematic multicultural curriculum, some teachers make a personal commitment to including multicultural and social justice perspectives in their teaching. Ms. Davis said that she thinks a great deal about the cultural implications of her curriculum and materials in terms of whether they reflect all of her students' cultures and whether students are learning about new cultures. She also tried to teach students to recognize bias in books. These commitments were evident in a unit that she planned for her first grade students:

We're doing a fairy tale unit to talk about fantasy fiction and so we are doing fairy tales from around the world. So we're going to read Cinderella but we're going to read a Hmong Cinderella, an African Cinderella, a Malaysian Cinderella. So I chose fairy tales from all different cultures and then there's also some fairy tales out there that challenge the notion of, like, why does the princess always have to find the prince? Why can't she just be happy by herself?

Ms. Davis also made personal connections to students' cultures, as through a unit looking at maps and where students' families came from in the world. Likewise, when she was a classroom teacher, Ms. López used to encourage students to bring in cultural artifacts

from home or pictures of other countries, and she also discussed with students what she learned from her own reading about the world. Currently, she incorporates multiculturalism into her science teaching by bringing in texts from other countries that portray diverse individuals who are scientists so that students feel motivated to see themselves as scientists in the classroom.

Also in regard to science education, the science curriculum at Mr. Navarro's school includes a social justice component. Teachers attended professional development from an organization called The Works, who, as Mr. Navarro explained, "have a really strong emphasis on equity in science education and helping kids understand that anytime that there's a new technology that's introduced in the world, that technology is going to impact different groups of people in different ways, and that there are different perspectives in terms of how people feel about that technology." Mr. Navarro explained that following Glenn Singleton's framework for "courageous conversations" (Singleton & Linton, 2005) in which teachers actively seek out missing perspectives in classroom conversations, teachers ask students to think about issues like the impact of building new traffic infrastructure and how they would feel if they were the ones to be displaced by a new highway.

Two teachers lamented the fact that although they would like to include multicultural components into their curriculum, they did not have time. At Ms. Coburn's school, the language arts curriculum purports to include multicultural components, but she did not feel this was a strong aspect of the published materials that she used. While social studies would be the easiest place to incorporate topics related to culture, Ms. Coburn rarely had time to squeeze in social studies lessons due to the heavy emphasis on

language arts and math. Cultural topics do come up in her first grade classroom around the holidays, when they discuss how different people celebrate them, but she reported that adding more units related to culture would be difficult for her and her fellow teachers who are under pressure to stick to the core curriculum in order to prepare students for high-stakes tests. If she could, she would like to talk with students about what life is like in other places in the world. Another teacher who said there is no time for cultural learning within the district-mandated curriculum was Ms. Herrera. She said that there are some things that she is able to incorporate because of being in a dual language program, for example, discussing word origins and how other languages and cultures have contributed to the English language and American culture. But she feels she is not able to introduce original units on multicultural themes.

Cultural inclusiveness at the school level. Despite the fact that most participants described multiculturalism at the curricular level as being rare or, at best, unsystematic, almost all of the participants referenced ways that their school is inclusive and appreciative of non-Anglo cultures, particularly in terms of celebrating Hispanic culture and the cultures of other groups that have significant representation in the program. Several pointed out public celebrations of holidays, such as those for Cinco de Mayo and Día de los Muertos (Ms. Jiménez and Ms. Oliver) or assemblies held school-wide for events such as African-American Month or Hispanic Heritage Month (Ms. Davis). Ms. Keane recalled that her staff were so focused on celebrating Mexican/Hispanic holidays that parents once asked her lightheartedly if the school might also celebrate an American holiday!

Teachers also acknowledge cultural diversity by having parents come in to the classroom to share their winter holiday traditions (as Ms. Keane did) or discussing those traditions in class (Ms. Davis), or by having parents share traditions like Chinese New Year that might not be familiar to most students (Ms. Herrera). Ms. Oliver said that Latin American teachers at her school enjoy sharing the particular traditions associated with their home countries.

In addition to these ways of celebrating other cultures, several participants mentioned that their schools are intended to be caring, inclusive, and welcoming spaces for all students (Mr. Irwin, Ms. Keane, Mr. Navarro). Ms. Keane pointed out how, in her school, this extended beyond welcoming linguistic and cultural diversity to creating an atmosphere where all types of individual differences were respected. For example, she noted that one boy prefers to wear pink shoes and long hair but is totally accepted by everyone in the school community in spite of his non-conforming gender expression.

Although Hispanic cultures are often the focus of attention in a Spanish/English dual language school when it comes to multicultural celebrations and learning opportunities, based on the demographics of their community, some schools also focus intentionally on particular non-Hispanic cultures. Being in a community with a large Native American population, the statewide celebration of Native American Day is a major event at Ms. Oliver's school. Additionally, the staff considers the Spanish dual language program as enriching to the Native American community, even if their native languages are not a language of instruction. During the planning of the Spanish dual language program, the staff met with Paiute leaders to discuss why they had chosen Spanish rather than Paiute as the partner language. Ms. Oliver stated "we said right away

that as we raise the bar for equity for the Spanish language, it's going to help raise the bar for Paiute as well. And that really has happened, I think." In recent years, the school has displayed decorative posters in the school with phrases that children might say written in English and Paiute, and, depending on staff and funding, have had Paiute classes in the elementary and middle school.

Some schools incorporate the culture of their students or their community into the curriculum. For example, at Mr. Navarro's school which has a large African-American population, one of the ways that their heritage is incorporated into the curriculum is to discuss Afro-Latino people and the influence of African traditions in the Latin American world. Likewise, Ms. Jiménez has brought in guest speakers from the surrounding Native American community, including one who discussed growing up on a reservation and going to a boarding school where his culture and language were not allowed, and another who talked about the importance of keeping one's native language and the benefits of learning a new one.

Two participants talked about opportunities for discussion or curriculum revision that came up because of anachronisms in the curriculum on Native Americans. At Ms. Keane's school, teachers questioned whether to teach the book *The Indian in the Cupboard* because of the use of the term Indian instead of Native American or indigenous, and because of the stereotypes that were evident in the story. Ms. Keane reflected, "What came out of the conversation was, yes we should teach it, because the kids would have the opportunity to talk about that kind of stuff. If we hide stuff or protect kids from it or try to ignore it, we haven't necessarily taught them anything. [We've] put them in a bubble." Ms. Oliver acknowledged that there's a strong current of racism in her

community, and there are teachers who may not be aware of the racism in the curriculum or might gloss over or ignore it. For example, “in the fourth grade curriculum, we study Native Americans.... Well, it’s really an odd thing to stand in a class, as a teacher, and say ‘the Indians [in this state] *were...*’, you know, use past tense, when you have Indians right in your classroom that are alive. You know, it’s just, like people just aren’t aware of that.” The new superintendent in her district has asked a group of teachers and elders from the Paiute community to develop a new curriculum on Native Americans and has instituted a “Community Reads” where this year’s book was a novel written by a Native American man.

Acknowledging student diversity in the classroom. Some participants described their commitment to equity as sensitivity to students’ diverse backgrounds and needs, particularly for students from minority cultures and students whose families are struggling economically, and emphasized the role that their personal and professional experience with cultural diversity played in creating an equitable learning environment. One administrator placed a great deal of emphasis on hiring teachers who have a passion to teach and who understand poverty. When asked to explain what it takes to teach children of poverty, Ms. Mora explained that it is a matter of not accepting excuses, of finding ways to relate to the children, and fostering strong, positive interactions with students. Ms. Davis noted that in order to ensure that her first grade students can relate to the curriculum, she tries to select books for them to read that show children who have different skin colors.

In talking about class differences in her community, Ms. Coburn noted that despite teaching primarily in Spanish, sometimes her instruction is more familiar to the native English speakers:

The more money and resources a family has, the more experiences they can give their children sometimes—and I shouldn't say *more* experiences, *different* experiences. Obviously the native Spanish speakers have lots of experiences, they're just different than those of their more wealthy peers. I guess I see that when I take out a book to read, for example, lots of Spanish books that we have access to are translations of English stories. And so I'll whip out a book and all the English speakers will say, oh, I know this book, I read this book! And you don't hear that from the native Spanish speakers. So I guess in literacy I just see it so much. The wealthier families can purchase books and they can purchase letter games and you name it, anything that's going to prepare their child for school.

In terms of helping teachers to set up a classroom environment that is reflective of the student population, as an administrator, Mr. Navarro has “placed an emphasis on setting up a classroom that functions in more of a collectivistic framework, knowing that a lot of our students of color come from more of those sorts of social/cultural constructs in terms of what's familiar to them and what's comfortable for them.” The practices that are incorporated into this framework include cooperative learning, diversifying participation formats (not always calling on students who raise a quiet hand), and drawing on multiple intelligences and learning styles, in short, “just really trying to get... away from that notion of the teacher as the purveyor of information and the student being more of a passive recipient of knowledge. Creating more interactive, cooperative learning

environments.” In addition to being more culturally appropriate, Mr. Navarro noted that these practices are academically beneficial to all students and are also shown to foster language learning.

Empowering parents. One way the participants in this study described creating an inclusive school environment is to empower parents from traditionally underserved populations to be involved in the life of the school and to reshape parental involvement to meet all parents’ needs and capacity to participate. Ms. Becker posited that Spanish-speaking parents felt empowered at her school because their language and culture are not just reflected in the school but are actually dominant, such that non-Spanish speakers appear to be the ones to occasionally feel marginalized. Parent empowerment can also be engineered, as at Ms. Davis’s school where staff have made particular efforts to get Hispanic parents to come to events by offering events that interest them. Another school encourages parent involvement in ways that are tailored to parents who mostly don’t have time to volunteer in the classroom. Ms. Mora said that the policy of her school is to emphasize that parents should have a good relationship with their children and help them come to school prepared for learning, and she also encourages parents from both language groups to help by preparing instructional materials at home.

Two participants discussed their role as leaders (one as a teacher, the other as an administrator) in facilitating the empowerment of parents as informed participants in their children’s education. Ms. Jiménez described her commitment to equity as extending to attending meetings of parent leaders in order to give input to parents on what questions to ask, to give the teachers’ perspective, and to be sure that the district is providing full information about their rights to advocate as parents. Mr. Navarro reported that his school

has had good success in getting parents to be involved in more traditional ways, such as coming to parent–teacher conferences. However, he is interested in increasing the level of engagement of the Latino families in terms of decision-making and leadership as well as creating spaces for parents to express what they need, in addition to the traditional pattern of informing parents what the schools need. One aspect of his leadership is thinking about non-traditional modes of parent involvement. Mr. Navarro has led discussions with parents about various cultural expectations of what parent involvement looks like. He has told parents that he honors where they are coming from in terms of their understanding of parent involvement, but he explains that in the U.S. “parent voice is a tremendous leverage point” for decisions made by districts and school boards, and whether they choose to get involved or not, they need to understand the consequences of their level of participation.

Access to the Curriculum and to Educational Resources

In the first four sections of this chapter, four related themes were discussed: equity as manifest in the perceived status of the majority and minority languages, in the relationships between ethnic and language groups, in the use of two languages for instruction, and in multicultural pedagogy and school cultures that celebrate diversity. The examples of equity discussed in those sections evoke Banks’ (1995) five dimensions of multicultural education, particularly prejudice reduction, an equity pedagogy, and an empowering school culture. They are also unique features of dual language education, in that linguistic and cultural diversity are explicitly woven into the program structure and goals. This section illustrates a different aspect of equity, and one which has a greater

applicability across educational contexts, namely equal access to or distribution of resources.

Eight participants included in their definitions of equity the idea of providing students with access to educational opportunities that will lead to the achievement of academic goals. In this framing of equity as *access*, the implicit contrast is with educational contexts where some students are not afforded opportunities that are available to others because of lack of resources, low expectations, instruction that fails to identify or meet students' learning needs, or instruction that is incomprehensible to language learners.

In contrast to programs where students are expected to gain proficiency in English before they are exposed to grade-level academic content, like the Structured English Immersion program in Arizona (Rios-Aguilar, González-Canche, & Moll, 2010), dual language programs allow ELLs to learn academic content in a language they understand while they are developing the language skills they need to learn in English. For learners of both languages in a dual language program, content is sheltered so that nascent language skills are not a hindrance to learning grade-level academic content. This idea of making academic content accessible is illustrated in three participants' definitions of equity:

- “Equity means that all students have access to the curriculum... and all students have the opportunity to reach high academic levels.” (Ms. Mora)
- “[Equity means that]... all students have access to the curriculum and all subject areas in the curriculum.” (Ms. Jiménez)

- “With respect to curriculum, [equity means] being able to give them the same kind of information and content, skills, strategies, whatever, that our English-only counterparts are giving their students.” (Ms. Fernández)

In an equitable environment, teachers attend to students’ individual needs, as noted in these excerpts from three other definitions:

- “For me it’s really reaching children where they are.... Figuring out the needs of each child and doing your best... to reach each kid, to give them the education that they need and to bump them up a level from where they are [so they can meet] goals for themselves.” (Ms. Becker)
- “I think it’s to give to every child what... he or she needs. It could be academic, it could be emotional, and that’s the responsibility of educators.” (Ms. López)
- “Equity also is providing all students with standards-based education at the same time that we’re differentiating instruction to meet the needs of all of them.” (Ms. Keane)

Two participants focused in their definitions of equity on a more programmatic level of access in terms of how schools organize their resources:

- Equity is “increasing access to educational outcomes” through leadership and dialogue with stakeholders, “attending to the needs of diverse learner groups... by creating that culture of reflection where teachers are really digging into their practice and asking those tough questions in terms of which decisions do I make in terms of how I prepare my classroom environment and the way I prepare my instruction that benefit and hinder certain student

groups,” and implementing research-based practices that benefit language learners. (Mr. Navarro)

- “I guess there’s two ways to look at [equity]. One is that you get exactly the same, so... if a school closes down and the services are not provided, it would be equal to close all the other schools, right? ... That’s not really realistic because every child has different needs and so ... I guess what we do now with the standards-based curriculum [is to try] to get everybody to the same mark regardless of effort or resources. We throw a lot of resources into certain students, the idea that they will meet that same mark as the students we don’t spend as much on.” (Mr. Irwin)

Finally, at a basic level, equity is also providing access to the dual language program to all students:

- “To me, the first thing that comes up is that you’re giving equal access to the [dual language] program....” (Ms. Keane)
- “Well, equity to me means allowing any student who wishes to participate... we shouldn’t turn our backs on them, or close the door on them.” (Ms. Fernández)

These excerpts from participants’ definition of equity cover a wide range of perspectives on access. At the broadest level, there is access in terms of ability to participate: the school allows all interested students to participate in dual language and then gives those students a chance to acquire skills and knowledge in the areas that have been accepted as what students ought to learn (the school curriculum). Then at the program level and the classroom level, there are things that educators do to ensure that

students with access (in the sense of the chance to participate) can fully benefit from their education. At the program level, leaders focus on organizing the learning environment around practices that are beneficial to language learners and allocate resources to groups of students that need additional support. They also attend to resource inequities (or perceived inequities) between the dual language and non-dual language strands that co-exist in the school. At the classroom level, teachers meet students' needs (academic and otherwise) through understanding students' prior experiences and differentiating instruction.

In this section, access to education is illustrated at three levels: first, in terms of recruitment and enrollment, including who is and who should be served by the program; second, by acknowledging tensions around differential access to resources and whether *different* can be *fair*; and finally, by examining how teachers can adapt the educational environment to meet students' (particularly ELLs') needs without diminishing the educational rigor of the curriculum.

Access to the dual language program. Ms. Keane highlighted in her definition of equity the idea that all groups of students should have equal access to the dual language program. Her program is located in a neighborhood school where the majority of students are Spanish speaking, but as a dual language program, the goal is to enroll equal numbers of NES and NSS students. When the program transitioned several years ago from being a strand within a school to a whole-school program, enrollment became unbalanced with only 25-30% native English speakers. A number of actions were taken to try to attract more native English speaking families to the program, including marketing the program to the community and, internally, focusing on improving teachers'

use of differentiated instruction to respond to parents' concerns that their children were not being challenged. As a result, the program increased in popularity with native English speaking families, more of whom now view it as a desirable program. In order to continue to broaden access to the program for all groups in the community, staff planned to focus on educating families of Hispanic heritage, who, Ms. Keane said "wouldn't consider a program like this because they still have this feeling of 'my kid needs to achieve in English.'"

Ms. Keane's concern around equity of access is that because of the way enrollment is handled, most of the NES families who want dual language are able to get a place for their children, but there are more NSS who apply for the program than can be accommodated, so one group, in effect, has preferential access to the program. She argued that changing the school's designation from a neighborhood school to a magnet school would equalize the playing field so that students from *both* groups (NES and NSS) would be competing for places in the program. Ms. Keane also worried that there were not enough places for all of the NSS who could benefit from the program and thus felt that a 60:40 balance of NSS to NES would be more appropriate than perfectly even numbers "because I think that's enough of a balance that everyone's benefitting but you are serving a few more of the kids that are [Spanish speaking] and it reflects the neighborhood demographics a little bit more."

Another teacher pointed out structural barriers to access in her school system as well. Because of student attrition in Ms. Jiménez's program (a strand within a school), by the time students get to fifth grade, there are not enough students to maintain two classrooms at each grade level, but too many students for just one class, so some students

are pushed out of the program. In addition to feeling that this is inequitable on its face, Ms. Jiménez noted that students with the lowest English scores are generally the ones that are encouraged to go into the mainstream/English-only program in fifth grade. Although the administrators making these decisions are concerned with improving the academic achievement (test scores) of these ‘struggling’ students, Ms. Jiménez thinks that these are the students who probably need dual language the most.

In Ms. Oliver’s school located near a Native American reservation, the fluctuating enrollment of Native students has drawn attention to the question of who should be served by the program. At first, the dual language program enrolled few Native American students; they were mostly students whose parents were more educated or knew Spanish speakers in the town. Then, interest in the dual language program began to build in the community, and the program had four years of expansion, including drawing Native American students that were highly at-risk due to poverty and “suffering the worst situations that Natives suffer on the reservation,” as Ms. Oliver observed. With recent attention on high-stakes testing and the achievement gap, the attitude at the school has become more skeptical about who belongs in the program, as evidenced by comments like, “oh, that child can’t take on that extra language.” Although Ms. Oliver described herself as an “idealist” who, at a broader level, wonders “why would you ever deny any student the opportunity for bilingual education?”, she acknowledges that the readiness gap between some of the Native students and other native English speakers that is apparent in Kindergarten students’ verbal abilities is too great to say that dual language is appropriate for all students. She described the present situation by saying

... right now, the stage where we are now is more toward a little bit of screening, like, well maybe this isn't the best educational path for anybody who chooses it. And so, I think that that's maybe affecting who signs up voluntarily from the tribe to some degree. Plus, we went back to just one class [per grade]. And with some of the really tumultuous political years that we've gone through where people have badmouthed the program in the community and said, "it's not doing well, the kids are failing," now, the people that choose it really are the people who are fairly well educated or liberal or broad... It's like we're not getting as broad a—there's still broadness, but it's just not as much as those other years, and those were tough years.

When asked what she would like to see happen with the amount of diversity in the program, Ms. Oliver said that with greater education of pre-Kindergarten parents and more support of students who come to the school who are at-risk (including intervention support that is tailored to the needs of bilingual learners), there could be more of an effort to recruit and retain more diverse students. She also noted that native Spanish speakers are not screened at all for school readiness, and yet they are readily admitted into the program despite having a similar readiness gap to the at-risk native English speakers. This means that students with similar issues as demonstrated by pre-Kindergarten screening are treated differently because of the perception of who benefits from dual language.

Another teacher who is concerned about at-risk students participating in dual language is Ms. Becker, a special education teacher who co-teaches in a dual language first grade classroom. She stated that she knew that research indicates that it can take five

to seven years for students to show proficiency in a second language and she believed that dual language can be beneficial for all students, but she struggled with how to know when to advise parents that their child is not making as much progress in the dual language program as he or she should. Students are occasionally counseled out of the program but staff try to provide support so that students can successfully participate.

Equity in resource allocation. In the literature on equity, one of the important considerations is providing resources for individual students or groups of students beyond what is allocated to the majority of students in order to meet demonstrated needs (Espinoza, 2007; Murphy, 1988; North, 2008). In an educational context where all staff were in agreement about the value of *differential access* to resources (see Chapter 2), one might assume that teachers would openly discuss how students benefit from different kinds of programs and would be glad that resources put into making a specific kind of instructional program work led to success. However, four of the six teachers in the study who worked in programs that are a strand-within-a-school described tensions that they felt about whether staff in the monolingual program in their building considered the existence of the dual language program to be “fair.” These stories highlight the fact that the tension between dual language and non-dual-language staff in these schools was not around philosophical differences about the value of bilingual education, but that dual language programs are only acceptable as long as they produce equal (not better) outcomes and dual language teachers benefit from no additional resources or exceptions to policies that all other teachers have to comply with. In other words, the participants’ experiences illuminate the conflict between equal access and differential access to

resources, with the latter seeming to be troublesome for some of the participants' colleagues.

For Ms. Apple, the existence of the dual language program was a source of tension in her school because of the program's success. When asked if she and her fellow teachers would like to raise the visibility of Spanish throughout the school, she said,

There's two schools of thought in our two-way group of teachers and I'm pretty much on the [one] end that we need to be talking about our program all the time and putting it out there. And then one of our bilingual teachers believes very much that we need to just keep quiet and let it go and not make waves. So we are often at odds. ... I have felt that all these years... that our two-way program is a dirty little secret. Nobody knows about it, but it's happening and it's going really well... but we're not really going to do anything district-wide or school-wide to make sure that people know about the successes of our two-way group. The students' scores aren't being put up because we don't want to offend the English-only [students]. And that's something that the principal told me. She said it that way, and I said, "well shouldn't we tell our staff how we're doing?" And she said "well I don't want to upset anybody." What? I mean, this program is not advertising [itself].

In other words, Ms. Apple's colleague and principal were trying to avoid a conflict in the school where non-dual-language teachers could be jealous of the dual language program and could argue that the dual language teachers had some advantage that they did not.

Other participants in the study noted that it is important that teachers in the monolingual strand at their school know that the dual language teachers are not getting

more resources or special considerations. Like Ms. Apple, Ms. Herrera works in a strand program that is not well-supported by all school staff. She said that non-dual-language staff at her school support the existence of dual language as long as teachers are held to the same standards. She said, “I think also they’re supportive because they know that we don’t get any more than they do. We don’t get any preference, we don’t get any additional resources. We have to follow the curriculum along with everybody else. We have the same pressures put upon ourselves in terms of students passing and assessment.”

When asked for examples of equity or inequity in her program, Ms. Fernández emphasized that equality of the dual language program and the monolingual program in her school was of utmost importance. She stated that she thinks it is critical that the dual language program mirrors the monolingual program as much as possible and that dual language students have access to all of the same resources as the other students, because, she said, “I don’t want it always to be we’re the step-child. Not that we are, I’m not saying that. I just don’t want them to look upon our students as being different, just because they’re getting instruction in Spanish.” Later in the interview, she mentioned that there is a mentality that the dual language students and teachers are not central to the operation of the school; as a ‘special’ program they are forgotten or dismissed. But, echoing Ms. Herrera, Ms. Fernández emphasized, “We still are held to the same standard, we still have to teach the same standards. There’s nothing different other than the language. So I think that in terms of equity, we ensure that our students aren’t *less than*.” She went on to say that it was up to the dual language teachers in her building to be the “cheerleaders” and the advocates for their dual language students, because otherwise they might not get what they are entitled to.

Ms. Jiménez noticed a similar tension in her strand program in that the monolingual program teachers felt that it was unfair that the dual language teachers had fewer students in their classroom than the monolingual classes, although the reason was that the program was having trouble keeping students enrolled into the upper elementary grades. When she was discussing this in the lunch room with another dual language teacher, her colleague admonished her,

“You need to keep your voice low. Don’t be talking about these things because then they’re going to hear.” When she said “they’re going to hear,” she was referring to the union people and to the other teachers who were mainstream. And I said, “You know what? I don’t care if they hear. They need to hear these things, because that way they’ll know why we have 18 in our classrooms, not 30, and that way there aren’t these assumptions about us.”

She went on to say that building bridges across the two strands in the school was not only helpful for sharing ideas on how to solve problems, but that dual language teachers need to rally mainstream teachers to support them in overcoming challenges just as the civil rights movement was not just made up of the oppressed but “people of all kinds of backgrounds who had seen the injustices.”

The four teachers cited above all expressed the idea that the fact that dual language is fundamentally different from English-only education—the very thing creates educational access for language learners—is a source of tension between teachers in these two types of programs. While Ms. Herrera and Ms. Fernández assure their colleagues that there is nothing unequal about the dual language program, Ms. Apple and Ms. Jiménez are disturbed by the fact that legitimate differences between the two strands—in the

former case, better outcomes, and in the latter case, a more favorable instructional environment—cannot be discussed out in the open.

Mr. Irwin also focused his definition and examples of equity in his school on the issue of resource allocation, but he was referring to the resources allocated to different students within the program. Although his concern is quite different from those described above, his situation also highlights the tension around the meaning and benefit of providing additional resources to some students and not others. In his definition of equity, Mr. Irwin set up a distinction between what he called “equitable distribution of services,” where every school or student would receive the same resources, with what he sees as the current practice of trying to get all students “to the same mark regardless of effort or resources. We throw a lot of resources into certain students, [with] the idea that they will meet that same mark as the students we don’t spend as much on.” His frustration, and what he viewed as inequitable in his school, was due to the fact that resources are provided to individual students who qualify for particular types of help at the same time that some resources are lacking that would benefit all students. For example, the program does not have a strong curriculum that would allow teachers to articulate instruction across languages and content areas within a grade and to coordinate what is taught at each grade level, and teachers are also lacking an effective leveled-reader system in Spanish. He was also concerned that the resources that are provided to individual students are not necessarily helpful to those students. One of his students was provided with several different intervention programs to help with reading and English development, but the resulting fracturing of this child’s day (due to being pulled out to work with specialists) was detrimental because of the child’s difficulty with focus and transitions.

Mr. Irwin also thought that providing these special services based on students' test scores was ineffective, because the test scores did not always illuminate what a child's underlying problems were. Furthermore, Mr. Irwin believed that pulling students out of class was potentially detrimental to all students. The students who are pulled out of class are expected to meet the same content standards as all other students, but because the pull-out teachers are not coordinating their curriculum with the classroom teachers, there is an "inability to coordinate instruction so that kids are reaching the same end." Likewise, the students who remain behind have their instruction interrupted when teachers choose to hold off on teaching new content while a significant number of students are out of the room.

Finally, Ms. Becker expressed a concern that, like Mr. Irwin's, speaks to educational issues beyond access to dual language. When asked what she would like to improve about the school to address equity, she said

I think one of the hardest things is just when we compare ourselves to other schools... the things our kids are struggling with at home are so dramatic. I like that we're pushed to be at the level of other schools, but also sometimes it's just like, how can you expect us to meet that with the same teacher resources that other schools have? We have kids with such incredible emotional issues, or who experience abuse at home or see abuse at home or, you know, they bring in whatever they're seeing.

She noted that compared to some schools with ample paraprofessional and specialist staff, her school does not have sufficient resources to help all the students who need extra

attention, and when staff are hired for that purpose, it often means cutting some other expense:

Which, when you're told to differentiate learning—which means a different lesson for every other kid—and then you tell me I don't have paper, it's like, excuse me! How am I supposed to pull this off? So a lot of it comes back to resources. And if they really want schools to be equal, equality often means dollars. So, yeah, we could give these kids what they need, but if we had a lot more accessible to us.

Although the six teachers cited in this section approach the issue of access to resources from different perspectives, they all highlight the fact that dual language teachers see their programs as having unique resource needs in order to serve students. They also make it clear that figuring out what is *fair* or *equitable* in an educational context is a highly complicated and emotionally charged task and can be met with resistance from educators outside the program.

Meeting students' needs. Connected to the idea of providing students with access to dual language and to the resources they need for the program to be successful is the idea of creating an educational environment that is differentiated for individual students' needs. Mr. Navarro illustrated in his definition of equity how one way that his program provided access to equitable educational outcomes was by creating an atmosphere in the school where teachers can have critical conversations about their practice: “creating that culture of reflection where teachers are really digging into their practice and asking those tough questions... in terms of how [they] prepare [their] classroom environment and the ways [they] prepare [their] instruction that benefit and

hinder certain student groups.” His staff created a common language to reflect on these issues through the idea of “must-dos” and “can’t continues” in terms of the practices that benefit (or hinder the progress of) language learners. Some “must-do” practices that are implemented school-wide are creating learning environments that are collectivist (rather than competitive), interactive, and hands-on; incorporating language objectives into content lessons; and diversifying participation structures to move beyond calling on the student with the traditional “raised, quiet hand.”

In determining their mission, the founders of Ms. Mora’s school focused on creating educational equity by making high quality education accessible to low-income families. The primary way that they do this is through dual language instruction, but school leaders also address the needs that they perceive in their community by giving students lots of opportunities for exercise and healthy eating (by providing organic ingredients in breakfast and lunch options) and offering afterschool clubs for enrichment and tutoring. The school also creates equity in the way that resources are allocated: the administration’s top spending priority is classroom materials. This is particularly important because teachers are expected to create or adopt materials for lessons that are tailored to students’ needs (not to follow a purchased curriculum). The qualities that are valued in the teachers that Ms. Mora hires are a passion for education, an ability to foster positive personal relationships with their students, and high levels of fluency in both languages. Most importantly, teachers are expected to do “whatever it takes for [students] to learn” and to provide rigorous and higher-order thinking activities, as “we try to encourage the teachers not to spend time on coloring or watching movies or just doing work that is not related to academics.”

Ms. López also spoke to this issue of having high expectations for students and that students' needs are not met by watering down what is expected of them:

If I see a group of kids that are doing a low expectations activity, [even if] they look like they're participating and focusing on the task, I don't think that's equity. I think you are disserving them. You are lowering expectations and sometimes I feel that's part of the gap. I understand the special needs and I understand the ESL, but no matter what, I think teachers need to teach the curriculum at the grade level. So your job is to figure out how you put those concepts in a way the kids are going to understand. But [don't] bring me the kindergarten book [for] the third grade students. That seems—that sometimes breaks my heart.

She continued by saying that she differentiates instruction by allowing students to demonstrate their knowledge in ways in which they can be successful. For example,

...when I see they're having a lot of struggle with the writing, I say, ok, I'm giving you the option to draw. Give me a diagram and show me what you're thinking and prove me that. Before they're having a crisis and they start breaking a chair... it's like, be flexible, you can show me what you learned in a different way. And I think that's what you see when you're in an equity place because you try to value everyone in a way they are different. Like I'm not giving the same recipe with everybody.

Ms. López also emphasized that equity is not just getting kids to do well on the tests but “I think it's our job to provide them access to that technology, to that knowledge. Help them develop those skills that make them become thinkers and [have a] love for learning. That's what I think is equity.” In other words, she considers it a teacher's responsibility

to provide the supports that give all students a chance to access educational opportunities. For example, she doesn't like to assign projects to complete at home because some students have parents who can help and some do not. She encourages teachers to have students work on projects at school where the teacher is there to facilitate the work for all students "from the super high to the kids who need more help." Likewise, she acknowledges that needing help does not overlap with ethnicity or socioeconomic status; in terms of supporting both academic and emotional needs, "if we teachers are giving this extra support for students, it's because you as a teacher see those students need that help, it's not because [they're] poor."

Although dual language programs are not unique in their capacity to provide linguistically diverse students with access to the curriculum, the findings in this section demonstrate ways that dual language teachers attend to access at the program and classroom level. At the program level, a number of participants were concerned with whether all students who could benefit from the dual language program had the opportunity to enroll and to receive the academic support they needed to be successful. Several participants also noted challenges around access to resources, either between the dual language and mainstream strand or within the dual language program, and conflicts that have arisen out of perceived differences in resources. At the classroom level, teachers provide access to the curriculum by differentiating instruction to meet students' needs while maintaining high expectations for all students.

Chapter 5. Observing Equity in Dual Language Programs

In Chapter 4, I proposed a framework for understanding what equity means in the context of dual language education programs in order to answer the research question “How is the term *equity* defined and interpreted by dual language practitioners (teachers and administrators)?” In this chapter, I address the second and third research questions that informed my study:

- What program- and classroom-level policies and practices do practitioners believe contribute to an equitable environment?
- How may the *Guiding Principles for Dual Language Education* act as a tool for interpreting equity?

To some degree, participants’ responses in the first interview illuminated program- and classroom-level policies and practices that they felt contributed to equity in their programs, such as the use of a language use management system to encourage students to use the target language or inviting families to come into the classroom to share their cultural traditions. In the second interview, participants focused on a selection of six educational principles related to equity in order to fully describe what those principles look like in practice.¹²

Whereas in the first interview participants were free to explore any ideas related to equity that occurred to them with minimal prompts from me, in their second interview, participants used six excerpts from the *Guiding Principles for Dual Language Education* to stimulate their thinking about how key elements of equity and inequity can be observed in dual language programs and classrooms. An important assumption of the

¹² Note that one participant did not complete the second interview, so the sample size for the analysis in this chapter is fourteen.

analysis in this chapter is that the selected key points are integral to the definition of equity. The six key points do not exhaustively cover the concept; in fact, in an initial analysis, I determined that 26 of the 103 key points in the *Guiding Principles* relate to equity as it is discussed in the literature. However, as was discussed in Chapter 3, the key points were selected out of those 26 for their salience to themes prevalent in empirical studies of dual language education. Additionally, the selected key points also align with participants' definition of equity, particularly as reflected in the first four themes in Chapter 4. These themes describe equity as it specifically relates to the dual language context in that they focus on those aspects of equity related to language and culture.

In this chapter, policies and practices related to the key points are explored in detail in order to better understand what an observer of a dual language program or classroom would look for in order to determine to what degree the program provides an equitable learning environment for students from diverse language backgrounds. For each key point, participants read the key point and its corresponding indicators and then were asked two questions:

- If you were looking at a classroom that was really *strong* in this area, what would you see?
- If you were looking at a classroom that was *weak* in this area, what would you see?

Participants interpreted *strong* and *weak* practice according to their own understanding of dual language, but if they asked for clarification, I suggested that strong programs would rate as *full* or *exemplary* on the key point rubric, and weak programs would rate as *minimal* or *partial*. Additional probes, such as “Is there anything else you would want to

find out in order to rate someone on this key point?” encouraged participants to fully flesh out what policies and practices they thought were relevant. Participants were also asked to rate their ideas (the types of evidence they might see in a classroom) on a 1-10 scale (10 is highest) in terms of the relative importance of considering that idea when assigning the *minimal*, *partial*, *full*, or *exemplary* rating to an observed program or classroom for the selected key point (see Chapter 3 for details on the procedures).

Orienting the discussion in this interview in terms of what an observer or an evaluator would want to look for in a dual language program or classroom had three benefits. First, it allowed participants to think beyond their own classroom to draw on what they have seen in other classrooms and other programs, and to hypothesize, based on their prior education and training, about what practices could conceivably be observed in a program or classroom. In some cases, when describing what they would see in a strong program or classroom, participants described what they would like to see in their own programs if it were not for some challenge or obstacle that prevented that from happening. The second benefit of framing the interview in terms of what an evaluator might see was that it offered an alternative to asking the participant how he or she would rate his or her program. Even though most participants were very forthcoming in both interviews about the strengths and weaknesses of their programs, it would have potentially been threatening to ask participants to reveal the extent of their program’s or classroom’s weaknesses. Instead, participants could speak in the abstract about what would be a strength or a weakness, only revealing if that applied to themselves if they chose to do so. The third benefit of this method was that in some cases, participants reflected on the nature of evaluation, for example, explaining what would be limitations

on the validity of an observation (e.g., something is not a practice one might see in a particular grade level or during instruction in a certain content area).

The descriptions given by participants were illuminative at two levels. First, participants focused on what could be observed in the program or classroom, such as teacher behavior, student behavior, the physical arrangement of the classroom, or documentation such as classroom schedules. Second, many participants also provided important contextual information about what one would have to consider to understand an observed practice, or, as noted above, limitations on the validity of an observation. These contextual comments general fell into the following three categories:

- Understanding teacher decision-making (such as the strategy that he or she used to group students in a particular way)
- Taking into consideration developmental appropriateness (such as understanding that primary-grade students are not expected to produce their second language to the same extent that older elementary students are) and/or alignment with the dual language model (in terms of when and in what content areas each language is used)
- Noting the effect of the socio-political context in which dual language practitioners operate (such as a district's failure to prioritize the purchase of Spanish resources, such that students have to use English textbooks during Spanish time)

These three kinds of contextual comments shed further light on how the participants understand the concept of equity, and were also valuable as a commentary on the nature of evaluation and the use of the *Guiding Principles* to examine educational practice.

As I discussed in Chapter 3, the data that form the basis of the analysis in this chapter are, first, the types of evidence that participants cited as being relevant policies and practices to observe when evaluating a program on each key point and, second, the relative weight of each cited type of evidence in terms of how important that point would be to consider in such an evaluation. By analyzing and grouping the large number of types of evidence that participants identified, I determined that there were eight categories of practice that were the most frequently mentioned and which correspond to four of the themes that were discussed in Chapter 4:

- Themes 1-3: Language Status and Use
 - a. The model and curriculum provide opportunities to use both languages
 - b. Teachers faithfully implement the model and maintain the language of instruction
 - c. Oral and written Spanish are prevalent in non-instructional contexts
 - d. Students use the target language
 - e. Students have opportunities to work in groups that are designed to foster linguistic and social development
- Theme 4: Multiculturalism in Curriculum and Instruction
 - a. Instructional materials reflect multiculturalism and include authentic and abundant texts in Spanish
 - b. Cultural bias and linguistic equity are discussed
 - c. Students learn about and celebrate a variety of cultures

Each of these eight categories of practice are illustrated in this chapter with a discussion of specific types of evidence that participants cited, additional commentary or

anecdotes about those pieces of evidence, and contextual explanations of what must be taken into consideration when rating a program or classroom on the pertinent key point. These contextual explanations were particularly relevant for investigating those items that were consistently rated low on the 1-10 scale or which had a mix of high and low ratings (these were rare, as about 57% of ratings were 10 out of 10 and an additional 33% a 9 or 8). These types of items are often highlighted in the discussion in order to explore why participants might disagree about how strongly to weigh a particular practice in evaluating the program on the key point. Each section also references the key point(s) to which participants were referring when they discussed each type of evidence,¹³ and the data tables in Appendix D list the most frequently types of evidence for each key point and their average weights on the 1-10 scale.

Evidence Related to Language Status and Use

In this section, five categories of practice that relate to language status and use are described. These examples of evidence that participants generated relate to staff and student use of language and opportunities afforded through the design of the dual language program model and student grouping strategies to foster the development of both English and Spanish.

The model and curriculum provide opportunities to use both languages. As I discussed in the third section of Chapter 4 (see p. 125), one aspect of the definition of equity concerned the opportunity afforded by the dual language program model and curriculum to develop proficiency and literacy in two languages. This issue is critical to the definition of a dual language program, as one of the foundational criteria is that

¹³ Key points and their indicators of full implementation are included in the text the first time each is mentioned. See Appendix B for the full text including all four indicators.

students receive both academic content instruction and formal language arts and literacy instruction in both languages over the course of the program (as opposed to simply teaching the language as a subject on the one hand, or to giving students an immersion experience by teaching one or more subject areas in the language without supporting explicit language and literacy skills on the other). One of the key points that was read by participants in the study addressed this feature of the model:

Curriculum Principle 1, Key Point C: The curriculum promotes equal status of both languages. *(Full implementation: There is a fairly even divide between academic subjects and specials taught in each language. Language arts instruction is provided in both languages over the course of the program. Issues of linguistic diversity and language status are addressed sporadically.)*¹⁴

The three most commonly-cited types of evidence for this key point related to balancing language and literacy instruction in both languages:

- Language arts is provided or supported in both languages
- The teaching of language arts skills is articulated across grades
- Students have a chance to develop both social and academic language in both languages

Few 50/50 practitioners elaborated on these points, most likely because balanced linguistic development in the two languages is built into the model at every grade level. However, a number of 90/10 practitioners pointed out that they do not provide equal amounts of instruction in both languages in the lower grade levels, but across the program as a whole, instruction is delivered in such a way that students develop skills in

¹⁴ The last sentence of this indicator will be addressed at the end of this chapter.

both languages. Ms. Keane said that in her 90/10 program, language arts is provided in both languages throughout the program (starting in kindergarten) but in the younger grades, English language arts is primarily oral language and vocabulary development. She described a weak program as one in which there was “a rush to do more in English language arts in the earlier grades in an effort to raise test scores” which she described as being due to a lack of faith in the model. Likewise, Mr. Evans said that he thought that in a weaker program, one might see students demonstrate strong general reading skills in Spanish but weaker skills in academic language in the content areas and non-fiction reading, as a weaker program might provide more academic language instruction in English due to the importance of scoring well on high-stakes tests in English. Furthermore, four 90/10 practitioners (Ms. Jiménez, Ms. Keane, Mr. Navarro, and Ms. Mora) noted that whereas their early-elementary grade students had formal language arts instruction only in Spanish, English language skills were primarily developed through the subject areas rather than through an explicit language arts curriculum. Therefore, they suggested that one would need to consider the totality of language and literacy instruction happening in both languages to see that there is a balance, and not just consider that which takes place during language arts.

A number of types of evidence also addressed the allocation of languages in the content areas.¹⁵ In fact, this was an instance where seemingly contradictory statements about how programs should be implemented can be reconciled by seeing that there are multiple ways to align with the underlying principle. Two teachers (Ms. Becker and Ms.

¹⁵ Dual language programs allocate languages to content areas (math, science, and social studies) in a number of ways, including teaching all subjects in both languages and alternating the language of instruction by day or week, or by teaching a content area exclusively in one language for an entire year or even for the full duration of the program (K-5) (Howard & Christian, 2002).

García) felt that it was highly beneficial that all subjects are taught in both languages over the course of the program, whereas Mr. Irwin and Ms. Keane noted that math is taught exclusively through Spanish at all grade levels, but this was balanced by other content areas being taught in both languages. Additionally, three teachers rated the general statement “there is an even divide in academic subjects in both languages” as a 10, and two others gave moderately low weights (7 and 8) to the idea that it is important to consider specifically which subjects are taught in which language. Even in 90/10 programs, where all academic content is taught in Spanish for the first few years of the program, there can still be a balance in languages over the course of the program. Mr. Evans and Ms. Jiménez both stated that in their 90/10 programs, the curriculum is designed to develop skills in both languages over time, if not in the same year. In other words, it is the balance over time of academic subjects, rather than any particular configuration, that is important to ensuring that the curriculum promotes equal status of both languages.

The most extensively discussed point related to the allocation of languages by content area had to do with the question of whether specials (e.g., art, music, and physical education) were offered in both languages. Interestingly, three of the four participants who rated this as a 10 were from 50/50 programs (Ms. Becker, Ms. Davis, and Ms. Herrera) while all five participants who rated it lower than 10 were from 90/10 programs (Mr. Evans, Ms. Keane, Mr. Navarro, and Ms. Oliver rated this item a 7 or 8; Ms. Coburn rated it a 3). This may be because if 50/50 programs do not have specials in Spanish (which is usually the harder language for which to find qualified teachers), students will receive less than 50% of their instruction in Spanish; whereas in a 90/10 program, the

extra academic time in Spanish means that the total amount of Spanish is unlikely to fall below 50% even with all specials conducted in English. Mr. Navarro and Ms. Keane both indicated that their districts placed English-speaking specialists at their schools, and they have both thought about the benefits of replacing them with Spanish-speaking specials teachers, but they feel it might not be worth the effort required. Ms. Coburn said, “if a program can achieve equity in the classroom in terms of the content areas, I don’t think it’s as important that the special areas have bilingual teachers. I think it’s a nice bonus, but I would rate that low, 3 even. I don’t think that’s going to be the key to a successful program.”

Teachers faithfully implement the model and maintain the language of instruction. Some of the most consistently highly-rated types of evidence across the key points had to do with teachers maintaining the language of instruction and faithfully implementing the dual language model in terms of the amount of time and subjects allotted to each language. The idea of model fidelity was raised as an important factor by three teachers in reference to the key point discussed previously (about the model balancing the two languages), and both model fidelity and teachers’ strict adherence to the target language¹⁶ were the main focus of a related key point, this one in the Instruction strand:

Instruction Principle 3, Key Point D: Instruction incorporates appropriate separation of languages according to program design. (*Full implementation: There is a consistent separation of languages, with high expectations for students and teachers to use the language of instruction.*)

¹⁶ In this chapter, *target language* refers to the language of instruction, which might be English or Spanish, rather than serving as a synonym for *minority language*, which is how the term is commonly used.

The separation of languages, in the dual language context, means that only one language is used for instruction at a time according to the program model (which might have teachers switch languages by half-day, by day, or by week).

For this key point, items related to consistency and clarity of the model were generally highly rated by participants. An idea that was brought up by three participants and rated 9 or 10 by all of them was that teachers are faithful to the model (teaching in the expected language for the expected length of time and/or subjects). Ms. Becker, who was a “believer” in clearly separating languages for instruction said that she knew that different programs held to different philosophies with regard to separating languages for instruction, so, she said, “I don’t think there’s one way to do it, but I do believe everyone has to be on the same page.” Mr. Navarro also said that consistent separation of languages was a key for his staff, and that in a weaker program “I think you’d see very different practices from classroom to classroom—based on the individual philosophy of teachers rather than a commonly-held philosophy as a program.” A number of participants also cited the fact that students should know based on the daily schedule or the subject being taught which language should be used (Ms. Coburn, Ms. García, Ms. Oliver) or that they should know which language is being used based on the teacher they are with or other instructional cues (such as transition songs or visuals like different clothing) (Mr. Evans, Ms. Keane, Ms. Mora). Ms. Oliver said that in a weak classroom, one might observe teachers switching back and forth between languages, and students having to ask the teacher which language to use because it is not clear which is expected.

Considering the portion of this key point related to the teacher’s use of language, the most cited type of evidence was that teachers maintain the language of instruction and

do not code-switch. Only two teachers rated this concept lower than 10 (Ms. Coburn and Ms. García, who rated it an 8 and a 9, respectively). Ms Coburn said that the reason she did not give it a 10 was that although she values the idea of maintaining the language of instruction, she knows that in moments of confusion or frustration teachers may switch languages and “that still happens even with the most well-intentioned teacher.” Ms. García noted that in her program, it was difficult to adhere to the separation of languages in the upper grades, because those students came to the school when it opened the previous year from other programs (not necessarily dual language) and had weaker Spanish skills than she expected future cohorts—enrolled continuously since Kindergarten—would have.

This idea of teachers maintaining the language of instruction was also cited in reference to a key point whose relevance crossed a number of themes:

Instruction Principle 4, Key Point A: There is cultural and linguistic equity in the classroom. (*Full implementation: Teachers create a learning environment where all linguistic and cultural groups are equally valued and respected.*)

For this key point, maintaining the language of instruction was actually the most frequently cited type of evidence, even though this idea was not directly referenced in the text of the key point or indicators (nor had participants yet read instruction principle 3, key point D). Five teachers discussed this idea in relation to this key point (Ms. Becker, Mr. Evans, Ms. Herrera, Mr. Irwin, and Ms. Jiménez), and the four who assigned it a weight rated it a 10. These teachers explained that maintaining the language of instruction allowed them to effectively support the use and development of Spanish. They described code-switching from Spanish to English as being a sign that teachers do not value the

Spanish language or students' Spanish development enough to make an effort to make themselves understood in Spanish by using scaffolding strategies rather than translation. No one commented on code switching occurring in the other direction (from English to Spanish). Also in reference to this key point, three participants (Ms. Becker, Ms. Keane, and Ms. Oliver) mentioned the related concept of model fidelity, discussed above, tying the idea of using Spanish for the appropriate amount of time to the desire not to allow English to dominate instruction, and rating this type of evidence a 9 or 10.

Oral and written Spanish are prevalent in non-instructional contexts.

Continuing with the idea of how adults use Spanish, there were several key points that stimulated participants to discuss the importance of the use of Spanish outside of classroom instruction. Looking again at the key point on the separation of languages (instruction principle 3, key point D), in the part of the interview where teachers were rating evidence on the 1-10 scale, there was a type of evidence that I suggested to teachers as an additional idea, because few teachers spontaneously mentioned it in their descriptions of strong or weak programs. This idea was that teachers discipline and talk informally with students in the appropriate target language. As opposed to their unified belief that teacher instructional talk must be in the target language, there were mixed feelings about how important this idea was. Mr. Navarro rated this idea as a 10, because his school places a high priority on staff using the target language exclusively in the classroom (and Spanish as much as possible elsewhere in the building). He did note that in conferences where parents and students were present, the teacher might speak to the student in the native language. Ms. Coburn, in contrast, rated teachers disciplining or talking informally with students as a 4, saying,

I know that when disciplining a student or when a student is having kind of a crisis or something, I find that I can quickly get needs met and solve problems when it's in the student's native language and not necessarily the language of instruction. So that technically doesn't [follow] the guidelines of the program model in terms of language allocation but in those moments of problems, it's a harder thing to maintain the language all the time.

Ms. Becker felt the same way and rated this item a 6, saying that if she needed to have a one-on-one conversation about behavior with one of her first graders, she would likely do it in their native language, or else "what's the point?" She noted, however, that anything said to the whole class would be in the target language.

A key point in the program structure strand evoked extended discussion of the importance of how Spanish is used orally and in writing for purposes such as communicating with parents and making announcements:

Program Structure Principle 2, Key Point E: Whether the dual language program is a whole-school program or a strand within a school, signs and daily routines (e.g., announcements) reflect bilingualism and multiculturalism. (*Full implementation: The majority of school-wide activities and print are in both program languages, and it is obvious that the development of bilingualism and cross-cultural awareness are important features of the school.*)

Participants were in almost complete unanimity that providing information to parents in both program languages and having language interpretation available for individual or group meetings with parents was of the utmost importance, with nearly all ratings of 10 for three ideas: flyers and information are sent home to parents in both languages,

interpretation is available for parent meetings, and the auto-telephone service¹⁷ is offered in two languages. For the item on interpretation, eight participants rated this statement as 10, but Mr. Navarro gave it a 3 because all of his staff were bilingual and there was no need for translators, and Ms. Davis, who rated it an 8, said that the availability of translators to facilitate meetings with parents was important, but that staff should be bilingual and able to conduct meetings in either language themselves.

There were also very high ratings given to three examples of the use of Spanish throughout the school building:

- Environmental print in the school and classroom is in both languages
- Announcements over the PA, including the Pledge, are in both languages
- Materials in Spanish are available for use in common facilities such as the library or computer or media center

In some cases, participants from strand programs acknowledged that having Spanish print or Spanish announcements throughout the school was unlikely to happen in their buildings (Ms. Apple, Ms. Herrera, Ms. Jiménez, and Ms. Oliver). When asked to rate the item about announcements, Ms. Oliver paused and said, “I’m just imagining it, what would that be like? It really would change things. So this is about equity, and clearly if you were a whole school program, why would that not be happening? But in a strand it just feels so different. But if everybody embraced it, that wouldn’t be an issue. So I guess I want to give it a 9.”

Ten participants also mentioned having school-wide activities (including extra-curricular activities) or assemblies in both languages as a salient example of Spanish use.

¹⁷ In many districts, parents receive an automated telephone call for emergencies such as school closings.

Of the nine participants who assigned it a weight, four practitioners in whole-school programs rated it a 10 (Ms. Becker, Ms. Davis, Ms. García, and Ms. Mora), and a mix of five whole-school and strand practitioners rated it lower (generally 7 or 8). Of the latter group, three participants from whole-school programs (Ms. Becker, Ms. Keane, and Mr. Navarro) said that they might want to have assemblies that take advantage of community resources that are English-only; Ms. Oliver (from a strand program) thought it wouldn't be possible to have Spanish assemblies since most of the students in the school are not in the dual language strand; and Ms. Coburn (also from a strand) said that finding bilingual presenters from outside the school who could present in Spanish would be very difficult, so she would rate it a 3.

A number of participants drew attention to the language proficiency and attitudes of non-program staff by suggesting that when rating this key point, one might want to know if some or all office or non-teaching staff are bilingual (particularly the principal), that teachers throughout the school have positive attitudes about Spanish and bilingualism, and that bilingualism and culture are important in the school culture and atmosphere. Ms. Oliver summed up how in an equitable school, the dual language program is incorporated school-wide by saying,

An exemplary sign would be that all staff embrace the program and not be—you wouldn't have an undercurrent of people who want to end it. Or even if that's [not] real, at least the perception that there's people that want to end it. So like sometimes it feels like paranoia, always this doubt as to what [are] people's motives for changing things. And anyone walking on campus right away [would see Spanish], it's not just this token sign or welcome sign in the other language,

but it's everywhere. The office staff is bilingual, some of them at least; Spanish is used comfortably socially among all the people that work there, like custodians and management-level people. Parents feel comfortable using their language on campus, like they're not quiet in the back but they can sit right up front because the meeting is offered in their language or offered with concurrent translation or something.

Ms. Jiménez also found that teachers complaining about the use of Spanish within her school (calling it “reverse discrimination”) was a sign of a weaker program. Even when staff in the school do not speak Spanish, she said she would like to see staff try to learn a few words or phrases to use “because I think that when the kids see someone in the cafeteria who is not a Spanish-speaker but they're trying and they attempt it, it's like their whole perception of that person changes, whereas it might be if they don't like that person, as soon as they see that person using the language they're like, ‘that person's trying.’”

Finally, an idea that was brought up by three participants and that I suggested to six others as they were rating evidence for this key point was the idea that English is not always used first with Spanish in translation or that signs throughout the school demonstrated linguistic equality in a tangible way (in terms of their professional quality or which language was written on top). Ms. Keane and Mr. Navarro noted that the preference at their schools is to switch the language of regular meetings and presentations back and forth (so that sometimes the meeting is in English with translation to Spanish, and sometimes in Spanish with translation to English), but this is not always possible depending on who is speaking. Ms. Keane added that this is nice to do because it

indicates “we’re not assigning status” to one language or the other. Ms. Jiménez also felt it was important to avoid sending a “hidden message” about the languages. On the other hand, Ms. Becker did not think this was very important, as she said, “as long as they’re both there [English and Spanish], that’s the key thing. I don’t think students read into as much into it as adults.”

In general, participants found the use of Spanish throughout the school to be an important part of creating a strong dual language program. Some of the specific examples of how Spanish is used building-wide (particularly with regard to announcements and assemblies) were said to be difficult to implement in a strand program, or that there might be good reasons why someone rating a program on this key point would not see it (such as meetings held in Spanish and translated to English), but communication with parents and the attitude of staff throughout the school toward Spanish and bilingualism were held to be of utmost importance.

Students use the target language. The three previous sections of this chapter have focused on how teachers and other adults use English and Spanish for instructional and other purposes. Participants also talked about the relevance of how students use the two languages, particularly when discussing the key point that states that “Instruction incorporates appropriate separation of languages according to program design” (instruction principle 3, key point D). Participants cited student production of the target language during instruction as an important component of this key point quite frequently, but the average weight given by ten participants who rated this idea was slightly lower (9.1) than the average weight the same ten participants gave to the idea of teachers using the target language for instruction (9.7).

A number of participants commented on how context is important to establish when looking at student language use as an indicator of the appropriate separation of languages in the program. Ms. Apple, who rated the student production of the target language during instructional time an 8, said that in Kindergarten, teachers do not expect students to speak their second language yet, but she also mentioned that teachers in her program were concerned that students speak English during Spanish time too often in the upper grades. Several other participants also noted that younger students would not be expected to produce as much target language as older students (Ms. Keane, Mr. Navarro, Ms. Oliver). When discussing this idea in reference to a different key point (to be discussed at length in the next section), Ms. Coburn said that she would rate it fairly low (a 6 or 7) because “taking into consideration the child’s age and how long they’ve been in the program, [their use of the target language] would obviously differ, and just from a teacher perspective, I know that’s a hard thing to control.” Although she rated this idea a 10, Ms. García said that because it is so important for the teacher to stay in the target language, sometimes it is acceptable for students to use the non-target language so that they can help their peers with words they don’t know. Ms. Mora rated student production of the target language for instructional time as an 8, and she particularly emphasized that accepting student responses in whichever language they were given is a key instructional strategy employed by the teachers at her school. Their rationale for this practice was to avoid marking either language as inappropriate so as to ensure that students from both linguistic groups felt that what they had to say and their native language was valued.

Another way in which the context might affect student production of the target language is the type of instructional activity that the students are engaged in. Even in a

program where teachers have very high expectations for students to use the language of instruction, Mr. Navarro said that “what we’ve seen as a program is our kids do a really good job of staying in Spanish during Spanish time when they’re interacting with the teacher, and they will respond to the teacher and ask and answer questions in Spanish. However, when they’re doing group work or when they’re back at their tables is when they tend to use more English.” This phenomenon has also been cited in the literature on dual language immersion with reference to the fact that there are reasons other than compliance with teacher requests that affect students’ decisions of which language to use (de Jong & Howard, 2009; Potowski, 2004).

There was a wide range of opinions as to whether it is important for students to speak the designated target language in non-instructional contexts. A number of participants talked about how students mostly used English among themselves socially in the classroom and on the playground, and this was not something that they were concerned about (e.g., Ms. Becker, Ms. Coburn, Mr. Navarro, Ms. Mora). When discussing the key point on the separation of languages, seven participants considered the relative weight of the idea of students using the appropriate target language when talking socially among themselves, and their average rating was a fairly low 8.3. The person who rated this lowest (5) was Mr. Navarro, who explained his reasoning as follows:

To me, frankly, if we can get our kids interacting in an academic way in Spanish with their teachers and with one another and if we can be teaching them some of those social skills that relate to the academic topic in Spanish, I think that’s great. In a perfect world we’d like to see kids talking about Pokémon and all that kind of stuff in Spanish, that would be great, but I think more importantly, it’s important

that we're thoughtful at least for those academic pieces. And then the whole issue of whether there's social interaction... I do see our kids interacting in Spanish, but obviously there's way more informal interaction happening in English. And I think that's probably more of a function of where we live than anything else.

Finally, six participants noted that it is relatively important (weight of 9 or 10) to take into consideration the degree to which teachers remind students which language to speak or have to prompt them to use the target language (because in a strong classroom, students should know what language to use at what time and should know there is an expectation that they use the target language). On the other hand, Ms. Oliver was not sure how to weigh this idea. Her interpretation of teacher prompting was "that's how you train them, so if you still have to do it a lot, it's not that the [classroom] management isn't there.... If the teacher's still doing it a lot, [the teacher is] still really valuing it, [the students are] just working on it."

Students have opportunities to work in groups that are designed to foster linguistic and social development. In Chapter 4, the second theme addressed the idea that students of diverse ethno-linguistic backgrounds are positioned and recognized as equals. One set of examples that participants gave to illuminate this principle had to do with how students were grouped into classes and into smaller instructional groups, and particularly how this worked to show students that they "are in this together." In the second interview, participants read the following key point from the Instruction strand that dealt with student grouping:

Instruction Principle 3, Key Point C: Student grouping maximizes opportunities for students to benefit from peer models. (*Full implementation: In integrated*

classrooms,¹⁸ teachers use appropriate and flexible grouping strategies to maximize the benefits of peer interaction.)

The most frequently cited idea related to student grouping was not how or why students are grouped (which were described in the indicators of the key point) but the fact that students have ample opportunities to talk to each other about academic content and to work in groups. In other words, these practitioners were highlighting *how often* students are given the chance to work together and how linguistically rich those opportunities were made to be. They emphasized that grouping is not simply having students sitting next to each other doing independent work, but that when in groups, students are provided with activities that get them talking to and interacting with their peers. Mr. Irwin said “I think more often than not, getting the kids into a group is not so much a problem. It’s being able to provide the kids with the structure that groups need to produce quality academic experiences.” He went on to say that this involves providing a clear goal for the group work and also attending to group roles and dynamics. Similarly, Ms. López argued that it is important to ensure that the roles given to language learners are not always to do less cognitively challenging tasks or tasks with a more passive role.

Most of the participants stated that they routinely purposefully balance student groups in some way, whether by language proficiency, academic ability, or some other factor, rather than having them group themselves at random. Eleven participants noted that students are commonly seated in groups that are heterogeneous by native language (the remaining three, Mr. Irwin, Ms. Mora, and Mr. Navarro, did not make any statements to the contrary), and six of those participants also indicated that they might

¹⁸ As the *Guiding Principles* were intended to cover several different models of dual language education, the term *integrated classrooms* refers to the two-way model that enrolls a balance of native English speakers and native speakers of the partner language.

group students with similar language abilities depending on the goal of the lesson (Ms. Becker, Ms. Coburn, Ms. Davis, Mr. Evans, Ms. Keane, and Ms. López). Five participants stated explicitly that the reason for seating students in mixed native language groups was so that native speakers can be linguistic models for each other (Ms. Apple, Ms. García, Ms. Jiménez, Ms. Keane, and Ms. Mora).

In reference to the key point's suggestion that it is beneficial for language learners to interact with native speakers for instruction, Ms. Herrera was greatly disappointed by the fact that grouping students heterogeneously by language seemed to be backfiring in her Spanish-medium classroom. As was discussed in Chapter 4, she noted that native English speaking students tended to rely heavily on their Spanish-speaking peers to translate what she said to the class into English instead of trying to understand it in Spanish. Because of this tendency for English to be the lingua franca for mixed groups of students, she found that the strongest English speaker in any group tended to dominate group discussions, whether that student was the strongest academically or not. However, in thinking about this key point, she agreed that heterogeneous language grouping is beneficial because "in theory... I would like to see that whole discussion taking place in Spanish... and maybe the Spanish speaker saying 'you misspelled that word' or 'you've used that verb incorrectly.' Something minimal that's just tweaking of mechanics rather than doing the work for them." She eventually rated heterogeneous student grouping as a 10. Thus, although one would think that her current experience of mixed language groups would cause her to downplay the importance of heterogeneous groups in a classroom, when looking at this key point, she recognized that putting students from different language backgrounds together is strong evidence of how student grouping maximizes

opportunities for students to benefit from peer models, thus implying that there must be something else going on in her classroom that is impeding her students progress in Spanish.

As noted above, several participants emphasized that sorting students into groups is only a first step in effective grouping, and it is critical for a teacher to consider how he or she can facilitate a meaningful group-work experience. One way that participants illustrated this effort was to suggest that in classrooms with strong evidence of group work that enhances linguistic and academic development, teachers provide language stems or sentence frames to support language production. For example, Ms. Jiménez posts sentence frames on her classroom walls such as “¿Como se dice ____ en Español?” so that students can get help from each other using as much of the target language as possible rather than asking the entire question in the non-target language. Ms. Davis said that it was important that “[learning] centers encourage [structured] dialogue between the students [by] giving them language stems so they can actually really learn from each other and it can structure their dialogue.”

Participants also noted that it is important to balance the presence of native speakers and the benefit they bring to language learners through their modeling of the language with ensuring that a variety of students have an opportunity to contribute to discussion, especially when the students are grouped as a whole class for a lesson. Ms. Keane reported that the way she does this includes calling on students in a variety of ways (volunteer, share what your partner said, pick names at random) or allowing students to pass on answering a question or consult with a friend. This also avoids having language models (native speakers) dominate the lesson.

There were mixed reactions to the idea that the balance of native English speakers and native Spanish speakers in the classroom could be used as evidence of student grouping that maximizes the benefit of peer interaction. Three participants suggested that it was very important to maintain this balance in each classroom so that pairs or groups can be formed with a mix of language models and language learners (Mr. Evans, Ms. Mora, and Mr. Navarro). Ms. García indicated that this was more of a contextual factor for her, in that someone evaluating a classroom on this key point would want to know the number of native speakers and language learners because it is harder to form mixed groups in a classroom that has more of one group or the other. Two teachers (Ms. Becker and Ms. Coburn) gave this idea a rating of 5 on the 1-10 scale and explained that it would be hard to use that criterion for rating a program on this key point because who enrolls in the program is so often out of the teachers' hands.

Finally, the idea that seemed to be the least valid as a type of evidence among all of those ideas that were discussed was the use of standardized formative assessment tools to form groups, which had a range of ratings from 3 to 9 and an average of 6.6. Only two participants (Ms. Jiménez and Mr. Navarro) brought this idea up spontaneously during the discussion of the key point (their ratings were 9 and 7, respectively), and among the other eight participants to whom I mentioned this idea during the rating of items, several scoffed or laughed when it was mentioned. Two reasons that participants gave for weighting this item in the bottom half of the scale were that standardized assessments might only be helpful at the beginning of the year, before the teacher knows her students (suggested by Ms. Keane) and that standardized assessments do not get at things like student motivation or how well students would work together in a particular pair or group

(Ms. Herrera). On the other hand, seven participants rated the use of teacher-developed formative assessment tools to form groups between 7 and 10 with an average weight of 8.9. For Ms. Becker, who thought using teacher-developed tools was more important than using standardized tools, what was most critical was using some kind of assessment or criteria to continually evaluate whether students were in groups that effectively contribute to their academic and linguistic development.

Evidence Related to Multiculturalism in Curriculum and Instruction

The following three categories of practice illustrate evidence related to the fourth theme in Chapter 4, the explicit attention to cultural diversity and the development of positive cross-cultural attitudes. These categories of practice reference multicultural curriculum and instructional materials, the way that staff talk with students about culture, and approaches to celebrating culture and diversity in the school.

Instructional materials reflect multiculturalism and include authentic and abundant texts in Spanish. Up to this point, the categories of practice identified by the participants have primarily focused on ways that effective dual language practitioners foster language and academic development. The sixth key point read by the participants in the study was focused on the cross-cultural goal of dual language:

Instruction Principle 4, Key Point C: Instructional materials in both languages reflect the student population in the program and encourage cross-cultural appreciation. (*Full implementation: There is a sufficient diversity of materials that reflect the various subgroups of the student population and that explicitly encourage cross-cultural appreciation.*)

This key point relates directly to the third theme from Chapter 4, in which participants explained how incorporating multicultural pedagogical approaches works to create an inclusive classroom environment that connects instruction to students' lives.

For this key point, the most frequently mentioned idea echoed the language in the key point and indicators: materials reflect the student population and diversity in general. This item was discussed by seven participants, and the six who rated it gave it an 8, 9, or 10. Ms. Jiménez noted that in addition to using texts and visual materials that refer to diverse groups (including race, ethnicity, socioeconomic status, and people with disabilities), teachers should note whether pictures and drawings of people include individuals with a variety of skin tones, and they should avoid materials that serve only to reinforce stereotypes (such as a picture of a Mexican person wearing a sombrero). Ms. Oliver thought that a weak program might use materials that only address Anglo/white perspectives on American history or feature traditional families, and within content such as math word problems, "you never see a Carlos or a Yésica, you always see John and Susan."

The text of this key point includes the idea that dual language programs should use materials that encourage cross-cultural appreciation by talking about diversity or unfamiliar cultural practices in a positive way. Three participants brought this idea up spontaneously, and another five discussed it after I prompted them to think about how important they feel these types of materials are to have in their schools. Among the eight participants who rated this item, the weights ranged from 5-10, and it had a lower average weight than the item about reflecting cultural diversity discussed above, suggesting that slightly less weight be given to including materials that explicitly encourage cross-

cultural appreciation than to materials that reflect a diverse population. The participant who rated it a 5, Ms. Keane, said that in an ideal world she would rate its importance as a 10 but she wouldn't penalize a program for not having such materials because they might not have access to them. On the other hand, Ms. Becker felt that it was very important to have books that address issues of cross-cultural conflict or awareness because "books can often do it so much better than we as teachers can. Or [books] can just open things up in a way that's very hard for us to do just pulling from what we're seeing with our kids."

This key point prompted participants to think about authentic materials—not referenced directly in the key point or indicators—as a specific type of multicultural material that adds value to a dual language education.¹⁹ The use of authentic Spanish texts in instruction and the availability of such materials in school libraries were both rated as 10 by nine participants, although Ms. Oliver and Ms. Coburn thought they were somewhat less important. Ms. Coburn rated the use of authentic materials in instruction as a 6 because, as with multicultural materials, she said that authentic texts can be very hard to access and to fit it into the district-mandated curriculum that she uses.

Ms. García explained why authentic materials were important by saying "I think [when a text is] translated from a particular culture then it loses its richness through the translation as opposed to materials that are native to a particular language or country or culture." Ms. Mora noted that it is important to use authentic texts because the Spanish language is taught differently from how children learn to speak and read English, so translations of materials that are deemed to be grade-level in English would not necessarily provide appropriate supports for the language constructions that were taught

¹⁹ Authentic materials in the dual language context refer to Spanish texts written in Spanish by native speakers, as opposed to texts written in English and translated to Spanish.

in Spanish in that grade. Similarly, Mr. Irwin has noticed that it is a problem for his Spanish-language partner teacher to access appropriate leveled readers, because publishers may translate their English books into Spanish but retain the reading level associated with the English version, although the Spanish reading level may be quite different.

Participants also noted that the quantity of materials available in Spanish is relevant to looking at the degree to which instructional materials support the multilingual and multicultural goals of the dual language program, although only three participants rated this a 10, and five others an 8 or a 9. For Ms. Herrera, not having instructional materials in Spanish has been a continuous struggle, especially the lack of ancillary materials like handouts and videos related to the content topics that are taught in Spanish. In particular, having library books for her third graders to use for research is an issue because “my library probably has ten Spanish books for every 200 in English. So if I’m going to do anything on Abraham Lincoln, at my school library it’s impossible. They don’t have a book in Spanish on Abraham Lincoln.... Maybe I could go to my city library and I would be able to find it.” In her interviews, she noted that in addition to being detrimental to students’ Spanish reading development, the lack of texts in Spanish, especially authentic texts, has led her students to devalue Spanish as an academic language.

Cultural bias and linguistic equity are discussed. Coming back to two key points discussed earlier, there is an idea embedded in the indicators of both of these key points that evoked interesting comments from the participants about the degree to which equity is explicitly discussed with students. In the instruction strand, the key point that

states “There is cultural and linguistic equity in the classroom” (instruction principle 4, key point A) includes this idea in the *exemplary* indicator:

- Teachers and students work together to create a learning environment where all linguistic and cultural groups are equally valued and respected. Issues of linguistic and cultural equality are discussed on a regular basis as is developmentally appropriate.

The related key point in the curriculum strand, “The curriculum promotes equal status of both languages,” (curriculum principle 1, key point C) has language about explicit discussions in both the *full* and *exemplary* indicators:

- *Full*: There is a fairly even divide between academic subjects and specials taught in each language. Language arts instruction is provided in both languages over the course of the program. Issues of linguistic diversity and language status are addressed sporadically.
- *Exemplary*: There is an even divide between academic subjects and specials taught in each language. Language arts instruction is provided in both languages and students are provided opportunities to develop academic and social language and cognitive skills in both languages. Students are made aware of linguistic diversity and language status issues as is developmentally appropriate.

In reference to the first of the two key points, few participants commented on the explicit discussion of linguistic and cultural equity until I brought the issue up as an idea to rate on the 1-10 scale. Most participants rated this item an 8 or 9, even if they concurrently stated that it was important or very important. Ms. Keane found this a

particularly difficult point to rate, saying “We’re not having to explicitly teach ‘let’s all get along with each other in our different cultural groups.’ I like that the model allows for the integration of kids and the development of relationships naturally. We’re not having to teach them, oh, make sure that you play with someone whose L1 is different than yours,” and she ended up giving it an 8.

Ms. Jiménez spoke at length about what it would look like to discuss issues of linguistic and cultural equity. She said that topics that a teacher might bring up in these conversations include how people are judged for the language or the words they use; standard versus nonstandard varieties of a language, and particularly how nonstandard varieties are sometimes referred to as “wrong,” even by teachers; registers of language that are used in different contexts; and making explicit connections between social language and academic vocabulary. Ms. Oliver noted that these ideas can be worked into writing assignments, for example, by providing students with a writing prompt that asks them what it means to them to be bilingual or what students think is the value of being in a bilingual program.

For the second of the two key points, again, most participants rated this idea of discussing linguistic diversity and language status as an 8 (with Ms. Davis and Ms. Mora saying 10, and Ms. Coburn saying 4). Ms. Keane provided a similar rationale for this item to her statement about the previous one, saying “I don’t know that I would have thought of explicitly pointing out status... I don’t think we do that. I’m feeling like, again, we approach it from the point of view that this is how the program works, so if this class is in Spanish, we’re using Spanish, if it’s in English, we’re using English.” Likewise, two administrators stated that language status is not so much discussed as it is taken into

consideration in staff planning. For Mr. Navarro, the unequal status of Spanish in American society is the key motivation to his school's practice of encouraging adults to speak Spanish as much as possible outside of instructional time, and for Ms. Oliver, the connection between Spanish as a low status language and Hispanics as a minority group is a motivation for teaching and discussing stories that represent ethnic and economic diversity.

In sum, although two key points specifically mention the explicit discussion of linguistic and cultural diversity (and what this diversity means in American society), most of the participants did not consider this something that they would weigh very heavily when considering the promotion of equity in the curriculum or in instruction.

Students learn about and celebrate a variety of cultures. Finally, the key point on cultural and linguistic equity in the classroom (instruction principle 4, key point A) led several participants to consider how cultural celebrations are handled at their schools, and how relevant that was to creating a classroom environment “where all linguistic and cultural groups are equally valued and respected” as is stated in the indicator for *full* alignment.

There was a mixture of reactions from participants as to the relevance of the celebration of multicultural holidays such as Chanukah, Cinco de Mayo, and Kwanzaa to this key point, with weights ranging from 5 to 10. Ms. Davis said that she thought it was important to *learn* about a variety of holidays (which she rated a 9) but she rated *celebrating* the holidays as a 5. Likewise, Ms. Becker said, “I don’t think they need to be celebrated, I think they need to be talked about.” Two teachers (Ms. Apple and Mr. Irwin) noted that they incorporate Hispanic cultural traditions into the holidays that are

traditionally acknowledged in the schools (like Christmas). Two administrators felt strongly that the celebration of holidays is not as important as other ways to promote cross-cultural understanding. For example, Mr. Navarro was talking about the inclusion of alternative traditions or perspectives in the classroom, and when asked how the celebration of holidays fit into that, he responded with the following:

[That's] an interesting one, because our foreign-born teachers obviously want to share that information with their students and that has significance to them [in terms of] the cultural comparisons of holidays and so forth. However, I think it's also a dangerous thing in that if you put so much emphasis on celebrations of holidays, it's easy—with the nature of schools, curriculum, and standards—to say, yeah, we did our multicultural fair, and yeah we talked to the kids about Day of the Dead, and that's how we get at the whole issue of multiculturalism. So it's kind of a slippery slope. Because you'd want to have more substantive discussions around cultural perspectives on an ongoing basis with kids, I think. And certainly, discussions of holidays can be a part of that but I wouldn't want to see it be the core.

In contrast, Ms. Keane felt that celebrating Hispanic holidays, in particular, was important for her students. She said that at her school, cultural celebrations “that come from Mexico or other Spanish-speaking countries probably get a little more play than things that are more, I guess, culturally American. But not much. And I think [people] feel that this is such a valuable opportunity and that once kids leave here, really everything's much more heavily English.” Ms. Mora felt similarly that teachers need to

talk about cultural events throughout the year, not just the common ones on the calendar, “because that’s how we can teach tolerance and appreciation and acceptance.”

Weighing the Importance of the Six Key Points

At the conclusion of the second interview, participants reviewed the text of the six key points that they had discussed and were asked, “Do you think that any one of the six key points is more important than the others?” Many participants found this exercise to be quite challenging, because they thought that all of the key points were important, and in fact, most had sufficient difficulty thinking through how they would define *importance* that I rethought the validity of this interview question and determined that it is not possible to present an empirical answer to it. However, this question did provide many participants an opportunity to reflect on some of the larger themes that they had been talking about across the six key points. It also sheds light on the complexity of equity, as it is all of these points working together (in light of local contexts) that create an equitable learning environment.

The key point “There is linguistic and cultural equity in the classroom” seemed to draw the most attention, perhaps because it is the most generally-worded and thus all-encompassing of the six. Ms. Jiménez used this key point to describe why she felt that the attention that a teacher pays to equity in her own classroom was critically important:

The kids are in the classroom more than they are outside the classroom, at least in my situation, and I think the cultural and linguistic equity is what sets the tone for the program. I think as a teacher, I really have to set the tone and also communicate my opinion about language and culture, and I have to communicate my philosophy or why it’s important to speak in both languages, and that’s going

to be shown. I can talk all I can about it, but if my behavior in the classroom doesn't match up with what I'm saying, then the kids aren't going to buy into what the purpose of the program is, which is multiculturalism, bilingualism, and biliteracy. So, I think this one's more important, because I'm thinking of the bigger purpose of the program, which is to have these kids go through the program, develop skills [and] knowledge, [then] go out into the real world and be able to use [them] not just for economic purposes but also to better their communities, to create more equity and fairness in the world.

This comment encapsulates several characteristics of how many participants framed the idea that there is more to observing equity than just noting the presence or absence of particular practices. It is important for teachers to understand why they do things, how what they think relates to what they do, and how what they do fits into the big picture of dual language education.

Mr. Navarro was also inclined to pick the key point on linguistic and cultural equity as the most important, and in explaining why, he said simply, "I feel like if [linguistic and cultural equity] doesn't happen, the rest of it really doesn't matter." Likewise, Ms. García suggested that linguistic and cultural equity was important because it demonstrated putting principles into practice (as opposed to, for examples, having access to multicultural materials but not using them in a way that creates equity among students). Ms. Mora echoed the message that she had emphasized in her first interview, saying that promoting equity in the classroom is the top priority in creating access to a high quality education.

As for those who picked other key points, two participants (Ms. Apple and Ms. Coburn) said that the teacher was the most important variable in the success of the program, although they selected different key points to illustrate this. Ms. Apple felt that teachers sticking to the language of instruction (instruction principle 3, key point D) was a particular strength of her program, and that her fellow teachers have worked hard to maintain this practice despite a general lack of support from the rest of the school community (implying that although she felt that her program was weak with respect to the other five key points, the success they have had may have been due to their adherence to the separation of languages). Ms. Coburn thought that the teacher's role in facilitating student engagement through effective grouping of students (instruction principle 3, key point C) was the most important factor in the success of the program. Ms. Keane also felt that grouping was a key element of program success so that students would be interacting and engaged in active learning.

Using the *Guiding Principles* as a Tool for Discussing Equity

In this study, participants used text from the *Guiding Principles for Dual Language Education* as a jumping-off point for describing how they would observe equity in dual language programs. The six key points that were chosen reflected themes related to equity from the literature on dual language and also resonated with the definitions of equity that participants had given in their first interviews, particularly those first four themes discussed in Chapter 4 that reflect the unique focus on language and culture in dual language. Having all participants discuss the same six key points allowed a robust discussion of a narrow set of topics, as compared to the more wide-ranging discussion that took place in the first interview.

Most participants (nine of fourteen) who participated in the second interview had at least some experience with the *Guiding Principles*, and six of them had used it as a rating rubric for planning or reflecting on the implementation of their programs. Mr. Navarro had the most experience using the document, as he commented, “Frankly, we use the *Guiding Principles* document as kind of like a bible. For example, when I had that conversation the other day with the directors about [creating a] parent liaison position, I could point to the document and say, ‘yeah, this is a best practice’ and ‘here, you see, this isn’t just me saying this to you.’”

Few participants commented on the use of the *Guiding Principles* in our discussion, but most seemed very comfortable with using the key points as part of the interview task. After completing the second interview, Mr. Evans and I were joking about how he had been better able to directly answer my questions in the second interview than the first, and he said, “well this time I had some supports here, supports that could bring up thoughts in my mind... these things kind of jogged my ideas.” Ms. Coburn read through the document prior to her second interview and checked off where she thought her program rated on each of the key points, and she seemed to find the document useful as a tool for reflection. After I provided a short statement at the beginning of the interview about the purpose of the *Guiding Principles*, she said “it’s interesting that you say the purpose is to be reflective, because I did find myself to be thinking, well, if I would have answered this question a few years ago, I would have answered it differently, or sometimes I find myself answering one way and then reading a later question and then almost going back and revisiting previous ones.”

One of this study's research questions concerns how the *Guiding Principles* may act as a tool for interpreting equity. Using the *Guiding Principles* helped guide the discussion for Interview 2, and also raised implications of the strengths and limitations of the use of the document in a broader context. Looking first at the limitations, some teachers expressed some confusion or concerns as they reflected on how the rubric might be used for rating or evaluating programs or classrooms. For example, a detail in the text of two key points suggested that it is a good practice to explicitly discuss equity and status with students (see p. 189), but this idea got mixed reactions in terms of how important a factor this was. So, looking at the *full* and *exemplary* indicators of these key points, practitioners might disagree that discussing equity and status is a characteristic that distinguishes exemplary from fully-aligned programs. As a second example, some participants stated that it is important for an evaluator or observer to take contextual factors into consideration while considering how a program or a classroom aligns with the key point (such as the age of the children, the instructional context, or whether teachers are not using particular resources because they have no access to them). In a number of cases, participants discussed practices that one might observe that do not strictly follow the imperatives in the key point (such as grouping students homogenously by native language or code-switching between English and Spanish), but the participants emphasized that teachers make pedagogical choices based on their understanding of what students need at a particular time and based on what they believe will contribute at a holistic level to achieving the programs' goals.

Turning to the strengths of using the *Guiding Principles*, as noted earlier, 26 of the 103 key points in the document relate to equity as it is discussed in the literature, so

there are clearly ample opportunities for practitioners to focus on equity as they use the document. As Mr. Evans said in his comment about using the key points in the interview, having it available jogged ideas in his memory that he otherwise might not have thought of, and throughout the interviews, a number of practitioners answered questions in such a way as to indicate they were thinking through a new idea (as in Ms. Oliver's comments about how to rate the idea of having school-wide announcements in both languages [p. 175]), and others noted things they hadn't thought of before (such as Ms. Keane commenting on explicitly discussing linguistic and cultural equity with students [p. 191]).

The fact that the themes discussed in Chapter 4 aligned very closely to the key points discussed in this chapter provides further evidence that the *Guiding Principles* are useful for evaluating equity, in that the practices described in the key points are similar to the definitions and examples of equity provided by the participants when given an opportunity to describe equity in an open-ended fashion. In fact, in the Program Structure strand, Principle 2 states "The program ensures equity for all groups," and the five key points almost perfectly map onto the five themes from Chapter 4:

Key Point A: All students and staff have appropriate access to resources. (*Full implementation: Resources are distributed equitably among all student groups and programs within the school, according to their needs. The dual language program leadership has communicated with administrators, teachers, parents, and community members outside the program to explain their needs.*)

Key Point B: The program promotes linguistic equity. (*Full implementation: Both languages are equally valued throughout the program, and particular consideration is given to elevating the status of the partner language.*)

Key Point C: The program promotes cultural equity. (*Full implementation: All cultural groups are equally valued and have equal participation in all facets of the program.*)

Key Point D: The program promotes additive bilingualism. (*Full implementation: The program promotes oral language and literacy development through students' extended exposure to and practice in both languages over the course of the program.*)

Key Point E: Whether the dual language program is a whole-school program or a strand within a school, signs and daily routines (e.g., announcements) reflect bilingualism and multiculturalism. (*Full implementation: The majority of school-wide activities and print are in both program languages, and it is obvious that the development of bilingualism and cross-cultural awareness are important features of the school.*)

The first three themes from Chapter 4 (practitioners cultivate an environment where English and Spanish have equal status, students of diverse ethno-linguistic backgrounds are positioned and recognized as equals, and the curriculum and program model reflect the goals of bilingualism and biliteracy) map perfectly onto key points B, C, and D, above. Although key point E focuses on the use of Spanish throughout the school which is a topic covered in the first theme of Chapter 4, it also touches on cross-cultural awareness which is the basis of the fourth theme. The subject of key point A is one of the subtopics discussed in the fifth theme of Chapter 4 along with a broader set of concerns about access to the curriculum.²⁰ Additionally, many other principles and key points in

²⁰ Despite my intimate familiarity with the *Guiding Principles* and the fact that key point E from this principle was one of the key points used in Interview 2, the extraordinary overlap between the key points in

the *Guiding Principles* cite the same practices that participants in the study gave as examples of equity in their programs (such as maintaining the target language or ensuring equal participation of linguistically diverse parents). So, whether one looks at the key points explicitly linked to equity or searches for topics that are linked to equity in the literature, there are ample key points that speak to equity in ways that resonate with practitioners' experiences.

this principle and the themes from Chapter 4 did not become evident to me until the very last stages of completing this analysis.

Chapter 6. Conclusion

This study has investigated the definition of equity in dual language education from the point of view of fifteen teachers and school-based administrators. Participants were selected to represent a range of school contexts, dual language models, and personal characteristics so as to lead to a robust conceptual model of how equity is conceptualized by practitioners with diverse experiences. The following research questions guided the development of the research design and analysis of the data:

1. How is the term *equity* defined and interpreted by dual language practitioners (teachers and administrators)?
2. What program- and classroom-level policies and practices do practitioners believe contribute to an equitable environment?
3. How may the *Guiding Principles for Dual Language Education* act as a tool for interpreting equity?
4. Are there systematic differences among practitioners or in the contexts in which practitioners work in how equity is defined and described?

The practitioners who volunteered for the study participated in two telephone interviews; the first focusing on the definition of equity and examples of equity and inequity in the participant's program or classroom, and the second using the *Guiding Principles for Dual Language Education* to flesh out policies and practices that provide evidence of equity. In this chapter, I synthesize the findings presented in Chapters 4 and 5 in terms of answering the research questions, illuminating important themes that emerged from the findings, and suggesting implications of the findings for research and educational practice.

Summary of Findings

Research question 1: Definition of equity. When asked to define *equity* in terms of dual language education, five imperatives emerged as key elements of an equitable dual language learning environment:

1. Practitioners cultivate an environment where English and Spanish have equal status
2. Students of diverse ethno-linguistic backgrounds are positioned and recognized as equals
3. The curriculum and program model reflect the goals of bilingualism and biliteracy
4. Multicultural curriculum and materials are used
5. Students have access to the curriculum and to educational resources

Although the participants in this study did not state all five ideas at once, the collective group mentioned these themes repeatedly, confirming the importance of these imperatives as salient aspects of equity for practitioners in dual language programs.

Each of the above imperatives relates to how dual language programs provide an equitable educational environment for all students by using two languages and by valuing minority languages and cultures. *Valuing* was a commonly recurring concept in the first four themes discussed in Chapter 4. Participants described ways that they demonstrated the value of minority languages and cultures by taking the development of academic language proficiency seriously (not allowing English to dominate programmatically or in instruction, and using instructional strategies based on the research on second language acquisition), encouraging students to see the merit in the diversity of their peer group, and

infusing the curriculum and school environment with Spanish and references to Hispanic and other minority cultures. Participants also emphasized the degree to which the dual language model facilitates equity in ways that are not possible in mainstream education by empowering Spanish speakers as linguistic models and shaping the instructional environment to reflect minority students' backgrounds, rather than considering their linguistic and cultural assets as peripheral to (or even interfering with) the business of schooling.

The fifth theme in Chapter 4 focused on how the dual language program, like any program that is intended to serve a specific population, provides that population with access to the curriculum and to educational resources. Even within a program that prioritizes equity by valuing minority languages and cultures, there can be barriers that prevent students from benefitting from the program, such as recruitment or enrollment practices that disenfranchise some families or a lack of resources to help struggling students.

Examples that illustrated participants' definitions of equity focused on the use of English and Spanish, the ways that students interact (and the ramifications thereof), how practitioners call attention to diversity, policies and practices related to program enrollment, and the effect of attitudes toward languages and language learners within and outside the program. For both teachers and administrators, definitions and examples were articulated at both the program and the classroom level; for example, the use of English and Spanish was discussed at the classroom level in terms of which language teachers and students choose to employ in different contexts, and at the program level in terms of how Spanish is used orally and in writing throughout the school building. In fact, a

number of teachers pointed out that even if there is strong evidence of equity in the classroom, this effort can be undone by a school environment that is not supportive of bilingualism and multiculturalism.

Research question 2: Policies and practices that contribute to equity. In Chapter 5, I focused on several aspects of the definition of equity in order to focus more deeply on what policies and practices demonstrate equity in the program and classroom. Participants read six key points from the *Guiding Principles for Dual Language Education* that captured important qualities of equity, and described what they would see in a strong or a weak classroom. From these descriptions, eight categories of practice emerged as relevant to equity: five related to language status and use, and three related to multiculturalism in curriculum and instruction.

Several types of evidence illustrated in Chapter 5 emerged as very salient for participants, as evinced by the degree to which they thought these ideas should be heavily weighted in considering a classroom's alignment to the key points. The first type was that the model and curriculum provide opportunities to use both languages, with language arts and content-area subjects provided in such a way that students can develop language and academic skills in both languages in a balanced way across the course of the program. Second, teachers maintain the target language in instructional contexts (not switching back and forth between languages) and are faithful to the model by teaching in each language for the designated subjects and length of time. Third, students have opportunities to work in groups that foster linguistic and social development, which teachers facilitate by being deliberate about characteristics of the students forming each group, providing language stems or sentence frames to help students speak or write in the

language of instruction, and ensuring that both language learners and native speakers have opportunities to be active participants. Fourth, bilingualism is valued school-wide, with both languages used for oral and written communication and all staff having positive attitudes toward bilingualism. Finally, teachers have access to and use abundant and high-quality instructional materials in Spanish and materials that reflect diversity.

There were also several types of evidence for which there was less consensus around salience. Some participants felt that these were very important to take into consideration when evaluating if a program or classroom was aligned with best practices (as defined by the *Guiding Principles*) but others thought they were not as important. These topics included two things that teachers reported they have little control over: the balance of native English speakers and native Spanish speakers in the classroom, and students' production of the target language. In contrast to findings from the empirical literature on equity in dual language programs discussed in Chapter 2 (Amrein & Peña, 2000; Fitts, 2006; Freeman, 1995; Howard & Sugarman, 2007; McCollum, 1999; Palmer, 2007; Potowski, 2004; Volk & Angelova, 2007), most participants did not comment on student language use as a type of evidence of equity and when prompted to rate its importance, gave it relatively low marks compared to other types of evidence.

Other practices for which there was less consensus around salience included three related to multiculturalism: the celebration of holidays and cultural events, explicitly discussing equity and bias with students, and using instructional materials that foster positive cross-cultural attitudes. Additionally, when discussing the importance of providing opportunities to use both languages throughout the curriculum, not all participants felt that the language of specials was a salient type of evidence; and when

discussing the importance of using Spanish in non-instructional contexts, there were mixed responses to the idea that teachers' use of Spanish with students outside of class time was salient.

In addition to understanding what types of evidence related to the six key points were most salient to the participants, another finding from Chapter 5 related to the importance of noting the context that an observer would have to consider to understand what he or she saw in a program or classroom, particularly what factors limit the usefulness of a practice in a particular context. These contextual factors related to understanding teacher decision-making, taking into consideration developmental appropriateness and/or alignment with the dual language model, and noting the effect of the socio-political context in which dual language practitioners operate. In other words, although one can identify specific practices that typify an educational approach (e.g., grouping students heterogeneously demonstrates the operationalization of the principle of the social nature of language learning [Block, 2003; Swain & Lapkin, 2002]), whether an observer would see that practice at any particular moment depends on the goals of the activity and how it fits in with the entire curriculum (e.g., grouping students homogeneously according to native language for a particular lesson may serve a purpose that contributes to students' development of language proficiency). Other practices, like using authentic Spanish texts, might not be observed; not because teachers don't value the practices but because they are constrained in what resources they have access to.

Research question 3: Using the *Guiding Principles*. The third research question concerned the use of the *Guiding Principles* as a tool for discussing equity. The findings from Chapters 4 and 5 indicated that the explicit discussion of equity in the *Guiding*

Principles aligned very closely with the five definitional themes illustrated in Chapter 4. Additionally, many of the examples given by the participants throughout both interviews were featured in principles and key points throughout the seven strands of the document. Therefore, if an evaluator wanted to use the findings from this study as the basis of his or her definition of equity, he or she would find ample key points in the document that could form the basis of a fairly comprehensive evaluation rubric. The only two important ideas related to equity raised by participants in this study that are not explicitly covered by the *Guiding Principles* are that dual language programs provide access to the curriculum by providing instruction in minority students' native language (although that idea is certainly implicit in a number of key points in curriculum and instruction), and that recruitment of students addresses possibly underserved groups (e.g., minority or at-risk native English speakers and students with special needs).

Another strength of the document is that it seemed to work very well in terms of acting as a scaffold to help participants think of policies and practices that relate to a larger idea (like equal use of languages or fostering multicultural appreciation). In fact, the way that the key points were used in this study echoes Bryk and Hermanson's (1993) conception of educational indicators as a constructivist tool for opening a dialogue among practitioners about the various causes and possible consequences of their practices (or changes to their practices). The findings related to the importance of context also reinforce Bryk and Hermanson's suggestion that data gathered from the comparison of practice with educational indicators must be seen as *partial* information that can be interpreted in a multitude of ways depending on the bias and understandings of the observer. The ease with which participants used the key points, the resonance between

the types of examples they gave in the first and second interviews (using and not using the *Guiding Principles*, respectively), and the specificity of participants' discourse in the second interview indicate that the language and constructs used in the *Guiding Principles* resonate with their potential audience (cf. the contrasting findings of Hill [2001] where practitioners did not understand the terminology used in the standards they were reading), and that the key points helped participants identify evidence and interpret that evidence in ways that resonate with the research on equity (Schwandt, 2009).

As discussed above, participants emphasized the importance of taking contextual factors into consideration when rating a program with the *Guiding Principles*. Nothing in the document inhibits a person from taking context into account, but it could be beneficial for the *Guiding Principles* (or other such rubrics) to facilitate this by adding language in the key points about which contextual factors might be important to consider or clarifying to what degree a practice must be present (e.g., in how many classrooms or for how much time) in order to align with the *minimal*, *partial*, *full*, or *exemplary* indicators.

Research question 4: Systematic differences across contexts. The final research question asked if there are systematic differences among practitioners or in the contexts in which practitioners work in how equity is defined and described. As could be seen in the variety of responses discussed in Chapters 4 and 5, there was a great diversity of definitions and examples of equity within and across participants. In general, it was difficult to match these differences to any one variable or contextual difference.

As noted in Chapter 4, many participants gave a multi-faceted definition of equity and there was little predictability based on background factors as to which aspects of the

definition participants would evoke. Table 5 summarizes which of the five thematic aspects of the definition of equity (see the five imperatives listed on p. 203) were suggested by each participant (a checkmark [✓] indicates that the participant’s definition aligned with the theme).

Table 5. Summary of Imperatives Cited by Each Participant

	Languages have equal status	Inter- group equality	Model reflects bilingualism	Multicultural materials	Access to resources
Ms. Apple	✓				
Ms. Becker					✓
Ms. Coburn			✓		
Ms. Davis	✓	✓		✓	
Mr. Evans			✓		
Ms. Fernández					✓
Ms. García			✓		
Ms. Herrera	✓				
Mr. Irwin					✓
Ms. Jiménez	✓	✓		✓	✓
Ms. Keane					✓
Ms. López		✓		✓	✓
Ms. Mora			✓		✓
Mr. Navarro		✓		✓	✓
Ms. Oliver	✓	✓			

For each theme, if one compares the group of participants whose definition aligned to the theme with the group that did not mention ideas related to that theme in their definition (e.g., for Theme 1, Ms. Apple, Ms. Davis, Ms. Herrera, Ms. Jiménez, and Ms. Oliver compared to the ten others), there are no circumstances where all of the “definers” have a common characteristic²¹ that is lacking in all of the “non-definers.”

²¹ Characteristics include, at the program level (see Table 4), geographic setting, location in the U.S., model, size, and presence of large populations of African-Americans, Hispanics, or students in poverty; and at the individual level (see Table 3), professional role, grade and language taught, ethnicity, and years of experience.

Although there were no systematic differences in terms of participants' views on equity at the general level, there were some instances in Chapters 4 and 5 where there were commonalities among those who brought up a topic. In the section of Chapter 4 called The Curriculum and Program Model Reflect the Goals of Bilingualism and Biliteracy, I discussed the fact that the four individuals whose definition of equity centered on the idea that the curriculum and program model are set up to provide students with equal opportunities to learn in two languages were from 90/10 programs, yet none of them explained how the unequal allotment of time in the early grades (favoring Spanish) resulted in equal development of the languages. This issue came up again in the second interview, in reference to the key point (curriculum principle 1, key point C) whose full indicator stated, in part, "There is a fairly even divide between academic subjects and specials taught in each language." It was only participants from 90/10 programs who elaborated on this, noting that "fairly even divide" was not an accurate way to characterize the division of subjects across languages in the primary grades (where more time is spent learning in Spanish). These 90/10 practitioners cautioned that when rating a program on this key point, one would need to take into consideration how the allocation of languages across all grades served to foster bilingualism and biliteracy, and that, especially in the primary grades, one would need to take into consideration the language and literacy development that takes place during content instruction, not just during language arts (see p. 168). In this same key point, three of the four participants who rated the idea that specials classes should be offered in both languages a 10 were from 50/50 programs, while all five who rated it lower than 10 were from 90/10 programs. This may be because 90/10 programs can offer all specials in English without falling below 50% of

time in Spanish, whereas 50/50 programs cannot afford to offer all specials in English without falling below the 50% threshold (see p. 170).

There were also a few examples where participants from strand programs (co-located in a school with a mainstream English program) brought up issues that were not discussed by participants from whole-school programs. In Chapter 4 (see p. 151), four teachers in strand programs raised concerns about tensions with or potential misunderstandings by the teachers in the mainstream programs in their buildings. These conflicts highlighted concerns about whether it is *fair* to have two different programs and the resulting perceptions that one program has more resources or is held to less stringent standards than the other. Without the immediacy of those tensions, this facet of equity might not come to light.

Another instance where the responses of practitioners in strand programs stood out was in response to the key point discussed in the second interview about signs and daily routines reflecting bilingualism and multiculturalism. Four participants from strand programs acknowledged that having Spanish print or Spanish announcements throughout the school was unlikely to happen in their buildings, while no whole-school participants made this comment. Likewise, no one from a strand program rated the idea that school-wide activities should be held in both languages (as opposed to English only) as a 10, whereas four whole-school practitioners did rate it a 10.

In sum, the systematic differences between 90/10 and 50/50 practitioners and between strand and whole-school practitioners stemmed from different contexts in which they operated, and thus provided an opportunity to see an example of practices related to equity that would be seen in some schools and not others, but do not seem to be evidence

of a fundamental difference in the way that practitioners conceptualize equity. One reason that there were not more systematic differences between participants is that, compared to all educators or to all Americans, the sample of participants in this study is made up of professionals who have chosen to work in a type of educational program whose defining features prioritize *differential access* to education (see below for discussion of this concept) and a multilingual, multicultural world view. It is likely that if this study were replicated either with different types of dual language practitioners (e.g., teachers or administrators who were assigned to dual language rather than those who chose it) or with educational professionals in mainstream education, there might be some systematic differences across participant groups based on variables such as race/ethnicity, professional role, or the demographic profile of the school.

Discussion

In Chapter 4, I described five imperatives that emerged as salient aspects of participants' definitions of equity, and in Chapter 5, I outlines eight categories of practice that participants felt, to a greater or lesser degree, were relevant as evidence of equity in dual language programs and classrooms. In this section, I will discuss four observations that emerged from the analysis of the data:

- For individual participants and the group as a whole, the definition and interpretation of equity is complex and multifaceted
- Participants' definitions of equity speak primarily to *differential access* to education
- Equity is contextualized by challenges
- Efforts to increase equity have academic and symbolic purposes

The contribution of these findings is that they speak to the unique attributes of dual language education so that we can better understand how and why these programs work to address educational equity. This study also allows educators and researchers to look through the lens of language diversity to understand equity in new ways.

Breadth of the definition of equity. The findings in Chapters 4 and 5 provide evidence of the multifaceted nature of the definition of equity. First, there are several participants whose definition of equity included more than one of the themes that comprised Chapter 4 (in fact, excerpts from Ms. Jiménez's definition appeared in four out of five themes). Additionally, after being asked the definition of equity, participants were invited to provide examples of equity or inequity in their programs or classrooms, thinking about any topics that came to mind, and in those examples, most participants provided one or more examples that related to their definition as well as one or more examples that aligned more closely to one of the other themes from Chapter 4. This indicates that there were more aspects of equity that are relevant to these participants' construction of the concept than they were able to articulate in their initial definition.

The breadth of the educational topics invoked in participants' examples of equity, including relationships between students and staff, the inclusion of immigrant parents into school life, the effects of high-stakes assessment, and enrollment policies, echoes the scope of the definition of the concept in the wider educational literature and in the literature on dual language education (see Chapter 2). Despite this breadth, there were some ideas that brought coherence to the definition, such as the idea of valuing and raising the status of minority languages and cultures and the importance of consistency at the school/program level and the classroom level in terms of educational philosophy.

Equal and differential access. The term *equity* has been invoked in reference to a variety of concerns in the literature on the education of minority children (see Chapter 2), and one of the key distinctions made by some authors was between *equal access* and *differential access*. Briefly, *equal access* in education requires that all students have the opportunity to benefit from available resources, whereas *differential access* means providing special teacher training, materials, or instructional strategies to benefit one particular group, the provision of which involves a qualitative judgment of fairness or justice (Espinoza, 2007; Harvey & Klein, 1985). For the most part, the definitions of equity constructed by the participants in this study acknowledge that dual language programs represent differential access to education, in that the program is designed to meet their needs and to foster their academic success, although only Mr. Irwin referenced the concept of equal and differential access directly (although not using that terminology). The fact that the definitions of equity portrayed this differential access in a positive light is unsurprising, as the participants in the study were a self-selected group of dual language practitioners who had an interest in equity. It is reasonable to assume that such a group of people would understand the ways in which dual language is different from mainstream education and would appreciate the benefits of what makes dual language programs unique.

One way that the distinction between equal access and differential access was invoked in the findings was the discussion of whether offering dual language was “fair” (see p. 151). Four teachers who work in strand programs described misunderstandings (or fear of the potential of misunderstandings) about why the dual language program is different, and the tendency for non-dual language staff to ascribe better outcomes or any

favorable conditions in the dual language classrooms to unfairness. These practitioners described it as necessary to continually highlight the ways in which the school's two strands are the same or to sweep differences under the rug in order to ensure that the dual language program's existence would not be threatened. Because these examples of how dual language could be perceived as unfair focused on resources available, high standards, and student outcomes, it is likely that these conflicts are due to or heightened by the external stressors common to all programs due to the requirements of No Child Left Behind and the drastic budget cuts of the early 2010s. In other words, these participants' experiences may not represent a widespread philosophical rejection of the idea of differential access; instead, current events may be bringing conflicts around this idea to the surface.

Another way that equal and differential access came up in the findings was that some participants felt that access to the dual language program constitutes an equity issue (see p. 147). While offering the dual language program is evidence of creating an equitable school environment for diverse children, a deeper analysis of who is encouraged to attend and who the program is serving exposes whether equal access is actually being denied to some groups of students (such as those who are deemed to lack "sufficient" native language proficiency or students with special needs).

These examples of how the concept of differential access was invoked in participants' definitions and descriptions of equity raise important questions about the potential conflicts associated with creating educational equity through differential access. One of these questions is whether it is reasonable to expect programs that provide differential access to the curriculum through a pedagogical innovation like bilingual

instruction to do so with the same resources and constraints as other programs, and if not, how practitioners can sell the argument that dual language programs have fundamentally different resource and organizational needs. Another question is how broad a population a program should be expected to serve if it is designed for students from diverse language backgrounds, and how limited seats in a program can be equitably allocated. These questions have implications beyond dual language programs to other kinds of programs that provide differential access to education.

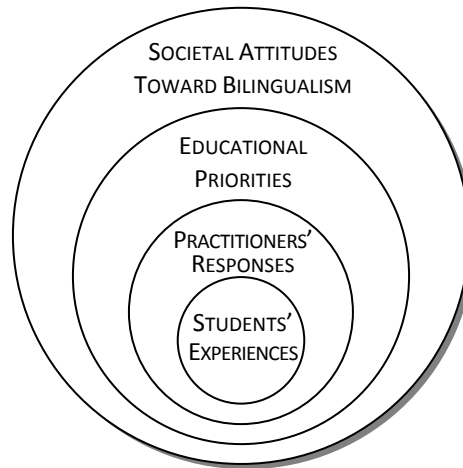
Equity is contextualized by challenges. A key way that participants framed their explanation of equity and inequity was in terms of the challenges that they face as dual language practitioners. While there were some challenges described by the participants as being common to all teachers of minority or at-risk students (such as Ms. Becker's concerns about staffing levels being insufficient to attend to students' enormous personal needs [p. 157]), other challenges arose from working in a type of educational program that contests the English monolingual hegemony of the U.S. school system and dominant societal values. Practitioners frequently mentioned the idea that certain inequitable circumstances were beyond their control, particularly when they were reflecting on their own agency as advocates for equity or observers of inequity within their school, but there were many challenges that participants were able to act on.

Equity has a meaning that is unique to dual language because this type of program is intended to challenge power structures by raising the status of the language spoken by minority students and giving value to their linguistic expertise, and by making school responsive to and relevant for minority students. As discussed earlier, one of the commonalities across the definitions and examples of equity was the idea of a

commitment to valuing minority languages and cultures such that they have a status equal to English and Anglo-American norms. Respondents noted that it was challenging to maintain this desired environment within the dual language program or classroom in terms of what (or who) is valued because of attitudes and decision-making that come from outside the program (from the district or from society at large). Some examples of how external values become challenges to equity include financial decision-making which deprioritizes Spanish materials and other resources, the enforcement of benchmarks related to English-language standardized tests that are inappropriate for English language learners, and how language is used and perceived by non-dual-language staff and by parents and the community. Participants described these challenges as placing an undue burden on them as teachers (e.g., when Spanish teachers have to spend personal time translating materials that are provided to English teachers) or creating circumstances that run counter to the program's desired goals (e.g., students see a lack of Spanish books as evidence that people do not write in Spanish, and therefore do not develop a desire to write in Spanish). These challenges are distinct from other types of challenges that teachers face because they stem from the sociolinguistic status of Spanish and Spanish-speakers in American society.

This notion of challenges is one way that we can understand how practitioners make sense of equity. As depicted in Figure 1, this model shows that challenges to equity stem from societal attitudes toward bilingualism and minority languages and cultures which then shape educational priorities, and then are mediated at the program or classroom level by practitioners, creating equitable or inequitable experiences for students.

Figure 1. Model of Challenges to Equity



For example, a common societal attitude that was cited is that English is the dominant language in the U.S., therefore administrators demonstrate in many ways that scores on English-language assessments are the most important outcome measure for students. This puts pressure on teachers to focus more attention on English academic language than Spanish, and the consequence that may follow is that students fail to develop high levels of Spanish proficiency.

Some participants demonstrated a greater sense of agency in terms of their capacity to challenge inequitable situations in their programs than others. Some, such as Ms. Jiménez, stressed that it is incumbent upon dual language practitioners to speak out about inequities and to be a “sore thumb” in advocating for their program’s or their students’ needs to administrators. In contrast, Ms. Herrera and Mr. Irwin complained vigorously about situations that they saw as inequitable in their programs, and actually formulated their definitions of equity around them, but framed these problems as being inherent to the larger school system and society in which their dual language programs operate and they did not make any suggestions related to how they might change the

situation for their students. Future research might explore the circumstances that create a greater or lesser sense of agency in practitioners related to mediating challenges to equity.

Efforts to increase equity have academic and symbolic purposes. In their illustrations of equity and inequity, participants noted ways that their efforts had two interrelated purposes: one related to academic outcomes and the other to symbolic or long-term outcomes. For example, a number of participants noted that one of the ways that inequity is visible in their dual language program is in the amount or quality of resources available in Spanish versus English. The lack of materials was generally ascribed to unavailability, whether because appropriate materials do not exist (because publishers do not create them) or because schools or districts block access to them (by limiting funds for purchase of Spanish-language materials or by restricting access only to approved materials—the process for which favors English language materials). The academic consequence of this was that a lack of Spanish materials is detrimental to students’ development of Spanish literacy. Additionally, the lack of Spanish materials sends a message to students that Spanish is not valued by the school (or in society), and makes students less motivated to learn it (thus further impoverishing their language development). In other words, a lack of high-quality, abundant Spanish materials inhibits students’ exposure to linguistically-rich Spanish input and reinforces the societal message that English is a more highly-valued academic language than Spanish.

Another example of the inter-relation of academic and symbolic purposes was illustrated by several participants who talked about the benefit of students working in mixed language groups. Academically, this grouping strategy provides language learners with the opportunity to hear native speakers model the language and to receive assistance

with vocabulary or grammar. Symbolically, bringing students together helps them develop empathy for each other as language learners. Developing a safe community where students feel that they “are in this together” (as Ms. López put it) helps students to feel safe taking risks in their second language, which then has the academic purpose of helping students stretch the development of their language skills. Similarly, Ms. López stated that integrating students with special needs with other students in her dual language class for group projects had academic benefits that came from allowing students to contribute in their unique ways to class work and symbolic benefits that afforded all of her students a greater appreciation of difference and diversity.

Contributions and Implications

This study has provided empirical findings that describe how practitioners understand the concept of equity. Foregrounding participants’ voices and interpretations is a unique contribution of this research, and has implications for research and teacher education, as will be described below. Likewise, this research focuses on dual language education, thus contributing to our understanding of this growing educational program. Additionally, the focus on dual language serves as a unique lens through which to explore the concept of equity. A great deal of research explicitly concerned with equity has focused on racial and ethnic minority students and students who are at risk of educational failure due to poverty, but there has been less of this writing that looks at the experience of linguistic equity.

Furthermore, unlike mainstream programs that attempt to build equity into their educational paradigms after-the-fact, dual language programs offer an opportunity to investigate the work of practitioners and policy makers as it applies to a program that is

designed to create equity through access to the curriculum and to challenge the monolingual norms of school and society. The findings provide powerful illustrations of the interrelationship between society, the educational system, the program model, and teacher actions in terms of creating an equitable learning environment for students (see Figure 1, p. 219). Similarly, my analysis has emphasized the importance of understanding the context in which equity plays out. Inequity in society and in the school system is a starting point for evaluating what teachers do to create an equitable environment, and determines which of the many practices that seem to be associated with equity are the appropriate ones for a particular context or circumstance.

The implications of this work for future research are related to this idea that equity is context-specific. The multi-faceted and contextualized nature of participants' definitions indicates that more empirical research on equity is needed in order to understand how and why equity may look very different in different educational contexts. Additionally, although there is theoretical and correlational evidence to support the idea that an equitable learning environment contributes to educational success for language minority students (August & Shanahan, 2006; Cummins, 2000), as well as numerous qualitative studies that explicate the characteristics of equitable and inequitable environments (Banks & Banks, 1995; Freeman, 1995; Howard & Sugarman, 2007; Kozol, 1991), little is known about how individual policies and practices contribute in greater or lesser ways to creating these environments. In conducting such studies, researchers might consider the implications of participants' comments about the importance of contextual factors by asking teachers whose practices they observe about their decision-making, the appropriateness of the factors being studied in each classroom

at the time of observation, and the effect of the socio-political context on instructional practice.

In terms of teacher preparation, it is important for teacher educators to understand what teachers view as challenges so that they can help pre-service and in-service teachers recognize those challenges and become empowered to take action to overcome them or to advocate on their students' behalf. This connects to another recurring topic in teacher preparation, which is connecting theoretical understanding to practice. My findings indicate that this might be facilitated through a discussion of *challenges*, as many participants in this study framed abstract ideas about equity as challenges that they then addressed in a concrete way through their examples of their own practice. Similarly, the concept of *evidence* seems promising in terms of providing a model for connecting theory to practice, as the methodology of asking practitioners to describe what they might see in a strong or weak program was a successful way for the participants to think of specific practices that were evidence of the abstract concept of equity.

This study also suggests that there are topics related to equity that should be included in dual language teacher preparation. One is the interplay of academic and symbolic effects of equity. In particular, it would be helpful for dual language teachers to understand that characteristics of their programs that they may see as merely symbolic (such as the use of Spanish outside of instructional time and the amount and quality of Spanish materials) have important implications for students' long-term attitudes toward Spanish and to their development of language proficiency. Furthermore, because the dual language classroom affords a genuine way of equalizing power and status between English speakers and Spanish speakers, teachers should understand how they can

capitalize on this aspect of the program structure (or on the other hand, what they should avoid so as not to undermine the inherent advantages of the model).

Finally, there are implications for program evaluation and for the use of the *Guiding Principles for Dual Language Education*. Participants' emphasis on the importance of context suggests that it would be helpful for methods and rubrics used in program evaluation to explicitly take context into consideration. It is likely that this would increase the validity of the evaluation (because it is impossible for one standard to apply across all educational contexts) and also give the practitioners who are evaluated a sense that they are not being held accountable for circumstances that are beyond their control. Further, teachers might benefit from using the *Guiding Principles* as was done in this study, by reading a key point and its indicators and then considering what a classroom that is strong or one that is weak in that area would look like. This process could facilitate overall program self-evaluation or a teacher's reflection about his or her own practices, both of which can be challenging endeavors. Just as the *Guiding Principles* were used in this project to focus on a particular concept (equity), they could also be used to evaluate or observe a program through other lenses (e.g., rigor, well-roundedness, or articulation of the program across content and time).

In sum, this study has contributed to researchers' and educators' understanding of how equity is enacted in dual language education. By shedding light on practitioners' voices, this study has created new pathways for future action as we consider better ways to train practitioners to understand, foster, and reflect on equity. With this continued effort toward understanding equity, this research works toward improving the learning

environments of diverse students in dual language programs and in other educational contexts where equity is a priority.

Appendix A: Interview Protocols

ID # of Participant _____

School _____ *Location* _____

School SES _____

Grade/Language or Job Title _____

Part I

First, I'm going to ask you some questions about your background. I'm not going to use your name or the name of your school or district in what I write, but knowing about your background helps me understand your perspective.

1. What year did you start teaching/become a principal? _____
2. What year did you start working in dual language? _____
3. How many other dual language programs have you worked in, besides where you are now? _____
4. What is the dual language model where you work now? (*probe: 50/50 or 90/10; separation of students by native language for instruction*)

5. What is your best estimate of the ethnic breakdown of the students in the dual language program?

White _____

Asian _____

Hispanic _____

Other _____

African-American _____

6. What is your race or ethnicity? _____

Part II

1. Being as specific as you can, what does the term *equity* mean to you in terms of dual language education?

Use examples from (1) to explore classroom- and school-level practices or additional examples from next page

2. In this interview, I'd like to hear about some examples of equity in your program. This could be things that you do that promote equity, things that influence equity that might not be under your control, and ways that equity and inequity are demonstrated in the program and in the classroom. I have some ideas of topics that I might suggest but I'd like to hear from you about examples that you think are really important.

Prompt for program- and classroom-level practices

A. General Probes

1. Tell me how _____ works in your classroom/school.
2. Do you think that has an impact on equity in your classroom/school?
3. What effect does _____ have on outcomes?

B. For practices identified as weak by the participant:

1. What would you need to do in your classroom to [do a better job at/be more satisfied with/improve outcomes in] _____?
2. What would your school need to do to get better at _____?
3. What would be the effect of those changes?

Aspects of Education Possibly Related to Equity

Curriculum and materials

- Multicultural curriculum and materials
- Critical pedagogy
- High quality Spanish materials in classroom and school library
- Specials (art, music, P.E.) in both languages

Instruction

- Drawing on and fostering students' cultural knowledge and personal strengths
- Instructional strategies for language learners
- Cooperative grouping
- Spanish assessment is treated as important
- Teachers and students use the appropriate language of instruction

Environment

- English and Spanish are both used in school-wide routines, activities, and signs
- Communication with families is in appropriate languages
- Teachers have a positive attitude toward language learners and bilingualism
- Teachers and students speak both languages in social settings
- Students make cross-cultural friendships

Program

- There is a balance of native English speakers and native Spanish speakers in each grade
- Students with special needs are included in the program
- Monolingual English students may not be enrolled after first grade

INTERVIEW II

ID # of Participant _____ Language/grade taught _____

Part III

1. Have you ever participated in a program evaluation where you look at how your program works or is implemented? What did you look at? How often have you done that?
2. Have you ever looked at the *Guiding Principles for Dual Language Education* before?
3. *If yes*, What was the context or purpose for looking at them? (*probe*) Have you ever used the *Guiding Principles* as a tool to reflect on or rate a dual language program?

If no:

Then let me tell you a little bit about them. The *Guiding Principles* were written about five years ago by a group of dual language researchers, teachers, and administrators. It was designed to help dual language practitioners with planning, self-reflection, and growth.

Continue:

The principles are organized into seven strands covering different areas of program implementation and best practices.

Let's look at an example on page 74. This is the third strand, Instruction, and principle 4 is "Teachers create a multilingual and multicultural learning environment." Then you'll see three key points, A, B, and C that are related to this principle. Each key point has four indicators of minimal, partial, full, or exemplary, and you can compare where your program is to the descriptions in the four indicators. And that's what people usually do when they use this document, they read a key point and think about examples of what happens in their program or their classroom and then they can compare what happens in their program to the descriptions in the different indicators. We're going to think about those kind of examples as we look at six key points.

Part IV

Let's start with where we are on page 74. Go ahead and read key point A and the indicators to yourself.

There is cultural and linguistic equity in the classroom

- *Both cultural and linguistic groups are valued and respected*
- *Kids and teachers work together to create this environment*
- *Issues of linguistic and cultural equality discussed*

Others

- The balance of native English speakers and native Spanish speakers in each classroom
- The degree to which teachers and students discuss issues of cultural bias, prejudice, and racism
- Whether teachers draw on students' background knowledge to connect to new learning
- The celebration of holidays such as Chanukah, Cinco de Mayo, and Kwanzaa
- The degree to which staff have positive attitudes toward bilingualism

If you were looking at a classroom that was really strong in this area, what would you see?

If you were looking at a classroom that was weak in this area, what would you see?

Is there anything else you would want to find out in order to rate someone on this key point?

If a person was evaluating a program on this key point, they might look at all of these different examples that you've come up with, but they might weigh some more heavily than others in terms of how important they think they are. I'm going to read you a list of examples that you've given me and some that I've come up with, and I'd like to know how much weight a person should give each type of example as they evaluate a program on this key point. I'd like you to rate them on a scale of 1-10, where 10 is a factor that they should consider to be VERY important and 1 is a factor that is NOT important and they shouldn't give very much weight.

For the next one, in this same principle, take a look at key point C.

Instructional materials in both languages reflect the student population in the program and encourage cross-cultural appreciation

- *Materials reflect student population or general diversity*
- *Materials encourage cross-cultural appreciation*
- *Draw on community resources*
- *Draw on students' home experiences*

Others

- The use of authentic Spanish texts in instruction
- The availability of authentic Spanish texts in classroom or school libraries
- The quality of printed materials in English and Spanish, such as the use of color and professional binding

If you were looking at a classroom that was really strong in this area, what would you see?

If you were looking at a classroom that was weak in this area, what would you see?

Is there anything else you would want to find out in order to rate someone on this key point?

I'm going to read you some items to rate on the 1-10 scale again. Remember that 10 is something that a person should consider very important when rating the program on this key point and 1 is something not very important.

We're going to work backwards in the book, so the next one is on page 72. Go ahead and read this principle and key point C to yourself.

Student grouping maximizes opportunities for students to benefit from peer models

- *Students work with peers who speak a different native language*
- *Cooperative grouping*
- *Flexible grouping*
- *Students are both language models and language learners*

Other

- The use of standardized formative assessment tools to form groups
- The use of teacher-developed formative assessment tools to form groups
- Whether students ever are pulled out of the classroom for instruction
- The balance of native English speakers and native Spanish speakers in each classroom
- The degree to which students use the appropriate target language when discussing academic content among themselves

If you were looking at a classroom that was really strong in this area, what would you see?

If you were looking at a classroom that was weak in this area, what would you see?

Is there anything else you would want to find out in order to rate someone on this key point?

I'm going to read you some items to rate on the 1-10 scale again. Remember that 10 is something that a person should consider very important when rating the program on this key point and 1 is something not very important.

Ok, now flip back to page 68. Please read the principle at the top of page 68 and key point D on page 69 to yourself.

Instruction incorporates appropriate separation of languages according to program design.

- *Translation*
- *Separation more in one language than the other*
- *Separate with high expectations to use the language*
- *Use both languages in a variety of academic and social contexts*

Other

- The degree to which students use the appropriate target language during instructional time
- The degree to which students use the appropriate target language when talking among themselves
- The number of times the teacher has to prompt students to use the appropriate target language
- The degree to which teachers discipline and talk informally with students in the appropriate target language

If you were looking at a classroom that was really strong in this area, what would you see?

If you were looking at a classroom that was weak in this area, what would you see?

Is there anything else you would want to find out in order to rate someone on this key point?

I'm going to read you some items to rate on the 1-10 scale again. Remember that 10 is something that a person should consider very important when rating the program on this key point and 1 is something not very important.

The next one is on page 62, in the Curriculum strand. Take a look at the principle and key point C on page 63.

The curriculum promotes equal status of both languages

- *Social & academic registers in both languages*
- *Which subjects taught in which languages*
- *Specials in both languages*
- *Language arts in both languages*
- *Language diversity and status discussed*

Other

- The number of total minutes in English vs. minutes in Spanish

If you were looking at a classroom that was really strong in this area, what would you see?

If you were looking at a classroom that was weak in this area, what would you see?

Is there anything else you would want to find out in order to rate someone on this key point?

I'm going to read you some items to rate on the 1-10 scale again. Remember that 10 is something that a person should consider very important when rating the program on this key point and 1 is something not very important.

For the last one, turn to page 84 and read the principle and Key Point E on page 85.

Whether the dual language program is a whole-school program or a strand within a school, signs and daily routines (e.g., announcements) reflect bilingualism and multiculturalism

- *School wide activities/assemblies*
- *Environmental print in the school and classroom*
- *Announcements*
- *Obvious that bilingualism and culture are important*

Other

- Whether English is always used first with Spanish in translation
- The frequency with which flyers sent home to parents are in both languages
- The availability of materials in Spanish for use in common facilities such as the library and computer or media center
- The availability of translators to facilitate meetings with parents
- The celebration of holidays such as Chanukah, Cinco de Mayo, and Kwanzaa

If you were looking at a classroom that was really strong in this area, what would you see?

If you were looking at a classroom that was weak in this area, what would you see?

Is there anything else you would want to find out in order to rate someone on this key point?

I'm going to read you some items to rate on the 1-10 scale again. Remember that 10 is something that a person should consider very important when rating the program on this key point and 1 is something not very important.

Part V

Ask participants to review the handout sent along with the Guiding Principles book that lists the six key points.

Looking at the six key points that we've talked about, do you think that any of the six are more important than the others? Which one? Why?

Participants: Please keep this page in your Guiding Principles book – we'll use it at the end of our second interview.

Key Points

1. There is cultural and linguistic equity in the classroom
2. Instructional materials in both languages reflect the student population in the program and encourage cross-cultural appreciation
3. Student grouping maximizes opportunities for students to benefit from peer models
4. Instruction incorporates appropriate separation of languages according to program design
5. The curriculum promotes equal status of both languages
6. Whether the dual language program is a whole-school program or a strand within a school, signs and daily routines (e.g., announcements) reflect bilingualism and multiculturalism

Appendix B: Key Points Read in Interview 2

STRAND 2

Curriculum

Principle 1

The curriculum is standards-based and promotes the development of bilingual, biliterate, and multicultural competencies for all students.

	MINIMAL	PARTIAL	FULL	EXEMPLARY	
C	The curriculum promotes equal status of both languages.				C
	There is no indication of sufficient opportunities to develop social and academic registers in both languages.	Some attempts are made to equalize the cognitive load in both languages, but academic subjects such as math, science, and language arts are taught in one language, while specials (art, music, etc.) are taught in the other.	There is a fairly even divide between academic subjects and specials taught in each language. Language arts instruction is provided in both languages over the course of the program. Issues of linguistic diversity and language status are addressed sporadically.	There is an even divide between academic subjects and specials taught in each language. Language arts instruction is provided in both languages and students are provided opportunities to develop academic and social language and cognitive skills in both languages. Students are made aware of linguistic diversity and language status issues as is developmentally appropriate.	

STRAND 3

Instruction

Principle 1

Instructional methods are derived from research-based principles of dual language education and from research on the development of bilingualism and biliteracy in children.

	MINIMAL	PARTIAL	FULL	EXEMPLARY	
D	Instruction incorporates appropriate separation of languages according to program design.				D
	There is no separation of languages for instruction. Teachers use both languages as they choose or constantly translate from one to the other.	There is an attempt at separation of languages, but it is adhered to more strictly in one language than the other.	There is a consistent separation of languages, with high expectations for students and teachers to use the language of instruction.	Students and teachers systematically use both program languages in a variety of academic and social contexts.	

STRAND 3***Instruction*****Principle 3*****Instruction is student-centered.***

	MINIMAL	PARTIAL	FULL	EXEMPLARY	
C	Student grouping maximizes opportunities for students to benefit from peer models.				C
	Students in the dual language program rarely have the opportunity to work cooperatively with students who do not share their native language.	In integrated classrooms, teachers sporadically use cooperative learning strategies in cross-linguistic groups.	In integrated classrooms, teachers use appropriate and flexible grouping strategies to maximize the benefits of peer interaction.	In integrated classrooms, students have ample opportunities to be both language models and language learners when interacting with their peers in both academic and social situations. Students in non-integrated classrooms are provided opportunities to interact with peers who speak the partner language.	

STRAND 3***Instruction*****Principle 4*****Teachers create a multilingual and multicultural learning environment.***

	MINIMAL	PARTIAL	FULL	EXEMPLARY	
A	There is cultural and linguistic equity in the classroom.				A
	One linguistic or cultural group is more highly valued than others in the classroom.	There is an attempt at equality, but one linguistic or cultural group may be more highly valued in subtle and symbolic ways.	Teachers create a learning environment where all linguistic and cultural groups are equally valued and respected.	Teachers and students work together to create a learning environment where all linguistic and cultural groups are equally valued and respected. Issues of linguistic and cultural equality are discussed on a regular basis as is developmentally appropriate.	

STRAND 3***Instruction*****Principle 4*****Teachers create a multilingual and multicultural learning environment.***

	MINIMAL	PARTIAL	FULL	EXEMPLARY	
C	Instructional materials in both languages reflect the student population in the program and encourage cross-cultural appreciation.				C
	The materials are not reflective of the student population or multiculturalism.	Some diverse and multicultural materials are used, but not systematically or across both languages and all grades.	There is a sufficient diversity of materials that reflect the various subgroups of the student population and that explicitly encourage cross-cultural appreciation.	There is a great deal of diversity of student materials that reflect the various subgroups of the student population, and these are supplemented by drawing on community resources and students' home experiences. Instructional materials incorporate themes that address respect and appreciation for all cultures.	

STRAND 5***Program Structure*****Principle 2*****The program ensures equity for all groups.***

	MINIMAL	PARTIAL	FULL	EXEMPLARY	
E	Whether the dual language program is a whole-school program or a strand within a school, signs and daily routines (e.g., announcements) reflect bilingualism and multiculturalism.				E
	All school-wide activities and print are solely in English. Little attention is paid to incorporating minority cultures.	Environmental print around the school is posted in both program languages, but announcements, assemblies, and other whole-school events are conducted entirely in English. Some attention is paid to incorporating minority cultures.	The majority of school-wide activities and print are in both program languages, and it is obvious that the development of bilingualism and cross-cultural awareness are important features of the school.	The majority of school-wide activities and print are in both program languages, and it is obvious that the development of bilingualism and cross-cultural awareness are important features of the school. When applicable, students not enrolled in the dual language program are provided with opportunities for second language learning and cross-cultural awareness (e.g., buddy classes, afterschool language classes).	

Appendix C: Codebooks

Codebook for Interview 1, Organized Thematically

Definition of equity

School climate

- awareness of student culture

Voice/empowerment

- voice/empowerment of parents/community

- voice/empowerment of staff

- voice/empowerment of students

Leadership

Access

- access to educational outcomes

- access to the DL program

Engaging stakeholders

Promote/advocate for the program

Classroom climate

- anti-bias

- avoid conflicts

- presence/absence of teasing/bullying/bias

- safe

- welcoming

Instructional configurations

- independent practice

- small group

- whole class

Details about the program model

- ESL/ELD

- fidelity to the model

- model/minutes in English and Spanish

- pullout

- SSL/SLD

- vision/goals

Research-based practices

Curriculum

- standards-based

Classroom management

- classroom participation models

- seating arrangements

Theories of learning

- collaborative/cooperative learning
- collectivism in the classroom
- comprehensible input
- differentiation
- higher-order thinking
- multiple intelligences
- rote learning
- student as active vs. passive recipient
- students taking chances

Fostering linguistic development

- academic language
- cross-linguistic connections in class
- good teaching for language learners
- language frames
- language objectives
- oral language development
- real life application of language learning
- teaching vocabulary
- what skills taught in each language
- writing development

Grade-level benchmarks

Homework

Class size

Pacing

Stating objectives/standards to kids

Articulation to secondary

- middle school

Use of Spanish in specials

Technology

Extracurriculars

Drawing on students' background knowledge in instruction

Grouping

- heterogeneous grouping
- homogenous grouping by academic level
- homogenous grouping by language
- kids help each other
- teacher strategies used for grouping
- use formative assessment to form groups

Language models

Use of Spanish

- adults use Spanish among themselves
- bilingual signs in the school
- consistency (or inconsistency) of language use norms
- home language use
- increase value of Spanish
- language of announcements
- language of assemblies
- language of instruction visible in the classroom
- language use management
- non-teaching staff use Spanish
- teacher codeswitching/language separation
- teachers' expectations for students to use Spanish
- techniques to encourage use of Spanish

Language status

- encouraging kids to be proud of being bilingual
- kids discuss language status with teacher
- kids speak English in Spanish class
- kids speak English on the playground
- power of English
- things that make Spanish less valued

Translation

- from Spanish to English vs. English to Spanish
- notes/flyers sent home
- using a translator for meetings
- work done by teachers

Attitudes toward Spanish

- kids' attitudes toward Spanish
- parents' attitudes toward Spanish
- teachers' attitudes toward Spanish

Materials

- amount of materials in each language
- cost of materials
- cultural artifacts
- materials available in the language of instruction
- materials mandated by state/district
- materials promote multiculturalism/diversity
- materials show more than Latino/Anglo cultures
- quality of printed materials
- Spanish materials in the library
- students see themselves in the materials

Authentic literature

- authentic lit for instruction
- authentic lit from foreign countries
- authentic lit in libraries
- quality of translated materials

Multicultural curriculum

- social justice curriculum
- students discuss bias, racism
- teaching from the heart

Latino culture

- celebration of Latino culture
- instruction about Latino culture

Diversity in the school

- African-Americans in the DL program
- bringing in non-Latino cultures and traditions
- celebration of holidays
- don't have to talk about it
- encouraging a diverse student body (race, special ed, etc.)
- interaction with non-DL kids

Assessment

- achievement gap
- assessment in Spanish
- formative assessment
- importance of English test scores
- reporting progress to parents

Tension between DL and non-DL strand/teachers

Educational resources

- funding

Special education

- services in Spanish
- serving special needs kids in DL

Support of DL

- community support of DL
- district support of DL
- non-DL teacher support of DL
- parent support of DL
- school board support of DL

- Parent attitudes
 - instrumental benefits of language learning
 - parent anxiety
 - parent investment in DL as a model of education
- Parental involvement
 - informational meetings for parents
 - other parent meetings
 - parent leadership
 - parent volunteering
 - parents involved in decision making
 - parent-teacher conferences
 - PTA
- Attributes of principals
 - principals are bilingual/monolingual
 - principals are knowledgeable about DL
 - principals' ethnicity
- Instructional aides
- Partner teachers
 - partner teachers communicate
 - partner teachers coordinate
- Teacher turnover
- Teacher language fluency
- Teacher reflection
- Teacher efficacy
- Professional development
 - conference attendance
 - professional development for new teachers
- Teaching style
- Enrollment
 - attrition
 - balance of NES/NSS in the classroom
 - balance of NES/NSS in the school
 - contract (K-5 attendance)
 - late entries
 - needs of different types of students
 - neighborhood/charter issues
 - student ethnicity
 - student's socioeconomic status

Less common populations

L3 students

military

Native American students

SIFE

Who is the program for? (ELLs or NES)

Outcomes

cross-cultural friendships

cross-linguistic friendships

degree to which students use Spanish

student understanding of the world/other cultures

students like school/DL

students use Spanish outside of school

test scores in English

test scores in Spanish

Concepts

equity

fairness

high expectations

implicit

inequity

injustice

like a family

no excuses

respect

same

unequal

Context

demographics of the community

experience level of teachers

history of program

language use in the community

other DL programs nearby

speaker's background experience or history

speaker's professional experience

things outside our control

wealth/poverty in the community

Codebook for Interview 2, Organized Alphabetically

A clear model of languages by subjects is articulated across grades
A variety of students have an opportunity to contribute to discussion
Academic and social language are developed through rich activities and higher-level thinking
Activities have strong listening and speaking components
All staff embrace the program
All subjects are taught in both languages over the course of the program
All teachers are bilingual
Announcements over the PA including the Pledge are in both languages
Art projects use techniques from other countries
Assessment in Spanish
Authentic Spanish texts are available in classroom or school libraries
Authentic Spanish texts are used in instruction
Bilingual books in non-target languages are available
Bilingualism and culture are important in the school culture and atmosphere
Books about different ethnicities are written by people from that culture
Books are rich in content, full of images
Books come from or talk about different countries
Both homogenous and heterogeneous groups are used
Both languages are used for both cognitively challenging and less challenging lessons
Both Spanish speakers and English speakers are praised for using L1
Bulletin boards on content subjects reflect the appropriate language of instruction
Can't tell who used to be an ELL
Celebrating Hispanic traditions/holidays
Changing/alternating groups occasionally
Characters in books encounter conflicts related to race or economics
Classroom instruction includes discussion of Hispanic culture
Classroom materials are in the appropriate language
Content is not retaught in the second language
Cultural artifacts are present throughout the classroom
Cultural celebrations are representative of both groups
Desks are in groups or sets instead of rows
Directions for homework are translated so that parents can help
Dual language and non-dual language students are honored equally at the school level
English is not always used first with Spanish in translation
Environmental print in the school and classroom is in both languages
Equal amounts of time are devoted to each language
Equity is a central theme that teachers talk about amongst themselves
Even divide in academic subjects in both languages

Extracurricular activities are in two languages
 Extracurricular activities are related to the minority language or culture
 Flyers and information are sent home to parents in both languages
 Formative assessment is used to change groups
 Having a balance of group work and teacher-fronted work in both languages
 Historical events are taught through multiple perspectives
 Homework help is available in both languages
 Homework is not translated
 Importance of English test scores
 Interpretation is available for parent meetings
 Kids are able to talk about language
 Kids know what target language they're supposed to be speaking based on the subject
 Language arts is provided or supported in both languages
 Language classes are offered after school to dual-language or non-dual-language students, as appropriate
 Language classes are offered for parents
 Language diversity and language status are discussed
 Language is taken into consideration when grouping
 Languages are separated by instructional cues (devices)
 Languages are separated by room
 Linguistic and cultural equity are discussed
 Majority of the library materials are in Spanish
 Materials are available to do all parts of the curriculum in either language
 Materials do not promote stereotypes of ethnicities
 Materials draw on students' home experiences
 Materials encourage cross-cultural appreciation
 Materials in Spanish are available for use in common facilities such as the library or computer or media center
 Materials reflect other cultures, other than just Anglo-American history and the mainstream
 Materials reflect the student population or diversity in general
 Materials represent the cultural background of groups not represented in the class
 Mexican-American authors that use Spanglish are included
 Most of the materials that teachers use are ones that they created
 Multicultural materials are used
 Non-target LOTE are represented in the school
 Opportunities for kids to work with lots of different kids in flexible groups
 Parents and families are invited to share their culture
 Parents feel comfortable using their language
 Paying attention to where students are in the room and what direction they're facing

People who don't speak Spanish at least make some effort to learn a little bit or use some words or phrases
 Postings on the walls showing who's working with whom
 Promotional materials are in both languages
 Provide student groups with structures or roles
 Recognizing and praising students for using the target language
 Rules are consistent throughout the day
 School wide activities or assemblies are in both languages
 Schools provide recognition or incentives to students who speak other languages
 School-wide assemblies or programs represent all languages equally
 Separate languages by teacher
 Some or all office or non-teaching staff are bilingual
 Spanish dance and music groups are featured in assemblies
 Spanish is the language of use in the common areas
 Spanish is used as part of events as opposed to just being used for translation
 Specials are offered in both languages
 Staff foster an atmosphere of collaboration rather than competition
 Staff have high expectations for students from all groups
 Staff use Spanish when talking among themselves
 Strong instruction is provided in both languages
 Student writing is posted on the walls
 Students are asked to engage in higher-order thinking on multiple perspectives
 Students are clear on what language they're supposed to be working in
 Students are grouped heterogeneously by language
 Students are proud to speak in their native language
 Students can get scholarships to participate in extracurricular activities
 Students celebrate holidays such as Chanukah, Cinco de Mayo and Kwanzaa
 Students develop strong competencies in both languages
 Students discuss and make connections and inferences to content
 Students do cooperative projects and problem solving
 Students do work that reflects their own interests
 Students don't self-segregate
 Students get help from each other
 Students have a chance to develop both social and academic language in both languages
 Students have a positive relationship with their teacher
 Students have equal time in language arts or literacy in each language
 Students have opportunities to talk and work in groups
 Students have opportunities to use or apply language in real-life situations
 Students have the opportunities to be both language models and language learners
 Students interact with kids not in the DL strand

Students know how to get help in their second language
 Students know that their Spanish achievement (grades) is taken seriously
 Students learn about holidays such as Chanukah, Cinco de Mayo, and Kwanzaa
 Students respect each other
 Students see themselves in the materials
 Students use the appropriate target language during instructional time
 Students use the appropriate target language when discussing academic content among themselves
 Students use the appropriate target language when talking among themselves, socially
 Students work and play together
 Target language is clear from the daily agenda
 Target language is clear from walking in the room
 Tasks encourage language use
 Teacher-made bulletin boards include both languages
 Teacher-produced materials reference things that kids are familiar with
 Teachers acknowledge that kids may have learned things different ways if they come from different backgrounds
 Teachers and students discuss issues of cultural bias, prejudice, and racism
 Teachers are aware of students' levels and aware of who the strong models are
 Teachers are faithful to the model
 Teachers are multiculturally competent
 Teachers are paying attention to both language use and to grammar and are not over-focusing on the grammar
 Teachers believe in dual language
 Teachers discipline and talk informally with students in the appropriate target language
 Teachers draw on community resources to support instruction
 Teachers draw on students' background knowledge to connect to new learning
 Teachers have high expectations for students to use the appropriate target language
 Teachers have high levels of proficiency in the language they're instructing in
 Teachers maintain the language of instruction and don't code-switch
 Teachers make connections to bridge from student or social language to academic language
 Teachers make cross-linguistic connections talking about words in the other language
 Teachers motivate students to speak the language of instruction
 Teachers pay attention to students' emotional and inter-personal needs
 Teachers pay attention to the reasons for disciplining kids, so you're not disciplining some groups more than others
 Teachers pay equal attention to white parents and parents from other groups
 Teachers plan how groups will be organized (not random)
 Teachers play or teach music from other countries

Teachers provide language stems or sentence frames to support language use
 Teachers remind students which language to use
 Teachers support target language use in groups through modeling and sentence frames
 Teachers talk about the nuance of meaning between different words
 Teachers teach content compatible language skills
 Teachers throughout the school are positive about Spanish and bilingualism
 Teachers using a variety of questioning strategies and wait time
 Test prep is in both languages
 The amount of written work in both languages is balanced
 The auto-telephone service is offered in two languages
 The culture represented in the classroom is at least equal and often privileges Spanish
 The degree to which students use the appropriate target language when discussing academic content among themselves
 The dual language program is promoted and celebrated in the school
 The physical layout of classrooms makes it conducive for teachers to talk to each other in their target languages
 The principal is bilingual
 The program model is honestly represented in terms of amount of time in each language
 The quality of printed materials in English and Spanish, such as the use of color and professional binding
 The school has a clear approach and philosophy
 The school has a language use policy
 The school menu is in two languages
 The school website is in both languages
 The target language is visible in the classroom
 The teacher does not have to frequently prompt students to use the appropriate target language
 The teacher is fluent at different levels of academic and social language
 The teacher speaks the target language even when a person that doesn't speak that comes into the room
 The teachers accept students' responses in the native language
 The teaching of language arts skills is articulated across grades
 The teaching staff is diverse
 The total number of minutes in English versus minutes in Spanish
 The use of flexible grouping
 The use of standardized formative assessment tools to form groups
 The use of teacher-developed formative assessment tools to form groups
 There are sufficient materials in both languages
 There is a balance of NES and NSS in each classroom
 Traditions/holidays of students not represented in the class

Use differentiated instruction

Valuing students home experiences and prior knowledge as part of the curriculum

Websites from other countries are used

Whether students ever are pulled out of the classroom for instruction

Which subjects are taught in which languages

Written translations for parents are high quality

Appendix D: Key Findings from Interview 2

The tables below include the most commonly cited types of evidence indicated by participants in Interview 2, in which they read six key points from the *Guiding Principles for Dual Language Education* and discussed what they would see in a strong or a weak classroom (see Chapter 3). Tables are organized by key point (listed in the order in which they are referenced in Chapter 5) and include the summary statement created for each type of evidence, the number of times each summary statement was cited by participants, the average weight given by those who rated that item on the 1-10 scale, and the number of participants who weighted each item. In some cases, the number of times cited by participants is higher than the number of times weighted if one or more participants did not assign a rating and in other cases, the number of times weighted is higher than the number of times cited by participants if the item was one that I proposed to participants for their consideration (rather than their bringing it up spontaneously).

Strand 2 (Curriculum); Principle 1, Key Point C: The curriculum promotes equal status of both languages.

Type of Evidence	No. of Times Cited by Participants	Average Weight (1-10)	No. of Times Weighted
Specials are offered in both languages	8	8.0	9
Language arts is provided or supported in both languages	4	10.0	3
Which subjects are taught in which languages	4	7.5	2
Even divide in academic subjects in both languages	3	10.0	3
Teachers are faithful to the model	3	10.0	3
The teaching of language arts skills is articulated across grades	3	9.8	2
Students have a chance to develop both social and academic language in both languages	3	9.7	3
Language diversity and language status are discussed	3	8.0	10
A clear model of languages by subjects is articulated across grades	2	10.0	1
All subjects are taught in both languages over the course of the program	2	10.0	2
Classroom materials are in the appropriate language	2	10.0	1
Spanish is the language of use in the common areas	2	10.0	1
Students use the appropriate target language when talking among themselves, socially	2	N/A	0
The total number of minutes in English versus minutes in Spanish	0	9.0	2

Strand 3 (Instruction); Principle 1, Key Point D: Instruction incorporates appropriate separation of languages according to program design.

Type of Evidence	No. of Times Cited by Participants	Average Weight (1-10)	No. of Times Weighted
Teachers maintain the language of instruction and don't code-switch	11	9.7	10
Students use the appropriate target language during instructional time	9	9.1	11
Teachers are faithful to the model	3	9.7	3
Teachers remind students which language to use	3	9.5	2
Students use the appropriate target language when talking among themselves, socially	3	8.3	7
A clear model of languages by subjects is articulated across grades	2	10.0	2
Languages are separated by instructional cues (devices)	2	10.0	2
Students have a chance to develop both social and academic language in both languages	2	10.0	1
Kids know what target language they're supposed to be speaking based on the subject	2	9.0	1
The teacher speaks the target language even when a person that doesn't speak that comes into the room	2	8.0	1
Separate languages by teacher	2	N/A	0
Specials are offered in both languages	2	N/A	0
Teachers discipline and talk informally with students in the appropriate target language	1	7.9	9
Teachers have high expectations for students to use the appropriate target language	0	10.0	2
The teacher does not have to frequently prompt students to use the appropriate target language	0	8.3	3

Strand 3 (Instruction); Principle 3, Key Point C: Student grouping maximizes opportunities for students to benefit from peer models.

Type of Evidence	No. of Times Cited by Participants	Average Weight (1-10)	No. of Times Weighted
Students have opportunities to talk and work in groups	8	9.5	8
Students are grouped heterogeneously by language	7	10.0	6
Both homogenous and heterogeneous groups are used	6	9.5	2
Students get help from each other	5	9.0	4
Desks are in groups or sets instead of rows	4	10.0	4
The use of flexible grouping	4	9.6	7
There is a balance of NES and NSS in each classroom	4	8.3	7
Language is taken into consideration when grouping	3	9.5	2
A variety of students have an opportunity to contribute to discussion	2	10.0	1
Teachers provide language stems or sentence frames to support language use	2	9.5	2
Teachers plan how groups will be organized (not random)	2	9.0	1
The use of standardized formative assessment tools to form groups	2	6.6	10
Opportunities for kids to work with lots of different kids in flexible groups	2	N/A	0
The use of teacher-developed formative assessment tools to form groups	0	8.9	7
Students use the appropriate target language when discussing academic content among themselves	0	8.6	10

Strand 3 (Instruction); Principle 4; Key Point A: There is cultural and linguistic equity in the classroom.

Type of Evidence	No. of Times Cited by Participants	Average Weight (1-10)	No. of Times Weighted
Teachers maintain the language of instruction and don't code-switch.	5	10.0	4
Multicultural materials are used.	4	9.8	4
Students celebrate holidays such as Chanukah, Cinco de Mayo and Kwanzaa.	4	7.3	7
A variety of students have an opportunity to contribute to discussion.	3	10.0	1
Parents and families are invited to share their culture.	3	10.0	1
Teachers are faithful to the model.	3	9.3	3
Linguistic and cultural equity are discussed.	3	8.3	3
Staff have high expectations for students from all groups.	2	10.0	1
Student writing is posted on the walls.	2	10.0	1
Students respect each other.	2	10.0	2
Teachers throughout the school are positive about Spanish and bilingualism.	2	10.0	7
The target language is visible in the classroom.	2	10.0	2
The teachers accept students' response in the native language.	2	10.0	2
Teachers pay attention to the reasons for disciplining kids, so you're not disciplining some groups more than others.	2	9.8	2
Cultural celebrations are representative of both groups.	2	9.0	2
Materials reflect the student population or diversity in general.	2	9.0	2
There is a balance of NES and NSS in each classroom.	2	8.8	4
Students use the appropriate target language during instructional time.	2	8.0	2
There are sufficient materials in both languages.	2	8.0	2
Environmental print in the school and classroom is in both languages.	2	7.5	2
Teachers draw on students' background knowledge to connect to new learning.	1	9.8	4
Teachers and students discuss issues of cultural bias, prejudice, and racism.	1	8.8	8

Strand 3 (Instruction); Principle 4; Key Point C: Instructional materials in both languages reflect the student population in the program and encourage cross-cultural appreciation.

Type of Evidence	No. of Times Cited by Participants	Average Weight (1-10)	No. of Times Weighted
Materials reflect the student population or diversity in general	7	9.5	6
Authentic Spanish texts are used in instruction	6	9.3	10
There are sufficient materials in both languages	6	9.0	5
Authentic Spanish texts are available in classroom or school libraries	4	9.6	10
Books come from or talk about different countries	4	9.3	4
Materials that encourage cross-cultural appreciation	3	8.8	8
Teachers play or teach music from other countries	2	9.0	2
Classroom materials are in the appropriate language	2	N/A	0
Multicultural materials are used	2	N/A	0
The quality of printed materials in English and Spanish, such as the use of color and professional binding	1	8.3	8

Strand 5 (Program Structure); Principle 2, Key Point E: Whether the dual language program is a whole-school program or a strand within a school, signs and daily routines (e.g., announcements) reflect bilingualism and multiculturalism.

Type of Evidence	No. of Times Cited by Participants	Average Weight (1-10)	No. of Times Weighted
Environmental print in the school and classroom is in both languages	13	9.6	12
Flyers and information are sent home to parents in both languages	10	10.0	11
School wide activities or assemblies are in both languages	10	8.2	9
Announcements over the PA including the Pledge are in both languages	7	9.6	12
Some or all office or non-teaching staff are bilingual	6	9.2	5
Interpretation is available for parent meetings	5	9.8	9
Extracurricular activities are in two languages	3	10.0	1
The auto-telephone service is offered in two languages	3	10.0	2
Materials in Spanish are available for use in common facilities such as the library or computer or media center	3	9.5	11
English is not always used first with Spanish in translation	3	8.3	9
Homework help is available in both languages	2	10.0	1
Teachers throughout the school are positive about Spanish and bilingualism	2	10.0	2
Students celebrate holidays such as Chanukah, Cinco de Mayo and Kwanzaa	2	9.0	5
The principal is bilingual	2	9.0	2
Written translations for parents are high quality	2	8.0	1
The teaching staff is diverse	2	N/A	0
Bilingualism and culture are important in the school culture and atmosphere	1	10.0	2

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