

Unspoken Dialogues Between Educational and Family Language Policies: Children as Language Policy Agents

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Boston College Lynch School of Education
Department of Teacher Education, Special Education,
and Curriculum and Instruction
Curriculum and Instruction Doctoral Program

UNSPOKEN DIALOGUES BETWEEN EDUCATIONAL AND FAMILY LANGUAGE
POLICIES: CHILDREN AS LANGUAGE POLICY AGENTS

Dissertation by
YALDA M. KAVEH

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Abstract

Unspoken Dialogues Between Educational and Family Language Policies: Children as Language Policy Agents

Yalda M. Kaveh

Dr. María Estela Brisk, Chair

Linguistic assimilation has been historically regarded as a cornerstone for nationalistic sentiments in the United States. Schools have been utilized as influential filtering sites where non-English languages are marginalized, and then assimilated into the dominant American English ways of languaging (Crawford, 1992; Flores, 2014; Heath, 1976; Nieto, 1999; Wiley & García, 2016). Drawing on theories of language policy (Spolsky, 2004) and governmentality (Foucault, 1991), this dissertation examined the links between family language policies and educational language policies at two public elementary schools in the state of Massachusetts during its final year of enforcing an English-only educational policy (Chapter 71A of Massachusetts General Laws). The participants were four fourth grade children, four parents, and eight school staff at two public elementary schools in two different districts (one urban and one suburban). The families spoke Cape Verdean Creole, Mandarin, Portuguese, and Spanish as their heritage languages. The study was designed as a qualitative multiple case study to conduct a multi-sited analysis of language policy. The data for the case studies were collected through surveys of parents, language logs filled by the children, interviews with the children, the parents, and the school staff, as well as weeklong school observations of each child. The units of analysis were family and school as two main language policy contexts the children regularly navigated.

Qualitative thematic analysis was used to analyze the data (Braun & Clarke, 2006). The findings indicated that although the families and the schools seemed to appreciate bilingualism, they were still strongly influenced by the historical monoglossic ideologies of the society that convinced them to eventually conform to English in the name of ensuring success for the children. These ideologies were communicated between schools and families as “unspoken dialogues” through children who navigated language policies in both contexts. The findings highlight implications for teacher preparation, curriculum development, language policy research on schools and families, and educational language policies that impact children of immigrants.

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Chapter 1

Introduction

The linguistic repertoire of the United States largely, and continually, represents the English language, despite housing the largest population of international migrants who comprise 19% of the world's total population (United Nations, 2016). The second and third generations of immigrants in this country share a prevalent commonality: English language dominance, and very often English monolingualism, at the expense of loss of their heritage languages (Fishman, 1991; Krogstad, Stepler, & Lopez, 2015; Veltman, 1983). The U.S. Census Bureau (2015) estimates that about 79% of the U.S. population over the age of five speaks only English at home. English has been the only language largely, and continually, supported by policy makers and the mainstream U.S. society as a building block for a more united country (Crawford, 1992; Flores, 2014; Heath, 1976; Portes & Hao, 1998). Multilingualism among immigrants has been historically regarded as a sign of “divided loyalties” and their “linguistic assimilation” perceived as a building block for a united country. Consequently, English is the only language that has been widely supported by policy makers, educators, and the mainstream society throughout the years (Baron, 1992; Crawford, 1992; Fishman, 1991; Portes & Rumbaut, 1996; Wiley & García, 2016).

This viewpoint is in sharp contrast to what many years of research on bilingualism has continuously proven. At the individual level, the literature on bilingual development indicates numerous cognitive, academic, linguistic, social, and economic benefits for bilingualism (August & Shanahan 2006; Bialystok, 2001; Brisk, 2008; Brisk, Burgos & Hamerla, 2004; Collier, 1995; Cummins, 1980). These researchers claim that bilingualism increases metalinguistic awareness and positively affects the ability to learn additional languages later in life. Additionally,

bilinguals have been found to be more cognitively flexible and better capable of handling multitasking (Cummins, 1979). Besides being an advantage to individuals, bilingualism helps nations in international commerce and business, and societies in sociocultural integration (Brisk, 2008). Even if not intended by these researchers, the above-mentioned benefits speak to the “additive” advantages of bilingualism that are contingent upon acquisition of the standardized societal language, English in the case of the United States (García, 2009). In other words, proficiency in a non-English language is only considered of value for bilinguals and the society if it is “added on” to their knowledge of standardized English, and not the other way around. An essential advantage of heritage language maintenance and bilingualism, which is much less frequently discussed, is that it strengthens the unity of children of immigrants with their family and community. In immigrant households, children’s heritage language proficiency helps form stronger ties with family members and their heritage language communities (Baer & Schmitz, 2007; Brisk et al., 2004; Wong-Fillmore, 1991).

Background and Context

The historical national orientations toward language diversity in the United States resemble a pendulum. Those with power over the federal language policies of this country have moved back and forth between fearing non-English languages and welcoming them (allegedly at least), and moving back to fearing them (García, Kleifgen, & Falchi, 2008). In this section I will provide a very brief timeline of some of the most significant shifts in language policies in the United States since its independence from Great Britain. Following that, I will discuss the role of immigrant populations in developing and supporting some of these policies.

The 18th and 19th Centuries

The fear of foreign languages and cultures started from the beginning of the formation of the new nation, in the 1750s, when Benjamin Franklin voiced his fears about the unity of German immigrants in Pennsylvania. From the early ages, the men in power of this nation were divided over supporting language choice versus standardization of language for the newborn nation. Politicians such as John Adams proposed refinement and extension of the English language as a tool for extending the influence of the U.S. around the world. For them, language was far beyond a simple means for communication, but rather a representation of power of the government: “It is not to be disputed that the form of government has an influence upon language, and language in its turn influences not only the form of the government, but the temper, the sentiments, and manners of the people” (Adams, 1780; as cited in Crawford, 1992, p.31).

After the Revolution, however, strive for standardization and extension of a national language as a means for assertion of power was amplified, because the leaders feared that the use of English would ensure continued dominance of the British on the newly independent nation. Therefore, those with a hand in language and policy, most significantly Noah Webster, proposed establishing the “American language” or “Federal English”, which would be different from the British English in spelling and pronunciation. Consequently, Webster suggested opening the “Grammatical Institute of English Language”. He believed the only way a national language could be effectively established was through schooling: “Nothing but the establishment of schools and some uniformity in the use of books, can annihilate differences in speaking and preserve the purity of the American tongue” (Webster, 1789, p.19). However, despite these attempts at standardization, many politicians, intellectuals, and the nation at large still valued

language choice and considered establishment of a language academy too monarchical up until the beginning of the 20th century (Heath, 1976). Therefore, they agreed on a less forceful language management approach for establishing an American language through Noah Webster's subsequent efforts for building an American English dictionary. Although less forceful, this strategy was very much a "deliberate choice of a policy not to have a policy" (Heath, 1976, p.10). Languages have always been "managed", whether through over/explicit or covert/implicit policies (Schiffman, 1996; Shohamy, 2006; Spolsky, 2004, 2009).

Yet, there were also early leaders such as Thomas Jefferson who supported the recognition and promotion of non-English European languages, although not the Indigenous languages (Heath, 1976). In the late 18th century and early 19th century, concurrent with the arrival of many refugees from the French Revolution, many churches offered services in non-English languages such as French and German. Several of the early leaders considered non-English languages in favor of local and national interests. For instance, Benjamin Rush, expressed concerns about "narrow-minded people" who wanted to eliminate German languages in Pennsylvania, as he believed modern languages such as German had great benefits for the new nation (Heath, 1976). However, this does not suggest that these early leaders opposed the dominance of English. English was the dominant language of instruction in the 19th century, with or without the official language designation. Non-English European languages were mostly allowed in local communities. Therefore, with a few localized exceptions, the policies toward European languages were "tolerance-oriented" (See Wiley, 2013 for "policy orientations with implications for educational language rights"). In addition to their difference of opinion about the importance of European languages, these "tolerance oriented" leaders also had a different view of the way English should be imposed:

If a national government should legally pressure groups to abandon their native languages, the repression of these tongues and separate unities could provoke resistance. Instead, if leaders recognized the potential of the use of plural languages to spread the ideas of the new government, the citizens would become capable of helping legitimate the new government. Recognizing that forces which cause one to change his language or add to it must be internally motivated initially leaders reasoned that linguistic minorities would not become separate and distinct peoples within the nation, so long as no legal force proscribed the use of their languages. Moreover, wider use of the majority language would come without coercion. (Heath, 1976, pp14-15)

Schooling was one of the means through which the so-called “internal motivation” was applied, widely, and significantly, although without overt coercion. I will further unpack this internal, self-governing approach towards language planning in the section on theoretical frameworks.

The 20th Century

The fight for Americanization increased more significantly by the turn of the 20th century with the establishment of the missionary schools for Indigenous peoples. Between 1879 and 1902, the government built 25 boarding schools with 9,736 Indigenous students enrolled (Crawford, 1992). Once again, the proposed solution for assimilation was schooling:

If there were a sufficient number of reservation boarding-school-buildings to accommodate all the Indian children of school age, and these buildings could be filled and kept with Indian pupils, the Indian problem would be solved within the school age of the Indian child now six years old. (Oberly, 1885, p.cxiii; as cited in Crawford, 1992, p.43)

The movements during those years, known as the “Prepared Period”, were driven by a mixed feeling of love for Americanization and a fear of “the other”. However, those mixed feelings were soon replaced by an absolute fear and a dream of “100 Percent Americanism” by the beginning of World War I. Previous strategies used for assimilation of foreigners such as spying on them were also transformed into a mission for annihilation of any traces of foreign impact on the American ways. Some of the pivotal signs of this period were Henry Ford’s Compulsory English School, Naturalization Act of 1906 that required immigrants to speak English before becoming naturalized U.S. citizens, and a ruling in 1919 in fifteen states to use English as the only language of instruction in all primary public and private schools (Crawford, 1992; Gándara et al., 2010). Therefore, the schools adopted a “sink or swim” approach towards language education, which placed the onus on immigrants to adapt to the English-only instruction if they intended to survive in this country (Gándara et al., 2010).

These changes were concurrent with Theodore Roosevelt’s historic wartime notes on patriotism and a call for unity:

We must have but one flag. We must also have but one language. That must be the language of the Declaration of Independence, of Washington's Farewell Address, of Lincoln's Gettysburg Speech and Second Inaugural. We cannot tolerate any attempt to oppose or supplant the language and culture that has come down to us from the builders of this republic with the language and culture of any European country. The greatness of this nation depends on the swift assimilation of the aliens she welcomes to her shores. Any force which attempts to retard that assimilative process is a force hostile to the highest interests of our country. It is a force, which, if allowed to develop, will, for the benefit of this group or that, undermine our national institutions. (Roosevelt, 1917: The

Children of the Crucible; reprinted in Annals of America, 1916-1928)

Not long after this period, these efforts for assimilation of immigrants proved to be futile.

Therefore, the assimilationist movements reverted to a former strategy of keeping aliens out of the country altogether.

In 1923, the fight for legislation of English-only policies was once again revitalized by Representative Washington J McCormick of Montana's proposition of a bill to make "American" the official tongue. Although the bill failed, the rhetoric was picked up by similar legislative attempts. However, all but one of those attempts, spearheaded by Frank Ryan of Illinois, led to failure. Similar to the ones preceding them, all of these assimilative efforts disappeared yet again by the end of World War II in 1945.

After the war, a wave of endeavors for an equitable education system appeared for a limited period of time through federal court cases and legislations such as *Brown v. Board of Education* (1954), Title VI of the Civil Rights Act (1964), Title VII of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (Bilingual Education Act) (1968), Massachusetts Transitional Bilingual Education Bill (Chapter 71A, 1971), *Lau vs. Nichols* (January, 1974), and Equal Educational Opportunities Act (EEOA) (August, 1974), to name a few. For instance, the federal Bilingual Education Act (BAE) of (1968) and *Lau vs. Nichols* of (1974) obligated schools to accommodate the needs of emergent bilingual children and provided flexibility to school districts to choose from several language program models (including transitional bilingual education) that best fit the needs of their students (Gándara et al., 2010; Wiley, 2013). Some of the aforementioned initiatives were driven by parents and community activists. Additionally, all the initiatives tried to fight for equality and disaggregated access to quality education regardless of race, skin color, national origin, or language. However, there have been debates over the

authenticity or effectiveness of some of these reforms in achieving a truly equitable education system (See Bell, 1980 and Guinier, 2004 for debates on Brown v. Board of Education; Also see Wiley, 2013 for “expediency-oriented” nature of Lau remedies).

In less than a decade, English-only movements were once again in existence. In 1981, Senator Hayakawa of California introduced the first constitutional amendment to make English the official language of the nation (S. 2222, 1981-1982). In his speech, Senator Hayakawa said:

Mr. President, the United States, a land of immigrants from every corner of the world, has been strengthened and unified because its newcomers have historically chosen ultimately to forgo their native language for the English language. We have all benefited from the sharing of ideas, of cultures and beliefs, made possible by a common language.

We have all enriched each other. (Sen. S.I. Hayakawa, August 13, 1982)

Although this measure was passed by the Senate, it did not go any further. It is worth mentioning that Senator Hayakawa was a Canadian-American, who was a child of Japanese immigrants. He held a PhD in English language and literature and taught at multiple U.S. universities. Besides fighting for this measure, he founded an institute called “U.S. English” in 1983, which has continuously been involved in advocacy for legislation of official English language over the years.

Since then, several English Language Amendments of the same nature have been introduced to the U.S. Congress, none of which have come to a Congressional vote. The most recent of these bills were “H.R. 997 - The English Language Unity Act of 2015” and “S.678 - The English Language Unity Act of 2015”. The only bill that managed to surpass introduction and was passed by the House of Representatives was H.R. 123, “The Bill Emerson English Language Empowerment Act of 1996.” The bill sought legislation of English as the official

language of the U.S. government and was passed in the House with a bipartisan vote of 259-169. However, it was re-introduced in House in about a decade on January 6, 2015 with no action going forward.

Back to the 20th century, in 1992 an important class action lawsuit, *Flores v. Arizona*, was initiated by a 4th grade emergent bilingual, Miriam Flores, who sued the district and the state of Arizona for failing to provide her with an appropriate education mandated by the Equal Education Opportunities Act of 1974 (Rios-Aguilar & Gándara 2012; Lillie, 2016; Martínez-Wenzl, Pérez, & Gándara, 2012). As a result, the state required that the English language programs for emergent bilinguals must be better defined and be funded more appropriately. However, this ruling did not specify the type of programs that should be provided to the students (English-only, TBE, bilingual education, etc.) (Lillie, 2016).

Around the same time, a series of initiatives were taking similar arguments to a slightly different direction, and a much more extreme level, by redefining bilingual education as an act of civil rights violation, despite it being established as a civil rights issue earlier that century. These movements started by pro-English immersion (i.e. anti-bilingual education) activists such as Linda Chavez in New Mexico (foundation of Center for Equal Opportunity) in 1995 and Ron Unz in California (Proposition 227, 1998) who claimed to strive for equal access to English education for children of immigrants. The Unz Initiative, “English Language in Public Schools Statute”, or as the supporters called it “English for Children”, was the one that gained the most momentum and was later pursued in three other states (Arizona, Colorado, and Massachusetts). The initiative claimed that children of immigrants, and more specifically Spanish speakers, were lagging behind academic success and full English language proficiency due to their participation in bilingual programs. The initiative proposed that:

Children who are English learners shall be educated through sheltered English immersion during a temporary transition period not normally intended to exceed one year. Local schools shall be permitted to place in the same classroom English learners of different ages but whose degree of English proficiency is similar. Local schools shall be encouraged to mix together in the same classroom English learners from different native-language groups but with the same degree of English fluency. Once English learners have acquired a good working knowledge of English, they shall be transferred to English language mainstream classrooms. (Section 305, Article 2, Proposition 227)

The ballot was approved with a majority of 61% on June 2, 1998.

The 21st Century

The 21st century started with further attempts to continue Unz initiatives in Arizona (Proposition 203, 2000) approved with 63% of votes in favor, Massachusetts (Question 2, 2002) passed with 68% of votes in favor, and Colorado (Amendment 31, 2002) defeated by 43.8% of votes in favor. These state-level anti-bilingual campaigns were coincided by legislation of the federal act of No Child Left Behind (NCLB) signed by President George W. Bush in early 2002. That legislation retracted Bilingual Education Act and promoted English-immersion practices with the purpose of greater achievement in English.

Lillie (2016) links Unz initiatives, and especially Proposition 203 of Arizona, to previous initiatives such as *Flores v. Arizona* (1992) and Proposition 227 of California (1998) in order to explain how the English-only ideologies inherent in these new propositions came to existence. English-only laws in Arizona and Massachusetts followed very similar logics and provisions to their counterpart in California, but they made a few revisions in some cases. Most significantly, Arizona, “the most restrictive of the three states that have adopted restrictive language policies”,

exclusively mandated SEI (Sheltered English Immersion) instruction, although the law permit bilingual instruction under specific conditions (Martínez-Wenzl, Pérez, & Gándara, 2010, p.5). Additionally, the Arizona legislature passed HB 2064, which made provisions of Proposition 203 more specific, created an English language learner task force to develop research-based immersion programs for use by school districts and charter schools, and mandated “a minimum of four hours per day of English language development” for English language learners (HOUSE BILL 2064, 2006, p.7). Similarly, the Massachusetts ballot measure banned the earliest mandate for Transitional Bilingual Education (TBE) in the nation and mandated that all children in Massachusetts public schools be taught exclusively in English and emergent bilinguals be placed in SEI classrooms and later transferred to mainstream English-mediated classrooms.

The striking fact is the non-scientific basis for all these bills and the programs created as a result of them. As pointed out by an extensive review of the literature and policy documents by Jimenez-Silva, Gomez, and Cisneros (2014), “prolonged daily segregation and grouping of students by language proficiency that does not align with research in the field of second language acquisition or cognitive infrastructure theories associated with the development of second language learners” (p.185). The researchers argue that segregation of emergent bilinguals for the majority of the school day in English language classes is not only unsupported by scientifically based research, but it also risks their learning of academic content as well as cognitively rich instruction (August, Goldenberg, & Rueda, 2010; Jimenez-Silva et al., 2014; Krashen, Rolstad, & MacSwan, 2007; Martinez-Wenzl et al., 2010). Yet, the disregard for research on linguistic development is to be expected given that these initiatives were not entirely about language. As Lillie (2016) argues, “the entire premise behind the initiatives was more socially and politically geared” (p.410).

Despite the strong evidence from research against the SEI model, later in June 2009, the U.S. Supreme Court announced a decision favoring SEI on the *Horne v. Flores*, a case that was initiated in 1992 in Arizona and remained active for 17 years. While acknowledging the state's negligence of federal court orders to allocate additional funding for English language programs (Martínez-Wenzl et al., 2012), the Supreme Court concluded that: "Research on ELL instruction indicates there is documented, academic support for the view that SEI is significantly more effective than bilingual education. Findings of the Arizona State Department of Education in 2004 strongly support this conclusion" (*Horne, Superintendent, Arizona Public Instruction v. Flores et al.*, 557 U.S. 433, 2009, p.21).

After almost two decades of passage of the English-only laws in Arizona, Massachusetts, and California, two of these states, California and Massachusetts, have taken initial steps to retract their restrictive English-only laws. California proposed a new initiative, proposition 58 (the LEARN Initiative), which was approved with 72.58% Yeses (6,759,091 votes) on November 8th, 2016. The bill allows public schools to continue to assure that children obtain English language proficiency, while requiring school districts to solicit parent or community input in developing language programs. In addition, the new policy authorizes school districts to establish dual immersion programs for speakers of English or non-English languages. Similarly, the state of Massachusetts officially legislated the LOOK bill (Language Opportunities for Our Kids) on November 22, 2017, which will provide flexibility to school districts to offer bilingual programs without the waiver mandated by the current law. This will allow the schools and parents to choose the language program that best serve the needs of the children. However, the schools reserve the right to keep the former English-only model as they see fit for their student population. The new bill also helps establish a State Seal of Biliteracy that will be awarded to

children who are bilingual and biliterate in English and a non-English language.

Problem Statement

This very brief, selective, and by no means comprehensive, review of significant language policies in the United States and the orientations toward non-English languages exemplifies a historical pendulum and an ingrained desire for officializing the power of the English language that codifies its historical dominance. Although standardized English has historically marginalized non-dominant languages in the U.S., on the mainland and its colonized territories, the marginalization has varied for different language backgrounds. Some language groups such as African Americans were more significantly restricted, segregated, and humiliated (Wiley, 2013). In public schools, literacy and education was outlawed and punishable for Indigenous peoples and African Americans (Weinberg, 1977). Despite this historical marginalization, some linguistically marginalized groups have resisted the assimilative forces and insisted on their right to literacy, although in small scale and isolation (Fishman, 2001; Flores, 2013c, 2016). However, as Flores (2013c, 2016) argues, some of these efforts ultimately did not lead to change, or occasionally contributed to the monoglossic and White hegemonic power relations in the U.S. society. Restrictive Language policies have hardly ever been only about language. Language policies are proxies for institutionalizing other forms of discrimination, often related to race and ethnicity (Flores, 2013b; Flores & Rosa, 2015; Leibowitz, 1969, 1974; Wiley, 2013).

The timeline provided in the previous section also signifies an important point about the role of immigrant communities in language planning. Several of the English-only language policies mentioned were either driven by children of immigrants (e.g. Senator Hayakawa, Ron Unz) and/or attained their success by mobilizing immigrant parents' sentiments (Orellana, Ek, &

Hernandez, 1999). English-only policies have often claimed their legitimacy by stating that they intend to fulfill parents' wishes. For instance, a section of the ballot measure in Massachusetts (Question 2 of 2002) claims that: "(b) Immigrant parents are eager to have their children become fluent and literate in English, thereby allowing them to fully participate in the American Dream of economic and social advancement" (Massachusetts General Laws, Ch. 71A, Section 1).

Although immigrants' support for English-only policies might seem counterintuitive at first, research on language use in immigrant families proves it to be a common, and expected, phenomenon. Immigrant families develop their language beliefs based on their perceptions of social structures and what they believe will best serve their family's standing in the society (Curd-Christiansen, 2009). In other words, the sociopolitical and economic status of immigrant families drive the way they perceive, value, and use languages (Curd-Christiansen, 2009; Canagarajah, 2008; Spolsky, 2004). If immigrant parents have experienced stress, frustration, alienation, and discrimination themselves, they would often want their children to avoid suffering similar challenges and to blend in the larger society as efficiently as possible. One of the ways to do so is through mastery of the majority language.

Being aware of these beliefs among immigrant communities in the U.S., Unz presented his campaigns as "pro-immigrant" and attempted to stay away from the traditional English-only and Nativists approaches, which mainly focused on the threats from the racial "other" and particularly entailed an anti-Latino agenda. Instead, Unz initiatives largely attacked bilingual education programs and their failure in helping children of immigrants attaining academic success. This strategy worked for immigrant populations and also among liberal, moderate, and conservative voters who had been already skeptical of bilingual education, especially in California (Crawford, 2007).

Opponents of Unz initiatives tried to appropriate the same strategy and highlight the flaws in the initiatives, rather than defending bilingual education. However, only in one state, Colorado, they managed to succeed. Language policy experts attribute this success to many factors including the organized and board-based nature of the campaign in Colorado, a remarkable donation from a billionaire, access to airing advertisements in a single media state, and the libertarian nature of Colorado (Crawford, 2007; Escamilla, Shannon, Carlos, & García, 2003). However, none of these strategies were exceptionally unique to Colorado and cannot be the only explanation for this unprecedented success. The success in this case cannot be attributed to a large group of immigrant voters either, because the largest immigrant population in the state at the time was the Latinx who only comprised 10% of the voters. Crawford (2007) argues that the defeat of Unz initiative in Colorado (Amendment 31) was due to a break in Anglo's voting habit. Besides the strategies mentioned above, the activists in opposition to Amendment 31 took an approach that was rather unorthodox and largely problematic, yet might have possibly led to this unprecedented success: "if you can't beat racism, then exploit it". Steve Welchert and John Britz, two political consultants leading a Public Relations company located in Denver were the political consultants behind this strategy. According to an interview with them published in a local newspaper, they asked the Latinx voters, "Do you want to win, ... or do you want to be right?" (Mitchell, 2002). Welchert and Britz were convinced that the key to winning a largely Anglo electorate was to appeal directly to their self-interest. Accordingly, they aired a TV advertisement labeled "Chaos in Classroom" depicting that placing children who barely spoke English in the same class as the native English speakers would create chaos and impede the Anglo children's learning. In other words, the advertisement attempted to promote that saving bilingual education could guarantee continued segregation and would keep chaos away from

White English monolingual children, whose parents made the majority of the electorate (Crawford, 2007).

The strategies used by pro- and anti-bilingual education campaigns prove the power of “raciolinguistic ideologies” in the U.S. society that position speakers of languages based on how they are heard by the White listening subjects, rather than what they actually do with language (Flores & Rosa, 2015). Additionally, these strategies show that the implicit messages immigrant families receive from the society are that speaking a heritage language (HL) cannot provide equitable access to opportunities for education and social mobility. Immigrant parents including those who voted for English-only education policies in California, Massachusetts, and Arizona, as well as those who agreed with the racist slogan for the bilingual education campaign in Colorado, use their language decisions as “a coping mechanism” to comply with their desired goal for success of their family in a non-HL dominated society (Tanenbaum, 2012). Although immigrant families might be able to maintain their heritage languages over generations with diligent support and strong commitment (De Houwer, 2007; Fishman, 1991; Hakuta & D'Andrea, 1992; Kim Park, 2007), the powerful conforming forces of English-speaking society make the sustenance of this commitment very challenging, if not impossible (Nesteruk, 2010; Park Tsai, Liu & Lau, 2012). Supporting heritage language maintenance and bilingualism has been documented to be even more challenging as the children of immigrant parents start to participate in early childhood education settings (Wong-Fillmore, 1991; Hammer, Miccio, & Wagstaff, 2003; Hammer, Lawrence, & Miccio, 2008). With time, many parents surrender to the assimilative forces of English-speaking society and settle for lower HL proficiency in their children than they had originally desired (Nesteruk, 2010).

Children often feel a similar drive for linguistic assimilation as they enter the English-

speaking society, most commonly with starting daycare or formal schooling. Upon entering the monolingual English school system, children who do not speak English fluently realize that the biggest obstacle preventing them from easy participation in the new world is language.

Therefore, they come to regard their differences from their peers as undesirable, and are motivated to stop using their heritage language(s) long before mastering the societal language (Wong-Fillmore, 1991; Tannenbaum, 2003, 2012). Accordingly, children appropriate the prevailing English-dominant ideologies and the way it positions their heritage languages and come to regard their languages as a problem and English as the only vehicle for socioeconomic and educational advancement (Johnson & Johnson, 2015). In contrast, when bilingual children are placed in schools where multiple languages are valued, they are more likely to have a positive view of their bilingualism.

Federal and state educational policies favoring English monolingualism add to the level of pressure bilingual children face at school. The English-dominant U.S. education system has historically tabooed use of non-English languages, and prioritized English for learning and successful performance on assessments (Wiley & García, 2016). In contrast, multilingual language policies and bilingual schools that reject national assimilative discourses have shown to create local discourses that validate linguistic and cultural diversity (Johnson & Johnson, 2015). However, policies can move both top-down (from government to schools and families) and bottom-up (from families and schools to government) and are generated at all societal levels (Johnson & Johnson, 2015). Although educational policies are often studied in terms of their impact on decisions made by district managers, principals, classroom teachers, children, and parents, it is rarely acknowledged that they were originally put in place and can eventually be changed by the agency of those same members of the society.

As Menken and García (2010) point out, “Policy implementation process is defined by its dynamism; ultimately, a language education policy is as dynamic as the many individuals involved in its creation and implementation” (p.1). Although examining language policy as a top-down process is more conventional, it takes the focus away from the agency of individuals at micro levels, such as schools, classrooms, and families. Family language policy is an essential part of this dynamic cycle of language policy and planning. However, it is often excluded from educational language policy research or it is studied in isolation in the “family language policy” field.

Language Policy as a Field of Study

The field of language policy was originally known as “language planning”, which was defined by Haugen in 1959 as,

The activity of preparing a normative orthography, grammar, and dictionary for the guidance of writers and speakers in a non-homogeneous speech community... Planning implies an attempt to guide the development of a language in a direction desired by the planners. It means not only predicting the future on the basis of available knowledge concerning the past, but a deliberate effort to influence it. (Haugen, 1959, p.8)

Haugen’s definition of language planning transcended descriptive linguistics and focused on the exercise of choice of the linguistic forms, directed by planners. As Johnson (2013) points out, this branch of language planning later became known as “corpus planning”. In 1969, Heinz Kloss took language planning to the next level by defining “status planning” through which the statesmen determine which language would be the official language used in the society, at the schools, etc. In contrast to corpus planning, status planning can be done by statesmen or bureaucrats without the need to consult linguists and writers (Kloss, 1969). Kloss further

explained that language status planning will eventually lead to “organic assimilation” in which “language minorities” will give up their languages either eagerly or out of no choice because of the small size of their speech communities.

Critical Language Policy (CLP).

As evident, the work in the field of language planning was not very critical or conscious of the issues of power at the beginning. It was not until the 1980s that the sociolinguists started looking critically at the notions of power and language equality in language planning. Some began questioning the concept of language itself as a discrete entity functioning within the boundaries of traditional grammar. Therefore, they challenged concepts such as “native speaker” and “mother tongue” that define native language proficiency as a birthright that would be unattainable for those who learn it later in life (See Ricento, 2006 for a review).

Critical language policy (CLP) was a notion proposed by Tollefson (1991). Yet, I concur with Johnson (2013) that the critical approach to language planning was initiated in the Richard Ruiz’s (1984) seminal piece on “Orientations in Language Planning”. Ruiz unpacked, and problematized, the orientations reflected in the existing language planning paradigms. He defined orientation as “a complex of dispositions toward language and its role, and toward languages and their role in the society” and considered it “basic to language planning” (p.16). According to Ruiz, orientations shape how we talk about languages and language issues, the questions we ask, the data we collect, and the way we interpret those data to answer our questions. He proposed three orientations in language planning:

- 1) Language-as-problem: focused on identification and resolution of language problems
- 2) Language-as-right: concerned with human rights, protection of minoritized groups, and language-identification as a legal entitlement and a natural endowment.

3) Language-as-resource: view multilingualism as a resource to the larger society as well as the language communities.

Ruiz considered language-as-resource as the best of the three orientations, although he acknowledged its problems: “The irony of this situation is that language communities have become valuable to the larger society in precisely that skill which the school has worked so hard to eradicate in them!” (p.26). Bilingual skills became valuable because they proved to benefit the White English-dominant groups, not the non-English speaking communities of color. In other words, “Language-as-resource” orientation perpetuates an “additive view” of bilingualism that prioritizes proficiency in standardized American English over non-English languages (García, 2009). Therefore, in contrast to Ruiz, I regard “language-as-right” as the most progressive of the three orientations.

Critical language policy is largely influenced by critical theory and is grounded in the belief that “policies often create and sustain various form of social inequality, and that policy-makers usually promote the interests of dominant social groups” (Tollefson, 2006, p.42). Accordingly, studies following critical language policy challenge unequal distribution of power in relation to language, and ultimately attempt to establish more just language policies and reduce inequalities. Therefore, CLP has been an influential framework that “has helped illuminate ideologies enmeshed in language policies, and presents a rich picture of language policy development as one aspect amongst many socio-political processes which may perpetuate social inequality” (Johnson & Ricento, 2013, p.13).

However, CLP was later criticized for being too deterministic in perpetuating the monolithic power of policies and undermining the agency of actors within systems (Ricento & Hornberger, 1996). In response, Hornberger and Johnson (2007, 2011) proposed “ethnography of

language policy” as a framework that looks at educational language policies across multiple levels in search of a balanced understating of the influence of legislations and the power of policy agents. Ethnography of language policy is slightly different than other ethnographic methods in the primary discipline from which it draws:

First, the object of study is not a culture or a people (or a speech community), but policy (albeit broadly defined, and certainly not restricted to written texts), and the goal is to account for how human agents engage with LPP processes. Second, the foundation of ethnography is long-term participant observation in a particular site or community but educational language policy often moves fast (making long-term anything problematic) and often there is not one “site” in which a language policy is created nor one “community” in which a language policy is penned. (Johnson & Johnson, 2015, p.228)

Language Policy in Education

In the field of education, language policy is referred to by a few terms. These terms include “language-in-education-policy”, which is concerned with decisions exclusively related to languages and their use in schools, and “language education policy” that focuses on decisions made at school beyond those that are explicitly aimed at languages (García & Menken, 2010). García and Menken (2010) also use the term, “language education policies” (note the plural form), to demonstrate the agency of educators as policy makers within education systems. Lastly, Johnson (2013) adopts the term “educational language policy” to refer to both official and unofficial policies that are created across multiple layers and institutional contexts, from national organizations to classrooms. According to Johnson (2013),

Educational language policies are interpreted, appropriated, and instantiated in potentially creative and unpredictable ways that rely on the implementational and ideological spaces unique to the classroom, school, and community. Such policies can, but don't necessarily, impact language education (i.e. the teaching of languages) as they can also impact the language used in classrooms (e.g. science, history, art). (p.54)

Several dichotomies for language policy have been proposed by researchers in the field of language policy and planning: official versus unofficial, explicit versus implicit, overt versus covert, and de jure versus de facto. Schiffman (1996) considers the over/covert dichotomy equivalent to implicit/explicit categorization. However, others believe that covert policies can connote hidden agendas that are concealed for subversive reasons (Shohamy, 2006). Johnson (2013) distinguishes de jure policies “that are based on laws” from “de facto” activities that are “what actually happens in reality or in practice” (p.11). These locally produced de facto policies might differ from what is explicitly stated, or intended, by official de jure policies.

Family Language Policy as a Field of Study

An essential, yet not sufficiently examined, part of educational language policy and planning cycle are policies that are created, appropriated, and practiced in families. Several definitions have been presented in the literature for family language policy. King and Fogle (2006) first defined family language policies as overt and explicit decisions about how language(s) are used and valued within family communications. However, in later work, King, Fogle, and Logan-Terry (2008) proposed a more inclusive definition of family language policy that entailed both language use and language choice between family members. The most recent and most comprehensive definition describes family language policy as an overview of “child language learning and use as functions of parental ideologies, decision-making and strategies

concerning languages and literacies, as well as the broader social and cultural context of family life” (King & Fogle, 2013, p.172). Studies conducted in the field of family language policy (FLP) are interdisciplinary in nature, as they link language policy and child language acquisition by drawing from anthropological, sociolinguistic, and psycholinguistic approaches to bi/multilingualism (King, Fogle, & Logan-Terry, 2008; Macalister & Mirvahedi, 2017; Schwartz 2010).

Purpose of the Study and Research Questions

This study attempts to examine the links between language policies in a group of immigrant families with children in fourth grade alongside educational language policies at two public elementary schools, one urban and another suburban, in the state of Massachusetts. School is chosen as an intermediary context of interest for two reasons: (1) it is the space where most children spend the majority of their time during the school year; and (2) more importantly, it is one of the first, and most influential, gateways to the society where language policies indicate whether a language is “good/acceptable” or “bad/unacceptable” for particular purposes, and consequently influences language preferences of young children (Ricento, 2006, p.21).

Instead of only focusing on the reflections of macro language policies (e.g. Massachusetts educational language policy) in language practices of schools and families, this dissertation examines the connections between school language policies and family language policies, in the context of sociohistorical language ideologies of the United States, including the state of Massachusetts. By doing so, this study aims to disrupt a top-down view of language policy implementation to focus on ideologies and “orientations” (Ruiz, 1984) reflected in language policies that are “created” by language policy agents in schools and families. Ultimately, the purpose is to present a comparative analysis of family language policies (as articulated by

children and parents) and school language policies (as practiced and articulated by school staff). In order to achieve this goal, the research questions for this study were generated in a bottom-up progression. Accordingly, the main research questions and sub-questions framing this study are:

1. What are family language policies of immigrant families in the two participating schools, as described by children and parents?
 - a. What are family language beliefs, as described by children and parents?
 - b. What are family language practices, as described by children and parents?
 - c. What are family language management approaches, as described by children and parents?
2. What are the educational language policies of these two schools regarding English and heritage languages?
 - a. What are language beliefs of school staff, as described by classroom teachers, ESL instructors, and principals?
 - b. How are English and heritage languages used in school and classroom instructions?
 - c. What are the written educational language policies of these two schools regarding English and heritage languages? What language management approaches are used for English and heritage languages in these two schools?
3. In what ways are language policies of the participating immigrant families in conversation with educational language policies?

Potential Study Significance

Researchers have conducted a considerable amount of research on the impact of educational language policies on districts, schools, and classroom practices, whereas the field of

family language policy has looked closely on language use in bilingual families. Researchers in the field of family language policy have acknowledged that families develop their language policies with regards to the societal ideologies and with attention to the success of their children in educational, professional, and personal spaces. However, as the review of the literature will suggest direct connections between educational and familial language policies, and specifically the role of children, have not been adequately represented in research. Classrooms are often considered as final sites of implementation of educational language policies, yet the cycle of language planning continues inside immigrant households and other settings. Therefore, it is time to extend the multileveled studies of educational language policy and planning to the context of family, with attention to children. The purpose of this dissertation is to expand the boundaries of educational language policy research beyond educational institutions and to represent the perspectives of immigrant parents and children more intentionally.

This study makes this extension by focusing largely on children, as language policy agents between schools and families. This also contributes largely to the field of family language policy that has mainly presented parents' viewpoints. By taking a more expanded approach to language policy analysis, this research will illuminate how members of immigrant families arrive at their family language policies, why they take certain language management approaches, how are their decisions in conversation with school language policies, and in what ways family language policies reflect the larger sociohistorical ideologies.

Definition of Key Terms

Several key terms and choice of words are important to be discussed before presenting a review of the literature on family language policy and educational language policy in relation to heritage language maintenance in children of immigrants:

Generational cohorts of immigrants: The following terms are used to describe generational cohorts of immigrants based on their age of arrival to a host country:

First-generation immigrant: A person who immigrates to another land in adulthood.

Second-generation immigrant: First native-born generation in a hosting country to which his/her family has immigrated (Rumbaut, 1997, 2004).

Heritage language: Participants' non-English languages are referred to as "heritage language(s)" in this study. Fishman (2001) uses "heritage languages" to refer to Indigenous heritage languages, colonial heritage languages, and immigrant heritage languages. In this study, I refer to "immigrant heritage languages" when I use "heritage language". I prefer "heritage language" to other commonly used terms such as "first language", "L1", "primary language", "mother tongue", and "home language", because not every non-English language spoken by children of immigrants is necessarily their first language or the language that their mother passed on to them. In addition, heritage languages might not be exclusively, or at all, spoken at home. In fact, restrictive terms such as "home language" create dichotomies such as home language versus school/societal language that further limit heritage language use to the borders of home context. I use the above-mentioned terms only when citing other researchers or the participants in this dissertation.

Heritage language maintenance: Heritage language maintenance can generally refer to use of a heritage language by new generations of immigrants. However, the term can broadly include attitudes towards heritage languages as well (Fishman, 1991). Fishman distinguishes between "intergenerational mother tongue transmission" and "language maintenance" (i.e. a post-transmission process, p. 113) and argues that language transmission makes language

maintenance possible, yet the foundation for future intergenerational language transmission will continually weaken without an effective post-transmission process (i.e. language maintenance).

Emergent bilingual: This dissertation uses the term “emergent bilingual” to refer to bilingual children who speak a non-English heritage language while developing English. I prefer this term to other commonly used terms in policy texts and the literature on bilingualism such as limited English proficient (LEP), English language learner (ELL), and English learner (EL). I agree with García, Kleifman and Falchi (2008) that those terms solely legitimize English and do not value, or even acknowledge, bilingual children’s heritage languages. Yet, I will mostly use “emergent bilingual” to refer to children who are at “emerging” levels of English language development (such as Arturo in this study), rather than using it as an umbrella term to refer to advanced bilinguals, who might/might not have the “ELL” designation. I also occasionally use EL/ELL when quoting a policy text or a participant.

Policy implementation: “A linear progression from some governing texts to its targets” (Johnson, 2011, p. 269). Policy implementation studies examine whether policy targets follow the mandates in order to evaluate the relative success of the policy.

Policy appropriation: “The creative ways that language policy agents put a policy into action” (Johnson, 2011, p.269).

Policy instantiation: Instantiation is the interface between the way a policy is enacted and the ways languages are used as a result. “In other words, the product of how language policies are appropriated on the ground level (e.g. in a classroom) can be determined through the actual instances of language use by individuals within a given policy context (e.g. amount of Spanish vs. English used by teachers and students)” (E. Johnson, 2012, p.58).

Educational language policy: Language policies used in or about educational settings.

These settings include the state, school districts, schools, and classrooms.

Child versus student: In this study, I refer to “young bilinguals” mainly as “children” rather than “students”. I make this choice to emphasize the role of “children” as they navigate the contexts of home and school. Occasionally, I also use “students” when quoting participants or other research studies, and when emphasizing children’s actions in their capacity as “students”.

Chapter 2

As this study intends to examine the links between educational language policies and family language policies, several areas of the literature are significant to review for framing the study. In this chapter, I first introduce the theoretical frameworks guiding the study. Secondly, I provide a review of the literature on family language policy and heritage language maintenance. I will then review the studies on implementation of state-level educational language policies in districts, schools, and classrooms. This will be followed by discussing studies on the impacts of educational language policy reforms on children. The chapter will conclude with a discussion of the current gaps in the literature and the contributions of this dissertation.

Theoretical Frameworks

This study follows two theoretical frameworks, one to define the concept of language policy within a language policy context (i.e. school and family) and the other to understand the agency and “self-governance” of individuals who create and negotiate language policies within and across different contexts while being situated in the larger sociohistorical context of the United States.

Language Policy (Spolsky, 2004)

Firstly, this study is guided by Spolsky’s (2004) model of language policy. Spolsky’s model is chosen because it is one of the few models that describes language policy as a multifaceted construct that can be defined by all members in a speech community at any societal level including national, state, district, school, and family levels. Spolsky (2004) proposes three components for the language policy of any speech community: (1) language practices and habitual use patterns; (2) beliefs and ideologies about language(s) held by members of the community; and (3) efforts to modify or influence the values and practices by any type of

language intervention, planning, or management. Spolsky builds this theory on Fishman's argument that language choice (i.e. the core of language policy) is best understood in the context of sociolinguistic domains (Fishman, Cooper, & Ma, 1971; as cited in Spolsky, 2004). Fishman defines domains as sociolinguistic contexts that are defined based on the location, the participants, and the topic. Additionally, Spolsky (2004) makes parallels between his model and Bourdieu's (1981) notion of linguistic habitus. Deriving from the social background, linguistic habitus is "an individual's language behavior as well as judgments about the value of languages and styles" (p.187), which according to Spolsky (2004), is not dissimilar to the notions of language belief, choice, and practice in his theory.

Building on those previous theories, Spolsky (2004) claims that although language policy of any social unit is mostly observable in language practices of its members, language policy can be analyzed more extensively with attention to language practices along with language beliefs and management. Spolsky, however, acknowledges that because language policy operates within a speech community, it functions in a complex ecological manner among a wide variety of linguistic and non-linguistic elements, variables, and factors. Therefore, he invites other researchers to look beyond his tripartite model to gain a full understanding of the dynamics of language use in a community. Spolsky adds that three main conditions influence language choice of a language speaker in any given condition: 1) the speaker's proficiency in a language 2) the desire to achieve an advantage by using his/her stronger language, and 3) the desire to achieve an advantage by accommodating the wishes of a given audience (See Figure 2.1). This language policy model has been applied to the context of family by Spolsky himself, and other researchers in the field of family language policy (King & Fogle, 2006b; 2013, Schwartz, 2008, 2010) to explain language use patterns in families.

This dissertation employs all three elements of Spolsky's (2004) model (language beliefs, practices, and management), as well as the three determiners of language choice (the speaker's proficiency, desire to achieve an advantage by using the stronger language, and the desire to achieve an advantage by accommodating the audience's wishes) when defining language policy in the participating families and schools. It is, however, expected that in some cases there might not be a consciously pre-determined language management, and language choices might simply be made based on beliefs and language proficiencies of the speakers (Spolsky, 2004).

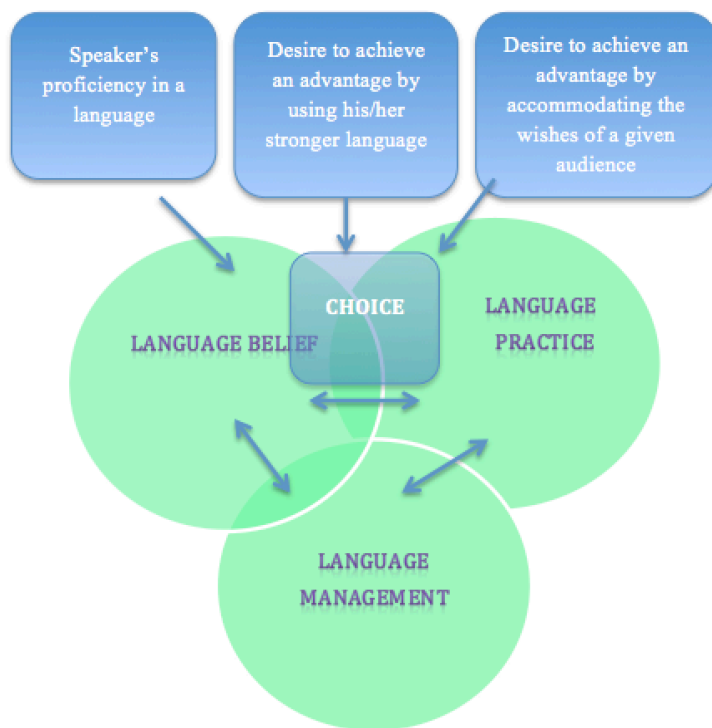


Figure 2.1 Spolsky (2004) Language policy model.

Governmentality (Foucault, 1991)

This dissertation uses Michel Foucault's notion of "governmentality" as its secondary theoretical framework since it aims to shift its focus away from the state language policy as one limited representation of the government's power to examine more eminent governmental

apparatuses in the society. I would like to present the framework through the historical progression of “governing” that Foucault provided in one of his lectures at College de France in February of 1978. His lecture was later translated in English and revised by Colin Gordon and published in 1991 (Burchell, Gordon & Miller, 1991). Foucault started his timeline on forms of governing from the Middle Ages when power was exercised in the form of sovereignty, which aimed at securing acceptance, respect, and obedience to a monarch. Between the sixteenth century and the beginning of the eighteenth century the sovereignty was transformed to “the art of government” that arranged “men” in their relations and their possession of resources and wealth in a way that benefited the interests of the government. In other words, rather than imposing laws on men in the way sovereignty did, the art of government employed laws as tactics that ultimately fulfilled its interests. This model of government was built around the idea of running a household focused on the wealth and prosperity of its members, rather than actual guarding of household property. Foucault argued that the power of government in this form was still very limited due to a variety of reasons including the finality of the “things” (i.e. men in their relations and their links to resources and wealth) the government could conceivably manage to the perfection it pursued. Additionally, the family-centeredness of this model was considered too weak and insubstantial to be applied at the national level.

“The art of government” was transformed to “problem of population” with the increase in agricultural activities at the beginning of the eighteenth century that led to expansion of demographics and the abundance of wealth. The governance of population focused on the welfare of the population, rather the act of governing. Thus, it perceived families as an instrument rather than an example of a good government. This form of government used tools eminent within the population in order to govern:

It is the population itself on which government will act either directly through large-scale campaigns, or indirectly through techniques that will make possible, without the full awareness of the people...The population now represents more the end of government than the power of the sovereign. (Foucault, 1991, p.100)

At this point, the sovereignty was transformed to “political science”, and “political economy”: the science of the government’s intervention on populations. Although “political science” seemed far from sovereignty as it imposed power on populations in indirect ways, it actually maximized the power of sovereignty and its security because it used “population” as its essential mechanism.

Building on this historical review on governing, Foucault (1991) coins his notion of “governmentality”, which he defines as

The ensemble formed by the institutions, procedures, analyses and reflections, the calculations and tactics that allow the exercise of this very specific albeit complex form of power, which has as its target population, as its principal form of knowledge political economy, and as its essential technical means apparatuses of security. (pp.102-103)

The purpose of governmentality is “pre-eminence”, rather than sovereignty or discipline. In addition, the focus is on process, rather than product. Governmentality re-produces the power of government into a series of governmental apparatuses who will govern themselves. Therefore, rather than viewing power internal to the state, governmentality looks at “omnipresence of power”: tactics that define, and redefine, the interests of the state everywhere in the target population “from one moment to the next” (Foucault, 1978, p.93).

Governmentality has been applied to studies of language by critical applied linguistics such as Pennycook (2002, 2006) who suggest shifting the focus of language policy research from

macro-level policies to examining language practices of social institutions (e.g. law, education, medicine, printing) and their instruments (e.g. books, regulations, exams) for reflections of those policies and their creation of “governable ethnolinguistic subjects”. Through this lens, Flores (2014) connects the monoglossic ideologies present in the current restrictive language policies (such as the English-only policy of Massachusetts) to the attempts of the early U.S. leaders to establish a nation with ideally unified citizens who would perform in the interests of the republic. Although this study uses Foucault’s theory of governmentality to understand language socialization in post-colonial United States, it is very important to acknowledge that Foucault did not address the important role of colonization as an essential element to the emergence of governmentality (Stoler, 1995). Flores (2012, 2013b, 2013c) has addressed this gap in his critical studies of language by further specifying Foucault’s generic use of governmentality and using the phrase “nation-state/colonial governmentality” in order to demonstrate “the mutually constitutive nature of the formation of nation-states and colonization” (Flores, 2013b, p.5).

Monoglossic language ideologies emerged alongside the rise of nation-states in Europe and were later brought to the American continent as the settlers colonized the land and the ideologies were translated in nationalistic sentiments (Flores & Schissel, 2014). However, since the U.S. leaders considered creating a national language academy too coercive, they settled for alternative attempts to “codify” an American language, such as creating an American English dictionary by Noah Webster (Heath, 1976). As Flores (2014) points out, although the dictionary was meant to standardize the language of the population to speak the American tongue that was representative of the democratic spirit of the nation and rejected the aristocratic ways of Great Britain, the process of its creation and promotion in the target population could not have been more aristocratic. This is precisely what Foucault defined as “governmentality” and the

“omnipresence of power” through self-governance. Given the purported democratic roots of the newly found nation, the leaders knew assimilative policies could not be imposed from the above. Additionally, some of the early leaders such as Benjamin Rush, who supported the recognition of modern European languages, suggested that forceful promotion of English would only revoke resistance (Heath, 1976). Rush believed people could be socialized to adopt the mindsets intended by the leaders, recognize the utility of English, and turn into “Republican Machines” who “performed their parts properly, in the great machine of the government” (Rush, 1786, pp. 16–17; as cited in Flores, 2014). Education, even within the heritage language schools, was one of the means through which that socialization was widely applied, without overt coercion (Heath, 1976).

In conclusion, in line with previous scholarship in critical applied linguistics (Flores, 2014; Johnson, 2013; Pennycook, 2002; Tollefson, 2006), this dissertation applies Foucault’s theory of governmentality in order to understand the connections between language policies in schools and families in relation to monoglossic ideologies rooted in the U.S. history, rather than focusing on the implementation of a state language policy in these contexts. Spolsky (2004) and Foucault’s (1991) frameworks underlie this study in a complementary, yet different way. Spolsky’s model is used to define comprising elements of language policy within a social context. On the other hand, Foucault’s governmentality helps understand the agency of those individuals as they negotiate language policies within and across different contexts while being situated in a context of historical monoglossic ideologies in the United States.

Review of the Literature

This study can be regarded as an integration of the two fields of educational language policy and family language policy. Additionally, considering the theoretical frameworks of this

study and their emphasis on agency of members of a speech community while attending to the sociohistorical monoglossic context, it is essential to review the literature on the ways language policies have been appropriated in districts, schools, classrooms, and immigrant households. The historical timeline of U.S. language policies at the federal and state levels was presented in Chapter 1 to help set the context for the studies reviewed in this section on the enactment of language policies in educational and familial settings. The following review of the literature provides a discussion of the existing body of research on family language policy and heritage language maintenance in children of immigrants. Secondly, this section discusses educational language policy research previously conducted on enactment of state-level educational language policies at district, school, and classroom levels, as well as the impacts of some of the most recent educational language policy reforms on bilingual children.

Research on Family Language Policies

Researchers in the field of family language policy have encouraged those who study language policy and planning concerning children of immigrants to look at families to gain a more complete picture of familial language decisions that children are raised with as well as the ways public discourses and external pressures are reflected in those choices (King & Fogle, 2006b; Spolsky, 2004). As mentioned initially, heritage language loss in the second and third of immigrants in the United States is a phenomenon that has been consistently reported over the years (Fishman, 1991; Krogstad et al., 2015). Sociolinguists believe that the complete linguistic conversion from a heritage language (HL) to English in immigrant populations happens in three generations. The first generation that arrives in the U.S. attempts to learn English, but prefers to speak the HL when possible; the second generation may speak the HL in personal spaces, but uses English in public domains; and the third generation uses English in most settings with no

effective proficiency in the HL (Fishman, 1991; Hakuta & D'Andrea, 1992; Tannenbaum, 2003; Tuominen, 1999; Veltman, 1983).

These researchers claim that effective maintenance of heritage languages over generations is not possible without diligent support and strong commitment from families. As Tannenbaum (2003) argues, “Feelings towards a language may predict its likelihood of survival, and can hint at its future maintenance potential” (p.375). Fishman (1991) distinguishes between “intergenerational mother tongue transmission” and “language maintenance” (i.e. a post-transmission process) as two separate, yet interdependent concepts (p. 113). Language transmission makes language maintenance possible, yet the foundation for future intergenerational language transmission will continually weaken without an effective post-transmission process (i.e. language maintenance) in place (Fishman, 1991).

A major predictor of HL maintenance in children of immigrants is the way parents think about languages and use them with their children (De Houwer, 2007; Fishman, 1991; Hakuta & D'Andrea, 1992; Kim Park, 2007). However, as established so far, given the powerful conforming forces of English-speaking society, a strong and constant commitment to HL use can be very challenging for immigrant parents without any sense of external support (Nesteruk, 2010; Park et al., 2012). Maintaining heritage languages at home becomes even more challenging as soon as second-generation immigrant children go through preschool (Fillmore, 1991; Hammer et al., 2003; Hammer et al., 2008). With time, many parents surrender to the assimilative forces of English-speaking society and settle for their children having lower HL proficiency than they had originally desired (Nesteruk, 2010). As Wiley and García (2016) assert:

The role of families to intergenerationally transmit home languages, or to exert efforts,

financial and otherwise, to enable their children to become bilingual has often been directly linked to the governmental top-down policies with regard to bilingualism, especially as carried out in schools. That is, historically multilingual American families have often been reluctant to speak their home languages to their children precisely because monolingual U.S. schools have tabooed the use of those languages and have insisted that all learning and assessment take place in English only. (p.55)

Maintaining a heritage language during the adolescent years has shown to be extremely difficult due to the developmental and societal pressures of that age and parents' desire for a strong parent-child relationship unconstrained by parental language ideals (Nesteruk, 2010). In sum, it can be claimed that families develop their language policy based on their perceptions of social structures and what they believe will best serve family's standing in the society (Curdt-Christiansen, 2009).

The sections that will follow provide a review of the literature on family language policy and heritage language maintenance in children of immigrants. Following the theoretical framework for language policy used in this study (Spolsky, 2004), the following sections will focus on language beliefs, practices, and management in immigrant families. When possible, connections are made between these familial factors and societal, educational, and political elements. Studies reviewed here on family language policy are not exclusive to the aftermath of English-only educational policies in the United States. Instead, given the novelty of the field of family language policy, the studies chosen were conducted at different times and in a variety of countries where families spoke a language other than the dominant societal language.

Language beliefs.

The literature on heritage language (HL) maintenance and parental beliefs demonstrates that parents usually consider HL as the essence of who they are and see HL maintenance as an attempt to hold on to their roots and preserve their children's connection to grandparents and extended family members (Brown, 2011; Kaveh, 2017; King & Fogle, 2006b; Li, 1999; Tannenbaum, 2003). In addition, HL is the medium through which parents convey their cultural values to their children and enable them "to become the kind of the men and women they want them to be" (Wong-Fillmore 1991, p. 343). However, what parents articulate as their language beliefs have not been shown to be reflected in their language practices, when those practices are described by their children (Brown, 2011). Therefore, what parents ideologically believe is not always followed in daily language practices at home.

Parental language beliefs are responsive to changes in children's language practices. Children who are born or raised in an English-dominant society are more likely to make personal and emotional connections through English. Second-generation immigrant children in the U.S. generally prefer to use English for all purposes, even when communicating with their HL-dominant parents (Portes & Hao, 1998; Tannenbaum, 2003). Parents who initially decide to use two languages with their children from a young age tend to develop uncertainties regarding the rationality of their decisions when their children show any sign of difficulty with their language(s) such as language delay and confusion, or when parents themselves cannot find the most effective practices to teach HL to their children at home (King & Fogle, 2006a, 2006b). Accordingly, parents of young children tend to be more optimistic about the possibility of transmitting HL to the next generation as with the passing of time many recognize the powerful forces of English monolingualism and reevaluate their language ideologies (Nesteruk, 2010).

It is important to remember that language beliefs and practices of immigrant parents and children are always situated in a larger context of society. School is one of the most major contexts that has shown to impact immigrants' dispositions toward language (Howard et al., 2003; Noro, 1990; Schirling, Contreras, & Ayala, 2000; Wiley & García, 2016). In a comprehensive review of research on trends in two-way immersion education, Howard et al. (2003) report that parents with children enrolled in two-way immersion programs were more likely to consider bilingualism beneficial and have positive views on dual language use. In contrast, several studies show that parents whose children attend English-only programs were more likely to support English-only instruction in schools and nationalization of English language for the U.S. Even in cases where those parents believed in the value of learning a second language, they doubted that it was worth risking their child's English language development (see Howard et al., 2003 for a review).

Despite the undeniable importance of parental views on bilingualism and language policy reforms, they have been rarely represented in language policy research. Schirling et al.'s (2000) study is an exception. In their two-phase case study before and after Proposition 227 in California in one elementary school in the California Bay Area, the researchers interviewed several stakeholders, including parents. When interviewed before Proposition 227, the parents at this school were highly active in working against the legislation of the policy. Most were very shocked at its racist nature and strongly believed that it was an attempt to take away their language and culture, which they considered as their identity.

When Proposition 227 was initially passed, the district decided to offer waivers to parents who requested them. The parents who were active in advocacy groups encouraged other parents and helped them fill out the waivers to opt their children out of SEI instruction. The

administrators expressed that such a high level of parental involvement was unprecedented. Surprisingly, when the researchers returned for the second phase of the study after one and a half years, they witnessed a massive shift in parents' views. Firstly, the surge of parent advocacy had diminished because parents started to realize that their advocacy was taking their attention away from their jobs and their children's schooling. Secondly, and more importantly, the parents seemed content with their children's performance in school because they were making noticeable progress in English oral proficiency. Although these parents still had a clear desire that their children maintain their heritage language, they expressed a strong belief in the value of learning English as a survival mechanism in this country. Schirling et al. (2000) explain this shift as follows:

In many ways, these parents were similar to parents everywhere in that they wanted the best for their children. They wanted the best teachers and the best program, including the best bilingual program. However, the parents we interviewed carried a quadruple burden. They are members of both an ethnic and language minority group with many not fluent in English, they carried the burden of poverty, and many carried a burden in their lack of formal schooling experience, especially a U.S. schooling experience... They saw the lack of English skills as the greatest obstacle for their own independence, as well as that for their children. Thus, the parents we interviewed believed that learning to speak English was more important than any other skill taught in school. (p.137)

The authors argue that these findings explain why some members of the Latinx community voted in favor of Proposition 227 in California.

The implicit takeaway from Schirling et al.'s (2000) study is not that the language policy reform suddenly shifted parents' mindsets about the value of languages. Instead, this study

confirms other researchers' claim that sociopolitical and economic statuses of immigrant families derive the way they perceive, value, and use languages to a large extent within a context that privileges standardized English (Canagarajah, 2008; Curdt-Christiansen, 2009; Spolsky, 2004). In addition, this study confirms that the ultimate determiner of parents' language ideologies and choices is their personal experience with the language(s) as immigrants (King and Fogle, 2006b). There is no surprise that parents' desire for English fluency is validated and strengthened when they witness progress in their children's English language proficiency after an educational language policy is implemented. Schirling et al.'s (2000) study will be revisited later in the section on enactment of language policies in schools and classrooms.

Language practices.

The literature on family language policy and HL maintenance suggests that parental language practices in immigrant and bilingual homes is a primary predictor of children's HL maintenance with no observed cost to children's English language proficiency (Caldas & Caldas, 2002; De Houwer 2007; Hakuta and D'Andrea 1992; Li 1999; Tsai et al. 2012). This is contrary to the long-held concerns voiced by policy makers, and at times educators, that children's exposure to non-English languages at home may harm their English development. Researchers have found the role of mothers to be particularly influential on HL maintenance in children (Extra & Verhoeven 1999; Nesteruk 2010; Tannenbaum 2003). As "the strongest gatekeeper of language maintenance", mothers are more likely to impact their children's level of HL proficiency due to higher HL use with children, in comparison to fathers (Extra & Verhoeven 1999, p. 20). Children also tend to use more HL with their mothers, either due to mothers' limited English proficiency in some cases, or because of their view of mothers as cultural warriors and language gatekeepers (Nesteruk 2010; Tannenbaum 2003).

Having said that, there is no doubt that the influence of mothers and fathers might vary depending on the country of origin and culture of families. For example, findings from a study on Korean families in New Zealand identified fathers as central determiners of language use within families (Kim & Starks, 2010). The researchers explained that the observed influential role of fathers in their study could be related to the common perception of higher authority for fathers in Korean families. In another study of family language policy in Iranian immigrant families in the Northeast U.S., mothers showed to be passionate and determined to maintain their heritage language for their children. On the other hand, fathers were similarly influential when they were determined to put their language beliefs into strategic language use, whether to support the maintenance of Persian or to promote English (Kaveh, 2017). Nevertheless, higher demands of modern living that require both parents to work and/or study in many families take away the time and the energy that immigrant parents, especially mothers, from earlier generations had for their children. This change of lifestyle impacts family language dynamics, among other things, in immigrant households (Nesteruk, 2010).

In addition to the influence of mothers and fathers and the socioeconomic demands of modern living, family language practices are highly dependent on children's HL proficiency and their preference to use it at home. In other words, some parents give up attempts to maintain their heritage language once they observe their children's constant use of the societal language, their resistance in speaking the HL, or low proficiency in the HL (Brown 2011; Park et al., 2012; Tsai et al., 2012). This maps with Spolsky's proposed conditions shaping language-choice, 1) the speaker's proficiency in a language 2) the desire to achieve an advantage by using his/her stronger language, and 3) the desire to achieve an advantage by accommodating the wishes of a given audience (Spolsky, 2004). Therefore, once English dominates children's language

practices and their HL proficiency deteriorates, parents are likely to stop pressuring their children to use their HL, and they might also gradually reduce their own use of the HL and/or switch to English completely. Consequently, the use of HL in many immigrant families becomes limited to mundane activities (e.g. getting ready for bed and/or school, inviting children to the dinner table, etc.) as children get older. That can happen by middle childhood for the first child and at even earlier ages for younger children in bilingual households and could lead to an attrition of complex language use between parents and children (Brown, 2011; Tsai et al., 2012).

Language management.

The literature on heritage language maintenance and family language policy suggests that parental language strategies supportive of HL are also highly affiliated with children's HL development. These strategies include: expanding HL use beyond everyday activities, scaffolding children's HL use, exercising cultural practices, and establishing a strong familial network (Bayley, Schechter & Torres-Ayala, 1996; Park et al., 2012; Phinney, Romero, Nava & Huang, 2001). Additional HL supporting strategies mentioned in the literature are family visits to homeland, parental time allotment for HL use, children's interaction with HL-speaking peers, and enrollment in HL classes (Bayley et al., 1996; Park et al., 2012). According to Bayley et al. (1996), the latter set of strategies are not always sufficient for developing more than basic HL proficiency when they are not reinforced by the former set of HL-supporting strategies. Parental feedback and linguistic support in daily interactions serve as cornerstones for implementation of family language policy and maintaining HL (Kang, 2013; Park et al., 2012). Research shows that bilingual children who have less than 20% exposure in one of their languages are likely to be very reluctant to use that language (Pearson, Fernández, Lewedeg, & Oller 1997).

Like parental language beliefs and practices, parental HL supportive strategies are associated with children's HL proficiency. Children's HL proficiency predicts subsequent parental strategies. This means that parents whose children have limited HL proficiency tend to decrease their subsequent attempts to support HL (Park et al., 2012). The literature shows that parents in general, and middle-class parents in particular, consult a variety of resources such as popular parenting literature, expert advice, and childcare professionals for deciding on their language strategies (King & Fogle, 2006). However, as mentioned previously, parents' decisions ultimately come down to their personal experience with the language(s) (King & Fogle, 2006b).

Research on Educational Language Policies

For this review of the literature, only studies that examine the most recent state-level English-only campaigns and/or legislations in the United States (i.e. Proposition 227 of California, Proposition 203 of Arizona, Question 2 of Massachusetts, and Amendment 31 of Colorado) were chosen. This selection was made on the basis of two reasons. Firstly, although the studies conducted on these four states are not generalizable to the entire U.S. context, they can exemplify, albeit partially, the nature of the implementation processes of language policies in the country at large. Secondly, reviewing the impact of these educational language policies helps build a background for the language policy that was implemented in the state of Massachusetts when this dissertation was conducted. Both conceptual and empirical works were reviewed for the sections that will follow.

Educational language policies enacted in districts.

Educational language policies legislated at federal and state levels impact educational settings such as school districts, schools, and classrooms. Different models have been proposed in the field of language policy and planning in order to understand the implementation of

educational language policies across different levels. One of the most well-known multilayered models in language policy and planning processes is the “Language Policy and Planning (LPP) Onion” model by Ricento and Hornberger (1996). The LPP Onion model proposes that language policy and planning processes, and the politics affecting them, interact across three main forms of “layers”: national, institutional, and interpersonal (Ricento & Hornberger, 1996). Ricento and Hornberger add that, “these components—variously referred to in the language planning literature as language planning agents, levels, and processes— are layers that together compose the LPP whole (the “onion”) and that permeate and interact with each other in a variety of ways and to varying degrees” (p.402).

Later, Johnson and Johnson (2015) proposed “language policy arbiters” model that provides a more critical view of language policy compared to the previous theoretical frameworks such as the LPP Onion model as it accounts for the disproportionate amounts of power owned by the individuals across different levels or layers. Johnson and Johnson (2015) distinguish between “policy arbiters”, those with power to impact language policies, and others who are merely positioned as “policy implementers”. They explain that their model “portrays how the interpretation and appropriation of educational language policies is influenced by language policy arbiters and the impact of language ideologies and beliefs about research on their decision-making” (pp.240-241). They, however, do not claim such positions are static and believe that language policies can be recontextualized in different ways “because of the unique sociolinguistic and sociocultural features (e.g. language attitudes and ideologies) within a particular context” (Johnson & Johnson, 2015, p.225). Another way that this model distinguishes itself from the LPP Onion model is that it takes a hierarchical (leveled) view of language policy and planning, rather than a layered view, because “the nature of the language policy arbiter is

such that they tend to make the process more hierarchical and structured by exerting their power” (p.248). In the language policy arbiter model, there is a strong emphasis on multiplicity of individual powers interpreting and appropriating policies coming from higher societal levels. Yet, Johnson and Johnson (2015) stress that this should not lead researchers to overlook the power of the larger policy discourses and societal ideologies that frame the orientations within language policy settings, such as district, schools, and classrooms.

Among these settings, districts are often defined as “intermediaries” or “middle layers” in multi-leveled views of educational language policy and planning (Ricento & Hornberger, 1996; Johnson & Johnson, 2015). Upon legislation of new educational policies at the federal and state levels, “the basic unit at which these responsibilities are exercised is the local school district, whose boundaries often (but not always) coincide with those of the lowest level of political administration, whether this is a municipality, town, or county” (Holdaway & Alba, 2009, p. 604). As a part of their mediating function, districts have to “make everyday policies with respect to schools and classrooms and are responsible for hiring teachers and providing supplies” (Holdaway & Alba, 2009, p.598). A well-known example of the mediating authority of districts is the Supreme Court’s decision in *Lau v. Nichols* (1974), upon which the Supreme Court required school districts to take affirmative steps to protect the civil rights of emergent bilingual children (referred to as “limited English proficient” (LEP) (Mora, 2009). The following sections discuss two main themes presented by the literature on enactment of English-only language policies at district level: 1) district-level approaches to implementing English-only policies; and 2) factors shaping districts’ responses to language policy reform.

District-level approaches to implementing English-only policies. Several studies have examined district managers’ responses to the English-only policies in California, Arizona, and

Massachusetts. Although these studies report a variety of responses from the participating districts, those responses have an essential commonality: replacement of the majority of the bilingual programs (e.g. TBE) with monolingual English programs (most commonly SEI), as mandated by the law (de Jong, Gort & Cobb, 2005; de Jong, 2008; García & Curry-Rodriguez, 2000; Johnson, 2012; Maxwell-Jolly, 2000).

In Massachusetts, the implementation of the English-only policy led to a ban on the earliest mandate for TBE in the nation. In Arizona, it limited the districts' previous liberty to select the program models appropriate for their student population. This liberty included various forms of bilingual education designed to support development of English proficiency and academic achievement in bilingual children (Jimenez-Silva et al., 2014). However, not unlike Massachusetts, the legislation of the English-only law in Arizona limited that freedom to a great extent by replacing a vast majority of the bilingual programs with an SEI alternative (Mahoney, MacSwan, Haladyna, & García, 2010; Wright & Choi, 2006). The legislation not only impacted instruction, but it also influenced methods used by the districts for data collection and assessment. Prior to proposition 203 in Arizona, home language surveys would ask about the primary language used at home, the language most often spoken by the student, as well as the language that the student first acquired. However, almost a decade after that legislation, Arizona districts narrowed their home survey to asking only one question, "What is the primary language of the student?" (Jimenez-Silva et al., 2014). The districts' choice of assessment tools was also majorly narrowed down from "the Idea Proficiency Test", "Language Assessment Scales", "Woodcock-Muñoz Language Survey", and "Woodcock Language Proficiency Battery-Revised" to a single choice of "Stanford English Language Proficiency (SELP)", which was later replaced by "The Arizona English Language Learner Assessment (AZELLA)". The

transition of TEB to SEI followed a similar path in California (Maxwell-Jolly, 2000).

However, not all decisions made by district managers followed a top-down implementation of the new language policies, without an agency of their own. The vague language in several sections of the policies left plenty of room for different interpretations of the English-only policy by different district managers. A lot of the districts tried to reconcile the mandates of the new law with the existing programs in their schools (de Jong, Gort, & Cobb, 2005; de Jong, 2008; Johnson, 2012; Maxwell-Jolly, 2000). Accordingly, these district leaders submit the proper paperwork and officially adhered to accreditation requirements of the new policy, but the way they translated the policy into services varied greatly. Additionally, the pro-bilingual education stance of the district directors did not simply change after the passage of an English-only law. Instead, they strived to find creative ways to advocate for exemption of the two-way immersion and the self-contained ESL programs under the new law in a variety of ways. For instance, as a result of advocacy from community members and parents in a district in Massachusetts, the legislature amended the English-only policy to allow two-way programs. Furthermore, although the law banned use of any non-English materials and instructional practices, leaders in some districts promoted strategic clustering of bilingual children by language background in SEI classrooms. This was intended to maximize opportunities for L1 access through peer-support, also known as “peerlingual education”, and to make English-only instruction more comprehensible (Johnson, 2012). In peerlingual education, bilingual peers translate and/or teach content at the request of an educator or as an individual call for assistance in order to compensate for the lack of bilingual instructional resources.

Besides strategic clustering of children and maximizing peerlingual support, some district managers designed new programs that would meet the mandate of the new law, yet hold on to

the bilingual education models preexisting in their districts (de Jong et al., 2005; de Jong, 2008; Johnson, 2012). In one Massachusetts district, a new program model was created to divide children by English proficiency levels: bilingual education for beginning English language learners (ELLs) and SEI for intermediate and advanced ELLs (de Jong, 2008). According to de Jong, this program was successfully implemented. However, it had one undeniable difference with its pre-Question 2 counterpart (a late exit bilingual model), and that was lack of continued support in heritage languages. This, of course, did not stop this district leader from pushing her pro-bilingual agenda. In that newly created program, the children were grouped based on their heritage language background in SEI classrooms, fluent bilingual teachers were assigned to teach SEI, and the use heritage languages was encouraged for instruction.

Unlike the creative interpretations of the district leaders studied in Massachusetts, creative enactment of the new policy in Arizona had advantages as well disadvantages. In Arizona, district managers' different translations of the policy paired with lack of proper financial resources and educational infrastructure (additional classrooms, teachers, and administrative guidance) led to a "muddled characterization" of the policy, which did not benefit students and teachers in the end (Johnson, 2012, p.66). In order to make up for this lack of resources, schools allowed teachers to reinforce and re-teach content in heritage languages as long as all the instructional materials were in English. Additionally, as mentioned above, the districts attempted to create additional space for supporting bilingual learners by relying heavily on the practice of peerlingual education. However, this strategy did not seem to work in favor of emergent bilingual students either, because it further deprived them from equitable access to quality education and heritage language development.

Factors shaping districts' responses to language policy reform. The districts discussed above followed very similar legislations, yet they took divergent approaches to implementation of those policies. That is mainly due to the fact that the implementation decisions at the district-level were made on the basis of collective interests of the educational stakeholders in those districts (de Jong et al., 2005; Escamilla et al., 2003; Johnson, 2012; Maxwell-Jolly, 2000). The research shows that district leaders' expertise in educational law, professional and academic background in first- and second-language acquisition, existence of established programs in districts, and long history of commitment to bilingual education heavily impacted the way the policy was put into practice (de Jong et al., 2005; de Jong, 2008; Maxwell-Jolly, 2000).

Additionally, districts' approaches to implementation were highly contingent on their community's stance on the policy and their support for/against it. This includes an established sense of involvement from different members of the communities, as well as district staff and the school boards' position on bilingual education (Maxwell-Jolly, 2000). Nevertheless, in Maxwell-Jolly's study, two Californian districts discontinued primary language program components altogether, although the immigrant parents in those communities were in favor of them. Maxwell-Jolly (2000) explains that parents' voices were not strongly present due to various preservations including their dependence for jobs on members of the community who supported Proposition 227, their reluctance to raise attention to their immigration status, and their limited English proficiency.

Not dissimilar to the three states reviewed so far, in Colorado, the only state in which the English-only campaign (Amendment 31) failed, the support for bilingual education was also rooted in school districts, communities, and even religious groups. According to Escamilla et al. (2003), "there was not a single school district, educational organization, civic or religious

organization, or news agency that took a position in support of Amendment 31” (p.369). As discussed in Chapter 1, this sense of support was of course boosted by very problematic strategies that played into the “raciolinguistic ideologies” (Flores & Rosa, 2015) of the voters. Nonetheless, the collective defeat of Amendment 31 by activism at the district level is another testament to the fact that language policy reforms are never simply top-down processes.

As the studies reviewed in this section show, school districts are not *tabulae rasae* upon receiving new legislations. Lack of districts’ compliance with provisions of macro policies is not new and exclusive to reactions to Unz initiatives discussed here. Prior to these reforms, researchers had reported a similar sense of noncompliance with Lau Remedies (Crawford, 1986; Lyons, 1990) and the Bilingual Education Act of 1968 and its subsequent reauthorizations (Ricento, 1998; Ricento & Hornberger, 1996). According to Ricento and Hornberger (1996), “given all the potential competing interests, variable discourses, and modifications in policy from layer to layer”, the discrepancy between legislated policies at federal and state levels and their implementation at district levels is not surprising (p.410). Accordingly, the existing programs in a district do not instantly go in flames upon legislation of a new policy. An English-only law might require pro-bilingualism leaders to mandate English-only methods in the districts under their leadership, but it cannot take away their advocacy and enthusiasm; neither can it immediately replace such leaders with the ones possessing pro-English only agendas.

As Maxwell-Jolly (2000) argues, “Reform is messy and may not have the intended consequences” (p.55). Local variability, messiness, and unintended consequences in policy reforms had been previously iterated by seminal reform studies reviewed by McLaughlin, (1987): “the consequences of even the best planned, best supported, and most promising policy initiatives depend finally on what happens as individuals throughout the policy system interpret

and act on them” (p.172). Thus, the research presented here proves the importance of studying policy sensemaking processes done by arbiters at intermediary levels such as districts, rather than paying exclusive attention to macro policies and their mandated program labels (August & Hakuta, 1997; Johnson & Johnson, 2015). As established so far, school districts’ support for language programs largely depends on community values, stakeholders’ choice (including parents), and available resources (Mora, 2009). Additionally, the studies reviewed demonstrate that a top-down policy implementation can entail unintended consequences when implemented by multiple arbiters throughout the process (McLaughlin, 1987). Therefore, success and stability of any initiative depends on an active commitment of district leadership (McLaughlin, 1990), as well as support from other stakeholders.

Educational language policies enacted in schools and classrooms.

Scholars in the fields of educational language policy and bilingual education have often called teachers “crucial decision-makers”, “final arbiters”, and “the forefront”, when it comes to putting legislated language policies into practice (García, 2011; Maxwell-Jolly, 2000; Menken, 2008; Menken & García, 2010; Pérez & Nordlander, 2004). As stated by Sarason (1982), “educational change depends on what teachers do and think -it’s as simple and as complex as that” (p.193). As implementers and policy makers of their own, “teachers make daily decisions about instruction that impact the lives of the children in their classrooms” (Pérez & Nordlander, 2004, p.300). Similar to the studies on enactment of language policies at district levels, the studies on school-level reforms after legislation of English-only policies in California, Massachusetts, and Arizona have presented two main themes, among other things: 1) school-level approaches to implementing English-only policies; and 2) factors shaping schools’ approaches to reform.

School-level approaches to implementing English-only policies. Several studies have examined the way school principals and classroom teachers responded to the educational language policy reforms in California, Arizona, and Massachusetts. In some cases, the studies report significant shifts in the views of principals, teachers, and parents as a result of these language policy reforms (parents' change of views was discussed in the section on family language policy). This was particularly evident in a two-phase case study conducted on the ways education stakeholders in one elementary school in California Bay Area responded to Proposition 227 during and after the legislation process (Schirling et al., 2000). Despite previous support for the school's bilingual program, the principal underscored the benefits of the new educational model and its focus on language instruction to the children's success when he was interviewed one and a half years after the passage of Proposition 227. During a variety of meetings, the researchers witnessed the principal mentioning that given the large number of immigrant populations with limited or no English proficiency in the school community, he doubted the benefit of a bilingual program for their school.

However, the majority of other school-level studies did not show such a shift in views in line with the new legislation. Instead, they reported a pattern of "contradictory discourses" between the language and the intent of the law and school-level interpretations, not dissimilar to the reports on district-level implementations (de Jong, 2008; Grijalva & Jimenez-Silva, 2014; Rios-Aguilar et al., 2012; Schirling et al., 2000). In one Massachusetts district described by de Jong's (2008), the district manager's, the principals', and the teachers' bilingual agenda collided most directly with the state law's monolingual discourse when the law mandated placing all emergent bilingual in English-only classrooms before assigning them to a bilingual classroom for initial support. According to de Jong (2008), "while official district policy described SEI as a

program for intermediate students, the realities were different as a result of the law's mandate and resulted in blatant inequities for bilingual students" (p.365).

Even Schirling et al.'s (2000) study found that the implementation of the English-only law created a sense of "emotional buzz" among the teachers, both in SEI and bilingual track, as well as other school staff:

The feeling we got was a combination of confusion, high levels of frustration, and a deep sense of desperation. The teachers and staff looked tired and almost dazed. Many of the teachers and staff appeared to be in a deep quandary over what they philosophically and professionally felt was best for these student s (native language instruction) and what they were being forced to do by the new law (English-only instruction). (p.114)

Similarly, Rios-Aguilar et al.'s (2012) study of a representative sample of 880 teachers in 33 schools across Arizona revealed the same sense of disbelief in the new policy. Fifty-five percent of these teachers agreed that the four-hour English language development block imposed by the English-only law was less effective than other models for preparing children academically.

In a rare case, teachers did not seem surprised by the English-only nature of the law because of their awareness of the existing sociopolitical rhetoric against immigrants before this legislation (de Jong et al., 2005). Some of these teachers even expressed a positive attitude toward the SEI element of the policy because they saw it as an intermediary step between the bilingual and standard classroom, although this was certainly not what the policy had initially intended. Additionally, depending on the district leaders' approach to implementing the policy, teachers saw SEI classes as bilingual environments in which emergent bilingual children from the same heritage language backgrounds were clustered to support each other (de Jong et al., 2005). However, they still took issues with the educational rationale behind some of the

provisions of this policy. These teachers were worried that separating emergent bilinguals who were in early stages of English language development in SEI classrooms could deprive them of high-quality content instruction, lead to their social isolation, and have psychological consequences for them.

In addition to the challenges facing principals and teachers due to a collision of their ideologies with the English-only legislations, the teachers were reported to suffer greatly from lack of resources and preparation to adjust to the new policy (de Jong, 2008; de Jong, Arias, & Sanchez, 2010; Maxwell-Jolly, 2000; Schirling et al., 2000). Maxwell-Jolly (2000) reports that none of the seven Californian districts that were studied provided teachers with the necessary preparation and materials for adapting to Proposition 227, regardless of their stance toward it. Consequently, this responsibility was also put on the principals, who were already under a lot of pressure to make the right executive decisions in light of the new policy. As a result, in some cases, the teachers were simply asked to remove all non-English materials without receiving an alternative for them.

Not surprisingly, these teachers used the words “anger” and “frustration” frequently when they described their experience adjusting to this reform. Maxwell-Jolly (2000) explains that the teachers used these terms not only to describe lack of recourses, but also to express their feeling of being banned from any use of heritage languages, which they had always considered as an important teaching tool. Teacher preparation was heavily focused on familiarizing teachers with the language policies mandated by the model (e.g. no use of heritage languages, use of English materials) (de Jong et al., 2010). While there was little evidence that teachers were provided with knowledge of second language acquisition processes or with guidance on teaching content using linguistically responsive teaching methods that would incorporate children’s heritage languages

or further unpack the English-only instruction for them.

Factors shaping school-level responses to language policy reform. The research reviewed on the implementation of language policies at school and classroom levels indicates the undeniably strong, yet various, impacts restrictive language policies can leave on school principals and teachers. Furthermore, these studies show that the changes that happened at the school level were highly impacted by districts' response to the propositions (de Jong, 2008; de Jong et al., 2005; de Jong et al., 2010; Maxwell-Jolly, 2000; Schirling et al., 2000). These studies suggest a level of contradiction between the intentions of the legislated educational language policies and the principals' and the teachers' beliefs and their instructional decisions and practices. This contradiction put some principals in a challenging position. In some cases, principals had to try very hard to develop school language policies that were in line with district policy, as well as the ideology of their staff, the local community, and themselves (Maxwell-Jolly, 2000). Not surprisingly, these principals also took different approaches for discussing waiver options to parents based on their own pedagogical, philosophical, and/or moral dispositions toward primary language programs as well as the interests of their stakeholders.

In summary, although educational language policies are often imposed on schools from the top levels of the education system, the researchers agree that principals and teachers are the ultimate language policy implementers because schools and classrooms are the spaces where language policies are eventually negotiated based on a multitude of contextual factors (Maxwell-Jolly, 2000; Menken & García, 2010b; Pérez & Nordlander, 2004). As Menken and García (2010) explain:

Regardless of the type of policies or the educational context in which a policy text comes to life in the classroom, there is typically space for policy negotiation in classroom

practice, as it is ultimately educators particularly classroom teachers-who are the final arbiters of language policy implementation. As such, policies often have different results from those intended by policymakers. (p.1)

Johnson (2012) invites scholars in the field of LPP to look beyond the agency of principals and teachers, and to pay attention to the individuals and the factors that influence teachers' understanding of the policy, as well as the structure of the environments in which teachers negotiate their policy decisions into classroom practices. Johnson claims that examining these environments at a deeper level provides a more comprehensive view of why teachers make certain implementation decisions over others.

Impact of educational language policies on bilingual children.

Children are the ultimate target population for most educational policies and educational language policies. In case of the educational language policies reviewed so far, they have been mainly aimed for children of immigrants, and more specifically those who are emergent bilinguals. Accordingly, after reviewing the literature on implementation processes of educational language policies, it is essential to review the research on the impact of the most recent language policy reforms on bilingual children. Educational language policies, as any other educational policy, influence children through instructional models that they mandate.

A series of studies have been conducted on the impacts of the English-only laws on children in California, Massachusetts, and Arizona. They consistently suggest that language policies that established SEI models led to isolation of emergent bilinguals for the majority of school days, and consequently left several negative consequences on their well-being. More specifically, these studies report that segregating children based on their low proficiency in the dominant language isolated them, physically, socially, and emotionally (Gándara & Orfield,

2010; Lillie et al., 2010; Lillie, 2011), which eventually led to silencing them (See Jimenez-Silva et al., 2014 for a review).

Besides the socioemotional consequences, when emergent bilinguals are taken away from mainstream classrooms, they do not receive the same content instruction, in terms of quality and complexity, that is provided to their English proficient peers (Lillie et al., 2010). In the long run, this will put bilinguals at an academic disadvantage since they do not share comparable educational experiences in similarly cognitively demanding educational settings (Garcia, Lawton, & Diniz de Figueiredo, 2010). Additionally, when emergent bilinguals are placed in monolingual mainstream classrooms, where teachers tend to be monolingual and use of non-English languages is prohibited, they can suffer from further disadvantages. Although emergent bilinguals can benefit from peerlingual education in some cases (de Jong et al., 2005; Johnson, 2012), they are still at a disadvantage because of the shortage, or lack, of access to the instruction provided by teachers. Lowered expectation and reduced language demands impede children's language development and contribute to their isolation with no opportunities to engage in linguistically rich conversations (Sharkey & Layzer, 2000). Learning a language requires receiving both comprehensible input and modified output (Moschkovich & Nelson-Barber, 2009; Kayi-Aydar, 2014; Swain, 2001). Bilingual learners need ample opportunities to actively and freely participate in classroom discussion in order to master the language of instruction.

Despite the disadvantages faced by emergent bilinguals due to restrictive educational language policies that limit their access to highly quality education, they have been increasingly compared to their English proficient peers by the same standards, such as Common Core State Standards (CCSS). Such comparisons have led to an increased attention to “performance” on standardized tests and “achievement”, which put the blame on emergent bilingual children, rather

than the educational system that is failing them. Ironically, as mentioned in Chapter 1, the majority of the English-only language policies were initiated under the assumption that the students' stagnant achievement was due to frequent exposure to non-English languages (mostly Spanish) and lack of access to English language instruction. Yet, after a few years of their implementation, researchers found no change in closing the achievement gap (Garcia et al., 2010), and increasing prevention from on-time high school graduation (Rios-Aguilar et al., 2012) as a result of those policies. In Arizona specifically, emergent bilinguals still show to be behind in reading and math proficiency. Researchers relate this to the one-size-fits-all view of the state educational language policy that has been in place for the past 17 years and claim that this policy is the wrong path for achieving what the policy makers initially intended (Garcia et al., 2010).

Schirling et al.'s (2000) study at a school with a late transitional bilingual program after implementation of Proposition 227 in California showed that the policy had a greater negative academic impact on emergent bilinguals who transferred from the bilingual track to the English-only track than on those who were kept on the bilingual track. In addition, when one teacher was asked to describe the impact of the English-only instruction on her students, she used words such as "frustrated" and "bored" to describe them. More importantly, this teacher predicted that most of the students who were transferred out of the bilingual track were not likely to finish the year on grade level.

One might wonder why both flexible language policies and restrictive ones have been reported, in one way or another, to fall short in helping emergent bilingual children. Schirling et al. (2000) explain that the problem, and the solution, are much more complex than language of instruction. They believe that focusing our attention exclusively on language distances us from other important issues in the education of linguistically marginalized children. These issues

include, but are not limited to, teacher preparation, students' access to grade-level content, and availability of linguistically, developmentally, and culturally appropriate instructional materials. This means that success of emergent bilinguals lies in attention to high-quality education, rather than focusing on designing models that exclusively revolve around language choice (Brisk, 2006). In other words,

It is this unbalanced attention on language that reduces the very complex issue of ELL instruction to one of English versus the native language, thus creating a simplified, polemic view in which language is a panacea--ignoring other equally important issues. (Schirling et al., 2000, p.138)

Research traditions that measure linguistic development (most often English language development than bilingual development) in response to instructional practices can reinforce the assimilative forces valuing English monolingualism. According to Orellana et al. (1999), although such research is important for advancing theory and practice in the field of bilingualism, "it diverts attention from larger social, cultural, and political issues, such as the quality of immigrants' schooling, access to resources, and xenophobia and racism in society" (p.126).

It is also important to highlight that although researchers have paid considerable attention to the impact of English-only educational policies on students' outcomes, specifically in Arizona, their voices are still vastly missing from the existing literature. In the most recent study on the impact of Proposition 203, Lillie (2016) confirms this gap and claims that while the researchers had looked at the impact of Arizona's policy on test scores, identification practices, classroom implementation, and teacher preparation, no study had previously presented children's perspectives on their experiences in SEI classrooms. Lillie's (2016) study reports on the results

of a survey of 1542 children three years after the implementation of the SEI model. The survey asked children about their experience in the ELD (English Language Development) classes, whether or not they felt they were doing well in those classes, if the ELD classes were helpful to them, and their thoughts about exiting the program. Additionally, the participating SEI children were asked if they thought they would pass as proficient in English that year. The RC children (those who were reclassified as fluent English proficient and had exited out of English Language Development services) were asked whether or not they were happy to be done with the ELD courses.

The findings confirm the previous studies that children were not exiting the SEI model within the one-year desired timeframe. In addition, the children expressed that the ELD classes were helpful to them but they were happy to be done with them. However, they acknowledged the importance of knowing English and most expressed seeing value in bilingualism and its benefits for today's global citizens. Lillie's (2016) study provided supporting evidence to the preexisting literature on critiquing Arizona's SEI model and suggested a need for a policy reform that aims to promote children's bilingual skills.

Gaps in the Literature and Implications for the Present Study

This review of the literature has identified a few gaps in the literature on language policy and planning in relation to family language policy. Researchers have conducted a considerable amount of research on the impact of educational language policies on districts, schools, and classroom practices. On the other hand, the field of family language policy has expanded the definition of language planning and looked more closely at language policies in bilingual families. However, the two fields of educational and family language policies have been rarely linked directly. In cases where the two contexts have been discussed in relation to language

policy, parents' viewpoints were highlighted more significantly than children's (Howard et al., 2003; King & Fogle, 2006b; Maxwell-Jolly, 2000; Schirling et al., 2000).

Research on the connection between educational and familial language policies that focuses on children's voices is lacking from the existing literature on language policy and planning and family language policy. To my knowledge, there has been only one study on children's perspectives on their experiences in English-only education (Lillie, 2016). Lillie (2016) confirms this gap and claims that while the researchers have looked at the impact of children's performances, no study had presented children's perspectives on their experiences in SEI classrooms.

Therefore, it is time to further extend the multileveled studies of language policy to the context of family and to the role of children as language policy agents between homes and schools. The purpose of this dissertation is to take a more inclusive approach to studies of language policy and planning by going one step beyond classrooms and representing the voices of immigrant families in order to show that although classrooms are final sites of implementation of language policies in education systems, the cycle of language planning continues to evolve inside immigrant households. This dissertation makes this extension by focusing largely on children, as language policy agents between schools and families. This projection of children's agentive voices also contributes largely to the field of family language policy that has mainly presented parents' viewpoints.

Chapter 3

Methodology

In the first two chapters, I have argued that the voices of immigrant children are not adequately represented in language policy research and that the direct connections between educational and family language policies have not been sufficiently investigated. The purpose of this dissertation is to examine the links between language policies in a group of immigrant families with children enrolled in fourth grade with educational language policies at two public elementary schools in the state of Massachusetts. The main research questions and sub-questions framing this study are:

1. What are family language policies of immigrant families in the two participating schools, as described by parents and children?
 - a. What are family language beliefs, as described by children and parents?
 - b. What are family language practices, as described by children and parents?
 - c. What are family language management approaches, as described by children and parents?
2. What are the educational language policies of these two schools regarding English and heritage languages?
 - a. What are language beliefs of school staff, as described by classroom teachers, ESL instructors, and principals?
 - b. How are English and heritage languages used in school and classroom instructions?
 - c. What are the written educational language policies of these two schools regarding English and heritage languages? What language management approaches are

used for English and heritage languages in these two schools?

3. In what ways are language policies of the participating immigrant families in conversation with educational language policies?

In this chapter, I first discuss the design of this study. Secondly, I introduce the research context and the participants. I then discuss data collection methods as well as analytical plans in detail. Finally, I examine my positionality as the main researcher of this study.

Design and Methodological Approach

This dissertation is designed as a qualitative multiple case study to conduct a multi-sited analysis of language policy. The units of analysis are family and school as the two main contexts most children have to negotiate when growing up. Various data collection methods and sources were used to conduct the case studies, including interviews with families (children and parents) and school staff, as well as week-long school observations of each child. The methodological framework of this study is informed by “ethnography of language policy” proposed by Hornberger and Johnson (2007, 2011). Ethnography of language policy looks at educational language policies across multiple levels in search of a balanced understating of the influence of legislations and the power of policy agents. The design of this study draws from this framework, while extending it beyond the education system in order to represent the agency of parents and children in language planning processes. Yet, for practical reasons, the observations had to be limited to schools. Family language policies were investigated through interviews with children and parents.

Research Context

The participating families in this study were recruited through four fourth grade classrooms in two public elementary schools (two classrooms per school) in two different

districts (one urban and one suburban) within a 16-mile radius in the state of Massachusetts. I first came to know these two schools as a result of my research collaborations with them on other research projects related to language and literacy development in bilingual children. The schools were chosen purposively because of the distinct ethnolinguistic characteristics of their immigrant student populations. In the sections that follow, I provide a brief introduction on the districts and the two schools in order to characterize the context of this research. This will follow with a description of the state language policy that was implemented at the time of this study.

Urban district.

As the largest school district in Massachusetts, the urban school district in this study enrolled about 56,843 children in 2016. The district represented a predominantly Latinx (42%) and Black (35%) student population, followed by White (14%), Asian¹ (9%), and “Other/multiracial²” (1%) students. Forty-five percent of children in this urban district spoke a non-English language as their first language and 30% of them (16,694) were identified as “English Language Learner”. English learners in this district represented more than 71 languages and 138 countries. The top ten non-English first languages were Spanish (58%), Haitian Creole (7%), Cape Verdean Creole (7%), Chinese (5%), Vietnamese (5%), Portuguese (2%), Arabic (2%), Somali (2%), and French (1%).

Ninety-three percent of the K-12 “English learners” in this district had ESL-certified teachers. About 29% of these children were in Sheltered English Immersion (SEI) program, 12%

¹ This terminology and categorization follows the language of demographic reports, while acknowledging the great diversity of student populations under a broad category such as “Asian”.

² Unfortunately, the demographics do not report the percentage of Indigenous students, but it is possible that they were categorized under “other/multiracial”.

received SEI in inclusion or substantially separate setting, and 53% received SEI in “other classroom settings”. The racial demographics of school staff in this district consisted of 62% White, 20% Black, 10% Latinx, 6% Asian, and 2% of other races.

Wilson school. Reflecting the district characteristics, the school in the urban district, which I will refer to as Wilson Elementary School (pseudonym), was mainly comprised of Latinx (52%), Black (30%), Asian (11.2%), and multi-race (3.5%) children who represented languages including, but not limited to, Spanish, Portuguese, Vietnamese, Cape Verdean Creole, and Haitian Creole. Only 2% of the children at this school were White. Nearly 80% of children at Wilson Elementary qualified for free/reduced fee lunch.

According to the ESL coordinator of the Wilson school, in the academic year 2016-17 the school enrolled 263 “English language learners” who were either “formerly limited English proficient (FLEP)”, or were identified as “English language learners” at English language development levels ranging from newcomer to level six at the time. Emergent bilingual children in grades K-3 received instruction in SEI classrooms. However, all emergent bilinguals in grades three to five were mainstreamed. Those at levels one to three of English language development also met with the ESL teacher for additional ESL instruction. The Wilson school had a “verbal” exemption from the Department of Education to mainstream students beyond the second grade because of a steady improvement in their standardized test performance as a result of targeted language instruction provided by their mainstream teachers. These teachers had participated in a longitudinal writing initiative led by a local university.

Suburban district.

The suburban school district was much smaller than the urban district and enrolled about 12,750 students (including METCO³ children, but excluding preschool children). This school district enrolled mainly White children (63%), followed by Asian (18%), Latinx (8%), multi-race (6%) and Black (5%) children as its largest populations. Eighteen percent of children (about 1,800) in this district came from homes where a non-English language was spoken. The office of English Language Learners at the district level reportedly served about 900 children from language backgrounds including Mandarin, Cantonese, Portuguese, Russian, Spanish, Korean, Hebrew, and Japanese.

There were no separate SEI classrooms in the suburban district. The district had the “inclusion model”. Therefore, all emergent bilinguals were placed in mainstream classrooms with teachers who had the appropriate certification to provide SEI instruction, meaning they would provide appropriate support to make the language and content instruction comprehensible. Children could also receive ESL services outside their classrooms, depending on their individual needs.

Eliot school. The suburban school, referred to as Eliot Elementary School, enrolled predominantly White (69.6%) children along with a relatively small number of Asian (12.5%), Latinx (8.3%), Black (3.8%), and multi-race (5.4%) children. Throughout my interactions with Eliot’s ESL coordinators, I learned that English was the predominant language spoken by children and families at this school. However, bilingual children at this school represented a wide

³ “The METCO Program is a grant program funded by the Commonwealth of Massachusetts. It is a voluntary program intended to expand educational opportunities, increase diversity, and reduce racial isolation, by permitting students in certain cities to attend public schools in other communities that have agreed to participate” (<http://www.doe.mass.edu/metco/>).

variety of heritage languages including Spanish, Mandarin and/or Cantonese, Japanese, and Russian, among several others. Less than 15% of children at the Eliot qualified for free/reduced fee lunch. It is worth noting that this school was situated in a working class area of a relatively wealthy suburban school district.

Massachusetts Language Policy

At the time of this study, the state was enforcing, an English-only language policy (Chapter 71A of Massachusetts General Laws) for its final year, after almost 15 years. On Wednesday November 15, 2017, Massachusetts House of representatives and the State Senate voted to overturn the 2002 ballot measure and approved the LOOK bill (Language Opportunities for Our Kids). One week later, on November 22, 2017, the governor of Massachusetts signed the new policy into law. The LOOK bill provides flexibility to school districts to offer bilingual programs such as Transitional Bilingual Education (TBE), dual language programs, or other scientifically robust programs that are within compliance with the state policy, without requiring a waiver that was mandated by the previous policy. This will allow schools and parents to choose the language program that best serves the needs of the children. However, the schools reserve the right to keep the former English-only model as they see fit for their student population. The new law will also help establish a State Seal of Biliteracy that will be awarded to children who are bilingual and biliterate in English and a non-English language.

This dissertation examined language policies in immigrant families and schools in the context of the 15-year-old English-only policy. Therefore, this section provides an introduction on Chapter 71A of Massachusetts General Laws, which was written after the approval of a ballot initiative (Question 2 in 2002). In line with theory of governmentality (Foucault, 1991) underlying this study, the state policy is only an element in the historical progression of language

policies in the United States. Therefore, it is discussed, and briefly analyzed, as a contextual factor underlying practices at the time of this study.

The 2002 ballot measure banned the earliest mandate for Transitional Bilingual Education (TBE) in the nation and mandated that all children in Massachusetts public schools be taught exclusively in English and emergent bilinguals be placed in SEI or other English-mediated classrooms. The policy mandates English as the only language of instruction for five reasons:

- (a) The English language is the common public language of the United States of America and of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts. It is spoken by the vast majority of Massachusetts residents, and is also the leading world language for science, technology, and international business, thereby being the language of economic opportunity; and
- (b) Immigrant parents are eager to have their children become fluent and literate in English, thereby allowing them to fully participate in the American Dream of economic and social advancement; and
- (c) The government and the public schools of Massachusetts have a moral obligation and a constitutional duty to provide all of Massachusetts's children, regardless of their ethnicity or national origins, with the skills necessary to become productive members of our society. Of these skills, literacy in the English language is among the most important.
- (d) The public schools of Massachusetts have done an inadequate job of educating many immigrant children, requiring that they be placed in native language programs whose failure over past decades is demonstrated by the low English literacy levels of those children.
- (e) Immigrant children can easily acquire full fluency and literacy in a new language,

such as English, if they are taught that language in the classroom as soon as they enter school (Section 1, Findings and Declarations, Chapter 71A of Massachusetts General Laws).

Therefore, the law mandates that children be taught “Sheltered English immersion” (SEI) in which the instruction is provided exclusively in English, but the instructional practices and curricula are designed for language learning of emergent bilinguals, or “children who are learning the language”, as described in the policy. Although tailored for the needs of bilingual children, the law requires that the instructional materials and practices be delivered entirely in English. The policy allows teachers to only use “a minimal amount of the child’s native language when necessary”, but “no subject matter shall be taught in any language other than English, and children in this program learn to read and write solely in English” (Section 2(e), Chapter 71A).

As mentioned, the policy mandates that all emergent bilinguals be placed in SEI classrooms during “a temporary transition period not normally intended to exceed one school year” (Section 4). The only exceptions are emergent bilinguals (“English learners”) in kindergarten who maybe educated in either SEI or mainstream classrooms with ESL support. After the transition period in SEI rooms, emergent bilinguals are to be transferred to English language mainstream classrooms. Despite defining this transition period to last no more than one year, the policy defines readiness for transfer to mainstream classrooms in relation to English language proficiency: “Once English learners acquire a good working knowledge of English and are able to do regular school work in English, they shall no longer be classified as English learners and shall be transferred to English language mainstream classrooms” (Section 4).

There are two major points of contradiction in this statement. Firstly, the policy proposes that once children are transferred to regular classrooms, they will no longer be classified as ELs.

However, in reality, children are identified as English learners as long as they are at English language development levels one to six. The levels are determined based on an annual assessment of English language proficiency designed for emergent bilinguals called the “ACCESS test for ELLs” by WIDA. According to the Guidance on Identification, Assessment, Placement and Reclassification of English Language Learners (2017) provided by Massachusetts Department of Elementary and Secondary Education, “It is recommended that students designated as EL in kindergarten continue to be designated as EL until they complete grade 1 (at minimum)” (p. 27). Therefore, the policy’s proposition is in contrast with the department of education that considers children, even at kindergarten, to take at least two years to develop English language proficiency.

The second contradiction of this one-year minimum stated in the policy is with research. Research on language development of bilingual children shows that it takes an average of six years for those who start in kindergarten and receive quality education in both of their languages (with at least half of the time dedicated to their first language) for a minimum of six years, to attain grade-level achievement across the school curriculum in English. This duration can be extended to 7-10 years for those with no schooling in their first language (Collier & Thomas, 2017).

The policy allows parents to sign a written informed consent, annually, to waive the requirements of the policy: “If a parental waiver has been granted, the affected child may be transferred to classes teaching English and other subjects through bilingual education techniques or other generally recognized educational methodologies permitted by law” (Section 5, Chapter 71A). However, these “bilingual educational techniques” are not necessarily made possible upon parental waiver. Schools in which 20 or more parents sign such a waiver are required to offer

bilingual classes. If not, the student is permitted to transfer to another public school where such classes are available. Nevertheless, the policy suggests three circumstances in which a parental exception waiver “may be applied”:

- (1). Children who already know English: the child already possesses good English language skills, as measured by oral evaluation or standardized tests of English vocabulary comprehension, reading, and writing, in which the child scores approximately at or above the state average for his grade level or at or above the 5th grade average, whichever is lower.
- (2). Older children: the child is age 10 years or older, and it is the informed belief of the school principal and educational staff that an alternate course of educational study would be better suited to the child’s overall educational progress and rapid acquisition of basic English language skills; or
- (3). Children with special individual needs: the child already has been placed for a period of not less than thirty calendar days during that particular school year in an English language classroom and it is subsequently the informed belief of the school principal and educational staff that the child has such special and individual physical or psychological needs, above and beyond the child’s lack of English proficiency, that an alternate course of educational study would be better suited to the child’s overall educational development and rapid acquisition of English (Chapter 71A, Section 5 (b))

The policy does not specify if a waiver is possible in circumstances other than the three specified here. However, it goes on to state that any educational official at the district or school level who refuses to comply with the terms of this policy may be held liable for attorney’s fees or monetary costs for the damage to the child’s family and can be barred from involvement in schools for five

years. The policy continues to inform parents of their right to sue the educational officials who grant the parental waivers stated in section 5(b)(3), if the child is found to be disadvantaged as a result of that waiver by the age of eighteen. Yet, the policy does not specify if parents can sue the educational officials at the district or state-level, if the child is found to have suffered from not being granted exemption from the English-only setting.

Lastly, after laying out the obligations of educational institutions for promoting English, the policy encourages families to support it as well in furtherance of the state's agenda:

In furtherance of its constitutional and legal obligation to provide all children with an adequate education, the state shall encourage family members and others to provide personal English language tutoring to such children as are English learners, and support these efforts by raising the general level of English language knowledge in the community. (Chapter 71A, Section 8)

In sum, it is clear that the policy's representation of parental wishes, rights, and responsibilities disproportionately favors English. The policy refers to English as "the language" throughout this text (e.g. the language of economic opportunity). Therefore, it does not suggest a possibility for parents with alternative wishes who would want bilingualism for their children: strong English language development as well as heritage language proficiency.

Participants

The participants for this study were four fourth grade children (two girls and two boys), four parents (one father and three mothers), four classroom teachers, two ESL instructors, and two principals from the Wilson and the Eliot schools. The participating families in the urban school were from the Dominican Republic and Cape Verde and spoke Spanish and Cape Verdean Creole as their heritage language, respectively. The participating families at the

suburban school were from Brazil and China and spoke Portuguese and Mandarin as their heritage language, respectively. All four children were born in the United States. However, one student in the urban school (Arturo) had lived in the Dominican Republic from age two to ten and had returned to the United States shortly before the start of this study. I have chosen to present the detailed description of the participants at the beginning of findings chapters four through seven in relation to the language policy context they were studied in.

Data Collection

Following the conceptual frameworks for the study and the research questions, the data were collected at the family and school levels. Language policies at the district and state levels were inquired through their websites and the interviews with the school staff. Although the state and district policies were not main sources of data for this study, they informed the understanding of the school language policies. Additionally, state language policy was embedded in the culminating cross-case thematic analysis on the links between family and educational language policies. Table 3.1 summarizes data collection methods and analytical processes for each context in line with the research questions.

Table 3.1
Research Questions and Methods Mapping

Research Question	Data source	Analytical plan
1. What are family language policies of immigrant families in the two participating schools, as described by parents and children?	Children <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Language log • Interviews Parents <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Paper-and- pencil survey • Interviews 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Within-case thematic analysis
2. What are the educational language policies of these two schools regarding English and heritage languages?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • School language policy text • School and classroom observation • School staff Interviews 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Within-case thematic analysis
3. In what ways are language policies of the participating immigrant families in conversation with educational language policies?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Family language policies • School language policies • State language policy text 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Cross-case thematic analysis

The Pilot Study

I had previously piloted the protocols I used in this dissertation for parent survey, parent interview, child language log, and child interview. Parent survey and interview protocols were piloted in a previous research study that I conducted for my doctoral qualifying paper (Kaveh, 2017). The study described family language practices, beliefs, and management approaches in relation to maintenance of Persian in children of a group of Iranian immigrant families in the Northeast United States. The data were collected through an anonymous Qualtrics survey of 18 parents and in-depth follow-up interviews with seven parents in five volunteering families. The survey examined the families' linguistic repertoire, socioeconomic status, as well as their family language policy (i.e. language practices, language beliefs, and language strategies). There were separate sets of questions to measure each of those constructs. The interviews were in depth, semi-structured, and sought further information and details regarding the language policy of the participating families. I revised and adapted the parent survey and interview protocols in consultation with my dissertation committee members for use in this dissertation study. Additionally, I piloted child language log and interview protocol with eight bilingual children who were participants of the two research projects that I was a part of at the Wilson and Eliot schools in the previous year. Child interview protocols were also discussed with my dissertation committee members and revised after the pilot study.

Sample Selection

The Wilson and Eliot schools were chosen purposively for this study because of the distinct ethnolinguistic characteristics of their student populations. The selection of the participating families was done in three stages. The initial selection of the families who received the invitation to the study was also done purposively (Merriam, 1998; Patton, 1990). I consulted

the classroom teachers to identify children from families with one or two immigrant parent(s) who spoke a heritage language(s) other than English at home. One-parent families were also included as long as the parent was a first-generation immigrant. The teachers and I double-checked that with the children by asking them if their parents met the selection criteria. Since the selection criteria focused exclusively on parents, both U.S.- and foreign-born children were represented in the selected group of families. This was intended to reflect a more representative picture of “children of immigrants” in the U.S.

Additionally, selection of families was not exclusive to a specific heritage language either. This was decided because children of immigrants are not separated based on their heritage languages in schools and are generally, although not always, placed in similar public schools and classrooms. Therefore, it is not only appropriate, but also enlightening, if they are studied together when examining family language policies in relation to educational language policies. Eligible families received an invitation to the study, a paper-and-pencil survey, and a consent form for the survey

At the Wilson school, the children had been familiar with me through my presence in their class for another research project. Therefore, I introduced the study to them in order to let them know about the letters they were taking home. At the Eliot school where the children did not know me before this study, I worked with the classroom teachers (Ms. Cohen and Ms. O’Brien) to plan a whole-class read-aloud in their classrooms and introduce the study. I read the book “Home At Last”, which is about a family immigrating to the United States from Mexico and the linguistic challenges of the parents and the child as they adjust to the new country. After the read-aloud, I introduced the study to the children, the same way I did for the Wilson school.

The second round of selection depended on parents' willingness to participate. Therefore, the number of participating families was significantly narrowed down from the first to the second sample selection phase. Although the initial invitation highlighted that the responses to the survey were strictly confidential and participation was optional, I received a very low return upon the first attempt for recruiting families. I attribute this, at least partially, to the co-occurrence of this process with the beginning of the 45th U.S. president's term, which had created a sociopolitical climate of fear and anxiety, especially in immigrant communities. Therefore, the timing was not optimal to ask immigrant families to share their immigration experiences, even though the focus was on language. I had to change my strategy. Therefore, I sent home the consent forms again with a new letter that disclosed my identity as an immigrant and further clarified my purposes for conducting this study and my attempts for protecting the participants' anonymity (see Appendix 3). Although I needed parent interviews, child interviews, and school observations of a child for a family to fully participate in this study, I decided to give the families the option to selectively choose from these three options.

The second attempt yielded a 50% higher return rate. Seventeen eligible parents at the Wilson school and five parents at the Eliot school consented for their children to be a part of the study. Out of the 22 children, 20 gave me assent to participate. Those 20 children were given a language log and were later individually interviewed. However, out of the 22 parents who gave consent for their children at both schools, only seven (five at the Wilson and three at the Eliot) opted in for themselves to be interviewed. Therefore, I made the third and final selection purposively (Merriam, 1998; Patton, 1990) to choose four focal families in this study. This selection was made to ensure a balanced representation from all four classrooms, different heritage languages, male and female genders, and socioeconomic status.

Parent Survey

As mentioned, eligible families for this study who were identified with assistance from the teachers and the children received an invitation to the study and a paper-and-pencil survey (See Appendices 1 & 2). All the materials were translated in Spanish for Spanish-speaking families. The survey inquired about family language practices, as well as immigration history and socioeconomic status of families indexed by parents' education level, job status (Bornstein, Hahn, Swalsky, & Haynes, 2003; Bradley & Corwyn, 2002), and self-assessed English proficiency (Dixon, Wu, & Daraghmeh, 2012; Portes & Rumbaut, 2001). The invitation highlighted that responses to the survey were strictly confidential and participation was optional. Due to missing data in home surveys, they were ultimately not analyzed quantitatively and were not included in the main qualitative analysis. Instead, they helped build background information on families and their language policies.

Child Language Logs and Interviews

Three main sources of data were collected with the four focal children in this study: language use logs, individual interviews, and school observations. The children were given a language log (adapted from Brisk et al., 2004) to record their language use (English and heritage language), time, and place for a weekday and a weekend day (see Appendix 4). After the children returned their language logs, they were individually interviewed. Due to an expected unreliability of self-reported speech and that the completed language logs had missing data, they were only used as conversation starters for the interviews. During the semi-structured interviews, the children were asked to reflect on their language practices as documented in their logs (see Appendix 5 for child interview protocol). Additionally, they were asked about their language beliefs regarding English and their heritage language and the ways they thought their home,

school, community, peers, and media had contributed to shaping their language beliefs and practices. All interviews with the children were audio-recorded and transcribed verbatim. I took notes during the interviews and memoed shortly after to document my immediate reflections. Except for one child who was Spanish-dominant, Arturo, I conducted all the interviews in English. Given my limited proficiency in Spanish, I relied on the assistance of two Spanish-speaking colleagues to interview Arturo on two occasions. His interviews were later transcribed verbatim and then translated to English by an English-Spanish bilingual research assistant. Nevertheless, I listened to the interviews for any missing words and occasionally revised the translation to read more smoothly in English. I included the original Spanish utterances and their English translation in the final transcription that I used for data analysis.

Parent Interviews

The parent interviews were semi-structured and followed a protocol that focused on family language policies, including family language practice, parental language beliefs, and language management approaches (see Appendix 6 for parent interview protocol). In addition, the interviews inquired whether media, sociopolitical context of the society, the school, the state, and the country at large had shaped the way the parents and their children defined their family language policy.

All interviews were audio-recorded and transcribed verbatim for analysis. Only one parent (Ms. Valdés, Arturo's mother) indicated that she preferred to be interviewed in her heritage language, Spanish. One of the bilingual colleagues who interviewed Arturo also helped me interview his mother. Ms. Valdés had some proficiency in English. Therefore, the interview was done mainly in Spanish, but she occasionally switched to English to include me in the conversation. This bilingual interview was also transcribed verbatim and the Spanish parts were

translated by a bilingual research assistant. The Spanish parts were included with their English translation in the final transcription used for data analysis. Lastly, I took notes during all parent interviews and memoed afterwards to document immediate thoughts and reflections.

School Language Policy

I was not able to find any official language policy text on the online platforms of the two schools including their websites and social media. The principals confirmed that the schools did not have an official language policy documented anywhere. Four main data sources were collected to enrich my understanding of school language policies: school observations, interviews with four classroom teachers, interviews with two ESL coordinators, and interviews with two principals. As Johnson (2012) claims, “While a legal document may dictate a list of regulations, it is necessary to look at the way those rules are rationalized by social practices that are deemed as appropriate behavior” (p.56).

Classroom observations.

Each of the four focal children were observed for a duration of an entire school week with attention to their interactions with their classmates and teachers, as well as the positioning of their heritage languages in instructional practices (19 days of observation⁴, 117 hours total). I followed the children in their homerooms with the participating teachers and also during recess, lunchtime, and when they transitioned to classes with other teachers (e.g. ESL, chorus and music, physical education, art). I took extensive field notes, with observations and interpretations separated in two different columns in order to disentangle personal judgments, stories, and biases from descriptive observations, as much as possible (Olsen, 2008). Furthermore, I memoed

⁴ The week I observed Bruno’s class was a short week due to the Good Friday holiday.

shortly after each day to document immediate reactions and thought processes (Charmaz, 2003). More specifically, since I spent the majority of the time during the observations taking copious notes to capture the details that would be missed in the audio recordings, memoing provided an opportunity to reflect more analytically, and holistically, on each observation. I listened to all the 117 hours of classroom observation audios and chose selective excerpts for transcriptions that seemed related to answering the research questions. More specifically, I transcribed every interaction amongst children as well as between children and their teachers that involved use of non-English languages, talking about non-English languages, defining English words, explicit instruction about language, and teachers' use of any strategy to unpack English language instruction (see Chapters 6 and 7). I memoed during the transcription process on immediate reactions, or initial theorizing, related to my research questions. I agree with Lapadat and Lindsay (1999) that transcription is not merely a mechanical process. It is an "interpretive act" in which meaning is created and theories are initiated.

Teacher interviews.

In order to supplement the observations of teachers' classroom practices, it was important that I interviewed them in order to hear their language ideologies, thought processes, and reasoning behind choosing certain language practices. Additionally, since research studies have documented teachers' background to shape their views on bilingualism and emergent bilingual children (Karabenick & Noda, 2004; Lee & Oxelson, 2006; Lucas, Villegas, & Freedson-Gonzalez, 2008; Walker, Shafer, & Iiams, 2004), the interviews sought information on teachers' personal and professional experiences with language acquisition and bilingual development in order to better understand their perspectives (See Appendix 7 for classroom teachers interview protocol). Although I chose not to conduct member checks after I started data analysis,

conducting the interviews after the classroom observations allowed me to check in with the teachers about some of my observations. Scheduling the interviews after the observations also helped minimize the influence of interview questions on teachers' practices. In addition to the interviews, I had occasional conversations with the teachers during the observations to discuss their thought processes about certain lessons or strategies.

The ESL teachers were interviewed using a slightly different interview protocol than the classroom teachers, with additional questions on state language policy and the compliance process with that policy (See appendix 8. for ESL teachers interview protocol). All six teacher interviews were semi-structured. The interviews, and the occasional side conversations during the observations, were audio-recorded and transcribed verbatim. Additionally, I took notes during the interviews and memoed after each interview to document my reflections.

Principal interviews.

The principals at the Eliot and Wilson schools were interviewed to supplement my understanding of school language policy. Additionally, as discussed in chapter 2, principals have a critical role in accommodating interests of their stakeholders as well as their own views when implementing state and district guidelines regarding language. Therefore, it was important to explore whether the principals' practices and beliefs were in any way reflective of the English-only policy of the state or the larger societal language ideologies. The interviews with the principals also sought information on their personal and professional experiences with language acquisition and bilingual development in order to better understand their perspectives (See Appendix 9 for principal interview protocol). Both principal interviews were audio-recorded and transcribed verbatim. Lastly, I took notes during the interviews and memoed shortly after in order to document my thought processes.

Data Analysis

All interview transcriptions, selective school observation transcriptions, field notes, memos during and after data collection as well as memos during the transcription process were uploaded in the form of text in the data analysis software, MAXQDA, for qualitative thematic analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2006). Thematic analysis was quasi-deductive in which coding was partially informed by theoretical understanding and was further developed based on emergent patterns in the data. I concur with Saldaña (2016) that, “Coding requires that you wear your researcher’s analytic lens. But how you perceive and interpret what is happening in the data depends on what type of filter covers that lens and from which angle you view the phenomenon” (pp.7-8). For instance, while data on family language policies were coded for language practices, beliefs, and strategies based on the primary theoretical framework (Spolsky, 2004), additional situational factors such as sociopolitical context of the society and the role of extended family and community were defined as codes based on the pilot study (Kaveh, 2017) and conceptual understanding of the literature on family language policy. Similarly, some of the codes for teachers’ language practices to unpack their English-only instruction were informed by my conceptual understanding of various linguistically and culturally responsive models (Echevarria, Vogt & Short, 2004; Ladson-Billings, 1995, 2009; Lucas & Villegas, 2011). Still, I remained open to additional codes that emerged from the data.

Following Braun and Clarke’s (2006) 6-step procedure for thematic analysis, I familiarized myself with the data by listening to all the audios of school observations and interviews, including those that were in Spanish and the ones that had been professionally transcribed, before I initiated coding (stage one). Although the purpose of my analysis was not to analyze the discourse or speech patterns of the participants, it was very important for me to

personally re-engage with the audios and to note any additional information from the participants' choice of words, intonation, pauses, or emotional reactions, besides the content of the interviews that were conveyed through the transcriptions. After that, I started the thematic analysis by generating initial codes (stage two).

Given that my coding scheme was quite long at this stage, I went over the codes for each interview and classroom observation transcription again to double check my interpretation and combine any codes that were similar. I then re-organized the codes and put them under larger categories, or themes (stage three). At the same time, I reviewed the themes to make sure they worked in creating a general coding map for each case. I re-visited each transcription and occasionally renamed, or reduced, codes or themes, if necessary (stages four and five). I coded data for each unit of analysis (i.e. family and school) before moving to another. However, after coding two cases and establishing a solid coding scheme, I did not have to follow all the initial five stages. Still, I remained open to any unique codes that emerged for new cases. Lastly, before I wrote the findings for each context, I re-read the coded segments across different data sources for each theme. In order to do that, I activated the codes under the desired theme in MAXQDA and read all the segments from different data sources (i.e. transcriptions, field notes, memos) that were coded for that theme (stage 6). This provided me with a much clearer understanding of the overall language policies in each context. As Braun and Clarke (2006) suggest, I consider the writing process as the final opportunity for deepening the analysis.

Culminating Analysis

The culminating analysis for this study was done in two stages. First, I conducted a comparative cross-case analysis of overarching themes obtained within each context. More specifically, the culminating analysis brought together family language policies within and

across the two schools and put them in comparison with the school language policies in both contexts. In order to do so, similar themes obtained through the analysis of school and family language policies (e.g. language beliefs, language practices, and management approaches) were activated in MAXQDA and the coded segments were re-read in order to get a holistic picture of similarities and differences between homes and schools. Secondly, following the secondary theoretical framework for this study (Foucault, 1991), I linked the connections between family and school language policies to the state policy, and more importantly to the sociohistorical language ideologies of the U.S. I revisited the state language policy text and some of the seminal historical reviews of U.S. language policies (see Chapters one and two) in order to interpret the links between family and school language policies through “a genealogical lens” (looking to the past in order to understand the present).

Positionality and Reflexivity

“You don’t know my life!”

(Bruno, School observations, 4.12.17)

I approached this study as a researcher of family language policy and bilingualism, a multilingual Iranian immigrant woman who is living in exile, a former language teacher, and a doctoral candidate at a prestigious university. I engaged with my participants during data collection and data analysis embodying all those aspects of my identity and social locations. I concur with Lal (1996) that,

Identity and (inter)subjectivity...crosscut the boundaries of the dualism of home: work; field: academy; and personal: professional. I thus attempt to erase the boundaries that mark the domains of private: public in my life while simultaneously writing within them as they have been constituted, demarcated, and redrawn in the process of the encounters

and intersections of my history with the history of various disciplinary developments and the history of Others. (p.187)

The different spheres of my identity have shaped and guided my interactions with my participants in this study. Therefore, I was cognizant of my positionality at every stage of this research and applied it in establishing my relationships with the participants. As Ricento (2006) beautifully articulates,

The beginning of wisdom, is the recognition that “scientific” detached objectivity in such research is not possible, since researchers always begin with particular experiences and positions on what the social “good” might be and what sorts of changes in social (including language) policy might advance a particular vision of that good. (pp.11-12)

Consequently, rather than making a futile attempt to remain objective, I tried to acknowledge my sociocultural similarities and differences with my participants and their viewpoints during data collection and to document my biases in analyzing them.

Studying immigrant families’ battles to hold on to their heritage languages as a piece of their homeland while assuring success for their family is far more than an academically driven investigation for me, it is part of my own narrative. I was born and raised in Esfahan, Iran by parents who barely made it to high school and never had the opportunity to take English classes. Yet, I am able to express my thoughts in this standardized academic English because my mother enrolled me in afterschool English classes from early elementary grades and motivated me until I was admitted to study English at college and became an English teacher. My upbringing with my mother who was an advocate for my bilingual development has been an important inspiration for my interest in studying parents’ role in language development of children. Additionally, as an immigrant woman of color from a historically misrepresented country who speaks the “American

English” with an accent, I shared some of the challenges that my participants had experienced. I have witnessed the society, and at times the academy, racializing my body, language, and identity. Moreover, working towards a brighter future while living in a political limbo and being unable to return home, I understand that getting ahead while holding to one’s past do not have to be mutually exclusive when it comes to immigrants. I approach my work with immigrant parents, children of immigrants, and teachers of immigrant children embodying my experiences with these politics of inclusion.

I was also drawn to conduct this research not only as a researcher interested in dual language development in children of immigrants, but also as an activist who is fighting against linguistic inequality and coerced assimilation of immigrant populations in the United States. I have served as a volunteer with a few advocacy groups in Massachusetts who were working to reverse the English-only educational language policy of the state. Furthermore, since starting my doctoral studies, I have worked with K-8 teachers in Massachusetts (some of whom were a part of this study) on providing linguistically responsive instruction for bilingual children. Therefore, my strong presuppositions about what makes a linguistically responsive educational environment made me a subjective spectator. However, my professional training and work experience also allowed me to be more attentive to the nuances of inequality, equality, and equity in my analysis.

In addition, my personal and professional experiences allowed me to have a better, yet far from complete, understanding of my participants’ experiences, specifically the families. During data collection with the parents, I was transparent about my personal background and the reason I was drawn to this research. This transparency contributed positively to some parents’ level of comfort to open up about some of their experiences as immigrants. During the interviews, the parents and I occasionally discussed the challenges of obtaining paperwork in this country and

the obstacles for visiting home. The children mostly identified with me through our shared trait of bilingualism and that I was “not from here”, like their parents or other family members. Although I did not disclose my positionality to the children in the same way I did to their parents, by asking them to fill in a language log at the beginning of the study, I had registered myself as a “language person” to them. They were eager to speculate what language I spoke and where I came from. The children at the Wilson school were particularly interested in learning words in my language and teaching their languages to me. This would lead to a cross-linguistic comparison between our languages, often without my initiation.

Besides my nationality, linguistic skills, and research agenda, I disclosed details about my background as a first-generation college graduate with the children. Given our shared interests about languages, I wanted to also share my accomplishments as an immigrant with them in order to show them that they had even greater potentials for success. Thus, instead of aiming to remain an objective fly on the wall while attempting to be perceived as an insider, I positioned myself as a participant observer. I helped the children out (not just the focal children) during math and writing, I sat down with them during lunchtime and joined them on the playground for recess. I occasionally joined their conversations when they invited me. Apart from these moments of participation, I tried to take a step back when the teachers were interacting with the children or when the children were communicating amongst themselves.

Despite sharing these characteristics with the children and their parents, I had critical differences that set me apart from “some” of them such as fluency in a standardized English, a graduate degree, documentation, access to legal employment, and funding to study at a private university. Additionally, as a Middle Eastern woman I did not share the same ethnic, racial, linguistic, or cultural background with the children, the parents or the school staff. Furthermore,

despite the parents and the children's openness for sharing some aspects of their experiences, their perceptions of our educational, social, and power differences could have inhibited their openness about sharing other aspects of their experiences. As mentioned in the data collection procedures, starting this study coincided with the beginning of the 45th U.S. president's term, which had created fear in some immigrant communities. Therefore, the timing was not optimal to send an official letter from an educational institution to immigrant families to be a part of a study that examined their immigration experiences, albeit focused on language. Although these four parents volunteered to be a part of this study, there is no guarantee that they were not aware of the power dynamics that I was bestowed through my institutional affiliation. For instance, when I was expressing my gratitude to Lidia's father at the end of the interview, he said that he would do anything that would help his daughter's academic achievements. This is despite the fact that I had mentioned, multiple times, that this project was separate from the writing project I had been working on with Lidia and it would not have any direct, or immediate, impact on her educational outcomes.

During the interviews with all the participants, I tried to refrain from posing questions in a way that represented my viewpoints and influence their responses. Additionally, I also attempted to minimize my reactions to the participants' responses in order not to lead their subsequent answers. Nevertheless, I could not fully control my participants' perceptions. Despite my attempts to remain neutral during the questioning, the parents were clearly aware of my investment in this research and were possibly influenced by it. Tara's mother, Mrs. Hien, expressed during the interview that the questions made her reflect more closely on their family language policy. The following day, she sent me a text message to thank me because the interview had inspired her to rethink her language management approaches. Yet, I do not

consider this problematic. In fact, I take immense pride in that I was able to give back, even to one parent and at such a small scale, through this study.

Despite my explanations at the beginning of each stage of data collection, the children also had very different understandings of who I was and what I did in their classrooms, other than “a teacher” who was really interested in hearing about their languages. Although I started the week by announcing to the class that I was there to observe their school experiences in a typical week, some children thought I was a teacher aide and others thought I was a college student. Yet, because of the language logs, they all knew I was also interested in their home languages.

My positionality in relation to the classroom teachers greatly varied as well. I had worked with the Wilson school teachers for a few years prior to this study. Therefore, they were familiar with my research interests and were used to having me in their classrooms for occasional help during writing time. At the Eliot, I had worked with one of the teachers, Ms. Cohen, through another research project, but our collaboration involved working in professional development settings rather than in her classroom. Similarly, my level of familiarity with the children at the two school settings was also very different. While I had visited the participating classrooms at the Wilson school over the course of several months as a research assistant, I had not met my participants at the Eliot school until the time to disseminate the invitation to this study. Therefore, although all four teachers were generous in opening their classrooms to me, I was positioned very differently based on their level of comfort with my presence in their classrooms and my familiarity with the classrooms and school community.

Nevertheless, because of my inconsistent presence at both schools, I was ultimately an outsider in all four classrooms, for the children and their teachers. Although I had visited some of

those classrooms for months before I started this study, I had never been present in those spaces for more than a few hours in a day before starting this study. Bruno candidly reminded me of that as I tried to persuade him to filter out the loud screams of one of his classmates: “I can’t filter that. I have to deal with that everyday. You don’t know my life. You don’t know my life” (observation transcription, 4.12.17). Lastly, although most of the teachers did not seem intimidated by my presence in their instructional spaces, they were all conscious of it during their daily interactions. For instance, despite the amazing support of the ESL teacher at the Wilson school for this project, I recall how nervous she was on the first day that I sat in her small room during her lesson with Arturo. Although I had made it clear that I was not proficient in Spanish, she was worried that she “butchered” her Spanish in front of me. Similarly, although the classroom teachers claimed not to be worried that I was writing a “report card” to their principal, they occasionally checked in with me to ask whether I was “seeing anything” relevant to my purpose.

In conclusion, I attempted to acknowledge, and watch for, my positionality in my interactions with my participants. Additionally, I also tried to remain conscious of it in my interactions with the data. During the data collection, I separated direct observations from reflections in my field notes in two separate columns. Similarly, shortly after each interview and observation and also during data analysis, I memoed extensively on “what I saw/heard” and “how I interpreted it”. Additionally, I coded each piece of data at least twice, on separate occasions, in order to make sure my judgments were consistent. Lastly, I acknowledge and accept that my scholarly voice presented in this study reflects all those different spheres of my identity that I discussed here. However, I have tried to maintain a balance by presenting an in-depth analysis of each case through relying heavily on evidence from the data before drawing

conclusions that would idolize or demonize any single one of the wonderfully diverse individuals who participated in this study.

Preface to Findings

Theoretical Shift

This study was initially conceptualized to examine the connections between language policies in four immigrant families with children enrolled in fourth grade and educational language policies at the schools, the districts, and the state of Massachusetts. My goal was to study the agency of children, parents, teachers, and principals as micro-level language policy arbiters, while examining if/how the state English-only policy was informing their language decisions. However, as I engaged in the data collection and data analysis, I came to see a much more dynamic interplay between language policies at homes, schools, and the larger society. This led to a theoretical shift in the culminating analysis from examining the links between language policies at homes and schools with one macro policy to focusing on what connected language policies at homes and schools.

For the culminating analysis, this study applied Foucault's (1991) theory of governmentality in effort to understand language policies in schools and families as representations of monoglossic ideologies rooted in the U.S. history to establish a standardized American English. These ideologies function as eminent, and powerful, yet unspoken governing forces that occur through socialization of individuals in different spaces, including schooling. Although this shift is not unexpected in qualitative research, it did not allow for the data collection to pay even closer attention to, or hear the participants' perceptions of their agency in a general sense (including but not limited to language) as members of the U.S. society. However, I attempted to compensate for that by conducting the cross-case comparisons between the participants' language beliefs and practices through the lens of governmentality in the culminating analysis.

A Guide to the Findings

This dissertation takes a “genealogical approach” towards understanding language policies in schools and families, that looks to language policies of the past in order to understand the current policies and practices, rather than focusing on their connections with one state language policy. By doing so, this study aims to disrupt a top-down view of language policy implementation. Accordingly, the presentation of the findings follows a bottom-up trajectory to understand the creation, appropriation, and instantiation of language policies in families, classrooms, and schools. This structural approach puts the agency of children, parents, teachers, and principals (in that order) at the forefront while connecting their language decisions and paying attention to the sociohistorical ideologies shaping those decisions. Therefore, the findings are presented in the following order:

Table 4.1.

Organizational Structure of Findings Mapped with Research Questions

Chapter	Research Question
Chapter 4- Language policies of the Wilson school families	(1) What are family language policies of immigrant families in the two participating schools, as described by children and parents?
Chapter 5- Language policies of the Eliot school families	(1) What are family language policies of immigrant families in the two participating schools, as described by children and parents?
Chapter 6- The Wilson school language policies	(2) What are the educational language policies of these two schools regarding English and heritage languages?
Chapter 7: The Eliot School Language Policies	(2) What are the educational language policies of these two schools regarding English and heritage languages?
Chapter 8: Discussion	(3) In what ways are language policies of the participating immigrant families in conversation with educational language policies?

Following the first theoretical framework for the study (Spolsky, 2004), chapters 4-7 are each broken down in language beliefs, practices, and management approaches to present language policies in homes and schools. Chapter 8 presents a comparative analysis of family language policies and school language policies in the two contexts. It also brings language policies at homes and schools together and investigates their connections to the state language policy and more importantly the historical language policies and ideologies of the U.S.

This dissertation follows the traditional format in the sense that it presents findings on within-case analysis in chapters 4-7 without discussing major links to the literature or to the aforementioned sociohistorical ideologies. This decision has been made for two reasons. Firstly, reading about the language policies one case at a time provides the reader of this work with a deeper and more focused understanding of each case before comparing them to other cases in this study or those in previous research. Secondly, presenting the collective links between the language beliefs and practices of the participants and the sociohistorical ideologies in the U.S. will provide a more compelling narrative, without singling out one individual for their beliefs or practices. However, this does not suggest that the findings will be simply descriptive and detached from theory. The introduction of each chapter will explain the analytical processes for arriving at the findings and the organizational structure of their presentation. Lastly, the conclusions and interpretations on each case will include some overarching analysis and connection to theories in order to lay the groundwork for the discussion where I present the findings from the culminating analysis.

Chapter 4

Language Policies of the Wilson School Families

This chapter presents language policies in the two participating families at the Wilson school: The Valdés family and the Fontes family. The Valdés family was from the Dominican Republic and spoke Spanish as their heritage language. The Fontes family was from Cape Verde and spoke Cape Verdean Creole as their heritage language. This chapter is divided in two main sections, one for each family. Each section starts with an introduction on the focal child and the parent and continues with the analysis of family language policies based on the recounts provided by the child and the parent. The findings on language policies in each family close with interpretations and conclusions for that family.

Family Language policy of Arturo Valdés: A Case Study

The Valdés family was from the Dominican Republic and spoke Spanish as their heritage language. The family was comprised of Arturo, his younger brother, his mother (Ms. Valdés), and Ms. Valdés's partner. Arturo and his mother participated in this study and provided the descriptions for their family language policies. The Valdés family language policy is documented based on the thematic analysis of three sources of data: Arturo's language log, interview with Arturo, and interview with his mother. Following the main theoretical framework for this study (Spolsky, 2004), the codes from within-case analysis were organized under three main themes: family language practices, family language beliefs, and family language management. Additionally, a fourth theme was identified as "family language decisions informed by educational language policies" based on the codes that connected family language policies to educational language policies.

Arturo

Arturo was an energetic, small-figured, 10-year-old boy with dark brown skin, light eyes, which he described green, and curly black hair. His mother, Ms. Valdés, described him as “*super*” (super), “*mega flaco*” (really skinny), and “*tranquilo, sosegado, pausado*” (calm, and quiet). Ms. Valdés contrasted Arturo to his two-year-old brother who was “chubby”, “noisy”, and an “earthquake who likes to move”. Arturo was born in the U.S., but Ms. Valdés sent him to the Dominican Republic shortly after his birth to live with his grandmother because Ms. Valdés did not have documentation at the time and could not afford to have him here. Arturo came back to the U.S. in December of 2016, only a few months before this study, and started attending the Wilson school just after the New Year holidays.

Arturo was an emergent bilingual; he was fully proficient in Spanish and was developing his English. He attended school in the Dominican Republic and had advanced literacy skills in Spanish. He was beginning to develop literacy in English. Arturo’s ESL teacher, Ms. Sullivan, described his Spanish literacy skills as “beautiful” and believed he could read “very well” in English, but his comprehension was still limited. Arturo was proud to be “*de doble ciudadanía*” (of dual citizenship), although his emergent bilingual mind was still searching for the right word to describe the name of his birthplace, in either of his languages:

*Interviewer: ¿Y dónde naciste?*⁵

And where were you born?

Arturo: Emmm, ay, em, Ay a mi se me olvida porque se me confunde Nueva York y New York. No sé. Uno de las dos. Se me olvida. No sé.

Emmm, ay, um, ay I forget because I confuse Nueva York and New York. I don’t know. One of the two. I forget. I don’t know. (Interview transcription, 5.26.17)

I relied on the help from two Spanish-speaking colleagues to interview Arturo on two

⁵ See Appendix 10 for transcription notations.

occasions within a month (May 26, 17 and June 26, 17). Arturo was not very talkative during the first interview and answered several questions with responses such as “*No sé*” (I don’t know), or “*No recuerdo mi pasado*” (I don’t remember my past). Therefore, we attempted the interview for a second time to gain more insight from him. Once again, he responded with “*no me recuerdo de memoria*” (I don’t know and I and I don’t remember) a few times, and some occasional goofy answers, but the second interviewer was able to open the conversation a bit more by making jokes and creating a more comfortable rapport with him. I think Arturo’s reservation in responding was partially due to his quiet personality. During my visits to the school, I had observed him to be quiet and calm in class, but I have also seen him running fast and laughing out loud during recess, physical education, or anywhere other than the classroom. Therefore, perhaps he did not feel fully comfortable sitting down with a stranger for an interview despite the interviewers’ attempts to make the conversation informal. Lastly, both of Arturo’s interviews happened toward the end of the year. On the first interview, he had just returned from DR with his mother to bring his younger brother. The second interview happened only a few days before the school ended. It was a hot late June afternoon and the school was extremely humid as well. Arturo was wearing a white tank top and looked sweaty, exhausted, and ready to go home.

Arturo’s Mother: Ms. Valdés

Arturo’s mother, Ms. Valdés, was a 40-year-old single mother from the Dominican Republic. As mentioned previously, she had two sons, 10 and 2 years old named Arturo and Luis. She worked as a babysitter in the suburbs and was also pursuing her undergraduate education in the field of early childhood education. She was the only participating parent who had asked to be interviewed in her heritage language on the survey. Therefore, I asked a Colombian Spanish-speaking colleague to communicate with her from the beginning to schedule

the interview. My colleague and I met Ms. Valdés at her apartment on a Saturday morning in early June. Our interview had to be postponed for almost a month because she was busy with her studies and had to go to DR to bring back her younger son.

Ms. Valdés lived on the second floor of a small apartment building in the same neighborhood as the Wilson school. The Wilson school is located in the largest neighborhood in the city. Thus, Ms. Valdés's apartment was still a 10-15 minute drive to the school. Her apartment door opened to a small hallway heading directly to the kitchen. Arturo was standing in the doorway as we entered. Ms. Valdés invited us to sit in the living room. She was very warm and told us to feel at home in her house. The house was filled with everyone's belongings but was fairly organized. It was as warm and homey as a family home can be on a weekend morning, albeit not having many luxuries. Ms. Valdés had placed a plate of omelet and bread on the living room table. As we sat down, she came in with two large mugs containing "avena", hot oatmeal drink made with milk and cinnamon. She described the special bread she was serving with a lot of passion. She was portraying her origins so proudly, loudly, and masterfully with her breakfast (see Figure 4.1).



Figure 4.1. Breakfast table prepared by Ms. Valdés.

After a few minutes of casual conversation to get acquainted, we got started with the interview. Before we started, I explained to her that I was doing this research because I am an immigrant myself and studying heritage languages use in immigrant households was close to my heart. Ms. Valdés said that she thought everyone in the house was an immigrant, pointing to my colleague and me. Throughout the interview, Ms. Valdés spoke mostly in Spanish, but when we exchanged looks she sometimes switched to English. Being aware that my presence as a non-Spanish speaker inevitably invited English into the space, I tried to avoid eye contact with Ms. Valdés and jotted down notes to allow her to speak Spanish more freely to my colleague.

I found Ms. Valdés to be energetic, motivated, assertive, and very descriptive. She was a faithful believer in education, a practicing Catholic, a motivator for those around her, and a hard worker. She worked for more than 50 hours a week. Yet, she managed to go to college to study early childhood education because she wanted it to be a legacy and a model for her children:

Ms. Valdés: Estoy en una etapa en mi vida en que no debería estar estudiando, este, Más en cambio lo sigo haciendo porque es una de las cosas que le quiero dejar de legado a mis hijos para que no tengan excusa cuando estén grandes. O sea, soy una madre soltera, tengo dos hijos, no tengo familia en este país, trabajo más de, de 50 horas a la semana, voy a un college, soy responsable de todas mis cosas aquí con mis hijos y en gran parte mi familia en mi país también y aún así estoy estudiando.

I'm at a stage in my life when I should not be studying, um. But instead I continue to do it because it is one of the things I want to leave my children as a legacy so that they have no excuse when they are older. That is, I am a single mother, I have two children, I have no family in this country, I work more than 50 hours a week, I go to a college, I am responsible for all my things here with my children and in large part my family in my country too and I'm still studying.

Interviewer: Muy guerrera!

Such a warrior! (Interview transcription, 6.3.17)

Ms. Valdés was indeed a warrior. She had come to the U.S. 10 years before this study to live with her boyfriend at the time. Per their lawyers' recommendation, she obtained a visitor visa to come to the U.S. and await the immigration process. However, soon after her arrival, her relationship got complicated with her boyfriend and she decided to leave him and live with her

uncle's family. Yet, shortly after her breakup, she found out that she was pregnant with Arturo. After giving birth to Arturo, she decided to find a job to gain independence from her uncle's family. At the same time, she found out that her unattended immigration case had been expired. She had no savings and had to save up for the \$5,000 legal fees. With no documentation, finding employment was also very challenging. Therefore, when Arturo was about two years old, she decided to send him to DR to live with her mother as she did not want him to be a part of her hardships. Ms. Valdés described those early years, "*muy pero muy duros*" (very very hard). In her opinion, immigrants need to be "very focused" and have "emotional strength" and "a good approach" if they do not wish to return to their country. For seven years, Ms. Valdés worked very hard as a worker in a few restaurants and other places and minimized her life expenses, including the number of meals she ate during a day, in order to save for the legal fees. She resisted those challenges and was able to obtain legal documentation and bring her family together.

Language Beliefs, as Described by Arturo and his Parent

Arturo liked speaking Spanish, because it was his primary language "*mi primer lenguaje*" and that it made him feel "*bien*" (good). However, he recalled feeling the proudest of speaking Spanish when he was in his hometown, Santo Domingo, in the Dominican Republic. He related the pride to the rarity of English speakers over there: "*Porque allá casi no hablan ingles, no hablan ingles allá.*" (Because hardly anyone speaks English there, they don't speak English there). Arturo mentioned, a few times, that speaking English embarrassed him. This was his only challenge with his bilingualism at the time:

Interviewer: ¿a ti te parece difícil tener que hablar dos idiomas, como ingles aquí, español en casa?

Does it seem difficult to you having to speak two languages? Like English here, Spanish at home?

Arturo: un poquito.

A little.

Interviewer: ¿Por qué?

Why?

Arturo: Porque me da vergüenza hablar ingles.

Because it embarrasses me to speak English.

Interviewer: ¿Porque te da vergüenza? [Long pause, no answer] ¿Por la pronunciación?

Why does it embarrass you? [Long pause, no answer] Because of the pronunciation?

Arturo: No, No sé. [laughs] No sé.

No, I don't know. [laughs] I don't know.

Interviewer: ¿Porque todavía no lo hablas muy bien?

Because you still do not speak it well?

Arturo: No. Sí, pero yo creo no sé me da vergüenza.

No. Yes, but I think I don't know, it makes me embarrassed.

Interviewer: Te da vergüenza.

You get embarrassed.

Arturo: Sí.

Yes. (Interview transcription, 5.26.17)

Arturo showed uncertainty about the reason why he was embarrassed of speaking English, but he instantly answered negatively, twice, to the interviewer's presumption that the embarrassment was due to his English proficiency level. He expressed that speaking English just made him embarrassed, without stating the reason. Linking this back to his pride for Spanish in Santo Domingo due to the absence of English speakers, it seems that the lack of comfort with English or pride in Spanish was possibly caused by his consciousness of the judgments of the language speakers surrounding him. Naturally, he felt more proud to speak his stronger language in the company of speakers of that language.

Although Arturo was facing some challenges with his emergent bilingualism, he still believed, strongly, that bilingualism was beneficial for him and for other children, because it could facilitate communication between them:

Porque cuando tengo que hablar, Cuando alguien puede hablar un idioma y yo sé hablar ese idioma me gusta... cuando habla un idioma que yo si sé me gusta o cuando tienen un idioma que estoy aprendiendo.

Because when I have to talk, when someone can talk a language and I know how to talk

that language, I like it...when they speak a language I know, I like it or when they have a language that I am learning. (Interview transcription, 5.26.17)

Related to his pragmatic thinking about the benefit of bilingualism for facilitating communication, he considered learning English important because it helped him speak with other people. He expected English to become more prevalent in his life, but he did not seem to believe that forgetting Spanish was ever a possibility. Arturo wanted to learn all the languages that he could fit in his mind “*los todos los idiomas que me caben en la mente*”. Similarly, he believed his Spanish-English bilingual friends should maintain Spanish to be able to communicate with “him”: “*Para que puedan hablar conmigo*” (So that they can speak with me). Furthermore, he suggested that schools should hire bilingual teachers from other countries to help children learn more languages and become “more intelligent”:

Que dejan viajar a los profesores de otros países para que también puedan aprender en sus idiomas... Para que sea un mundo mejor para todos... porque así es, pueden tener más inteligencia.

Let teachers from other countries travel so that they can also learn in their languages... to make it a better world for everyone... because like that is, they (*children*) can have more intelligence. (Interview transcription, 6.26.17)

Arturo’s mother was also very proud of her heritage, language, and culture as a “Hispana”. She was a strong believer in prioritizing Spanish in her household. She expressed that she “always” felt proud of speaking Spanish. The only time she felt embarrassed of speaking Spanish was when she could not remember a word in English and had to say it in Spanish. Ms. Valdés always prioritized using Spanish with her children, even in company of English speakers, who she identified as “*los blancos*” (the Whites). For instance, she chose to use Spanish to discipline her children, and the children she babysat, in front of English speakers, despite their occasional interventions to push her to speak English. However, she felt validated to use Spanish with her children by the White English-speaking families who had hired her for her Spanish skills: “*Me pagan a mi para que enseñe español, como no se lo voy a enseñar a mis hijos*” (They

pay me to teach Spanish, so how would I not teach that to my children?). Ms. Valdés started laughing while stating this, as if it was ridiculous for her not to teach Spanish to her children when the English-speaking families wanted their children to be bilingual.

It was also important for Ms. Valdés that her children maintained Spanish because of its global prominence: “Spanish is one of the most important languages in the world, among the most widely spoken languages in the world, the first one is Mandarin, the second is Spanish, and the third is English” (Interview transcription, 6.3.17). Ms. Valdés did not specifically associate the importance of keeping Spanish to their heritage or culture. She was assured that the future of the world was going to be bilingual, and therefore, it was important that her children “master” Spanish and English.

She had a very particular definition for “mastery” of Spanish. She took pride in her “generalized” (*un español generalizado*), and thereby correct, version of Spanish. She claimed to speak a universal Spanish without using phrases such as “*Tato!*” or “*Como anda?*” that signified her as a Dominican. Consequently, it was very important to her that everyone in her house, including her boyfriend, spoke the right kind of Spanish. Use of correct Spanish was a bigger concern for her at the time than her children’s speaking English.

Despite her belief in the global value of Spanish, Ms. Valdés made it very clear that the future of her children, or children of immigrants, who live in this English-speaking country was in English:

Su futuro es que sea en inglés. Hay que tener claro eso. Si a ellos son de una nación que su idioma es ingles entonces ellos tienen que tener un buen ingles. El hecho de que yo, mi función es darle y reforzarle el español. La función del país es darle y reforzarle el inglés. Pero los dos tienen que ir de la mano.

Their future is in English. That should be clear. If they are from a nation whose language is English then they have to have a good English. The fact that I, my role is to give and reinforce Spanish. The country's role is to give and reinforce English. But the two have to go hand in hand. (Interview transcription, 6.3.17)

Ms. Valdés distinguished between “her role” and “the country’s role” and she considered the maintenance of Spanish her responsibility. She expressed that she would feel disappointed if her children forgot their Spanish. In her opinion, parents should persist on their efforts to maintain their heritage languages and not be distracted by the promise of English development in themselves by speaking it to their children.

Despite her sense of pride in being a “Hispana”, she expressed two major issues with “her community”, the “Hispanos”. Firstly, she thought the community needed to be more united and fight better for their rights. She believed, “*si los hispanos fuéramos más unidos, tuviéramos medio mundo en nuestras manos*” (If Hispanics were more united, we would have half the world in our hands). She felt the Latinx community could participate more widely in activism in a variety of forms, including small roles or organizing community movements that she had done in the past. In lieu of her dissatisfaction with unity in her community, she believed that sometimes “*los americanos de alma noble*” (the noble Americans) did better in defending Latinx rights.

Her second disappointment with the Latinx community had to do with the attitudes of some parents toward their heritage language and its impacts on bilingual development of their children. Once again, she compared “*los Hispanos*” (the Hispanics) to “*el Americano*” (The American) to show that the Americans were more progressive when it came to bilingual parenting:

Si, claro el Americano es inteligente. Los únicos que somos torpes son los Hispanos a veces que ni si quiera saben hablar. Me da tristeza. No saben ni si quiera hablar bien el español, no saben inglés y le hablan a los niños desde que entran en la escuela en inglés. Y a veces no saben como decir una palabra le dicen ‘That! This!’ No lo saben ni si quiera decir porque no hablan ningún idioma.

Yes, of course the American is intelligent. The only one of us who is dumb is the Hispanics. Sometimes they (*the children*) do not even know how to speak. It saddens me. They (*parents*) do not even know how to speak Spanish, [*self-corrects*], They (*parents*) do not know English and they talk to their children since they go to school in English.

And sometimes they (*children*) do not know how to say a word. They say ‘That! This!’ They do not even know what to say because they do not speak any language. (Interview transcription, 6.3.17)

Ms. Valdés related English speakers’ support for bilingualism to their intelligence and Latino’s use of English to lack thereof. She disapproved of the Latinx parents who switched to English and deprived their children of developing a strong base in any language. Yet, she did not seem to believe those parents’ choice of language, albeit unwise, had less to do with their lack of intelligence and more to do with their personal sufferings with not knowing English well in this country. At the same time, she did not seem to consider that English-speaking Americans who wanted their children to learn Spanish already possessed a strong base in the language of power in this society.

This is not to suggest that Ms. Valdés was not conscious of the role of race and socioeconomic class in relation to language. Despite her admiration of the “noble” and “intelligent” Americans, she believed that they could also be “demanding” when it came to judging non-English speakers for their language use. She believed the American’s viewpoints on language depended on the racial, linguistic, and cultural demographics of the area they lived in. She explained that in some suburban neighborhoods, the English-speakers, which she referred to as “White people, or racist people, in especial” did not have a lot of compassion to try to understand a person who was not proficient in English and would react by saying, “What?? What is it? You are an American you need to speak in English. If you do not speak English, quit of an American” (Interview transcription, 6.3.17). Yet, she further distinguished one of the suburban towns because its residents were more highly educated and preferred Latinx nannies for their children. However, she elaborated that their preference for bilingual nannies was also driven by self-interest in order to allow their children to become bilingual. Ms. Valdés’s

examples of White English-speakers' divergent beliefs about speaking Spanish based on who spoke it and who benefited from it illustrate "raciolinguistic ideologies" (Flores & Rosa, 2015). Raciolinguistic ideologies position speakers of prestige or non-prestige language varieties not based on what they actually do with language, but with attention to who they are and how they are heard by the White listening subjects. The people in the towns that Ms. Valdés described as "racist" perceived Spanish-dominant bilinguals of color through raciolinguistic and nationalistic ideologies by asking them to speak English since they were in America. While in the other town that she described as more progressive, bilingual Latinx nannies were popular only because their language resources benefited the children of the White English speakers.

Ms. Valdés related people's discriminatory views on language and race in these suburban towns to the systemic racism underlying the racial segregation in the housing market in different neighborhoods in the city:

This is a point that in the United States, they don't talk about that. Because they want to cover up that here there is no racists. But there are a high percent of racists in America. I knew that for example if you will buy some house, when you try to buy some house for example in (*names a predominantly White suburban neighborhood*), I don't know what happened, but just White people bought house over there. Why? That is not coincidence. (Interview transcription, 6.3.17)

She further explained that the people who processed mortgage applications considered the homebuyers' race and ethnicity in order to determine if they would be approved to live in a certain neighborhood. While the issue of housing might not seem closely related to the subject of "language policies" at hand, the other cases in this study will show how such racial, linguistic, and cultural segregations that makeup neighborhoods and school contexts can shape the way languages, cultures, and identities are evaluated.

Family Language Practices, as Described by Arturo and his Parent

Based on Arturo's recount during the interview and his language log (see Figures 4.2 &

4.3), the language he spoke the most at home was Spanish. He mentioned that he used Spanish for almost everything, including speaking to his mother, brother, his mother's partner, and even his animal toys. Although his mother used Spanish to speak with Arturo, she sometimes used English for communicating with people from the outside, for example the maintenance company who came to fix things around the house. Even in those circumstances, Ms. Valdés used Spanish when possible. Another way Arturo was exposed to English at home was through the TV. He watched some cartoons in English, despite the fact that he (admittedly) understood only some part of them. He was able to understand English cartoons better when he had already watched their Spanish version. Outside home, Arturo spoke English only "when necessary" (*Cuando es necesario*) at school and during track and basketball practices, where people did not understand Spanish. Even in those spaces, he used any chance to speak Spanish to those who understood him.

Arturo's mother, Ms. Valdés also described their family language practices as "*Español todo el tiempo*" (Spanish all the time), with a strong emphasis in her tone, typical of her expressiveness. Spanish was spoken between all family members: "*Todo el mundo aquí, español*" (Everyone here, Spanish) (Interview transcription, 6.3.17). She attributed the absence of English in their house to their emerging English proficiency. Yet, she expected that to change eventually. In contrast to Arturo's prediction that he will not lose Spanish, Ms. Valdés predicted that Arturo would lose his Spanish once he became more fluent in English. She even expected that she would have to speak English to her children by the time they reached adolescence.

Date: 5/5/2017

Weekend Language Use Log

tiempo Actividades lugar español inglés

Time	Activities	Place	Heritage language speaking/listening/reading/writing	English speaking/listening/reading/writing
6 a.m.	me preparo para ir a la escuela	Casa		
7 a.m.	esperaba al bus	parada de bus	hablo español	
8 a.m.	llego a la escuela	escuela	hablo y escribo en español	hablo en inglés
9 a.m.	estudiando matemáticas	escuela	hablo y escribo en español	hablo en inglés
10 a.m.	Clase	escuela		escribo en inglés y traducción
11 a.m.	desayuno y clase	escuela	hablo en español	
12 p.m.	haciendo tareas	Casa	escribo en español	
1 p.m.	clase de matemáticas	escuela		hablo en inglés
2 p.m.	me preparo para ir a la escuela	escuela	hablo en español y en inglés	
3 p.m.	llego a mi casa	Casa	hablo en español	
4 p.m.	veo mis amigos	Casa		hablo en inglés
5 p.m.	mi mamá llega	Casa	hablo español y en inglés	
6 p.m.	seguir	Casa	hablo en español	
7 p.m.	me baño	Casa	hablo en español	
8 p.m.				
9 p.m.	vi un video	Casa	algo en español	
10 p.m.	me acosté	Casa		
11 p.m.				
7 a.m.				

Figure 4.2. Arturo's weekday language log.

Date:

Weekend Language Use Log

tiempo Actividades lugar hablo en español hablo en inglés

Time	Activities	Place	Heritage language speaking/listening/reading/writing	English speaking/listening/reading/writing
7 a.m.	en la cama	Casa		
8 a.m.	Desayunarse	Casa	en español	
9 a.m.	Corriendo	donde yo corra		hablo en inglés
10 a.m.	corriendo	donde yo corra		hablo en inglés
11 a.m.	corriendo	donde yo corra		hablo en inglés
12 p.m.	ordenando cosas	restaurant	hablo en español	
1 p.m.	comer	Casa	hablo en español	
2 p.m.	televisión	Casa	allí en español	
3 p.m.	jugar con los amigos	Casa	hablo en español	
4 p.m.				
5 p.m.				
6 p.m.				
7 p.m.				
8 p.m.				
9 p.m.				
10 p.m.				
11 p.m.				
7 a.m.				

Figure 4.3. Arturo's weekend language log.

Similar to Arturo, Ms. Valdés only used English to communicate with people outside home, mainly her bosses. Yet, the family she worked for did not only want her to speak Spanish to their child, the mother had also asked Ms. Valdés to communicate with her in Spanish because it would provide additional advantages to her at work. Ms. Valdés described this arrangement as

a little game, “*como ese jueguito*”.

Family Language Management Approaches, as Described by Arturo and his Parent

According to Arturo, there were no rules for language use at their house and anyone could speak any language they wanted. Although Arturo’s mother also agreed that there were no rules for using English versus Spanish in their house, there was a “norm” for speaking Spanish properly and “correctly”. Ms. Valdés’s language strategy, or norm, goes back to her belief in valuing a generalized Spanish. She made a constant effort to speak correct Spanish and to push her family members to use grammatically “correct” sentence structures and pronunciations.

In addition to verbal communications in Spanish, Arturo had access to Spanish in a few other ways. His mother brought home books in Spanish, and occasionally in English, from the library in order to help with his bilingual development. Ms. Valdés was very strategic about the linguistic level of the books she chose for Arturo. She had been disappointed that her online searches for bilingual or Spanish children books often resulted in expensive “baby books”. She was planning to ask Arturo’s teacher, Ms. Murphy, where she bought the Spanish books that she sent home with Arturo. When Ms. Valdés traveled to the Dominican Republic earlier that year, she was able to “take advantage” of the opportunity and buy many Spanish books for Arturo.

Besides books, Arturo also had access to Spanish TV and cartoons at home. Additionally, his mother relied on the community of Spanish speakers in their neighborhood, mainly the church, to help normalize Spanish speaking for him. Ms. Valdés believed that having a community of heritage language speakers was very important in creating a sense of normalcy. She believed that when children are surrounded by a community in which no one understands their heritage language, they will consider themselves “weird”. Arturo did not attend any Spanish

language classes, but his mother was looking forward to the following year when he would start Sunday classes in Spanish in preparation for the communion.

Nevertheless, Ms. Valdés believed that heritage language maintenance mainly required persistence from parents. Therefore, her ultimate advice for parents who wanted to keep their heritage languages was to speak their language to their children and to read to them in that language:

Seguir hablando en español. Impulsarlo a que lea en español... “Hablarles, que lean, conservarlo. Porque de nosotros los padres depende que ellos lo conservan o lo pierdan. Keep talking in Spanish. Encourage him to read in Spanish. Talk to them, read to them, preserve it. Because it depends on us as parents for them preserve it or lose it. (Interview transcription, 6.3.17)

Family Language Decisions Informed by Educational Language Policies

Ms. Valdés was not aware of the English-only educational policy of the state. After my colleague and I introduced the policy to her, she expressed that it made her “very sad”. She wished the ballot initiative would be introduced again for her to vote in favor of bilingual education. Ms. Valdés, however, was happy with the way Arturo’s school welcomed families. She was also very satisfied with her communications with the school. She received correspondence both in English and Spanish and every time she visited the school, she was able to speak with the school staff, the secretary, and a lower grade teacher in Spanish. In addition, Ms. Valdés seemed fully aware of the strategies that Arturo’s classroom teacher used to help him with language including use of Spanish materials, peer translators, and providing special accommodations for him at the time of testing:

Cuando tiene examen, que a Arturo no le corresponden porque son en inglés, y no lo entiende, mueve a Arturo a otra aula le busca que tenga una ubicación, que tenga que esté haciendo algo en esa ubicación donde lo pone. O sea, es una muy buena...es una muy buena maestra.

She gives, when they have an exam, that does not pertain to Arturo because they are in English, and he doesn’t understand it, she moves Arturo to another classroom, looks for a

placement, gives him something to do in that placement. I mean, she is a very good, she is a very good teacher. (Interview transcription, 6.3.17)

According to Ms. Valdés, the teachers at Arturo's school never commented about the languages that should be used at their home: "*No. uh-uh. Eso ellos no se meten. Al contrario, la profesora me gestiona libros en español a Arturo*" (No. Uh-uh. They do not get involved there. On the contrary, the teacher lends Spanish books to Arturo). Ms. Valdés believed that her family language policy had not been shaped by the English-dominant language practices of the school yet, but she expected that to change:

No, al contrario, porque yo sé que en poco tiempo va a perder un poco del español cuando empiece a unirse demasiado al inglés. Pero no, ahora mismo estoy feliz con el español, y el no ha perdido nada del español.

No, on the contrary, because I know that in a short time he is going to lose some of the Spanish when he begins to learn too much English. But no, I'm happy with Spanish right now, and he has not lost any of the Spanish. (Interview transcription, 6.3.17)

Although Ms. Valdés was asked whether Arturo's schooling had affected their use of Spanish at home "in any way", she began her answer with "on the contrary", which implies that she could have assumed the question was seeking a negative impact for schooling. This says a lot about her perceptions of our opinions as researchers of bilingualism as well as the popular notions around the impact of schooling on heritage languages among immigrants. Ms. Valdés predicted that "in a short time" her son was going to lose some of his Spanish as he began "to learn too much English". As mentioned previously, she even expected herself to switch to English once her children reached adolescence.

Arturo's Family Language Policy Interpretations and Conclusions

Spanish was the dominant language of interactions in Arturo's family. Arturo was Spanish-dominant and his language of choice was Spanish at home and school. He only used English "when necessary" in English-speaking environments such as school and sport practices.

He felt embarrassed of speaking English and felt the proudest of speaking Spanish where no English speakers were around, such as in Santo Domingo. Similarly, although his mother had lived in this country for a longer time and was more proficient in English, she still felt more comfortable using Spanish, even in front of English speakers who could not understand her. Therefore, language practices of Arturo's family were determined by the language proficiency of the family members as well as the context and the people involved in a conversation. These conditions align with the extended variables shaping language choice proposed in Spolsky's (2004) language policy model, which include speakers' language proficiency, the desire to achieve an advantage by using their stronger language, and the desire to achieve an advantage by accommodating the wishes of a given audience. Like many other immigrant parents, Arturo's mother relied on additional language strategies besides daily conversations in order to maintain Spanish at home such as reading books, watching TV, and attending community activities such as going to the church (Bayley et al., 1996; Park et al., 2012; Phinney et al., 2001). Yet, Ms. Valdés believed that parents are the ultimate catalysts for heritage language maintenance through consistent verbal communication and reading with their children in their heritage language (Kang, 2013; Park et al., 2012).

Although Arturo and his mother's recounts of their family language practices and management approaches were aligned, their language beliefs were slightly divergent. Arturo valued maintaining Spanish because he believed bi/multilingualism facilitated communication between people. In the future, he was predicting to "learn a lot more English", maintain his Spanish, and also learn as many additional languages as he could fit in his brain. Like other bilingual children, he saw value in bi/multilingualism and its benefits for today's global citizens (Lillie, 2016). However, for his mother, language proficiency seemed limited to English and

Spanish. She wanted her children to learn English and Spanish because they were among the most widely spoken languages in the world. She also chose to maintain Spanish at her home because “intelligent” “White”, English speakers valued Spanish and paid her to teach it to their children. She did not discuss the importance of keeping Spanish in relation to their heritage or culture. This view reflects the monoglossic ideologies of the larger U.S. society, as it takes bilingualism as a “resource” and English monolingualism and values of the English-speaking society as “the norm” when valuing languages (García, 2009; Ruiz, 1984). However, this is not unique to Ms. Valdés. Other immigrant parents have been previously reported to have a clear desire that their children maintain their heritage language, while also expressing strong belief in the value of English as a survival mechanism in this country (Kaveh, 2017; Schirling et al., 2000). Although Ms. Valdés desired bilingualism for her children, she viewed their future to be in English because of the country they lived in. She considered maintaining Spanish her responsibility and English development the country’s responsibility. At the same time, she predicted that she would eventually use more English with her children as they became more comfortable with it over time. Ms. Valdés’s language beliefs, regarding both English and Spanish, reflect her personal experiences as an immigrant and her personal values as an individual.

Family Language policy of Lidia Fontes: A Case Study

The Fontes family was from Cape Verde and spoke Cape Verdean Creole as their heritage language. Lidia, her father and her mother lived in Fontes’s household. Lidia and her father participated in this study and provided the insights on their family language policies. This section starts with an introduction on Lidia and her father and continues with the findings on their family language policy. The Fontes family language policy was documented based on

thematic analysis of three sources of data: Lidia's language log, interview with Lidia, and interview with her father. The findings are organized under three main themes that were revealed during the data analysis: family language practices, family language beliefs, and family language management. Additionally, the section closes with a discussion of the fourth theme, "family language decisions informed by educational language policies", that was identified based on the codes that connected Lidia's family language policies to educational language policies.

Lidia

Lidia was a complex ten-year-old girl. She was often quiet, but was very articulate when she was ready to express her thoughts on matters that were important to her. Lidia always wore her shiny black hair in tightly braided pigtails. She was energetic and playful on the playground, but at times quiet and reserved in class. She liked reading adventure books. Both of Lidia's parents were from Cape Verde. Lidia considered herself to be "from here" (the United States). She spoke Cape Verdean Creole as her heritage language and claimed to understand "almost all" of it. Additionally, she could understand "some Portuguese" as well. She lived with her parents, but had four half-sisters from her father's previous relationships who lived separately, but occasionally visited. Lidia's family lived in a working class neighborhood adjacent to the school neighborhood.

I got to know Lidia six months before starting this study through my work on another research project focused on genre-based pedagogy and academic writing. Lidia captured my attention from the very beginning of the year as I was collecting demographic information on children for that project. I remember when I asked her what language she spoke at home, she said, "Cape Verdean Creole, but not any more". Her teacher, Ms. Taylor, and I asked her for the reason. She said, "School gets in the way". I was very intrigued by her awareness of her

language practices and her understanding of what shaped them.

Lidia was identified as an “English language learner”. She was among the few children in her class who were receiving pullout ESL services from Ms. Sullivan during the fall semester. However, after the Christmas break, Ms. Sullivan had to dedicate the majority of her time to the newcomers (such as Arturo) and could no longer offer external support to advanced bilinguals such as Lidia. While helping Lidia during my time in her class, I noticed that she was experiencing some challenges with reading and writing in English. She was still searching hard to find her voice in writing. Despite some of those challenges, Lidia was undoubtedly bright. She occasionally used complex words and sentence structures in her verbal English language use. She was dedicated to learning and would not be at ease until she finished a task she had been given. During my time in her class, she would persist on finishing her homework with me before she left school for her afterschool program. On occasions we did not finish, she would get upset and try to find an explanation such as the problem was too difficult, her head hurting, or the teacher gave too much homework.

Lidia’s Father: Mr. Fontes

Lidia’s father, Mr. Fontes, was 57 years old. He had five daughters at the ages of 27, 26, 23, 19, and 10 from three relationships. He also had one grandson and a granddaughter. Mr. Fontes lived with his partner, Lidia’s mother, and Lidia. Mr. Fontes knew four languages: Cape Verdean Creole, English, Spanish, and some Portuguese. He had immigrated to the United States from Cape Verde when he was 11. His mother came here before the rest of the family and petitioned for him, his father, and his two brothers. Mr. Fontes described his experience coming to the U.S. “exciting” because he was coming to a bigger country with a lot more opportunities to work and earn money. According to him, at that time, things were financially difficult for

those who did not own farms to grow crops and raise animals in Cape Verde.

His biggest challenge with adjusting to this country as a teenager was learning literacy in English. When he moved here at eleven, he did not have strong literacy skills in Portuguese and did not speak any English. Consequently, his teachers prioritized his oral English skills. However, once he was fluent in speaking, they assumed that he had also developed literacy skills. Mr. Fontes wished his teachers had tested his reading and had realized that he needed additional support. He also wished he had received explicit instruction on how to “break the words” and pronounce them correctly. After suffering from his limited English literacy for many years, he started getting lessons from a teacher who finally addressed his learning needs. But the timing was not in his favor because his eyesight was not good anymore and his brain was not as sharp as when he was in school. Mr. Fontes brought up his dissatisfaction with his literacy skills several times during the interview. Every time he mentioned it, he also emphasized that his experience with learning English literacy had determined him to change things for his daughters. Therefore, he tried to teach them as much as he could, and also encouraged them to read and write and take charge of their own learning. This explained Lidia’s tenacity for finishing all her homework with me before she left school everyday.

Mr. Fontes was the only father and the oldest parent who participated in this study. He was very involved in Lidia’s schooling. When I called him to arrange our interview, I told him that I had been working with Lidia on her writing through another project, but I emphasized that this was a separate project and participation was completely voluntary. Yet, he said he would participate in anything that could help his daughter and agreed to meet after school on his day off from work. Mr. Fontes worked at an interior design company and rarely had the weekends off. He had worked for the same company for over thirty years. Although he did not specify what he

did for the company, he mentioned that he was once offered the managing position and had to turn it down due to his lack of confidence in his English literacy and computer skills: “I’m a type of person that if I don’t know how to do something, I’m not ashamed to say I don’t feel comfortable to do it because I don’t know how” (Interview transcription, 3.7.17).

Mr. Fontes was a fighter, a hard-worker, and a faithful believer in God. He worked five to six days a week and did not get more than four hours of sleep at night. He had supported five daughters and gone through two divorces in his life. He had lost two houses despite his attempts to fight back through a grassroots community organization because the judiciary system and his lawyer further drowned him in the process. Yet, he remained full of faith and hope: “So I lost everything, but God’s good. And whatever God gives you, if it’s meant to happen, he will give it back to me” (Interview transcription, 3.7.17).

Mr. Fontes took great pride in his Cape Verdean heritage and speaking Creole as his first language. When we met, he was wearing a hat that I later learned was inspired by Amílcar Cabral, a Guinea-Bissauan and Cape Verdean intellectual, activist, and political organizer who was among the most prominent anti-colonial leaders in Africa. Mr. Fontes said that he had several of those Amílcar Cabral’s hats in different colors and proudly wore them “everywhere”: “he is the one that fight for our rights. I found him a phenomenal person, he was just like um, Malcolm X...He was that type of, that type of fighter” (Interview transcription, 3.7.17). In addition to his pride in his Cape Verdean roots, Mr. Fontes was equally proud to be an American and loved the United States and the opportunities it had provided for him. Yet, he wished to retire in Cape Verde in the future because he considered it to be less stressful and less crowded.

Language Beliefs, as Described by Lidia and her Parent

Lidia’s relationship with Cape Verdean Creole was mixed with strong emotions. She felt

sad that she continued to lose a part of her language overtime. She believed that she needed Creole “to speak to everyone” when she was going to travel to Cape Verde for her birthday in that coming summer. She was worried that she kept “mixing it (*creole*) up”. However, her connection to Cape Verdean Creole was not only a matter of need for communications with her Cape Verde-based relatives. Lidia loved “her” language and her increasing use of English had not changed how she felt about Creole: “No! Same love!” (Interview transcription, 3.16.17). Besides her love, she also took pride and joy in speaking Creole and felt “great” most of the time she spoke it. Yet, there were times she did not feel as great because she realized she needed improvement. She recalled feeling the proudest for speaking Creole when she very young and was starting to learn the language. Lidia believed the only way to prevent the increasing loss of her language was to travel to Cape Verde: “I have to wait in three more months”, referring to her upcoming travel to Cape Verde (Interview transcription, 3.16.17). She described Cape Verde as a place where “everybody” spoke Creole and she “had to go talk to everybody” in the language. Therefore, she believed that more practice in the language could help her regain some of what she was beginning to lose.

Lidia considered knowing Creole useful “because it’s good for my mind, like I can know more stuff about Creole” (Interview transcription, 3.16.17). She believed knowing more than one language was beneficial for all children because it provided them with “way more technique” and “they would know more stuff”. In addition to this strong sense of love and pride, Lidia also felt protective of her heritage language. For instance, it bothered her when her non-Creole-speaking friends used inappropriate, or incorrect, Creole words:

Lidia: Because it’s not their real language and they’re all saying it wrong, and because when Jorge, um, one day was teaching him something and then they, no, cause his brother taught him, cause his friend taught him. So, taught him that word and then he said, umm, and then it was an inappropriate word in Creole.

Yalda: Oh and he didn't know what he was saying?

Lidia: He did...because his brother told him what it means.

Yalda: So they speak Creole at home?

Lidia: No, Jorge's parents are fully Spanish! (Interview transcription, 3.16.17)

Lidia seemed to associate one's "real language" and their right to speak it with their heritage. Since Jorge's parents were "fully Spanish", Lidia was assured that he did not speak Creole at home. However, she was not solely upset because the non-native Creole speakers were using her language, but rather because they were "saying it wrong" and using "unappropriate words". Her language log also showed that the only time she used Creole at school was to correct Creole use by another Spanish-speaking classmate. Lidia projected a similar sense of exclusivity and protection towards the use of Creole by her teachers. Although it was fine for her if the teachers "sometimes" used other languages, such as Spanish, she would not like it if her teachers used Creole: "No, because they would understand everything I say" (Interview transcription, 3.16.17).

Despite this protective orientation towards her heritage language, Lidia was realistic about her views on language use. She was aware that English had become her dominant language because of schooling. In addition, it was more convenient for her to use English because she could not "think straight" when she constantly had to go back and forth between her two languages. Lidia was also cognizant that despite her great sense of love for Creole, English was important because it gave her a roadmap for communication and survival at the school: "English is how and when I know how to communicate with my, my teachers" (Interview transcription, 3.16.17).

Lidia's father considered Cape Verdean Creole his first language, but Lidia's second language. This is despite the fact that he mentioned Lidia primarily spoke Creole before she started school: "because she was born here, so it's (*Cape Verdean Creole*) her second language" (Interview transcription, 3.7.17). Mr. Fontes's definition of "first" and "second" language seems

to refer to the priority or significance of languages, rather than the chronological order of their acquisition. No matter how he ranked the languages for his daughter, he still believed it was important for her to maintain her heritage language because it was the language she needed to communicate with her Creole-dominant family members and show respect to her elders.

Although Mr. Fontes was aware that English was becoming increasingly predominant in their household, he had not changed his view on the importance of maintaining Creole for his daughter. He was confident that “just speaking” Creole could not affect Lidia’s grades at school because she was not writing in it. Therefore, because Creole was not jeopardizing Lidia’s academic achievement in English, Mr. Fontes considered it “rude” for him to take the language away from her: “For me to stop her speaking Creole, I find it rude, because how is she gonna respond to her grandmother when her grandmother call her in Creole? Is she gonna answer in English?” (Interview transcription, 3.7.17). Nevertheless, Mr. Fontes did not have very high expectation for Lidia’s Creole proficiency. He was content as long as Lidia maintained a “basic” knowledge of the language to show respect to Creole-speaking family members.

In addition to communicating with family members, Mr. Fontes wanted Lidia to maintain Creole because he considered bi/multilingualism valuable in general:

If she were to speak just English, she would have known just English. But because we speak Creole, we teach her how to speak Creole, she knows both and if she knew how to speak Spanish I think that is even better. If she knows how to speak Chinese, I think that is a plus. So the more you know, the better it is. More is better, always. (Interview transcription, 3.7.17)

Mr. Fontes referred to his cousin as “very smart” because she spoke six languages and had been able to work as a translator at a local hospital. He believed speaking multiple languages was not challenging: “you learn any language, I think, is easy if you put your mind into it or you’re

interested. It depends how interested you are, how dedicated are you. To learn some other language. It's all depend on you" (Interview transcription, 3.7.17). As mentioned earlier, Mr. Fontes knew four languages: Cape Verdean Creole, English, Spanish, and some Portuguese.

In spite of holding such a high value for multilingualism, Mr. Fontes's biggest wish for his daughter was to be better at English: "I tell her I don't want you to be like me. I want you to be better for you when you grow up. So you don't say I didn't try to push you". Because Mr. Fontes suffered from his teachers' overemphasis on oral English and disregard for literacy, he prioritized literacy to oral proficiency in English for his daughter. He was determined to do everything he could to change his daughter's experience since she was still very young.

Family Language Practices, as described by Lidia and her Parent

Lidia's language log showed predominant use of English on the weekday and during the weekend (see Figures 4.4 & 4.5). During the two-day period of logging, the only times she spoke Creole was when she was with her parents. However, since Lidia and her parents were all multilingual, their conversations were not exclusively in Creole. The family drew on the strongest languages they shared, English and Creole, in their conversations. They had a dynamic bilingual approach and used English or Creole fluidly as needed for discussing different topics.

Lidia's language log showed that her language use at school was exclusively in English, with the exception of one case when she was correcting her Spanish-speaking classmate's use of Creole. Lidia was very emphatic that she used English "all the time, because not a lot people understand Creole" at the school. She did not speak Creole with her Creole-speaking classmates either. According to Lidia, as she went through the elementary grade levels, she used more English and less Creole: "because all the school work and all the like so much stuff I have to do, it's making me lose some Creole" (Interview transcription, 3.16.17).

Date: 3.10.17 Friday Weekday Language Use Log
 Capeverdean/Portuguese/Creole

Time	Activities	Place	Heritage language speaking/listening/reading/writing	English speaking/listening/reading/writing
7 a.m.	MOM Do My Hair	Home	listening to mom	listening to mom
8 a.m.	walk to school with mom		talking to mom in	talking to mom
9 a.m.	Studying at school	school	correcting Jemsi	SL, R, W
10 a.m.	Studying at school	school		Writing
11 a.m.	P.E	school		listening
12 p.m.	PE	school		listening
1 p.m.				
2 p.m.	COUSIN HOUSE	cousin House		Speaking listening
3 p.m.	COUSIN HOUSE	cousin House		Speaking listening
4 p.m.	COUSIN HOUSE	cousin House		S, I
5 p.m.	COUSIN HOUSE	cousin House		S, I
6 p.m.	COUSIN HOUSE	cousin House		S, I
7 p.m.	COUSIN HOUSE	cousin House		S, I
8 p.m.	COUSIN HOUSE	cousin House		S, I
9 p.m.	COUSIN HOUSE	cousin House		S, I
10 p.m.	go HOME	car	listening to music	listening to music
11 p.m.	go to bed	HOME		

Figure 4.4 Lidia's weekday language log.

Date: 4.10.17 Saturday Weekend Language Use Log
 Creole English

Time	Activities	Place	Heritage language speaking/listening/reading/writing	English speaking/listening/reading/writing
7 a.m.				
8 a.m.				
9 a.m.	wake up	Home	speaking	Speaking
10 a.m.	eat	Home		
11 a.m.	wash and leave	Home/car		listening
12 p.m.	COUSINS HOUSE	COUSINS HOUSE		Speaking
1 p.m.	cousin house	cousin house		Speaking listening
2 p.m.	cousin house	cousin house		Speaking listening
3 p.m.	COUSIN HOUSE	cousin house		Speaking listening
4 p.m.	COUSIN HOUSE	cousin house		Speaking listening
5 p.m.	cousin house	cousin house		Speaking listening
6 p.m.	go HOME	Home/car	listening	listening to music
7 p.m.	eating	Home	listening	listening
8 p.m.	Haveing fun	cousin house	listening	
9 p.m.	Haveing fun	cousin house		listening
10 p.m.	Haveing fun	cousin house		Writing
11 p.m.	go to Bed	Home		

Figure 4.5. Lidia's weekend language log.

Lidia's home language use also followed her language use at school. Before Lidia started school, the family communicated almost exclusively in Creole. However, as the years went by,

both Lidia and her parents became more proficient and more comfortable with using English. According to Lidia's father, she did not speak any English before starting school, but a few years in elementary school were already changing both their family language practices and Lidia's proficiency in English: "Before she start school? No, she didn't know any English. She learned in school. And plus from us at home" (Interview transcription, 3.7.17). Although Lidia was using more English, her language practices were not yet monolingual: "Not that I know. She speaks both" (Interview transcription, 3.7.17). Mr. Fontes and his wife were not fully confident with their English and still preferred to use Creole when possible. Therefore, this made it less likely for them to attempt to teach English to Lidia at home: "Sometimes it is hard for me, cause I was trying to learn myself, and to try to teach her. And when you don't know some of the words it is hard" (Interview transcription, 3.7.17). It seems that Mr. Fontes would have been more likely to use English to help Lidia with her homework, if he knew the content vocabulary and the technical academic language.

In addition to the language skills of the family members, language practices in Lidia's family were determined by their choice of language in a given context. For instance, Mr. Fontes mentioned that Lidia always responded to him in the language he initiated the conversation in. He was similarly responsive to Lidia's choice of language: "she wants to speak creole, we speak creole. She wants to speak English, we speak English. I can speak both" (Interview transcription, 3.7.17). According to Mr. Fontes, Lidia used mostly Cape Verdean Creole to communicate with family members who had limited English proficiency such as her mom, her aunt, and her grandparents. Similarly, she spoke English when she was doing an English-centered activity (such as watching movies on TV), or when she was in the company of English-dominant individuals (such as her older sisters). Besides speaking English around her sisters, Lidia also

spoke English to her bilingual English-Creole cousins (see Figure 4.4). It was less challenging for her to speak English to her cousins because using two languages was confusing and made her head hurt, especially when she was tired. However, she sometimes used Creole with her cousins because they could help her improve her Creole: “Sometimes I need improving, so they would help” (Interview transcription, 3.16.17).

Language Management Approaches, as Described by Lidia and her Parent

Lidia’s family language management was directly impacted by the language skills of the family members. Since they were all bilingual, they did not see a point in limiting their language use to one language. Lidia and her parents had the liberty to choose English or Creole as they desired: “She wants to speak creole we speak creole, she wants to speak English, we speak English. I can speak both, so whatever her decision I let it be” (Interview transcription, 3.7.17). This fluid bilingual use is referred to as “translanguaging” (among other terms) and is regarded as a common “discursive norm” in many bilingual households (García & Wei, 2014, p.23). From this view, bilinguals fluidly draw from their linguistic repertoire(s)⁶ to communicate and to make sense of their bilingual world (García 2009, 2011).

In addition to their bilingual proficiency, Lidia’s family’s flexible language management approach was driven by Mr. Fontes’s upbringing and his strong belief in respect for other’s choice of language. He believed that imposing a language rule and dictating others to comply with it was against who he was and the values he was raised with. Accordingly, he steered away from imposing a language rule on his family, but he used motivators and encouraging strategies that aligned with his language ideologies and personal values. These strategies included playing

⁶ García’s singular definition of “a linguistic repertoire” in bilingual minds has been challenged by other scholars in the field of bilingualism (See MacSwan, 2017).

Creole music, going to a Cape Verdean restaurant, and attending a bilingual church. In addition to strategies for maintaining their heritage language and cultural values, Mr. Fontes had a language management strategy to help Lidia develop strong literacy skills in English. As mentioned earlier, this was extremely important for him and he would do anything to help his daughter achieve it. Therefore, he enrolled Lidia in an afterschool Boys and Girls Club where she could receive extra support with her homework: “I say Lidia, you know I don't help you very well. Some of those things I don't know. I prefer for you to go there. You learn better. And I'll go pick you up. I do that for her all the time” (Interview transcription, 3.7.17).

Family Language Decisions Informed by Educational Language Policies

Unlike Arturo's mother, Lidia's father had never communicated with the school, orally or through correspondence, in his heritage language. Mr. Fontes was under the impression that bilingual letters were only sent in bilingual schools. However, he had observed the teachers, including Lidia's first grade teacher, using Spanish several times when he had visited the school. Mr. Fontes was in the U.S. when Question 2 passed in 2002, but he did not know anything about it. However, as with Arturo's mother, he confirmed that he would vote “no” to English-only education if the ballot initiative was proposed again. He believed children “should definitely” be taught in languages other than English. Mr. Fontes said Lidia's teachers never commented on the language they should use at home, “they probably say, oh we want her to learn her language too. Let her learn her language. They never say anything” (Interview transcription, 3.7.17). Despite this absence of explicit commentary in support of English from the school, Lidia and her father believed the rapid increase of English language use in their household was a result of schooling. Previous research has confirmed a similar linguistic shift with schooling in other immigrant families (Howard et al., 2003; Noro, 1990; Schirling et al., 2000; Wiley & García, 2016).

Lidia's Family Language Policy Interpretations and Conclusions

Language policy of Lidia's family was determined by a variety of factors: Lidia and her parents' language proficiency, the relatives and the community members around them, Lidia's schooling, the lived experiences of her parents, and their family values. The language practices in Lidia's family depended most heavily on the language proficiency of the family members involved in a conversation. Lidia mostly spoke English with her sisters; mostly Cape Verdean Creole with her grandparents, aunt, and mother; and both Creole and English with her father.

Lidia was very aware, and articulate, about the role of English-only schooling on her loss of Creole. She believed because all the schoolwork was in English, there was no space for her to use and maintain Creole. Lidia was sad that the exclusive use of English at school had decreased her use of Creole. Yet, she did not want her teachers or Spanish-speaking friends to use Creole. She did not seem enthusiastic about speaking Creole to her Creole-speaking classmates either. Besides the shift in Lidia's language preferences, Lidia's parents' language use had also changed as they gained more proficiency in English over the years. Mr. Fontes described a progression from using only Cape Verdean Creole before Lidia started school toward a dynamic bilingual use. Despite these changes in her family language practices, Lidia felt the "same love" for her language.

Like many other parents, Mr. Fontes's parenting decisions regarding language were informed by what his lived experiences showed him would secure the best social standing for his daughter (Curdtt-Christiansen, 2009; King and Fogle, 2006b). Mr. Fontes lost several opportunities in life, including the chance to become the manager for the company he worked for and to protect his legal rights to save his house because of his challenges with academic English. Therefore, he took those experiences as a motivation to push his daughter to "read well and right

well” in English. Despite his long work hours, he took Lidia to an afterschool program everyday to ensure she would receive the extra support he was not able to give her.

Mr. Fontes believed in the value of bi/multilingualism and that “more is better, always”. Yet, he was content with Lidia’s basic oral proficiency in Cape Verdean Creole as long as it did not jeopardize her academic achievement in English. He prioritized English proficiency, specifically literacy skills, for his daughter. Moreover, he considered English Lidia’s first language because she was born in the U.S. This viewpoint on bilingualism has been referred to as “the additive perspective”. From this viewpoint, bilingualism and proficiency in non-English languages are viewed as “added resources” only when the standardized societal language (i.e. English) is secured (García, 2009; Ruiz, 1984).

Chapter 5

Language Policies of the Eliot School Families

This chapter presents language policies in the two focal families at the Eliot school: the Montez family and the Hien family. The Montez family was from Brazil and spoke Portuguese as their heritage language. The parents in the Hien family were immigrants from China and spoke Mandarin and Cantonese as their heritage languages. The chapter is divided into two main sections, one for each family. Each section starts with an introduction on the child and the parent and continues with the findings on family language policies, as documented through the interviews with the child and the parent. Each section closes with interpretations and conclusions on language policies for each family.

Family Language Policy of Bruno Montez: A Case Study

The parents in the Montez family were both immigrants from Brazil and spoke Portuguese as their heritage language. The family included Bruno, his younger brother, his mother (Mrs. Montez), and his father (Mr. Montez). Bruno and his mother participated in this study. The first two sections in this chapter introduce them, before presenting their family language policies. The Montez family language policy is documented based on the thematic analysis of two main sources of data: interview with Bruno and his mother. Following Spolsky's (2004) language policy framework, the findings are presented under three main themes that were found during within-case thematic analysis: family language beliefs, family language practices, and family language management. Additionally, the section includes the discussion of a fourth theme, "family language decisions informed by educational language policies" that was identified based on the codes connecting family language policies to educational language policies.

Bruno

Bruno was a fair-skinned nine-year old boy with freckles and ginger hair. He had a friendly sense of humor at times, but he could be aloof at other times. He was interested in technology, computers, and games. Bruno was born in the U.S. and self-identified as “from here” (*the U.S.*). Yet, he believed since his parents were from Brazil, he was also an immigrant. He defined his “immigrant” status based on his family’s challenges to travel freely to Brazil. During my conversation with Bruno’s mother, it became clear that his self-identification as an “immigrant” was also due to an emphasis from his parents:

I think he knows he is really an immigrant, because we always keep saying that to him. We always say to him ‘no matter what, never forgot where you came from’. Like you are an immigrant, even if you are born over here but your blood it’s from Brazil. (Interview Transcription, 4.27.17)

During my observations, I found Bruno to be very conscious of his surroundings and comfortable to voice his discomfort when something bothered him in his environment. During data collection, several other children asked me about my audio-recorder and my plans for the audios that I was recording, but Bruno was the only one who voiced his discomfort and insisted on listening to his voice. He eventually became more indifferent to the audio recorder as the days went by and started making jokes when he saw the audio-recorder near his desk, such as “Who put THAT there?” in a witty, loud voice ensuring that I could hear him.

Bruno believed that he did not like reading and going to school: “I don’t like reading. I’m not a nerd”; “I don’t like school” (observation transcriptions, 4.13.17). During my observations I sometimes found him distracted or disengaged. His teacher and the teacher aides were aware of his challenges to remain focused at times. Bruno had been receiving ESL support until the previous year, but to his classroom teachers’ surprise, he was exited. However, his ESL teacher, Ms. Gonzalez, believed the situation was more complicated. She partly attributed Bruno’s

academic challenges to the fact that he started school with more limited literacy skills compared to his peers. For instance, she mentioned that he was not able to write his name when he started kindergarten.

In addition to the differences in Bruno's literacy skills from his peers in kindergarten, he had major socioeconomic differences with most of them. He was one of the few children in his classroom who got school lunch everyday and did not always have a "lunch bag" packed from home. School lunch, however, was not free or even discounted for Bruno. He mentioned that he paid three dollars for each meal, which was the regular school lunch price. The Eliot school district had several requirements for eligibility for free or reduced fee lunch, none of which applied to Bruno.

Secondly, in contrast to many of his peers, Bruno's parents did not have university degrees and had jobs that were not common among his peers' parents. Bruno's father painted houses and his mother worked in house cleaning services. Bruno described himself as "really unlucky", in presence of his peers one day. When I asked for the reason, he explained: "I'm really bad in school. I, my parents have odd jobs" (Observation transcriptions, 4.27.17). He defined "odd" as "We barely get paid. We get paid like one dollar an hour" and linked it to his parents' level of education. He further supported his point by mentioning the opinions of his friends and their parents about his parents' jobs, "Even my friends do... And their like mothers and fathers, they say it's an odd job" (Observation transcription, 4.13.17). Later when I spoke with Bruno's mother, she echoed a similar perspective and referred to their jobs as "odd jobs". Bruno's families' orientation towards their socioeconomic status could be a reflection of the neighborhood and the school they were situated in. Although this is an important factor that

could influence their language beliefs, it is beyond the scope of this study to unpack it adequately in the findings.

Bruno's Mother: Mrs. Montez

I met with Bruno's mother at the school shortly after the school day had ended. Mrs. Montez was phenotypically White and had ginger hair and freckles, just like Bruno's. She was born and raised in Brazil and had left the country for the U.S. at the age of 23. Mrs. Montez and her parents came to the U.S. for a visit to her siblings, but she decided to stay here to go to college. Her biggest challenge as a newcomer was difficulty to socialize because she did not speak English. As a young woman who had lots of friends back home, it was difficult for her to be isolated here. However, things changed for better shortly after she started learning English, began working, and met new people. Her husband moved here from Brazil when he was 17. The couple met here in the U.S.

Although Mrs. Montez decided to stay in the U.S. to attend college because of the high cost of higher education in Brazil, she later realized that the cost of living and attending college was similarly expensive here. She believed paying for college in the U.S. was still easier than Brazil because of the financial aid options, although she did not qualify for them due to her immigration status: "Over here you can get the loans and everything once you are citizen or whatever, but Brazil is not so easy like that" (Interview Transcription, 4.27.17). Due to the financial and legal challenges, she was not able to attend college after all. Similarly, her husband was only able to attend college for six months because he was not able to work and pay for college without qualifying for financial aid.

Mrs. Montez self-identified as "a Latina/ Latin American", "an immigrant", and a "fake American". As mentioned earlier, she described their jobs as "odd jobs". She defined "odd" as

physically demanding, low-paid, and underappreciated by their surroundings. Despite the fact that Bruno occasionally compared their house and belongings to his classmates', Mrs. Montez was not concerned that he attended a predominantly middle-class school with families that were different from them. She believed attending this school could help Bruno have a different socioeconomic status in the future than his parents':

Yalda: So are you overall happy with him being in this school?

Mrs. Montez: Yes. Oh definitely yes! I don't want him to do the same things I do with odd jobs. No! I think that no parents dream that for their kids.

Yalda: Do you think you do odd jobs?

Mrs. Montez: Yes, that's a odd job.

Yalda: Why?

Mrs. Montez: Because the work is really hard, I mean physically... And sometimes the people they don't really like appreciate... I mean they are odd jobs, right? More or less, and if you don't work you don't get paid. (Interview Transcription, 4.27.17)

Although Ms. Montez was dissatisfied with their economic status and described it as “no parent's dream for their children”, she did not feel “unlucky” or “poor”, the way Bruno did. She considered their economic status no more than a shortage of financial means and tried to explain that to her son: “he always said that like ‘oh I'm poor’ and I said like ‘oh, no, no, no, no! I'm not poor, I just don't have money, I am not poor’”. Similar to Bruno, she related their economic hardships to their level of education and therefore, encouraged her son to study hard in order to break from it: “I keep saying to him like ‘well, if you study, when you grow up you can have any size (*house*) you want, any place you want and you can travel as much as you want. But for this, you have to study a lot, not just play video games’” (Interview Transcription, 4.27.17).

Family Language Beliefs, as Described by Bruno and his Parent

Bruno expressed feeling “normal” about speaking Portuguese. He was the only child in this study who did not express a more positive word to describe his feelings toward his heritage language. Bruno's language beliefs were complex. He did not like speaking Portuguese very

much because it was difficult for him to comprehend it at times: “because sometimes I don’t understand the words and it gets confusing, sometimes it gets annoying too”. Yet, he believed knowing Portuguese was “very useful” for him when he traveled to Brazil: “because if I go to Brazil, cause I can, since I have a passport, I could go there and then I will know Portuguese” (Interview transcription, 3.10.17).

In Bruno’s opinion, being born in an English-dominant society as well as attending school have impacted his and his brother’s knowledge of Portuguese:

Yalda: Do you think since you started school and you are using English all day, has that changed how much you know Portuguese?

Bruno: Yeah.

Yalda: Why? How?

Bruno: Cause I used to pick a lot of Portuguese when I was little, and now since I was born here, just like my other brother, he knows a lot of Portuguese but now since we watch like English shows, he watches people that play with Thomas Toys, cause he loves Thomas. (Interview transcription, 3.10.17)

Although he was asked about the impact of schooling, he brought up his two-year-old brother to make a point that being born here and immersed in English from a young age also influenced heritage language proficiency.

Bruno recalled feeling “proud” of speaking Portuguese when he first came to the school as the only Brazilian, Portuguese-speaking student. He said he would have felt “special” if his teachers used Portuguese at the school. However, he would not have liked it if his teachers used other non-English languages. As the only Portuguese-speaking student at his school, Bruno had no choice but to speak English. He considered knowing English “special” for children who spoke another language at home because without it they “couldn’t get anything” including communicating with others or going to school:

Yalda: How important do you think is learning English for a kid like you who knows another language?

Bruno: Special!

Yalda: Special! Why?

Bruno: Because!

Yalda: Why is it special that you know English?

Bruno: Because if I would only know Portuguese if I didn't go to school, then I wouldn't know English. I couldn't get anything, just like Home Sweet Home, that book, because she didn't know English, if she didn't learn it. So, she couldn't speak it. So if I didn't know how to speak it, I couldn't help my mom.

Yalda: Aha! Ok, so, what else couldn't you do if you didn't know any English? So you couldn't help your mom,

Bruno: I couldn't speak. I couldn't go to the school. (Interview transcription, 3.10.17)

The book Bruno was referring to as “Home Sweet Home” is actually “Home at Last”. I read that book to their class when I introduced myself and the study to them. Bruno was connecting his experience to Ana's, the main character of the story. Ana was the first one in her family to learn English and was able to help her mother at the grocery store when her mother could not be understood by the English-speaking cashier. Bruno was also making a connection between Ana's mother and his own mother who he claimed to be “not really good with English”. I had chosen to read that book in Bruno's class because it portrayed the linguistic challenges children of immigrants faced when trying to learn English and serve as their parents' translators. However, in retrospect, I regret that decision because it perpetuated that assimilation and learning English was the key to survival.

Whether Bruno was influenced by that book or not, the depth and the breadth of the consequences he listed for not knowing English are quite significant: not being able to help his mother, not being able to speak, and not being able to attend school. He was very cognizant that he would not be able to do many of his main activities efficiently without speaking the societal language. Bruno had the same functional view on the importance of bilingualism for all children:

Because it's the same thing for me. If you didn't know, you couldn't really understand what somebody says. If you were in danger, you couldn't know when people were trying to warn you something was coming, or somebody was coming. So, they wouldn't know that something was coming. (Interview transcription, 3.10.17)

Bruno's mother believed in the importance of bilingualism for a different reason. She considered knowing more than one language "really good" for Bruno because it could provide him with greater opportunities for work, education, and communication in the future:

I think it's really good for him to know more than one language, especially like when he grows up. It's like it's better for, for to get better jobs, and even like in school with, even to speak with people with the other countries, you know, so it's much easier when you know another language. I think so! It's much better when you know another language, more than one language. Like I keep saying to him, like some people they pay like tons of money for their kids to learn another language, and you have it for free and you don't have to go to school to learn it, so you learn it at home. So you have to get that credit and you use it. (Interview transcription, 4.27.17)

Besides the individual benefits of bilingualism for her son's future, Mrs. Montez also evaluated Bruno's bilingualism by comparing it to "some people" who pay "tons of money for their kids". She elaborated later that by "some people", she referred to "the American moms" who were monolingual. Mrs. Montez seemed to have a cost-benefit approach toward bilingualism. She felt proud when she could "show them" that because she was an immigrant, her son could speak another language without having to go to expensive language schools:

When I'm around of the moms (*who*) keep pushing their kids to speak in Spanish or other languages, like the American moms. And then I'm so proud just because Bruno learned Portuguese. Like to show them, like wow! He doesn't need to go to school to speak another language. That's why (*because*) I'm an immigrant. (Interview transcription, 4.27.17)⁷

In addition to explaining the potential benefits of bilingualism for Bruno, Mrs. Montez was also aware of research-proven advantages of bilingualism: "I mean everyone knows like more than one language is better, not just for development of the kids, I think for anything" (Interview transcription, 4.27.17). Based on her personal experiences and the research she referred to, she was also convinced that bilingualism could not cause any speech delays.

Although her younger son was experiencing speech delays and was being treated by a speech

⁷ See Appendix 10 for transcription notations.

therapist, she knew it had nothing to do with his bilingualism because Bruno had never experienced that. Additionally, she referred to her monolingual English-speaking friends whose children also had speech delay to prove it could happen to any child, monolingual or bilingual: “I know friends on my street, they’re both American, speak only (*one*) language, they have the kids the same age as my son and they have speech delay also” (Interview transcription, 4.27.17).

Mrs. Montez believed that English and Portuguese were equally important for Bruno. Yet, she predicted that English would become Bruno’s first language if he continued the same pattern of frequent English language use:

Well, it’s (*English*) very important too. Like English is gonna be like his second language, and probably it’s gonna be it’s gonna be first language the way he goes. Even if he (*was*) born in the family that speaks Portuguese, Portuguese maybe his first language he learned, but he will be like more, more like, how to say, perfect in English than Portuguese? ... I mean it’s his country. He has to know, right? (Interview transcription, 4.27.17)

Mrs. Montez’s definition of first and second language is complex. Firstly, she defined it based on the order of acquisition and therefore considered Portuguese her son’s first language, although with some uncertainty. Secondly, she explained that first and second languages are not static because English could become Bruno’s first language over time. Lastly, she linked her definition of first and second language to nationality and place of birth (“it’s his country, He has to know”), rather than to his family’s background (“even if he (*was*) born in a family that speaks Portuguese”).

Although Mrs. Montez had accepted that English would become Bruno’s first language, she did not strongly prioritize it over Portuguese, at least not in the ideological sense. When I asked what language she wanted Bruno to know when he grew up, she said, “Portuguese of course and English and I really wanted him to know Spanish too”. She expressed that she would be “very sad” if her son forgot Portuguese when he grew up. Learning from the experiences of

other immigrants in the U.S and her own grandparents as German immigrants in Brazil who lost their heritage languages overtime, she worried Bruno might not speak Portuguese when his parents will not be around in the future.

Family Language Practices, as Described by Bruno and his Parent

Bruno's language practices were mainly described based on his recollection, with occasional reference to his language log. Bruno's language log did not function the way I had intended because of a few problems (see Figures 5.1 & 5.2). Firstly, Bruno's mother had completed the log for him. Secondly, rather than reporting the language that each activity was conducted in, Mrs. Montez had recorded the name of the activity in Portuguese and translated it in English. Therefore, it is not evident from the log what language was used. Lastly, she had completed both days of the log during the weekend (Saturday and Sunday). Consequently, the log did not reflect Bruno's language use during a school day and a weekend. Nevertheless, I used the language log as a conversation starter during our interview.

Bruno reported speaking English most of the time at home, while occasionally speaking to his mother in Portuguese. His father always spoke to him in English. Bruno interpreted that his father liked English more based on his choice of language:

Yalda: Does dad talk to you in Portuguese?

Bruno: English, he likes English better.

Yalda: Why? Why do you think he likes English better?

Bruno: Because whenever he speaks to me, he speaks in English. (Interview Transcription, 3.10.17)

Bruno's father had always spoken to him in English. Therefore, he knew English since he was very young. His mother, however, continued to use Portuguese with him during meals, getting dressed for school, car rides, and even when they were out in a grocery store or at a restaurant. Bruno mostly responded to his mother in English. Sometimes, he did not even fully understand

what his mother was communicating to him. According to Bruno, his mother spoke very fast, especially when she was scolding him.

Date: 02-25-17

Weekday Language Use Log

Time	Activities	Place	Heritage language speaking/listening/reading/writing	English speaking/listening/reading/writing
7 a.m.	woke up	home	Bom dia	good morning
8 a.m.	breakfast	home	café da manhã	breakfast
9 a.m.	get ready	home	ficar pronto	get ready
10 a.m.	car ride	Beach	vamos para	went to
11 a.m.	to the	Beach	praia e	the beach
12 p.m.	Beach	Beach	brincamos	to play
1 p.m.				
2 p.m.	went to Kelly's	Restaurant	almoçamos	eat lunch
3 p.m.	we went			
4 p.m.	to Art's	Art's house	casa da tia	Art's house
5 p.m.	house		brincar com	to play with
6 p.m.	play time		os primos.	the cousins
7 p.m.			e jantamos	and have
8 p.m.			todos juntos.	dinner together
9 p.m.	Back home	home	voltamos para	back home
10 p.m.	and bed time		casa e fomos	bed time
11 p.m.			dormir	
-7 a.m.				

Figure 5.1 Bruno's weekday language log (completed on a Saturday).

Date: 2-26-17

Weekend Language Use Log

Time	Activities	Place	Heritage language speaking/listening/reading/writing	English speaking/listening/reading/writing
7 a.m.	woke up	home	acordar	wake up
8 a.m.	Breakfast	home	café manhã	Breakfast
9 a.m.	get ready	home	ficar pronto	
10 a.m.	play	outside	is para	
11 a.m.		home	para Brincar	lunch time
12 p.m.	Lunch time	home	almoçamos	
1 p.m.	play outside		brincar do	play with
2 p.m.	with cousins	home	caso de casa	cousins.
3 p.m.			com os primos	
4 p.m.	video game	home	jogar video game	play video game
5 p.m.	Dinner time		jantar com	have dinner with
6 p.m.	Dinner time	home	o pai e mãe e irmãs	dad, mom, and brother
7 p.m.	video game	home	video game	video game
8 p.m.	relax time		hora de relaxar	relaxing time
9 p.m.	bed time	home	hora de ir dormir	time to go to bed.
10 p.m.				
11 p.m.				
-7 a.m.				

Figure 5.2 Bruno's weekend language log (completed on a Sunday).

Besides his parents, Bruno had several Portuguese-English speaking cousins living in the same town. However, he spoke with them all in English since they knew English very well: “They know English too. So, we speak English” (Interview Transcription, 3.10.17). In contrast, he spoke Portuguese to all his “like 50 cousins” in Brazil when he traveled there once. Similarly, he claimed to only speak Portuguese to his grandparents when they visited, “cause they don’t know English”. Staying in Brazil for six months was very impactful on his language proficiency to the point that he even lost some of his English: “I didn’t know how to speak English as well, cause I got so used to it (*Portuguese*), because I went to Brazil for six months” (Interview Transcription, 3.10.17).

Bruno’s mother tried to speak Portuguese “most of the time”. However, she admitted that it was difficult to persist with Bruno because he always responded in English, and she would eventually “get caught up” in English. In line with Bruno’s account, Ms. Montez claimed that Bruno’s father mostly spoke English to his children. In contrast to Bruno, she did not believe her husband favored English, but was simply following his children’s lead, without realizing it at times: “Sometimes you don’t realize you really were speaking in English, just realize after often, because you understand everything they’re saying. So you are like, oh ok! And then you realize it’s English” (Interview Transcription, 4.27.17).

Mrs. Montez was initially more comfortable using Portuguese exclusively. However, after her son was born and she was more connected to his English-dominant surrounding, she became more proficient and inclined toward using English. The language practices at home became particularly English-dominant after Bruno started schooling. Instead of resisting it, Mrs. Montez also started reading books to him in English so they could learn reading English

together. Not long after, Mrs. Montez realized a dramatic change in the language practices at their home:

Yalda: You said English became more and more since he went to kindergarten and you started reading it more, so did that change how much English he used at home?

Mrs. Montez: Oh like 80%!

Yalda: really? When was that shift very high? When did that happen?

Mrs. Montez: like when he started like kindergarten, first grade. Now he's just like if you let him, he speaks English all the time. (Interview Transcription, 4.27.17)

Yet, Mrs. Montez knew that the decrease in heritage language use as a result of schooling was a common phenomenon among many immigrant families, "You probably gonna hear that, but doesn't happen just with me. It happens to everyone who has kids... Once you go to school it's harder" (Interview Transcription, 4.27.17).

Despite this dramatic increase in use of English, there were a few topics that both Mrs. Montez and Bruno still discussed exclusively in Portuguese. At the dinner table, Mrs. Montez only used Portuguese with her children. Additionally, Bruno used Portuguese with his mother when he needed a secret language to communicate with her in front of his English-speaking peers. Lastly, Mrs. Montez only used English for discussing school-related topics such as asking about Bruno's day at school, his homework, and his progress taking MCAS assessments.

Family Language Management Approaches, as Described by Bruno and his Parent

Bruno and his mother had slightly different perspectives on their family language management approaches. According to Bruno, his family did not have any rules or specific language management strategies. Everyone was free to speak any language they desired at his home. Unlike Bruno, his mother believed they had a language rule at home, although she admitted that it was difficult to remain faithful to it: "We try, hard! We try only Portuguese, but sometimes it's hard. And then you get caught up like and I say like 'stop! Portuguese! Portuguese! It's time for Portuguese, not English!'" (Interview Transcription, 4.27.17). Therefore,

Mrs. Montez preferred to have “Portuguese time” and “English time”. For instance, dinnertime was for Portuguese:

We have a kind of rule in my house like dinner time, it’s no phone, no laptop, no devices at all, no TV, nothing. We are sitting around the table, we eat and then talking about the day. So that time, it’s like Portuguese only. (Interview Transcription, 4.27.17)

It seems that the family had been able to remain more faithful to this rule because they had eliminated English-speaking outlets during that time. Nonetheless, none of these rules were established by Mrs. Montez and her husband through a “conversation” for language planning. They were developed and followed up organically: “we never talked about that. We always think like we are just gonna speak in Portuguese at home and that’s it. It does not work like that way” (Interview Transcription, 4.27.17).

Other resources that supported Portuguese in Bruno’s home were books and Brazilian TV shows, although Bruno did not watch TV. He mostly used his iPad, through which he “sometimes” watched cartoons in Portuguese. According to Bruno, his family had “like 10 or 20” books in Portuguese that they had bought during their travel to Brazil. Bruno’s paternal grandparent had also sent some Portuguese books from Brazil. Bruno “tried” to read the Portuguese books independently, but due to his limited proficiency, he had to mostly rely on his mother to read to him. He claimed that bedtime stories had become less frequent since his brother was born. His mother, however, reported that she continued to read to Bruno in Portuguese “every night”.

Bruno did not attend any weekend Portuguese programs or go to church in Portuguese. His family sometimes attended gatherings for the Brazilian community in town. Although everyone spoke Portuguese at those gatherings, Bruno did not believe they helped him because he was not really paying attention to the conversations, “I don’t really pay attention”. Yet, Mrs.

Montez consciously tried to “keep in touch” with the Brazilian community partly because she believed hearing Portuguese would help Bruno acquire the language, even though he was not directly engaged in the conversations: “Even if he does not talk, but he understands because even when like first you learn when you hear, right, and then you learn talking” (Interview Transcription, 4.27.17).

In addition to these ties to the local Brazilian community, Bruno’s maternal and paternal grandparents had been visiting almost every year. However, the visits were becoming less frequent as Mrs. Montez’s parents were aging. She described grandparents’ visits very influential in Bruno’s fluency in Portuguese. Particularly, she considered her father-in-law’s visits very helpful for Bruno’s Portuguese proficiency: “when he comes to visit us and he spends some times with Bruno, the way Bruno speaks in Portuguese was like perfect, and I was like wow, is that you?” (Interview Transcription, 4.27.17). Mrs. Montez explained that her father-in-law spoke Portuguese very eloquently, which she described as “perfect”, “formal”, “fancy”, and sometimes even beyond her level of understanding.

Family Language Decisions Informed by Educational Language Policies

Mrs. Montez had some knowledge of the state language policy through the experiences of her nieces and nephews with it shortly after she had immigrated to the U.S. in 2004. At the time, she did not have any particular viewpoints on the policy because she was not directly impacted by it. However, she witnessed that her nieces and nephews learned English faster when they moved from a town with Portuguese-English bilingual education to another with English-only education. Mrs. Montez further speculated that the progress could also have also been due to the district change, and not the language model. She described the first school district as “the worst” and “really bad”. I elaborated further on the policy and explained that although it allowed for

dual language programs in certain cases, it prevented teachers in mainstream settings from using heritage languages for more than occasional clarifications. With that explanation, Mrs. Montez said she would vote “no” on English-only if it was proposed as a ballot initiative again to allow for a wider use of non-English languages: “I would allow, because some kids sometimes they just came from another country, they don’t know what you are talking about. Why not? I mean they will learn English anyway. English is everywhere” (Interview transcription, 4.27.17).

The Eliot school had never communicated any information about educational language policies or home language use to Mrs. Montez. According to her, the teachers had encouraged her to use Portuguese at home with Bruno in order to help him maintain it. On the other hand, the school had not exactly been proactive about including their heritage language in school activities. The school had never provided any forms in Portuguese to Mrs. Montez. Additionally, when she attended school meetings, the staff had occasionally offered her translated forms in Spanish. Still, Mrs. Montez did not seem to take any issues with that: “I always say like English is better for me than Spanish. For reading, even (*though*) Spanish is very close to Portuguese, to read for me in English is much better than Spanish” (Interview transcription, 4.27.17). Moreover, although the annual multicultural night was a prideful occasion for many middle-class immigrant families at the Eliot school, Bruno’s family had never been able to participate. Over the years, Bruno had even lost interest in attending them. He said that he would have liked to present, but his family could not afford to organize a booth and buy stickers and other materials needed for the presentation. His mother, however, explained that they were not able to present because, unlike many other mothers at the school, she had to work many hours on her job. Although Bruno’s family’s choice not to present is not a direct shortcoming on the school side, it indicates that the opportunities for celebration of cultures were created with the majority middle-class

population in mind, without special accommodations for families with limited socioeconomic resources. Nevertheless, Mrs. Montez seemed satisfied with the school's acknowledgment of diverse backgrounds. She believed the school had created a culture in which the children felt comfortable sharing their background with their classmates.

Bruno's Family Language Policy Interpretations and Conclusions

Bruno's family language policy was increasingly leaning toward English as the years went by. The only family member who used Portuguese consistently was Bruno's mother. Bruno reported occasional use of Portuguese with his mother, but mostly communicating in English with his father, his U.S.-based cousins, and his peers. Mrs. Montez considered maintaining Portuguese important for Bruno because she believed bi/multilingualism would serve him well in the future. She also seemed aware of the cognitive benefits of bilingualism. Additionally, she took pride in the fact that her son was able to learn a second language without the need to take classes. Bruno, on the other hand, had a more pragmatic view towards bilingualism. He believed that knowing any language (English or Portuguese) was important for people to be able to communicate, depending on the context. He described the value of Portuguese in communicating with people in Brazil, while he considered English vital for many of his daily activities including going to school.

Mrs. Montez was convinced that starting school had changed their family language practices to a great extent. The impact of school as one of the most important factors shaping immigrants' dispositions toward languages has been previously documented (Howard et al., 2003; Noro, 1990; Schirling et al., 2000, Wiley & García, 2016). Although Mrs. Montez was the most loyal Portuguese speaker in their household, she admitted that she got "caught up" in English without realizing it. The birth of Bruno's brother seemed to have further contributed to

this change of language practices as well. He was an additional person who Bruno communicated with in English at home. Additionally, according to him, having a younger sibling had also decreased his Portuguese bedtime stories with his mother.

Despite the rapid increase of English, there were a few strategies that had kept Portuguese present in Bruno's family over the years including dinner-time conversations in Portuguese, Brazilian community gatherings, bed-time stories (despite their decreasing frequency), and grandparents' yearly visits. Unfortunately, the grandparents' yearly visits were also becoming less frequent because they were not able to travel as often. Additionally, although the onetime travel to Brazil had made a considerable impact on Bruno's Portuguese proficiency, the family was not able to travel for the time being.

Lastly, it is worth noting that the Montez's family language decisions were greatly informed by their surroundings. Although Bruno felt proud and special for being an immigrant and the only Portuguese-speaking child at his school, he was aware that without English, he could not do many of his daily activities as a nine-year-old: he could not communicate to anyone, go to school, or even help his mother. Additionally, unlike many of his peers, Bruno had never been able to present on his language and culture at his school's multicultural night because of his family's limited socioeconomic resources. Thus, he had never seen an important value for the Portuguese language outside his home and the Brazilian community. In addition, he considered Portuguese useful for traveling to Brazil and communicating with his relatives who were based there. Therefore, it is no surprise that he gradually lost interest in using Portuguese with his family in the U.S. In contrast to this geographically distant value for Portuguese, Bruno considered English essential for his survival here. Bruno's case is a prime example of how value

and function are two very distinct, yet highly intertwined, factors shaping language decisions for bilingual children.

Family Language Policy of Tara Hien: A Case Study

Tara was the only child and lived with her father and mother in a walking distance from the Eliot school. Tara's father was from Hong Kong and spoke Cantonese. Her mother was from Beijing and spoke Mandarin. The Hien family language policy was analyzed based on the recounts by Tara and her mother. Three sources of data were analyzed to arrive at the findings: Tara's language log, interview with Tara, and interview with her mother. Following Spolsky's (2004) framework, three main themes were found after a thematic analysis of the data: family language beliefs, family language practices, and family language management. Additionally, a fourth theme on "family language decisions informed by educational language policies" was identified based on the codes connecting family language policies to educational language policies.

Tara

Tara was a 10-year old, petite-figured girl with sleek black hair falling over her face. Her mother was from China and her father was from Hong Kong. Her mother spoke Mandarin and her father spoke very little Cantonese. Tara identified Mandarin as her "heritage language". She was the only child in this study who referred to her language as "heritage language" while we were looking at the language log to discuss her language practices. She was serene and very well spoken for her age. She was also witty and playful when she was around her friends, particularly her best friend Maya, during recess and lunchtime. She was proud of her Chinese background, which she referred to as her "heritage". Although we did not discuss how she self-identified, her mother believed that Tara would probably self-identify as "American": "she always says 'my

mom said I am a Chinese’. She says though she is American. I think that’s fine. That is a good thing because she (*is*) used to here. That’s good” (Interview transcription, 5.4.17).

Tara’s Mother: Mrs. Hien

I met Mrs. Hien after a school day at the school playground. As we talked, Tara played on the playground and spent time checking the book fair that was going at the school during that week. Tara joined our conversation after a little while. Therefore, my interview with Mrs. Hien was the only parent interview that had the child present. Mrs. Hien was in her mid-forties. She coordinated an online English program that connected American English teachers to language learners in rural areas in China. She worked from home. Her husband had a management position in an IT company.

Mrs. Hien had immigrated to the U.S. in 2005. She came here alone after finishing her master’s degree in China and working there for a few years. Her biggest challenge as a new immigrant was socialization. This was due to the differences in lifestyle and her limited English language proficiency. When she moved to Massachusetts, she did not have any friends or knew many activities to do in her new surroundings. Additionally, she felt her English was “not enough” to socialize with people. Mrs. Hien self-identified as “Chinese” and believed nothing could ever change that. Her husband, on the other hand, who had immigrated to the U.S. from Hong Kong at the age of six, self-identified as American.

Language Beliefs, as Described by Tara and her Parent

Tara regarded knowledge of Mandarin “important” and “useful”. Speaking Mandarin made her feel “happy” because it was something she “really enjoyed doing”. Tara’s belief in value of Mandarin was partly tied to its utility to communicate with people during her travels to China. In addition, she also saw global advantages for her heritage language proficiency and

bilingualism. Tara believed speaking Mandarin, in addition to English, was important because it gave her “a bigger sense of what’s going in the world” and that she enjoyed knowing two languages. Accordingly, she believed Mandarin was important to be connected to the community of Mandarin speakers around her: “I guess it’s because I sort of want to have like a connection to other people around me that speak the same language as me” (Interview transcription, 3.31.17).

Tara also knew that it was important for her mother that she learned Mandarin: “because it’s sort of like her heritage language. So, I think she really wants to keep the family tradition of speaking Mandarin going” (Interview transcription, 3.31.17). She admired her mother because of her proficiency in English and Mandarin, although she sometimes reminded her that she needed to work on her English. Tara believed that although she was immersed in English at school, her mother’s perseverance in maintaining their family tradition had helped her be prideful in her heritage. She considered the Chinese New Year as a time she felt particularly proud of speaking Mandarin. Additionally, she was really looking forward to her family’s presentation on China during the school’s multicultural night: “It makes me feel like really proud, because I really like speaking Mandarin and knowing my heritage, that’s sort of cool” (Interview transcription, 3.31.17).

Beside her pride in speaking Mandarin, Tara also believed it was equally important for her to learn English because she was living in an English-speaking society and that bilingualism was “good” in general: “I think that’s really important only because I am living here I need to know English as well as Mandarin and it’s good to know more than one language” (Interview transcription, 3.31.17). Tara’s opinions on the teachers’ use of non-English languages at the school were complex. She would welcome the idea if the teachers were to use Mandarin, but she did not take it as seriously for other languages:

Yalda: Do you wish they (*teachers*) would use other languages?
 Tara: Eh, I mean I would at times, for like if they were like joking around maybe.
 Yalda: Aha! What if they use like Mandarin at school?
 Tara: I guess that would be sort of cool,
 Yalda: Why?
 Tara: Because then, I mean it would be cool to have like sort of listen to my language, and learn in a surrounding with it. (Interview transcription, 3.31.17)

However, she expressed a different opinion later on. A month later, as Tara was listening to my conversation with her mother about the educational language policy of Massachusetts, she looked sad and expressed her dismay toward the policy:

Yalda: [*Noticing Tara's facial expression*] Tara, are you sad about that law?
 Tara: Yeah.
 Yalda: Why?
 Tara: I don't know, I just don't like it. I want Ms. O (*her classroom teacher*) to teach in another language. That would be so cool! (Interview transcription, 5.4.17)

For Tara's mother, it was important that she maintained Mandarin because it was her "root". She admitted that when Tara first started daycare, she actually wanted her to learn more English. She thought of the transition as a positive "turning point" that she needed to adapt to in order to help Tara:

Because at the beginning I am also worried about her English level. So that's why when she speaks English I feel ok, maybe that is a turning point. You know, I shouldn't, I should consistently you know, speak in Chinese with her, but at that time I really worried because when she went to the daycare, she couldn't understand the language. I was worried about that part too! (Interview transcription, 5.4.17)

After Mrs. Hien's worries about Tara's English language proficiency were alleviated, she resumed her attention to maintaining Mandarin at home. Mrs. Hien said she would feel very sad if her daughter ever forgot Chinese because she considered the language a part of her root, "Oh, no! I will be so sad, she has to keep it (*Mandarin*), no, you have to keep it [*turning to her daughter*]" (Interview transcription, 5.4.17).

Nevertheless, as important as Chinese was for Mrs. Hien, it ultimately came second: "I

always think Chinese is very important, but I always think English should be her first language, she is living in this country not in China, but Chinese I always think is also important” (Interview transcription, 5.4.17). In line with this contextualized value for languages, Mrs. Hien also wanted Tara to know Spanish as her third language when she grew up because of its popularity in the U.S.

Family Language Practices, as Described by Tara and her Parent

Tara described her family language practices as a fluid mix between Mandarin and English (see Figures 5.3 & 5.4). Since her father did not share the same heritage language as her mother and he was not really fluent in his own heritage language, the conversations were naturally more English-dominant in Tara’s family. Tara used English when she talked to her father or when both of her parents were present. When she was with her mother, both of them went back and forth between English and Mandarin:

Tara: I respond normally in Mandarin, but sometimes I just like, when I'm focused on eating I respond in English or something... With dad, it's normally English, but sometimes like, sometimes like we, we are like, my dad and me are like a, we both like singing aloud. So then we are just like sing together in a different language like Mandarin or something.

Yalda: So he can, he can sing in Mandarin?

Tara: Yeah, well he can say some words in Mandarin

Yalda: So mom, does she always talk to you in Mandarin or does [inter]

Tara: No, she sort of switches from English to Mandarin. (Interview transcription, 3.31.17)

Time	Activities	Place	Mandarin	English
			Heritage language speaking/listening/reading/writing	speaking/listening/reading/writing
7 a.m.	Breakfast	Home	Spoke to Mom	Spoke to Mom + Dad
8 a.m.	School	school	Spoke and read to teacher Spoke to teacher	Spoke to teacher
9 a.m.	School	school	Did not use	Spoke to everyone!
10 a.m.	School	school	did not use	Spoke/read to everyone!
11 a.m.	School	school	did not use	Spoke to everyone!
12 p.m.	School	school	did not use	Spoke to everyone!
1 p.m.	School (lunch)	school	did not use	Spoke to everyone!
2 p.m.	School	school	did not use	wrote in book
3 p.m.	School	school	did not use	Spoke to everyone!
4 p.m.	acting class	Church	Did not use	Spoke/sung to teachers
5 p.m.	acting class	church	Did not use	Spoke/sung to teacher
6 p.m.	dinner	Home	Spoke to mom	Spoke to mom + dad
7 p.m.	math	Home	Spoke to mom	Spoke to mom
8 p.m.	writing	Home	Did not use	writing on computer
9 p.m.	Reading	Home	Spoke to mom	Spoke to dad
10 p.m.				reading

Figure 5.3 Tara’s weekday language log.

Date: Sunday Weekend Language Use Log

Time	Activities	Place	Heritage language speaking/listening/reading/writing	English speaking/listening/reading/writing
7 a.m.	Breakfast	Home	speaking to mom	spoke to mom and dad
8 a.m.	writing	Home	did not use	wrote to computer
9 a.m.	computer time	Home	spoke to mom	spoke to dad
10 a.m.	play time!!!	Home	spoke to mom	spoke to dad
11 a.m.	play time!!!	Home	spoke to mom	spoke to mom & Dad
12 p.m.	math class	chinese school	spoke to teacher	spoke to teacher & classmates
1 p.m.	Math class	chinese school	spoke to teacher	spoke to teacher & classmates
2 p.m.	chinese class	chinese school	spoke/read to teacher	spoke to classmates
3 p.m.	singing class	chinese school	spoke to teacher	spoke to everyone!
4 p.m.	singing class	chinese school	spoke to teacher	spoke to everyone!
5 p.m.	singing class	chinese school	spoke to teacher	spoke to everyone!
6 p.m.	dinner	Home	spoke to mom	spoke to mom & dad
7 p.m.	writing	Home	spoke to mom	wrote to computer
8 p.m.	reading	Home	did not use	read
9 p.m.				
10 p.m.				
11 p.m.				
12 a.m.				

Figure 5.4 Tara's weekend language log.

Tara's mother also described that their language practices were mostly in English, with occasional Mandarin interactions between her and Tara. Yet, in contrast to Tara's recollection, she recalled Tara's responses to be mostly in English, to the point that it led her to switch to English as well: "We speak like English, but I sometimes speak Chinese to Tara. I try to keep up many times, but she just answer me in English...so it lead me to talk to her English sometimes" (Interview transcription, 5.4.17).

Mrs. Hien did not believe she had a designated language for different activities. According to Tara, her mother used a different language for different mundane activities: "I don't know why, but she says wake up in English and go to bed in Mandarin" (Interview transcription, 3.31.17). Unlike Bruno's family, Mandarin was present even when discussing schoolwork, as long as Tara was able to comprehend her mother. When she did not understand, her mother would switch to English. The only activity that was entirely discussed in Mandarin

was homework for Chinese class. Mrs. Hien also tried giving advice to Tara in Chinese because she was more comfortable with it, but Tara was not always able to understand most of it.

Both Tara and her mother described an increase of English and a decrease of Mandarin use in their language practices along with the years of schooling:

Yalda: What language did you grow up with before school?

Tara: before school, so, at first, I learned Mandarin, I think Mandarin was the first language I learned, and then so, I didn't really know English that well, and then I got to know it better when I got to pre-school and no one else could speak Mandarin. So, I just listened to them and eventually I got it (*English*). (Interview transcription, 3.31.17)

Mrs. Hien: When she didn't go to school, she totally speak Chinese with me... after she went to school, day by day, the English influence is stronger and stronger... immediately after she went to the daycare, immediately, in half a year totally shift from totally Chinese to totally English. (Interview Transcription, 5.4.17)

Another contributor to dominance of English in Tara's language use was the influence of her peers: "I believe the influence from the peers, from all her friends, no one speaks English, even her Chinese friends, when they gathering together, they only use English. I think it's easier for them" (Interview Transcription, 5.4.17).

Family Language Management Approaches, as Described by Tara and her Parent

Tara's family did not have a "language rule" at home. Tara recalled once making a language rule with her mother in the form of a bet. Despite the exciting reward, Tara was not able to follow the rule:

Tara: Me and my mom once got to a bet that if I could speak Mandarin to her for a whole month without speaking English, I could get a puppy.

Yalda: Oh! How did that go?

Tara: I lost the bet. I forgot! But I am getting a puppy though!" (Interview transcription, 3.31.17)

Establishing a language rule was never a conversation that Mrs. Hien had with her husband as new parents after the birth of Tara. Since she viewed Mandarin as Tara's root, she had always "tried" to use it at home, but she had never established a rule for it. During our conversation,

Mrs. Hien said that the interview questions inspired her to be more strategic about her language use.

Although Tara's family did not have an explicit "rule" about using languages, they used a variety of strategies that was an indicator of their greater access to socioeconomic resources than the other three families in this study. Starting earlier that year, Tara had started attending a weekend Chinese program. In the program, she had three different classes with different teachers: Mandarin literacy, math, and singing. However, both Tara and her mother believed that the Chinese school had not made a big impact on Tara's proficiency, at least not until the time of our conversation. Tara's language log showed that she only spoke Mandarin to her teachers in the Chinese school. Her conversations with her peers were all in English. Tara's mother believed the yearly visits to China were most influential: "I don't think it (*Chinese school*) helps that much, but every year it almost is like routine every year, I brought her back to china then for 2 weeks, then after that she would be improved a lot" (Interview Transcription, 5.4.17).

In addition to yearly travels to China, Tara's family celebrated the Chinese New Year every year. In contrast to having different heritage languages, Chinese New Year was a tradition both of her parents shared. Therefore, it was easier for the family to sustain it. As indicated before, Tara described the Chinese New Year as a significant time that she felt proud of speaking her heritage language.

Another way that Tara was connected to her heritage language at home was through literacy materials. She claimed to have "a lot of books in Mandarin". Although, according to her, that was not a strategy planned by her parents. All the books were gifts from her mother's Chinese friends. Due to Tara's limited literacy in Mandarin, she was only able to read "short poems and stuff" without the help of her mother. Her mother used to read bedtime stories to her

in Mandarin, but Tara's lifestyle allowed less time for it as she got older: "Now I am just so tired, I just drop into my bed and I fall asleep" (Interview transcription, 3.31.17).

Besides home-based language strategies, Tara's family had some interactions with Chinese-speaking relatives and friends in the state and the U.S. at large. But both Tara and her mother believed those interactions were not effective in boosting Tara's Mandarin proficiency because she spoke English to her peers in those gatherings. The only time Tara was obligated to speak Mandarin in the U.S. was when her maternal grandparents visited. Similar to Bruno, Tara's grandparents were not able to visit anymore due to aging. In contrast to Bruno, Tara was able to interact with them and improve her Mandarin during her yearly visits to China.

Family Language Decisions Informed by Educational Language Policies

Tara's teachers had never commented about language use at home in their conversations with Mrs. Hien. The school had never sent correspondence in Mandarin. Mrs. Hien wished she had received forms in her language when she was less confident with English. However, she was able to understand the English forms at this point. In contrast to Bruno's family, Tara and her family usually had a booth presenting on China at the annual multicultural night at the school (see Figure 5.5). Presenting at this annual event made Tara feel "really proud" because she really liked speaking Mandarin and learning about her heritage and this presentation gave her an opportunity to do that.

Tara's school had never discussed any educational language policies with Mrs. Hien. She had no knowledge of the state language policy and was very surprised to hear that California was another state that had legislated the initiative back then. However, she was the only parent in this study who expressed that she would still vote "yes" to English-only if the ballot initiative was proposed again. She believed that bilingual education would not be practical for children from all

language backgrounds and it might lead to shallow use of heritage languages. In her opinion, English instruction was an equitable answer:

Mrs. Hien: I need to think about it. Oh, well I will vote for English only.

Yalda: Why?

Mrs. Hien: Because that is more efficient, not so many waste. I'm very practical, you don't have that many sources about the teachers. And I think for the students if they want to learn, they need to go deeper. If only the teacher, in school you use a different language, I don't think they go deeper, just on the surface, just hello, like, I don't think that really works.

Yalda: What if like a teacher could go deeper?

Mrs. Hien: Like that would be good but I don't think that is the reality. (*In*) reality you don't have that resource. (Interview Transcription, 5.4.17)

The example that Mrs. Hien provided (just saying hello) characterized the extent of heritage language use in her daughter's school. It is important to repeat that Tara, who was listening to our conversation at this point, disagreed with her mother: "I don't know, I just don't like it, I want Ms. O. to teach in another language. That would be so cool!".



Figure 5.5. Tara's family's booth presenting China for multicultural night.

Tara's Family Language Policy Interpretations and Conclusions

Tara's family language policy reflected dominance of English, with occasional use of Mandarin. In contrast to all the other three families, Tara's parents did not share a heritage language. Therefore, Tara and her mother had to rely on English to communicate with her father. Despite that, Tara and her mother used to communicate almost exclusively in Mandarin before she started daycare. Beginning daycare had a dramatic impact on Tara's language practices and proficiency. In less than six months, Tara began to become dominant in English. Although Tara's mother never had a conversation about home language use with her teachers, their home language use, and occasionally their language beliefs, seemed to look increasingly similar to school practices with time. Although Mrs. Hien was in favor of bilingualism with her daughter, she was not in favor of bilingual education in multilingual contexts. She believed it would lead to shallow incorporation of non-English languages. The example she provided to demonstrate her point, (just saying hello), characterized heritage language incorporation at her daughter's school. The language practices and beliefs of Tara's mother confirms that the school's English-only practices sent strong, yet unspoken, messages that shaped Tara's family's dispositions toward languages (Howard et al., 2003; Noro, 1990; Schirling et al., 2000). This is reminiscent of Foucault's (1991) notions of "governmentality" and the "omnipresence of power", of English monoglossic ideologies in this case, that were continuously, yet silently, reinforced through the school that functioned as a powerful filtering site in favor of English (Crawford, 1992; Flores, 2014; Heath, 1976; Nieto, 1999; Wiley & García, 2016).

In spite of Tara's English dominance, she still expressed a great interest in learning her "heritage language" and culture. She was proud of her heritage; she enjoyed celebrating the Chinese holidays; and seemed to like attending Chinese language program. In addition, similar to

many other bilingual children, she saw value in bilingualism and its benefits at the global level (Lillie, 2016). However, she preferred to use English for communicating with her parents and all her peers, including those who were Mandarin-English bilinguals. Tara's mother had to switch to English to accommodate her daughter, despite feeling insecure with English and preferring Chinese. This created a challenge for her to express herself fully when discussing heartfelt matters such as giving advice to Tara.

Lastly, although Tara's family did not have a language rule at their home, they used several strategies to bring their language practices closer to their desired language use. Tara's family's socioeconomic status gave them certain advantages in accessing additional resources such as a weekend Chinese program, being surrounded by friends who valued heritage language literacy, and yearly visits to China. Nevertheless, according to Tara's mother, only the last strategy seemed effective for boosting Tara's heritage language proficiency.

Chapter 6

The Wilson School Language Policies

This chapter presents the findings on language policies of the Wilson school, as written and practiced. The chapter opens with a brief introduction of the school staff to set a context for the school language policies. In line with the main theoretical framework of this study, the analysis of school language policies are presented under three categories: (1) Language beliefs of the Wilson school staff, (2) language practices at the Wilson school, and (3) language management approaches used by the school. The findings were obtained through thematic analysis of selective transcriptions of audio recordings from classroom observations, the observation field notes, the artifacts collected during the observations, and the interviews with the children (Arturo and Lidia) and the school staff (the classroom teachers, the ESL coordinator, and the principal).

The Wilson School Context

The Wilson School Staff

Ms. Murphy.

Ms. Mary Murphy was one of the two 4th grade teachers at the Wilson school. She taught all subject areas except for math to her class. She switched classes with the other fourth grade teacher (Ms. Taylor) once a day for her students to receive math instruction from her while she taught reading to Ms. Taylor's students. Ms. Murphy had been a teacher for almost 19 years. She held a Bachelor of Arts in Education with certificates in Elementary and Early Childhood education with a concentration in moderate disabilities. She also had a Masters of Education in Counseling and Psychology. As mandated by the state language policy, she also had a Sheltered

English Immersion (SEI) certification. Ms. Murphy self-identified as Irish-American, but did not ascribe a race to herself: “I like to think I’m just representative of everybody [*laughs*], cause I like to learn about all cultures so I like to be exposed to all cultures” (Interview transcription, 5.19.17). She had taken some Spanish classes several years back, but considered herself English monolingual. Ms. Murphy followed Core Aligned Literacy Modules (CALM) curriculum for English language arts. The curriculum also incorporated social studies themes. She supplemented CALM with guided reading books as well as books representative of the cultures of her students. As a part of a writing initiative at the Wilson school, she followed dialogic reasoning (Wagner, Ossa Parra & Proctor, 2016) and genre-based pedagogy informed by Systemic Functional Linguistics (Brisk, 2015) for teaching writing.

Ms. Taylor.

Ms. Angela Taylor was the other fourth grade teacher at the Wilson school. She taught all subjects areas to her class except for reading. Ms. Taylor’s students received daily reading instruction from Ms. Murphy. Ms. Taylor self-identified as White, Italian-Irish, and English monolingual. She regretted not knowing another language. Ms. Taylor was a third generation immigrant. She recalled that her maternal grandfather who came to the U.S. from Italy spoke to Ms. Taylor’s mother in Italian. However, once her grandfather passed away, Ms. Taylor’s mother stopped using Italian. Ms. Taylor and her husband had recently started learning Spanish because their son’s fiancée was from Latin America and they wanted to communicate with her family during their visits.

Ms. Taylor had been a teacher for 11 years. She held a bachelor’s in Community Service and a master’s degree in Education. As mandated by the state, Ms. Taylor had taken an SEI endorsement course offered by the district and run by the Massachusetts Department of

Education. Ms. Taylor closely followed Core Aligned Literacy Modules (CALM) for her English language arts instruction and Engage New York for teaching mathematics. Both curricula were aligned with Common Core State Standards. CALM was the recommended ELA curriculum by the district.

Ms. Sullivan.

Ms. Kelly Sullivan was the only ESL teacher and coordinator at the Wilson school. She had been a teacher for 12 years, eight of which had been at the Wilson. Prior to becoming the ESL coordinator, Ms. Sullivan taught the fifth grade SEI class at the Wilson. She had an undergraduate degree in Elementary Education, an academic license for grades one to six, and two ESL licenses for Pre K-6 and 6-12. Yet, the Department of Education had recently required that she obtained a master's degree. Previously, they had accepted her undergraduate degree if she took an equivalent of 12 graduate credit hours at a local university to pass all the requirements for Massachusetts Tests for Educator Licensure (MTEL). However, the regulations had changed ever since and Ms. Sullivan was required to obtain a full master's degree: "yes, apparently. I didn't cross my T's and dot my I's correctly. So, I have to start over" (Interview transcription, 5.19.17).

Ms. Sullivan identified as "Black Irish", which she explained as

So, what that means is my family is from Ireland, and we're mixed with Hispanic, so I don't know much at all about my Hispanic upbringing, or the connection in my family. And I usually don't talk about it cause people think I am trying to get things for free. Like if you have Latino in you, you get be picked first for a teaching position. So I've learned to downplay it, but I am just deciding that I am going to do the ancestry DNA. (Interview transcription, 5.19.17)

The term "Black Irish" is contested and its racial connotations are unclear. In general, it describes those with Irish origin who have phenotypically darker features (i.e. black hair, a dark complexion, dark eyes). It mostly refers to Irish emigrants and their descendants outside Ireland.

No matter the definition, Ms. Sullivan's selective self-identification in fear of being stigmatized as opportunistic reflects some of the larger societal ideologies that interpret the accomplishments of people of color as a "free ride" for the price of their contribution to institutional diversity, rather than the result of their hard work.

Ms. Sullivan spoke three languages: English, Spanish, and German. She had lived in Germany for one and a half years, which shaped how she thought about survival in an environment with a different language. Ms. Sullivan was an advocate for her students. She had written to state legislators and met with them (or their representatives) to express her dissatisfactions with the state educational language policies. She believed that the policy was promoting "subtractive bilingualism", which she regarded an "injustice" to her students that stripped them from their languages and cultures. Ms. Sullivan sent me multiple emails after our interview and shared further thoughts about the topics we had discussed. She seemed very passionate about language policy.

Principal Hailey.

Principal Hailey had been serving at the Wilson school for nine years. Before that, she was a mainstream classroom teacher for eight years. Ms. Hailey had an undergraduate degree in psychology, two master's degrees in education and school administration, and a doctorate in urban education. She was finishing her doctorate at the time of this study. Ms. Hailey self-identified as "African American, Jamaican". She spoke Jamaican Patois, which is also known as Jamaican Creole. Ms. Hailey believed Patois was not a language "according to mainstream" and was considered "a dialect" although it had all the components of a language. She explained that although Patois had many similarities with English, "the rhythm and the pace and the dropping of words and certain sounds" made it sound different. She described her language as a tool for

resistance and survival created by slaves: “It is a fusion of Portuguese, French, Creole, Swahili, and English. So basically, the slaves took the language of the master and breaks it into different components and created their own dialect that only them the slaves could understand.”

(Interview transcription, 5.23.17).

Ms. Hailey was born in Jamaica and moved to the U.S. with her sister when she was 12 years old to live with their father and their stepmother. She recalled her first days as a newcomer in this country were “very hard”. Those early days in the months of April were very cold “like a refrigerator”. Additionally, she found the food, the way of dressing, and the culture of the people to be very different. In Jamaica, she had been used to greeting people every time she encountered them during a day, but things were different here: “I just found people to be just like the weather, very cold” (Interview transcription, 5.23.17). Ms. Hailey’s recount of her early days as an immigrant was reminiscent of Arturo’s mother’s experiences.

In addition to these cultural changes, immigrating to the U.S. taught Ms. Hailey about the significant role of racialization in the U.S. society: “I had a hard time separating whether something was racially intended or was it that person’s personality and they are just mean!” (Interview transcription, 5.23.17). These racial challenges were especially significant because she lived in a biracial family. Her stepmother was White and had two biracial children with Ms. Hailey’s father. Ms. Hailey recalled that many were confused about her family. They would assume that Ms. Hailey and her full sister were adopted when they were with their stepmother. However, people were most conflicted when Ms. Hailey’s father was with all his four children without his wife: “when my biracial sisters were out with me and my full Jamaican blood sister, with my dad and my step mom wasn’t around, it was like ‘huh! That is strange’, people would make comments like ‘Black people don’t adopt children’” (Interview transcription, 5.23.17). Ms.

Hailey's non-White friends also often assumed they had the wrong house when they first visited her house and her stepmother opened the door. At the time, it was difficult for Ms. Hailey to understand why race was such a "big deal" in determining family relationships when all the siblings shared DNA. However, growing up in this society taught her that race defined everything about her: "Always having to define yourself by what you are" (Interview transcription, 5.23.17).

Typical Schedule of School Activities

In general, Arturo and Lidia's time during a school day was mainly spent with their homeroom teachers, Ms. Murphy and Ms. Taylor, on learning subjects including math, English language arts, and social studies. Given that Arturo was an emergent bilingual, he spent more time in Ms. Sullivan's ESL pullout class than in Ms. Taylor's math class. He usually got pulled out twice a day, one of which coincided with math lessons with Ms. Taylor. However, the week I observed Arturo was followed by math MCAS test, and therefore Ms. Sullivan visited him in Ms. Taylor's class to allow him to have access to grade-level content as much as possible.

The two fourth grade teachers, Ms. Taylor and Ms. Murphy, set the weekly schedule for their classes at the beginning of each year (see Figure 6.1). School day started with breakfast served in class. All students received free breakfast and lunch at the Wilson school. Fourth grade classrooms at the Wilson had one recess period during each school day, right before lunch. Lunch was served at around 11:30 to all fourth graders inside their classrooms. In addition to the daily routines, Arturo and Lidia received two science periods, one physical education period, one art period, and an optional music period during the week. The Wilson students met with a music instructor to learn the instrument of their choice, among the few options provided. I observed Lidia receiving a Violin lesson, but did not observe Bruno attending one.

Time	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday
8:15-8:30	Breakfast and Independent Reading	Breakfast and Independent Reading	Breakfast and Independent Reading	Breakfast and Independent Reading	Breakfast and Independent Reading
8:30-9:18	Guided Reading	Guided Reading	Guided Reading	Guided Reading	Guided Reading
9:20-10:08	ART	CALM/EL (Reading)	SCIENCE	CALM/EL (Reading)	CALM/EL (Reading)
10:10-11:00	CALM/EL (Reading)	SFL/Writer's Workshop	CALM/EL (Reading)	SCIENCE	SCIENCE
11:05-11:45	L R	U E	N C	C E	H S
11:50-12:38	SFL/Writer's Workshop	RE	SFL/Writer's Workshop	SFL/Writer's Workshop	SFL/Writer's Workshop
12:40-1:40	Math	Math	Math	Math	Math
1:45-2:20	Social Studies	Technology (Reading/Math)	Social Studies	Technology Reading/Math	Social Studies Time For Kids
2:20-2:30	Prepare For	Dismissal and Ind. Reading	Dismissal and Ind. Reading	Dismissal and Ind. Reading	Dismissal and Ind. Reading

Figure 6.1. Ms. Murphy's weekly schedule

Language Beliefs of the Wilson School Staff

Language beliefs of the Wilson school staff were documented through the thematic analysis of the interviews and side conversations at the time of school observations. The Wilson school Principal was a strong believer in “we practice what we believe”. Therefore, it is very important to unpack language belief of the Wilson school staff and examine their reflection in the language practices that will be discussed in the following section. At the surface level, all the school staff expressed a strong belief in bilingualism and a sense of celebration for children’s languages and cultures. However, their way of expressing those beliefs reflected more complex points of view.

For instance, Arturo’s teacher, Ms. Murphy, held a high regard for Arturo’s advanced literacy skills in Spanish. She allowed him to do his homework in Spanish without pushing him to produce writing in English because she wanted him to develop his oral English skills before she focused on literacy in English: “Once his oral language in English picks up, I think then we can take some chances with the writing. And he is fluent in his native language, and I don’t want

him to lose that either” (Interview Transcription, 5.10.17). Additionally, Ms. Murphy did not want her push for English to lead to loss of Spanish in Arturo: “I don’t want our push for English to undermine his fluency and literacy in Spanish” (Interview Transcription, 5.10.17). Ms. Murphy believed it was important for Arturo to maintain Spanish for two reasons: she wanted him to be able to communicate with his family and she also believed that being biliterate was “a great skill” to have.

However, in line with the English monolingual model that Ms. Murphy taught in, her instructional goal was not to promote biliteracy, despite her admiration for it. She believed “It’s nice if they already come with it, because when they come with me, I don’t teach Spanish. I teach everything in English. So I teach the English language” (Interview Transcription, 5.10.17). Ms. Murphy considered herself “lucky” that Arturo was biliterate because it provided “a building block” for his development of English. She did not believe children’s maintenance of their heritage language could compromise their English development because she was aware of cross-linguistic transfer between languages in bilinguals: “the more fluent you are in your native language, it makes it easier to transition (*to English*).” Therefore, she used Arturo’s literacy skills in Spanish as a “means to an end” for English language development. She had to use Spanish, in order to achieve that goal:

I have to find any means that I can to reach them, so if it means that I have to find a way to translate something, again, the end result is that I want that I want him to become a comfortable and a successful learner in English, but it may mean that I need to speak to him in a different language to get the product. And I’m not fluent in it. So, you know, so [*laughs*]. But, sometimes, I need to say it in his language so that he can get to the end result in my language. (Interview Transcription, 5.10.17)

Therefore, although Ms. Murphy considered biliteracy a great skill, she believed her job was to help Arturo to become “a successful learner in English”, rather than a successful bilingual learner. This, however, does not necessarily mean that Ms. Murphy intended for Arturo to lose

his heritage language or culture, as she voiced several times: “I wouldn’t want to take anyone’s culture from them. We’re just trying to blend and morph their knowledge” (Interview Transcription, 5.10.17). Yet in practice, this morphing of knowledge seemed to exclusively work toward the development of English. Ms. Murphy was aware of that. Her thought processes for selecting advanced bilingual students as translators based on their heritage language skills reflected her awareness of heritage language loss in favor of English dominance:

Yalda: How do you usually pick your translators?

Ms. Murphy: Well there’s only a few. I have only several that can speak Spanish, but I have, the number is fewer who can speak it correctly. Cause some have lost that, or they were born here, and I don’t know if you call it Spanglish, or you know. And or, some have a different dialect, and it, it takes three people to clear it up. Rose is quite fluent, which you would never know it because it her, because her English is perfect. (Interview Transcription, 5.10.17)

Although Ms. Murphy seemed aware of the common pattern of heritage language loss with acquisition of English among U.S.-born children of immigrants, her surprise at Rose’s Spanish proficiency because of her “perfect English” implies that she perceived the two to be mutually exclusive: 1) As students learn English, they lose their heritage language 2) if they maintain their heritage language, they cannot fully develop English. This is somewhat in contrast to Ms. Murphy’s belief in the advantages of cross-linguistic transfer for second language development. Additionally, Ms. Murphy equated losing part of one’s Spanish and speaking it incorrectly with “Spanglish”. Although this is a commonly held belief, it is not exactly true. Spanglish is a very contested, and rather vague, term among the scholars in the field of bilingualism. Some scholars regard Spanglish as a hybrid form of English and Spanish use in which speakers code-switch to include English expressions in their Spanish utterances. This might include borrowing, reduced morphological features, and alterations, among other features (Zentella, 1997). While others disagree with this hybrid definition of Spanglish and argue that the way second and third generation immigrants use Spanish is dependent on the geographical

area they live in (Otheguy & Stern, 2011). They believe that lumping all second and third generations in “Spanglish” is not only incorrect, but also implies that they speak a language other than Spanish and might further endanger the survival of Spanish among second and third generation Spanish-speaking immigrants. Despite these differences, both groups of scholars discourage the use of this term because it embeds conflict and sociopolitical oppression. More importantly, none of these scholars consider “Spanglish” as “an incorrect Spanish”. I chose not to respond to Ms. Murphy’s use of this term during the interview, because my purpose was not to challenge the participants in their answers, unless the answer would lead to understanding of the following questions.

Lidia’s teacher, Ms. Taylor’s, language beliefs showed a slightly different sense of appreciation for bilingualism in comparison to Ms. Murphy’s. She wanted her students to maintain their heritage languages not because it was associated with their culture and helped their family relations, but because she admired bi/multilingualism for being “great”, “spectacular”, “amazing”, and “pretty incredible”. Similar to Ms. Murphy, Ms. Taylor also believed bilingualism was an important skill to have in today’s world:

Ms. Taylor: I think it's great. I think it's spectacular because it's the world in which we live today. And, um, I admire anyone who is bilingual or trilingual or qua, I don't even know how the term goes.

Yalda: They just go with multilingual.

Ms. Taylor: Multilingual! I do admire it because I think that being able to process in your head and then speak it is just, so amazing to me. It's, and I just have so much respect for students that come from, um, non English-speaking homes that have to translate, they have to work so much harder than their English-speaking peers, and it's pretty incredible. (Interview Transcription, 5.10.17)

Similar to Ms. Murphy, Ms. Taylor also believed that developing another language could not disrupt development of English. She referred to research to prove those misconceptions were originated from setting unrealistic expectations for the rate of English language development in emergent bilinguals:

Ms. Taylor: The expectations for students and the realizations don't coexist... Research says it takes somebody 6 years, 6-8 years to um, be able to communicate, listen, speak, write the language. You know? And we have students that you know, they're here in this country for a year, they have to take the MCAS (*the state-level standardized assessment*), you know, the expectations are just too high, and it is just not developmentally appropriate. (Interview Transcription, 5.10.17)

Given the student population of the Wilson school, Ms. Taylor always expected to have emergent bilinguals in her class and designed her practices with that mindset: "It would be a surprise if I didn't have ELL students...A lot of my teaching practice probably comes from having ELL students, with the extra modeling, the extra checking, the extra wait time for response, the extra conferencing time" (Interview Transcription, 5.10.17). It is worth pointing out that despite Ms. Taylor's great intentions to always consider emergent bilinguals as the audience for her instruction, her use of the word "extra" has monolingualism normative undertones. Nevertheless, she attempted to make the content comprehensible for all her students in her practice. For instance, she used her limited knowledge of Spanish when teaching math to Arturo's class because she wanted him to feel as an equally productive member of her class. Ms. Taylor felt dissatisfied with herself and Ms. Murphy for not being able to speak Spanish like some of their other colleagues at the school: "You know I mean feel bad for Arturo that I don't speak Spanish. He has two teachers, his primary teachers that don't speak Spanish. You know, and he just communicates in Spanish. So my heart breaks for him" (Interview Transcription, 5.10.17). Ms. Taylor considered Spanish "a necessity" for teachers who work with emergent bilingual children such as Arturo. She believed that the peer translators' communications with Arturo were important, yet insufficient, because they used the social language. By "social language", Ms. Taylor seemed to differentiate between academic and social language, aligning with Cummins's (1989) proposed binary between Basic Interpersonal Communication Skills (BICS) and Cognitive Academic Language Proficiency (CALP).

The Wilson school ESL teacher, Ms. Sullivan, had a similar appreciation and admiration for her bilingual students. She attributed her knowledge of Spanish to working with Spanish-speaking bilingual children. She believed all her students had strengths, although in different shapes. Given that Ms. Sullivan was the ESL coordinator, her familiarity with research on bilingualism and dual language development in bilingual children was stronger, and more nuanced, than the classroom teachers: “Think about the cognates in languages. Think about the cultures of languages, think about being compassionate about other countries, other ideas. Just to think about a global society, yeah in no way, in no way does it, does it attract” (Interview Transcription, 5.10.17).

Besides her familiarity with cognitive, social, and epistemological benefits of bilingualism through her professional development, Ms. Sullivan valued bilingualism because she cared deeply about her students’ cultural and linguistic well-being and took issue with the way the dominance of English marginalized other languages in the schools and the U.S. society at large. She believed the educational system of the U.S. was linguistically “subtractive” and “horrible” for marginalizing children’s heritage languages:

I am afraid they are losing their home language or their heritage language by the subtractive bilingualism that is being set up. By what we are doing to these kids right now, it is horrible. It is horrible. This is where the injustice is. (Interview Transcription, 5.10.17)

She explained that by “injustice” she was referring to the current language policy of the state.

She further expanded on her point by connecting this educational injustice to the historical oppression and demolition of Indigenous languages in U.S. history. When we met for the interview, she showed me a video of an Indigenous man speaking in front of the congress in his heritage language. She teared up after the monologue and said: “language is powerful... History

of the United States is horrible. This is slowly happening to our students. It's not okay. It's not okay" (Interview transcription, 5.19.17).

Lastly, Principal Hailey believed bilingualism was important for "all children" at her school and the society at large. She was aware that her students' use of heritage languages decreased as the years went by and she attributed it both to an increasing level of comfort with English and also to the students' attempts to be "inclusive" of all their peers because of their school culture:

I don't see my kids socialize in school much in their native language. I don't see that much. They um, tend to just stick with English. I don't know if it is because they are comfortable, if it is because they want to make sure that they are inclusive and they are including all their peers in the conversation. But, and I think it could be too because of our school's philosophy, we believe in including everyone. (Interview Transcription, 5.23.17)

Although Ms. Hailey did not directly relate the decrease in heritage language use to schooling, she believed there was a societal systemic discrimination in place that perpetuated misconceptions about bilingual development and discouraged immigrants from maintaining their heritage languages while developing English:

You know I just think it is a social structure we have put in place so, just so that we can come up with excuses. I mean, if you think about brain plasticity and the more that you expose your brain to the more that it is going to be like an elastic stretch, stretch, stretch, and expand, and know. I don't see how learning two languages equally is going to be detrimental to the human being. If anything it is going to strengthen that person because now you are thinking and you are going back and forth between two languages in your mind to make full sense of your surroundings. (Interview Transcription, 5.23.17)

In addition to these sociocognitive benefits, Ms. Hailey considered knowing more than one language important for "all children" in the 21st century. More specifically, she wanted monolingual English-speaking students to be placed in bilingual classes where they would be exposed to other languages in order to increase their empathy toward non-English speakers: "You know give them that same experience as we have given our native Hispanic speakers. And

I think if we were to do that too, we would find that our kids too would be a lot more empathetic towards each other” (Interview Transcription, 5.23.17). She was “annoyed” with the “disservice” that the U.S. education system did to children by not prioritizing language as one of the skills they need for the 21st century. She believed the systemic discrimination on the basis of race and ethnicity determined “whose language” was taught “to whom”:

And so if we are preparing kids for the 21st century, and preparing them to be global contributors, but we don’t give them the one up on language, it is such a great disservice. And I think that is strategically planned, because if you look at (*names a district in Massachusetts*) Public School, (*that district*) has French that all its students are taking. But if you look in this area, we don’t have a lot of French speakers. So why is Spanish not the language that is being forced, not really forced but that’s being offered in that affluent town. And so we also see language rather than an asset, you use language as an indicator to discriminate against others because even though Spanish is a great language to speak, it’s also, whose language is it? And it is not the language of people that the dominant culture finds to have value for. And so we use that as a hindrance rather. However, if you ask the language of the dominant culture, if you have the opportunity to teach your child Spanish for them to know, ‘oh absolutely. I want my child to learn Spanish’. So, you understand the value of it, but you don’t have that play out in an honest way when you interact with others. And when you create policies that are going to also have a positive impact on others, but secretly you want it for your own family and your own community, but not for others. Yeah, quite interesting! (Interview Transcription, 5.23.17)

Ms. Hailey was referring to “raciolinguistic ideologies” (Flores & Rosa, 2015) held by “the dominant culture” that often evaluate a language depending on their biases against, or in favor of, the group that speaks that language (“Even though Spanish is a great language to speak, it’s also, whose language is it? And it is not the language of people that the dominant culture finds to have value for”). Although Ms. Hailey did not explicitly name a race or ethnicity here, she related the “dominant culture” to speakers of English who held value for their children’s developing Spanish, but they did not “play out in an honest way” when evaluating that language for its heritage speakers. Principal Hailey also described the dominant group as those who have power to create policies that might have a positive impact on marginalized groups, while “secretly” their end goal is to benefit their own community. Given that the racial demographic of

the legislative body of this country, and the state of Massachusetts in particular, is predominantly White, it is not difficult to hear the racial connotations in the “dominant culture” that Ms. Hailey is describing. Flores and Rosa (2015) link this double standard for valuing languages to race and argue that: “people are positioned as speakers of prestige or nonprestige language varieties based not on what they actually do with language but, rather, how they are heard by the white listening subject” (p.160).

In line with her sense of critical thinking, Principal Hailey also believed that knowing English was important for children of immigrants, not for assimilating into the dominant culture, but rather to be able to thrive, think critically, and defend themselves against legal impediments facing them in the future because of not knowing English very well:

Well, I think if you are living in a country you should know the language, and I think you should know it, not just know the social aspect of it, but I think you should know the academic part of it. If you look at the homelessness that is going on in our city. A part of that too is our families, when they read their lease, or they read their statement from the bank, or the mortgage, they don't understand the language. And so they are signing these documents, and the next thing you know, they don't understand that after two years of living in this house, the interest rate now triples and now you are no longer able to afford the mortgage and guess what, you have lost your home. Your credit is now ruined. I just think, to understand the way of the land in which you live in and are expected to navigate and function, you also need to understand the language and understand it really well so that you aren't taken advantage of and that you can think critically. (Interview Transcription, 5.23.17)

Ms. Hailey's comments in relation to survival of speaker of non-English languages, or speakers of non-dominant varieties of English, due to barriers for deciphering the legal language echoed Lidia's and Arturo's parents' comments about systemic discriminations hindering home ownership for speakers of non-English languages and people of color.

Language Practices at the Wilson school

Language Practices in Arturo's Classes

Thematic analysis of selective transcriptions of audio recordings of classroom

observations, observation field notes, and the interviews with Arturo and his teachers showed that Arturo mainly interacted with two groups: the teachers and his peers. The teachers that Arturo interacted with included: his homeroom teacher (Ms. Murphy), math teacher (Ms. Taylor), ESL teacher (Ms. Sullivan), science teacher (Ms. Noel), Physical education teacher, and art teacher. These interactions included both direct conversations with Arturo or conversations with the entire group, which Arturo was a part of. Arturo's interactions with the teachers are presented under two large themes based on the language(s) used for the interaction: bilingual practices and English-only practices.

Bilingual practices.

Although there were no instances in which the teachers interacted with Arturo exclusively in Spanish, they interacted with him in English mixed with Spanish or exclusively in English. As the only emergent bilingual with elementary English proficiency, Arturo's presence in any classroom changed the way language(s) were dealt with. With his arrival, use of Spanish by the children, and at times the teachers, became the norm. Spanish use was expanded beyond the usual sideline chatters and became a language for instructional purposes. Upon his arrival, Arturo was welcomed to his homeroom with signs in Spanish and English (see Figure 6.2). Additionally, his teacher, Ms. Murphy, dedicated a small bin to Spanish books in the class library. Yet, these practices were not limited to Arturo's homeroom. In science, art, physical education, and math Spanish was now a legitimate means for communication besides English. Having Arturo as a new community member who did not understand most of the English conversations brought out cultural and linguistic resources from the classroom community that were not as visibly present in those spaces before.

The teachers used Spanish with Arturo for three main purposes: (1) English language development, (2) content development, and (3) behavioral or communication purposes. Not surprisingly, Spanish was used for English language development mostly in Ms. Murphy's ELA class and Ms. Sullivan's ESL time. Both teachers provided bilingual curricular materials and instructional strategies to help Arturo use his Spanish language and literacy skills to learn English. Arturo's math and science teachers (Ms. Taylor and Ms. Noel) mostly used Spanish for content development. Lastly, his teachers used Spanish for behavioral directions twice during the week. Once was during the physical education period when the teacher who had some proficiency in Spanish directed Arturo to follow her movements. The second time was when Ms. Murphy wrapped up a whole-class lesson and directed children to go back to their seat and start writing by saying "Ok, vamos!" Everyone, including the non-Spanish speakers, quickly followed along.



Figure 6.2 Spanish and English signs installed in preparation for Arturo's arrival.

The analysis of Arturo's bilingual interactions with his teachers showed that they facilitated bilingual use in their classes by incorporating four types of resources: (1) Spanish

curricular materials, (2) teacher's use of Spanish, (3) peer assistance, and (4) technology.

Sometimes the teachers used more than one of those resources at the same time.

Spanish Curricular materials. Three of the teachers who interacted with Arturo incorporated Spanish through curricular materials: Ms. Murphy (homeroom & ELA teacher), Ms. Taylor (math teacher), and Ms. Noel (science teacher). They took different approaches for using Spanish materials. Ms. Taylor and Ms. Noel used Spanish materials to create activities for Arturo that were identical or very close to what the rest of the class was discussing. However, Ms. Murphy relied heavily on Spanish materials for supporting Arturo through individual activities.

As mentioned earlier, upon Arturo's arrival Ms. Murphy created a small, yet separate, section in the library with several books in Spanish. She was meticulous about the language and the content level of the books she picked for Arturo. On multiple occasions, she mentioned that she never wanted to "insult him" by giving him "baby books" in English. She was aware of Arturo's advanced literacy skills in Spanish and often described him as "very smart". I often spotted one or several Spanish books on Arturo's desk. Even Arturo's mother mentioned that she was impressed by the Spanish books Ms. Murphy had sent home and was going to ask her where she had purchased them. One of the books that Ms. Murphy had chosen for Arturo was "Wonder". Wonder is an advanced book, rated at 790 Lexile level and is recommended for grades three to seven based on the instructional approach and student's reading level. The week I observed Arturo, Ms. Murphy was preparing her students to take the state standardized assessment (MCAS) for English language arts. Arturo did not have to take the test because he was a recent arrival. Therefore, Ms. Murphy let him work on his own with the Spanish version of Wonder while listening to its audiobook in English on an iPad. Ms. Murphy later told me that

Lastly, Arturo's math teacher, Ms. Taylor, used fourth grade Common Core-based translated modules, sample tests, and activities from "Engage NY" in Spanish for Arturo.⁸ These Spanish materials allowed Ms. Taylor to only rely on peer translators as "back-up" support for Arturo:

Ms. Taylor: So, Arturo, you can go with José, to be a part of that group, or with Felicita.

Arturo: José.

Ms. Taylor: José? Ok. So go sit across José. But it's in Spanish, the word problem is [adds emphasis] in Spanish. So, he prob, he probably won't need any translation, but just in case. Ok? (Observation Transcriptions, 4.5.17)

Teacher's use of Spanish. In addition to the resources laid out so far, the teachers also relied on their own Spanish proficiency, when possible, to make their instruction accessible for Arturo. Not surprisingly, Ms. Sullivan provided the most fluid form of bilingual practices. She was the only Spanish proficient teacher who worked with Arturo. Due to the pullout nature of her instruction, Ms. Sullivan's time with Arturo was always in one-on-one or small group settings. Ms. Sullivan started her lesson by introducing the language and content objectives in both languages:

Ok. So, today, Thursday April 6th: 'I can ask questions in English.' ok? Puedo, preguntas en inglés. Corriste ayer, right? In English. "Is it a printer?" "Lo es impressor?" en inglés.. Yes, it is. Cambia "is it, it is." Cambia. Right? Solo en ingles. inglés es loco, right? English is a little crazy. We switch the rules. So, 'lo es' en espanol, no no es. In English, Is it a printer? Yes, it is. Or no, it is not. No lo es. (Observation Transcriptions, 4.6.17)

She later explained that sometimes she wrote the objectives in English and asked Arturo to translate them to Spanish, but due to the shortage of time that day, she had to state the objectives in both languages herself. When Arturo was in charge of the translation, he would use his English comprehension as well as an English-Spanish dictionary to translate the objectives. Ms. Sullivan believed using a dictionary for translation was "archaic", but she used it because it was the only

⁸ <https://www.engageny.org/resource/translated-modules>

resource Arturo would be allowed to use during paper-based standardized tests in the following year and she wanted him to be “very ready for it”.

The following excerpt from Ms. Sullivan’s lesson best represents the way she went back and forth between English and Spanish to help Arturo learn the math content as well as the English language using his full linguistic repertoires:

Ms. Sullivan: ok. So qué significa esto? So, por diferentes dias para mostrar tu trabajo. Hay linea de números, right, que significa, um... el uno y medio, half right? O a veces we are at seven eighths, we have five eighths... So, we know that ...one, two, three, four, five, six, and seven, eight! And one, two, three, four, five, six, and seven, eight. Dos is du números. Uno, dos. Y que significa is todos de los espacios are filled in, right? So that is: one and five eighth and this would be two and five eighth. Does that make sense? Entiendes? une parte, une grande? Si? si, no, o más y menos? wait, where are you?

Arturo: en este.

Ms. Sullivan: Si, que es doble este. Puedes dibujar right porque es muy importante que entiendes una vía. Y despues usando otras vías? pero ese tu entiendes, right? Okay so go ahead, resolver con tu dibuja que es doble. No usando ese ahora. continua con tus dibujas. Continue with your drawings for now. right? Ok, so en ingles?

Arturo: One, two, three, four, five, eighth

Ms. Sullivan: Eighth. ok. es doble and five eighth. que es doble? dos. Muéstrame. So, show me double the two.

Arturo: Four?

Ms. Sullivan: Uhum. Muestrame con tu trabajo. right?

Arturo: No.

Ms. Sullivan: So, remember. acuerdate. Where are these? Que significa por ese? Que parte del problema es represente ese?

Arturo: (no response)

Ms. Sullivan: Yes y que es ese? what is that?

Arturo: Two.

Ms. Sullivan: Two and five two. uhum. y two es de que? quien? Que ese? dos duces (meant to say *dos doces* meaning *two twelves*) dos lápices? Qué es dos? dos what? What does two stand for?

Arturo: Dos millas

Ms. Sullivan: Dos millas. De quién? Whose two miles? De Señor Sullivan? De Señor Taylor? De quien? de who?

Arturo: De Lucy. (Observation Transcriptions, 4.6.17)

One week later, Ms. Sullivan sent me a picture of bilingual math work Arturo had done during a follow-up lesson with her. The email was titled, “proud of his work” (see Figure 6.4).

As evident, Ms. Sullivan used “dynamic bilingualism” or “translanguaging practices” to help Arturo learn the math content as well as the English language by drawing from his full linguistic repertoire(s) (García, Johnson & Seltzer, 2017). Although she was nervous about her use of Spanish and occasionally made small grammatical mistakes, she did her best to deliver a bilingual lesson that enabled Arturo to use all his linguistic resources to access his knowledge of math, which he had acquired in Spanish in the Dominican Republic. Additionally, it is important to note that, like many other teachers, Ms. Sullivan used this technique without knowing the terminology that the academics have ascribed to it. She described the method as the “interlanguage”.

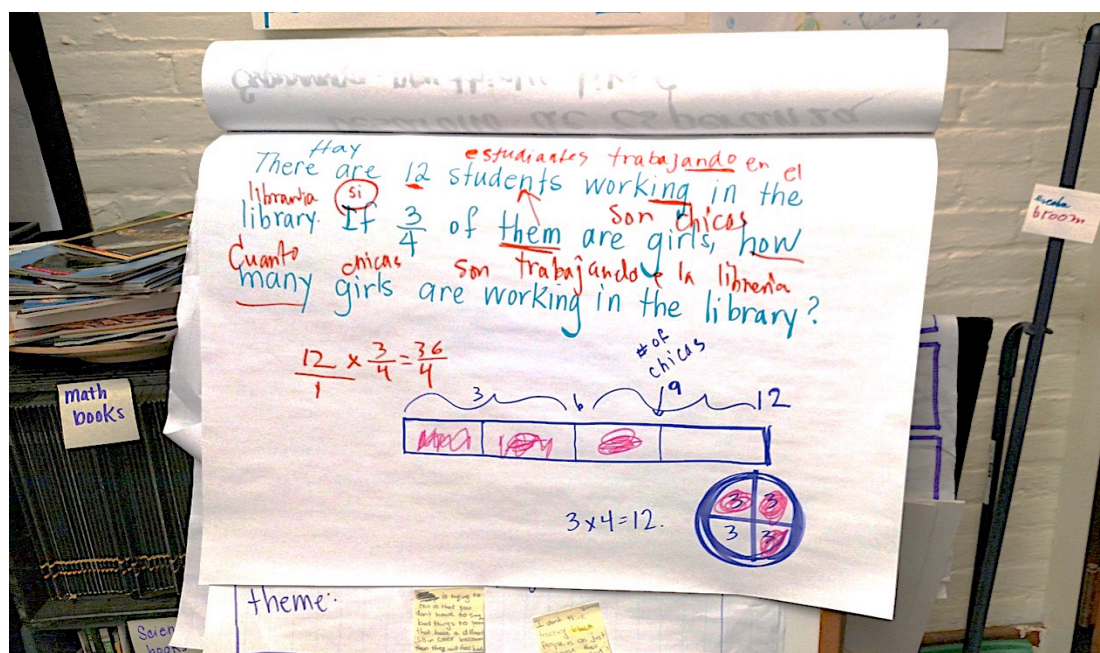


Figure 6.4. Arturo’s math work in English and Spanish during ESL time.

During the observations, Ms. Taylor was the only teacher who used Spanish for whole-group instruction. Ms. Taylor’s Spanish proficiency was rather elementary and mostly limited to counting numbers, but that did not stop her from incorporating Spanish in her instruction. She always made an effort to make the whole-group lessons accessible to Arturo. She also relied

heavily on the assistance from the bilingual children in the room. Those interactions will be described in the following section.

Peer assistance. This strategy has been documented in previous studies on implementation of English-only policies in classrooms (de Jong et al., 2005; Johnson, 2012). Johnson (2012) refers to it as “peerlingual education”. Through peerlingual education teachers use help from bilingual peers to translate instructions or to teach content to emergent bilinguals in order to compensate for the lack of bilingual instructional resources in English-only contexts. Arturo’s teachers who were not proficient in Spanish relied heavily on peer assistance, in addition to Spanish materials, to facilitate and supplement some of their interactions.

Arturo did not recall any of his teachers speaking Spanish to him during their instruction, but he believed that they were able to help him with the assistance of his Spanish-English bilingual peers. Given that Ms. Murphy did not speak Spanish, she had to rely on peer translators to help provide guidelines for the activities she had exclusively designed for Arturo. She also used peer assistance quite frequently to make sure Arturo understood general directions. Ms. Murphy’s translators were a handful, but she relied mainly on José, Rose, Felicita, and Miguel. They had different levels of Spanish proficiency and spoke it with different accents and dialects since their families came from different Latin American countries. Ms. Murphy was aware of these differences when she was selecting translators for Arturo.

Ms. Taylor mostly relied on peer translators during her whole-group math lessons, when she fell short with her Spanish proficiency. This was a norm during her math lessons. She had established for her students that translation was Spanish-English bilingual speakers’ “job”. The students also played along very well. I never witnessed anyone complaining about stopping the whole class to make sure Arturo understood a problem. This sense of collaboration had even

encouraged English-dominant bilinguals to chime in for help when the usual translators fell short or got tired of translating. The teachers did not even know some of these students were bilingual before Arturo's arrival. In the following excerpt from a math lesson, Rose and Diego chimed in voluntarily to translate:

[Ms. Taylor is speaking very slowly. She is giving directions word for word]

Ms. Taylor: So, I want to, you to represent four groups of five into tens. Four, qua, quando, quarto, cinco, dos, ochos.

Diego: Dos ochos?

Ms. Taylor: Is ten ocho?

Students: No.

Rose: That's eight.

Ms. Taylor: Da, dos.

Rose: It's diez.

Ms. Taylor: What is it?

Students: Diez.

Ms. Taylor: Diez! Excellent...So right now, you should have 4 groups of five into tens. 4 groups, ok? Uno dos, ok? uno dos tres quarto, uno dos tres quatro, ok? (Transcriptions and field notes, 4.4.17)

This collaboration was also present during Ms. Noel's science lessons:

Teacher shows a video on natural disasters. While the students are watching, Miguel says to the teacher, "I'm explaining." He starts translating to Arturo. Arturo raises his hand. Teacher asks Felcitia to translate, but José volunteers to translate instead. Arturo is paying attention and writing down notes as the teacher writes on the board. A few minutes later, he jumps to sit next to José and asks about the word that the Ms. Noel has written on the board. He is asking questions and describing something to José at the same time. José looks lost. Miguel looks at them from the other side of the rug and laughs. He says, 'Do you understand him?' (Observation field notes, 4.6.17)

As evident in these examples, despite occasional challenges for students to understand each other's translations, everyone participated in helping, although in different ways. Arturo was aware of his supportive environment. During math and science lessons, he seemed confident to raise his hand to share his thoughts. Although he could not express them in English yet, he was sure that someone would be there to help him if the teachers called up on him.

However, as reported by previous research, peerlingual education was not without challenges (de Jong et al., 2005; Johnson, 2012). Sometimes the translators were distracted, wanted to focus on their own learning, or were simply tired. More importantly, most of the translators had limited academic and content-specific proficiency in Spanish and did not always possess the technical vocabulary, especially if they were still processing the new content in English. This would add to their frustration to the point that they would deny that they spoke Spanish. For instance, once I wanted to double-check the equivalent of “mixed number” in Spanish with Miguel. The word seemed new to Miguel in both English and Spanish and therefore, he responded in the following way:

Yalda: Mixed, I think it’s mixto. So, mixed number would be numero mixto?

Miguel: What? Mixed number?

Yalda: That would be, what would it be? Is it numero mixto or no?

Miguel: Yeah. I don't know! I only talk English...I'm not all about the Spanish.
(Observation transcriptions, 4.4.17)

Arturo was aware of the shortcomings of his translators as well. During his interview, he mentioned that had to read his Spanish writing to his friends in order for them to translate to English because they could not read or write in Spanish very well. Additionally, Arturo also got tired of being always paired with a limited number of his classmates. For instance, one day Ms. Taylor paired Arturo with Peter, an English-Cape Verdean Creole bilingual who did not really speak Spanish. Arturo seemed happy to work him and they were both engaged in solving the math problem. However, shortly after assigning partners, Ms. Taylor realized that Arturo’s partner was not a Spanish speaker and switched Arturo to work with José. Neither José nor Arturo seemed pleased about the change. José told me that he was frustrated because it was difficult for him to explain math in Spanish.

Arturo's ESL teacher, Ms. Sullivan, also relied on peer assistance, although not for translation. She used peer mentoring to facilitate "synergistic companion relationship" and "linguistic modeling" as well as helping students feel "freed up and empowered". By using instructional models such as dialogic reasoning (Wagner et al., 2016), her students who had different English language development levels, reading levels, and learning styles assisted each other in post-reading group discussions in order to comprehend the text better as a group:

I've been lucky, because, you know watching the dialogic reasoning and realizing that these peers are very powerful and their linguistic modeling when they are at that same language really, and the word is empower again. And that level one all of a sudden is freed up and empowered to practice everything they hear from that person, that student. They learned far more than they do from me as a teacher. You know, I don't know if it's the effect of filter, I don't know if this is some sort of synergistic companion relationship, I don't know what it is. But it is like the brain opens up and everything just, this is where it all happens. (Interview Transcription, 5.10.17)

Use of technology. The last resort for all the teachers with limited Spanish proficiency was drawing on technology including Google Translate, Youtube videos in Spanish, audiobooks, and online games. Even Ms. Sullivan occasionally double-checked words with translation machines when she was in doubt. The science teacher, Ms. Noel, tried to look up Spanish videos similar to the ones she was showing to the entire class. Still, her choices were very limited and she was not always sure whether the content was the same since she could not understand Spanish. Ms. Murphy played audiobooks in English on an iPad while also giving the book to Arturo in Spanish. Whenever there was free time, she also used the iPad for bilingual vocabulary activities for him.

One of the activities that Ms. Murphy used Google translate to explain was for the book, "Henry and Mudge". Arturo was supposed to read the book and write a story about his prediction for what would happen at the end of the story. Ms. Murphy had put the directions in Google

translate ahead of time. In order to double-check her translation and Arturo's comprehension, she sought confirmation from one of her occasional translators, José:

Ms. Murphy: Luego describa una historia que me digo le que sucede (*Sucede*) a la continuacion next día. right? Imagine que eres Henri cuando escribes historria, si? o no? So, this is one, leer la storia Henry y Mudge. Two: Luego escriba una historia que me diga lo que succeed a la continuación. Right? Imagina que eres, que eres Henri. Tu Henri, right? Cuando escribes tu historia. Si o no? Si? Leer first, ok?

Arturo: Ok.

Ms. Murphy: Did I translate that right? What I wanted to do is read the story Henry and Mudge, right? And then he's gonna write a story about what happens next. And he's gonna imagine that he, is Henry when he writes the story. Si? Did I do it right? [*laughs*]. You're the teacher right now. I'm the student. La maestra, estudiante, la mastera, estudiante. [*pointing to José as the 'maestra' and herself as the 'estudiante'*]

Arturo: Uhum.

Ms. Murphy: Si?

Arturo: Uhum.

Ms. Murphy: I'm getting better? [*she whispers*]. ok. But how do I say, como se dice, "do you understand?", comprende, right? Comprende? si? ok. so, then first just cuando, first? no! What's first? primer. And then?

José: Primero.

Ms. Murphy: Primero. And then, is cuando, then?

Arturo: Dehpueh, Dehpueh (*Despues with a Dominican accent*)

Ms. Murphy: le puer.

José: Dehpueh.

Ms. Murphy: Le puer, what he said [*laughs*]. Le puer.

José: That sounds like French!

Ms. Murphy: Oui, oui. [*laughs*]. Si?

Arturo: uhum. (Observation Transcriptions, 4.6.17)

As Ms. Murphy stepped away, Arturo and José started speaking in Spanish. José explained the assignment to Arturo again. Arturo said he did not understand it. So, José had to explain it again. This is despite the fact that Arturo showed understanding of part of Ms. Murphy's explanation earlier when he responded to her question, "And then, is cuando, then?". Therefore, it seemed that although Arturo's listening comprehension in English was improving, because of his limited English output, the teachers still wanted to rely on all the resources in their classroom to make sure he comprehended everything. Nevertheless, the peer translations did not always prove to be effective.

Arturo's math teacher also reverted to Google translate when her attempts to rely on peer translators turned out to be too hectic. Despite Ms. Taylor's reliance on technology and translation machines, she was aware that they were not ideal. She was conscious of the differences between different Spanish dialects and was not convinced that even the math she printed in Spanish was in Arturo's dialect. However, Arturo seemed to be particularly satisfied with Ms. Taylor's approach. During the interview, he expressed that he felt most comfortable asking for help from Ms. Taylor. When we asked why, he thought long and said "*Porque, Porque el corazón me dice* (Because, because the heart tells me)" (Interview transcription, 6.26.17). Shortly after, he elaborated that he liked Ms. Taylor because she gave him worksheets and examples in Spanish and that she modeled a problem before she asked him to do the rest. He said that she also used her computer to do a "trick" that seemed to work. He was referring to Ms. Taylor's use of voice command to talk to the Google translation machine and have the machine read the translation back to Arturo.

English-only practices.

As mentioned previously, the teachers' interactions with Arturo were conducted in English mixed with Spanish or exclusively in English. Arturo and his teacher had very different impressions of the school language practices. Arturo believed both English and Spanish were used at his school. He said he used English only when it was necessary and "almost always" used Spanish. He then self-corrected and said "I think always". On the other hand, his main teacher (Ms. Murphy) described her language practices as exclusively in English, despite the bilingual practices she incorporated: "I teach everything in English. So, I teach the English language" (Interview transcription, 5.10.17).

Interactions that were exclusively conducted in English between the teachers, Arturo, and his classmates were coded based on how the teachers responded to the cultural and linguistic

knowledge and needs of the children in their classrooms. These strategies were analyzed based on conceptual understanding of some of the most popular models for linguistically and culturally responsive teaching in the field of education for bilingual children (Echevarria et al., 2004; Ladson-Billings, 1995, 2009; Lucas & Villegas, 2011). The codes were further categorized under three large themes characterizing these interactions: teachers' incorporation of children's cultures, teachers positioning of children, and teachers' use of strategies to unpack English-only instruction. These themes capture both direct interactions with Arturo or instructions intended for the entire class.

Incorporating children's cultures. Arturo's classes in general, and Ms. Murphy's room in particular, lacked sufficient cultural responsiveness to the students present in those spaces. Due to the overlap of classroom observations with preparation for standardized testing, there were rare instances in which Arturo's teachers incorporated students' cultures, or other narratives portraying non-English speakers and/or people of color in their English-only curriculum. For instance, Ms. Murphy was mainly focused on preparing students for the upcoming state test on English language arts. During the two weeks I observed Ms. Murphy's instruction for Arturo's and Lidia's classes, she read a series of passages with her students that happened to portray people of color including Woman's Suffrage Movement, child labor in Ecuador and in the U.S, and migrant workers in the U.S. Some of those passages were samples from previous assessments. Nevertheless, Arturo was not able to participate in those activities because the texts were at advanced levels and the purpose for reading them was preparation for a test that he was not required to take. Ms. Murphy explained that she tried to be inclusive of her students' cultures when her curriculum allowed it. She used resources on the Internet to assist her with that.

Despite this shortage of cultural representation in Arturo's main classrooms, his ESL time with Ms. Sullivan seemed to include more culturally relevant practices (Ladson-Billings, 1995). Both Arturo and Ms. Sullivan mentioned that they read books in English featuring people of color and Latinx characters such as *Esperanza Rising* and the story of César Chaves to learn English and also to discuss the human rights theme in the social studies. Lastly, as I will discuss in the next sections, both Ms. Murphy and Ms. Sullivan unpacked their English instruction by using linguistic strategies rooted in Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL), as a result of their participation in the aforementioned writing initiative at their school. It is important, and related to the current theme on cultural representation, to preface those strategies by stating that although they were undoubtedly helpful in assisting students with development of academic English, they eventually only favored the standardized American English. Therefore, they used non-English languages as a means to an end and did not acknowledge or validate other varieties of English. This brings back Foucault's (1991) notion of "omnipresence of power". Although the school staff valued bilingualism and cared for bilingual children, by insisting that all learning and assessment should eventually take place only in English, they continued the historical monoglossic traditions that have marginalized non-English languages with the purpose of assimilation to the Standardized American English (Crawford, 1992; Flores, 2014; Heath, 1976; Nieto, 1999; Wiley & García, 2016).

Teachers positioning of children. Ms. Murphy's instructions with her class were mainly in English, but she was very intentional and explicit about making her students feel competent through her instructional strategies and her verbal discourse. Since she held a high value for Arturo's Spanish literacy skills, she was conscious to position him in a way that was empowering and reminded him of his strength. She was aware that Arturo was possibly not feeling

empowered by being in an all-English classroom that did not draw on all his linguistic resources. During ELA standardized test, Ms. Murphy sent Arturo to the second grade SEI class so that he could help younger children with their reading and writing, rather than staring at a test that he did not understand: “let’s put him in a place of power for once” (Interview transcription, 5.10.17). Ms. Murphy was required to give the math test, in English, to Arturo, even though the district was not going to count it. She felt “abusive” for asking him to fill in a Scranton sheet when he could not fully understand the questions.

In addition to her own sense of care for Arturo, it was very important for Ms. Murphy that Arturo’s peers regarded him with respect: “I wanted the kids to also know that when we translated his answers, I didn’t want them to mistake his inability to speak English with an intelligence issue, because it wasn’t one at all” (Interview Transcription, 5.10.17). Similarly, she reminded all of her students about their skills and abilities. She was strict about the way the children should manifest their strength through their speaking and writing:

Ms. Murphy: When you put that word "probably" in, because it also means "probably not", right? ... So when you used that word, you've made yourself less of an expert, and less of a believer in yourself. So, dump probably. Ok? (4.3.17 observation transcription)

Ms. Murphy: I'm gonna tell you upfront that this is at a higher reading level, than we're used to, but does that mean we can't?

Students: No

Ms. Murphy: No. Do or do not, there is no try, right? We have so many reading strategies, that you [*adds emphasis*] need to understand, cause I think you just don't believe it, that you can attack this higher reading level when you use your cloze reading strategies and you use your context clues strategies, and you use your annotating in the margins to help you. Ok? (4.4.17 observation transcription)

She would often say, “believe in yourself”, when students were doubtful for sharing their answers. She believed providing verbal reassurance to her students was important because “Every child should feel that they are your favorite, and that you believe in them. Cause eventually they’ll start to believe in themselves too” (5.10.17 interview transcription).

Arturo's ESL teacher, Ms. Sullivan, was also very attentive to making him and other children feel empowered through her discourse and instruction. She centered her instruction mainly based on genre-based pedagogies rooted in Systemic Functional Linguistics, because she believed it helped her she set high expectations for students' reading and writing, even when they were young or were just beginning to develop their English. She believed that using genre-based methods allowed her students to lead the discussion authentically while she modeled the writing through Teaching and Learning Cycle (TLC). TLC apprentices students' writing through four main steps: negotiation of field or development of content knowledge, deconstruction of mentor texts, joint construction of text, and independent construction of text (Rothery, 1996; Brisk, 2015). The active role of students in the writing process aligned SFL and TCL with Ms. Sullivan's goals for positioning her students as competent learners.

Strategies to unpack English-only instruction. Strategies that Arturo's teachers used to unpack their English-only instruction and to make content comprehensible included metalinguistic and metacognitive strategies such as discussion of genres of writing, voice, audience, modality, cohesive devices, vocabulary meaning, as well as use of modeling. The data analysis revealed that the Wilson teachers used these linguistic and nonlinguistic strategies very extensively to ensure their instruction was comprehensible to all of their students. Unfortunately, it is out of the scope of this study to discuss the teachers' use of each strategy in detail. Therefore, a brief and selective portion of the evidence on use of those strategies is provided below.

As mentioned before, Ms. Murphy followed genre-based pedagogies for teaching writing. She started a unit by focusing on metacognitive strategies to unpack passages for reading comprehension. She accomplished this through modeling reading strategies to her students,

collaborating with them, and pairing them before she asked them to read independently. During the initial reading lessons, Ms. Murphy always addressed the genre of the passage that the students were assigned to read or write. She then deconstructed passages for structural and linguistic elements of the genre for and with her students. After they were finished, she would leave them up for her students' reference as they went on to construct their own writing as a whole class, in pairs or groups, and ultimately individually. Throughout the writing process, Ms. Murphy frequently encouraged her students to use strong modal verbs that showed their confidence in expressing their ideas. Although the instruction was delivered exclusively in English, Arturo was allowed to collaborate with a bilingual peer and write in Spanish. For instance, he was once paired with Miguel to describe the internal and external characteristics of a dolphin that a classmate had drawn. Arturo was allowed to write in Spanish and Miguel wrote in English (see Figure 6.5).

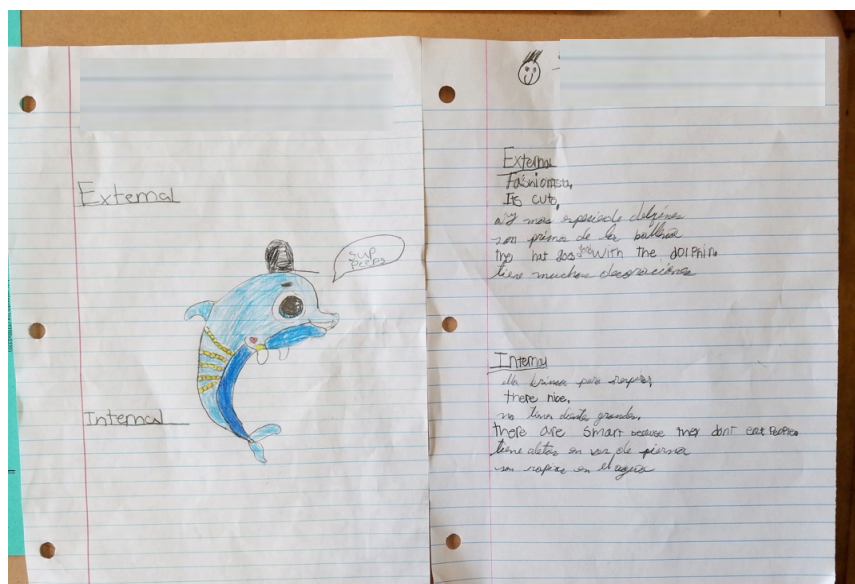


Figure 6.5. Miguel and Arturo's writing collaboration in English and Spanish.

Besides teaching metacognitive reading strategies and deconstructing structures of writing genres, Ms. Murphy was conscious about linguistic accessibility of her practice. One of

the most common strategies she used was defining vocabulary while teaching. Ms. Murphy's decision to define words frequently during her instruction was led both by the fact that the majority of her students were bilinguals, and several of them were emergent bilinguals, and that she regarded it as good fourth grade teaching practice. Lastly, in addition to the linguistic strategies discussed here, all Arturo's teachers also used a variety nonlinguistic strategies including use of visuals, games and music, and regular check-ins in order to make sure their English-only instruction was comprehensible to Arturo and other children.

Language Practices in Lidia's Classes

Similar to Arturo's case study, the thematic analysis of selective transcriptions of audio recordings of classroom observations, observation field notes, and the interviews with Lidia and her teachers showed that she mainly interacted with her homeroom teacher (Ms. Taylor), the reading teacher (Ms. Murphy), the science teacher (Ms. Noël), her peers, and me during the week of my visit. The observation of Lidia's classroom took place during the last week of April, after April vacation. The students had taken the English language arts standardized test before vacation and were going to take the math test in the following week.

In contrast to Arturo, Lidia's interactions with her teachers were almost exclusively conducted in English. The exceptions were three minimal non-English uses by the teachers, none of which were in Lidia's heritage language, Cape Verdean Creole. On two of those instances, Ms. Murphy used Spanish phrases "no mas" and "adios" for behavior management and giving directions to the students. On the third occasion, Ms. Murphy prompted her students to use their heritage language in a post-reading activity for the book *Sadako and the Thousand Paper Cranes*. This was the only instance non-English languages were used for instruction by a teacher during the entire week that I observed Lidia. Since the activity was mainly conducted in English with

space created for children's use of their heritage languages, I will discuss it within "incorporation of children's cultures" under English-only practices. All other teachers' interactions with Lidia and her classmates were exclusively in English. There were no recently arrived emergent bilinguals in Lidia's class. However, according to Ms. Taylor, eleven out of her eighteen students were identified as "English language learners".

English-only Practices.

Teachers' English-only interactions with Lidia and her classmates were coded based on the way the teachers responded to the cultural and linguistic knowledge and needs of the children in their classrooms. Similar to the analysis of language practices in Arturo's classes, coding was quasi-deductive. It was partly informed by conceptual understanding of linguistically and culturally responsive teaching (Echevarria et al., 2004; Ladson-Billings, 1995, 2009; Lucas & Villegas, 2011), and was further developed based on emergent patterns in the data. The codes were then categorized under three large themes including teachers' incorporation of children's cultures, teachers positioning of children, and teachers' use of strategies to unpack the instruction that was delivered exclusively in English.

Incorporating children's cultures. The week I spent in Lidia's class was mostly spent on learning math in preparation for the upcoming state mathematics exam. Except for occasional read-aloud at the end of the day, Ms. Taylor spent almost all week teaching math. Therefore, the possibility for incorporating children's cultures in the teaching of fractions, decimals, and metric system of measurement was limited. Outside the testing season, Ms. Taylor normally incorporated children's cultures in her classroom library and whole-group discussions with four purposes. Firstly, she incorporated children's cultures to help them realize the sacrifices their parents had made for them to be in the United States. Secondly, she incorporated children's

countries of origins or cultures when they helped learning of the content. For instance, Ms. Taylor and Ms. Murphy taught a unit on report genre for which children wrote about an animal that was common in their parents' country of origin. Thirdly, children's cultures were discussed when they "came up" a part of social science curriculum, such as the immigration unit. Lastly, Ms. Taylor incorporated children's background in her instruction in order to "acknowledge" them, although she did not specify how or why.

During the week of the observations, there were two major instances in which Lidia and her classmates were explicitly exposed to other cultures. The first was a reading unit in Ms. Murphy's class on the book "Sadako and the Thousand Paper Cranes", which was the story of a girl named Sadako who was diagnosed with Leukemia after the bombing of Hiroshima. Ms. Murphy chose that book for three reasons. Firstly, she was a big fan of history and the story happened in the context of an important historical event. Secondly, the book taught the children about empathy and a sense of community. Thirdly, she liked that the story presented a context other than the United States, "So I like to take them on a little tour of a different country" (Interview transcription, 5.10.17). Ms. Murphy was planning to read *The Breadwinner*, which is set in Afghanistan, in the following year with her class. She supplemented books on other countries and/or cultures with pictures and materials she found on the Internet or by drawing from cultural resources of her students and their families, albeit in trivial ways: "(I) Try to pull if anyone has anything from their house...I did Sadako two years ago. A girl was, her family was from Japan so she brought in a kimono" (Ms. Murphy Interview Transcriptions, 5.10.17).

While reading the book *Sadako*, Ms. Murphy tried to rely on the expertise of the only Asian student in the room, Hien. Hien was Vietnamese-American. Ms. Murphy described his cultural familiarity with "the Asian culture" as his "expertise", while acknowledging the

possibility of differences between Vietnamese and Japanese cultures. Yet, she constantly referred to “the Asian culture” as a singular, generic entity. Additionally, she mainly used Hien’s “expertise” for affirmation rather than creating space for him to express his thoughts on the way things were done in his culture:

Ms. Murphy: Sadako was always on the lookout for good luck signs. Hien, may I use you as an example? And I might touch on your expertise. I'm not saying that you have any Japanese background by any means, but I'm gonna ask you, in the Asian culture, right?, do you look for lucks, good luck signs? Things that are lucky.

Hien: yeah.

Ms. Murphy: For example, like a cricket. A cricket is a sign of good luck, yes! But is, do luck, good luck things are based on luck, right? On Asian New Year, when you do the red envelopes.

Hien: Oh yeah!

Ms. Murphy: That's for luck, right? You, luck, luck is the pro, is, is a lot of, in the Asian culture you look at good luck, right? (Observation Transcriptions, 4.25.17)

In addition to the Japanese cultural concepts in the Sadako book, it had a few Japanese phrases and names that Ms. Murphy prompted her students to think about. One phrase was “oba-chan” that described Sadako’s grandmother. The class concluded that –chan was a suffix for respect. The children also ventured to connect “oba-chan” to “Obi-Wan”, a character from their favorite movie, Star Wars. Lastly, during the post-reading worksheet activities for the book, the children were asked to share what they called their “oba-chan” in their heritage languages. A few of them shared what they called their grandmothers in their heritage languages: Mai, vovó, and abuela. Vovó is grandmother in Cape Verdean Creole. Although Lidia had left this question blank on her worksheet, Marcelo, another Cape Verdean Creole speaker, told me about it.

The second opportunity for Lidia to express her cultural knowledge was in relation to identifying an exotic fruit that was served with the school lunch. One afternoon as Ms. Taylor was striving to maintain her students’ engagement in a math lesson, she suggested that they take a snack break and eat the fruit that came with their lunch for the day. The snack was a

mysterious white, hard vegetable, or fruit, that resembled honeydew. The speculations about what it was had already started since lunchtime. When the children were prompted to eat the snack during the math lesson, the conversation sparked as several of them claimed the snack was a specialty fruit, or vegetable, they ate at home:

Lidia: We eat it in Cape Verde.

Ms. Taylor: You do? What is it? You don't know?

Yalda: Do you know it in Creole? The name of it in Creole?

Lidia: Megala

Ms. Taylor: Has anybody heard of megala?

Students: Yes.

Ms. Taylor: What's mangala? How do you eat it?

Jorge: That's mandioca

Anabella: Oh, mandioca! We eat it all the time. (Observation Transcriptions, 4.25.17)

Other theories appeared at this time about how the mystery vegetable was cooked in Cape Verde and whether this was the authentic kind:

Ms. Taylor: You cook it?

Student: Yeah.

Student: That's called "juka" is for cooking.

Marcelo: Cajuka.

Ms. Taylor: Do you mash it? Add like butter and stuff in it?

Student: Yeah.

Anabella: My grandma broke her teeth eating one of these in Cape Verde because the ones from Cape Verde are hard.

Marcelo: These are soft. These are nothing from Cape Verde.

I asked the children about the spelling so that I could look it up and get more information:

Yalda: So I looked up "yucca" and then this came [*showing something on her phone/computer*]

Jorge: Yeah. Yeah. That's it.

Ms. Taylor: That's it? So, it's a cassava. It's a root vegetable.

Jorge: Yucca roo. I knew it was roo. (*Possibly referring to "root"*)

Yalda: Let's see what, how you say it in Creole. Let's see. Let's see

Jorge: Yucca.

Yalda: So let's put Creole. Wait! It doesn't have Creole? Cause it only has written languages. So, it will have Portuguese.

Marcelo: It's probably Portuguese, yeah!

Yalda: Let's put Portuguese.

Student: Aah! Mandioca!

Jorge: Mandioca, mandioca!
Yalda: Is that how you say it in Creole too?
Marcelo: Mandioca [*Jorge keeps interrupting him*]
Yalda: Oh, let's, let's see. [*Google translate pronounces the word*]
Jorge: It's mandioca.
Yalda: What is it?
Jorge: That is mandioca.
Yalda: But sometimes the machine can be wrong. [*She plays it again*]
Jorge: Mandioca.
Lidia: It's called mandioca [*laughs while correcting Jorge's pronunciation*]
Yalda: I trust you more than her (*Google translate voice actor*).
Ms. Taylor: And how do you cook these since it is a root vegetable?
Marcelo: It's, you boil other stuff like eggs, but it's like that. They cut it.
Jorge: That could be in soup. It could be in soup.
Ms. Taylor: Yeah.
Keisha: Spanish and Cape Verdean people eat it with soup or something.
Ms. Taylor: Yup, put it in soup. This would be great in a soup.
Lidia: It is!
Ms. Taylor: It is good in a soup?
Keisha: Yeah.
Jorge: Yeah it is. In soup, it's delicious!
Ms. Taylor: Now where do you buy these?
Student: Like at any market.
Marcelo: A supermarket.
Student: You could buy at the supermarket, corner store, anywhere.
Student: I forgot, Rose's market.
Marcelo: It's with many grocery stores. I think it's [*inter*]
Jorge: American Fruit Basket.
Jenise: Yeah, you could buy it at American Fruit Basket.
Ms. Taylor: What happened?
Student: American Fruit Basket, Stars [*inter*]
Marcelo: Stop & Shop. (Observation Transcriptions, 4.25.17)

This heated conversation went on for about ten more minutes until Ms. Taylor rang a chime to get everyone's attention and reflect on the exchange of ideas that had just happened:

Ms. Taylor: Ok! No, That was awesome though! See? I loved, see, we love to learn. We're adult learners. We're constantly learning. When we don't know something, we would do all the research that we can do to figure it out.
Yalda: Yeah.
Marcelo: Or you can just ask kids and then we know. [*Other students laugh*]
Ms. Taylor: What's that?
Yalda: Say that again.
Marcelo: You can just ask kids and they will know, that's what we do.
Yalda: Exactly. Well, you gave us the answer right? So, we were able to look it up.

(Observation Transcriptions, 4.25.17)

I categorized this event under the theme of incorporation of children's cultures and chose to include it in this analysis because it represents an opportunity for an open exchange of cultural expertise among the children and the teachers. Although Ms. Taylor did not plan this opportunity, she managed to draw on the children's expertise to learn about the mystery fruit. The children were more engaged and eager to share during this conversation than any other moment during the entire week. Everyone, including Lidia and Marcelo who were characteristically reserved, had knowledge to share about the mystery snack and the way their mother or grandmother prepared it. Ms. Taylor was also open and attentive to all their suggestions as we tried to solve the mystery. Lastly, Marcelo's comment in response to Ms. Taylor's reflection on the exchange of ideas displays his perception of the teachers' reliance on children's knowledge and the way they could do better: "You can just ask kids and they will know". He explained, in one sentence, that sometimes all teachers need to do is to tap into the fund of knowledge present in their classrooms.

Teachers positioning of children. Ms. Taylor was unique in the way she created a collaborative and empowering community in her class. Her teaching positioned the children as enthusiastic, supported, and capable learners. Her math lesson usually followed a series of steps: she introduced a new math concept, modeled a few problems, asked the children to work on their whiteboards or notebooks in groups, pairs, or individually, and finally she invited the class to go over the solutions collectively. Checking the solutions was the step that was filled with unique excitement. Ms. Taylor checked the answers by inviting everyone to hold up their whiteboards and share their response out loud. She complimented, with a passionate voice, each and everyone

as they shared their answers: “Ok, what do we got. Let me see. Excellent. Excellent. Excellent. Excellent. Excellent. Yes! Yes!” (Observation Transcriptions, 4.24.17).

Occasionally, Ms. Taylor invited a student to come to the board voluntarily or by selecting a name from her mug with “equity sticks” with the students’ names written on them. While the student worked on the problem, Ms. Taylor and the classmates provided support and encouragement. In cases a student seemed hesitant to go to the board after his/her name was called, Ms. Taylor motivated him/her to give it a try: “Go ahead, Jésus. Let’s get this buddy. You’re on a roll” (Observation transcription, 4.26.17).

Ms. Taylor described her students’ excitement as “pure awesomeness”. The math lessons often got so loud that Ms. Taylor would get noise complaints from the neighboring rooms. Yet, this did not make her change her instructional approach. She took the blame for being the loudest in class in order not to suppress her students’ excitement. She used collective pronouns as a reminder that their class was a collaborative learning community:

I think because you are so passionate about math and we get so excited about math. So, when we teach math, we have to remember to close our doors, because I do not wanna lose what we have, what we have in here, cause what we have here is pure awesomeness. Ok? So, we just need to close the doors. And a part of it is probably me cause I get loud. I’m very loud, if you haven’t noticed yet. So, that’s just a reminder, to remind me to close the door when we are teaching math. (Observation Transcriptions, 4.26.17)

Additionally, Ms. Taylor also positioned children as capable math learners through her oral discourse. She often called her students “pros” and “mathematicians” during math lessons and occasionally made comments such as “I bow to you, Jenise. I bow to you. You had it. You had it. Nice job! Kiss your brain. Kiss your brain!” (Observation Transcriptions, 4.26.17).

In line with her practice of empowerment, Ms. Taylor acknowledged when a problem was difficult or the learning conditions were not optimal. More importantly, she did not shy away from sharing her personal challenges with learning math in order to show to the students

that individuals can have different learning styles and that it was normal for any math learner to face challenges:

Ms. Taylor: Are people confused by this?

Students: Yes!

Ms. Taylor: Alright. Ok! So, I'm not the only one. So, let's do it up here. (Observation Transcriptions, 4.26.17)

Ms. Taylor: How many people had to do (*write*) this out? Or it's just me that has to do this out? (Observation Transcriptions, 4.27.17)

Before she started the unit on decimals, she shared with her students what she called her “tale of woe” about how she missed an entire unit on decimals when she was in middle school because of her family’s move in the middle of a school year. She told her students that she might face challenges teaching the unit because she had difficulty learning the concept as a student:

So, I tell you that story only because there are gonna be times when I sit back then I say, “how did I do that?” [*laughs*] or where did that come from? And I know as learners, we all do that. We’re always second guessing each other. So, when I’m teaching decimals, I like to think that we are all learning decimals together. All of us are learning decimals together. And I’m included in that. This is by far my weakest thing in math. It’s decimals. (Observation Transcriptions, 4.24.17)

Through sharing her personal story, once again she positioned herself as part of the “community of learners” in her class. While disclosing her own learning gaps, she also referred to Imad and Arturo, the only recent immigrants in fourth grade, and discussed how they had to work much harder than everyone else because they were taught mathematics in different ways. Ms. Taylor specifically praised Imad because she wanted to encourage him to keep working hard and that she also believed he was a “great role model” for the rest of her students. According to Ms. Taylor, “he (*Imad*) puts forth the effort to figuring something out. And, whereas other students don’t do that” (interview transcription, 5.10.17). Therefore, she wanted to present him as a model of resistance and hard work to her class.

Lastly, during Ms. Murphy's reading lessons for Lidia's class, she also attempted to position the children as competent. She provided verbal encouragement for children to be proud of their work and not to give up on trying: "Be proud of what you hand in. It's got your signature." or "Don't quit on me." (Observation Transcriptions, 4.25.17). Ms. Murphy also expressed to Lidia's class that she believed in a bright future for them. For instance, as she was giving out the Sadako books from her library to the students, she told them: "These books have to last me until you guys are in college" (Observation Transcriptions, 4.25.17). Later during the read-aloud, she connected Sadako's talent to be a runner to her students' potential to become "a nuclear physicist, "the president of the United States" or "a brain surgeon", even though the students did not quite agree with her vision: "*Ms. Murphy*: Anabella was born to be a brain surgeon; *Anabella*: No! Ew. That's disgusting" (Observation Transcriptions, 4.25.17). Ms. Murphy's empowering words are particularly important given the student population she served. All Lidia's classmates were children of color who came from working class families. Therefore, it is important to hear a person with authority such as their teacher telling them that they had the potential to achieve anything they worked hard for.

Teachers' use of strategies to unpack English-only instruction. The data analysis showed that Lidia's teachers used linguistic and nonlinguistic strategies very frequently to ensure learning by all of their students. Strategies that Lidia's teachers used to unpack language and make content comprehensible included metalinguistic strategies and nonlinguistic strategies. The metalinguistic strategies that the teachers used to unpack their language use and to facilitate content comprehension included discussions of morphological and semantic structure of content vocabulary for comprehension of math, science, and reading. Ms. Taylor used metalinguistic strategies to help her students unpack language in word problems. For instance, she explicitly

taught her students how words translated into mathematical concepts in word problems, for example “of” signifying multiplication, “same” showing equation, and “mila” conveying the number thousand. Lidia’s Science teacher, Ms. Noel, also taught key vocabulary for earthquakes and plate tectonics by focusing the morphological structure of the key vocabulary such as the prefixes “con-” and “di-” in “convergent” and “divergent”.

The most frequent use of linguistic strategies was during Ms. Murphy’s ELA lessons. As usual, genre-based pedagogy was an indispensable part of her reading and writing instruction. In addition, she defined the vocabulary by discussing their morphological structures. As we walked back from her reading class one day, I asked Lidia if she found Ms. Murphy’s linguistic strategies for defining words helpful during reading. She responded, “I found that helpful so I can actually understand the words” (Observation transcriptions, 4.25.17). Nonlinguistic strategies that Lidia’s teachers used included regular check-ins; use of visuals, technology, and games; and strategic grouping of students that facilitated peerlingual education.

The Wilson School Language Management Approaches

The Wilson School Language Management: “as Written”

The Wilson school had no written language policy on their website, social media pages, or printed brochures. Principal Hailey explained while there were no written language policies, the school had a culture of celebration of languages because diversity of language backgrounds was common between the staff and the students at the school:

I think if anything we have a culture, and we have an understanding that language is something that our kids come in with and they are all at different places. We as adults also come in at different places with language, and so we just use, we see language as something that is to be cultivated and celebrated, and to be embraced and enhanced. (Interview Transcription, 5.23.17)

In line with the language policy of the state, the school had SEI classes in grades K-2 in which

students' heritage languages (mainly Spanish) were used to support English language instruction, but according to the principal, there were no "hard core written down" policies or philosophies about language use. Principal Hailey believed that writing down policies and making them "official" often took away their authenticity and inhibited their actual implementation. In her view, educators' values got more easily translated into practice than written language policies, at least in the case of her school. Therefore, the Wilson language policy was ultimately determined by what the staff believed best served the interest of the children:

Sometimes you can sit down and write all of these wonderful things on paper, but they don't get carried out in practice. And so for us, it is kind of like the reverse. We practice what we believe. And sometimes, sometimes it is better to put it into action than to sit there and have it on paper, because when you put things on paper then sometimes for people it doesn't feel authentic. It doesn't feel real. It feels like this is something the district is pushing on us or this is something that the White House is pushing on us, whereas if you carry it out because it is something you hold dear to your heart and it manifests in your practice, I think that has more of a stronger impact and that is, you know. That just feels more right. There is more integrity there. You are not carrying out something because you have to comply. You are doing it because it is what is best for your kids. (Interview Transcription, 5.23.17)

Principal Hailey's remarks position her as a "policy arbiter" (Johnson & Johnson, 2015) and a policy creator. As a school leader, she preferred not to concern herself with implementation of language policies from the top, but rather set norms that were organic to her school community. Ms. Murphy and Ms. Taylor all echoed the same sense of appreciation for multiculturalism, respect, and prioritizing the children over the law in their perceptions of the "understood" Wilson school language policy: "*Ms. Taylor*: we just respect and serve and open Arms too. We're Multicultural people." and "*Ms. Murphy*: we are mindful of the law, but again that's, teach to all children and best way to differentiate" (interview transcriptions, 5.10.17). Yet, as the language practices showed, these ideologies did not always translate into practice.

The Wilson School Language Management: “as Practiced”

Given the child-centered practices of the school, there was a varying degree of familiarity and commitment to compliance with the language policies mandated by the district and the state among the teachers and the principal at the Wilson school. In practice, the language policies at the Wilson school responded to the district and state-level policies in five main ways: (1) teacher certification, (2) the way school staff interpreted and regarded the state language policy, (3) ways in which the school showed official compliance with the state policy, (4) classroom language management, and (5) parental involvement at the school and the school’s recommendation about family language use.

Certification process.

As mandated by the state, all the teachers and the principal had the required SEI endorsement, although they had taken different paths for obtaining it. Ms. Taylor took the SEI endorsement course that was provided by the district and run by Massachusetts Department of Education. Ms. Murphy took “the bridge courses” that encompassed four categories (listening, speaking, reading, and writing) for ESL teaching. Ms. Sullivan had a K-12 ESL license, but she was required to go back to school and take a few courses and obtain MTEL (Massachusetts Tests for Educator Licensure) certification. Principal Hailey also had the regular SEI endorsement. Her next goal was to get ESL certification, although the law did not mandate it.

School staff’s interpretations and viewpoints regarding the state language policy.

The Wilson school staff’s understanding of the law was greatly varied. Ms. Taylor interpreted that the English-only law prohibited bilingual classrooms and that the children were required to be immersed in English upon entrance to public schools, regardless of their English language development levels. Ms. Murphy believed she was required to give instruction in

English, but she had some “wiggle room for clarification”. She believed she could not “go up there and speak in Spanish”, but she could clarify and guide emergent bilingual students” (interview transcriptions, 5.10.17). Ms. Sullivan interpreted SEI as “just giving them (*newcomers*) assistance as they learn English”. She was concerned, however, with the “tremendous break down that happens” to form SEI classes in each school that could lead to isolation of children. She was hopeful that with the legislation of the LOOK (Language Opportunities for Our Kids) bill (see Chapters 1 & 3), there would be a push for biliteracy, rather than focusing exclusively on English development. At the same time, she was very worried that the new U.S. government administration could push back on the bilingual education reforms.

In line with their various understandings of the state policy, the school staff also had different “feelings” or opinions about it. Principal Hailey expressed that she was “surprised” when the policy was passed in 2002. She was a mainstream classroom teacher at the time and the way the law got implemented made her “very sad”. She recalled that the bilingual classes in her school got dissolved and the students were removed from their “learning community” and were placed in mainstream classrooms. She felt this change led to a significant regression in performance among the emergent bilinguals compared to the more advanced ones, “because now they don't have peers who were speaking at a higher English level to learn from” (interview transcription, 5.23.17). Besides these academic disruptions, the implementation of SEI model also led to “isolation” of the students at the school that Principal Hailey worked for because they spent all their time, including recess, with peers who shared the same ELD levels, but not necessarily the same language background. This mainly impacted speakers of less dominant languages such as Cape Verdean Creole, Vietnamese, or Georgian compared to Spanish speakers. The isolating impact of SEI has been reported by previous research (Gándara &

Orfield, 2010; Jimenez-Silva et al., 2014; Lillie et al., 2010; Lillie, 2011). According to Ms. Hailey, these changes resulted in children picking up English quickly as intended, “but it came at a loss because they had no one to practice their native tongue with”. She explained that she knew there was a loss happening because when the parents came to the school the children were “shy, embarrassed, or afraid” or concerned of being judged to speak their language and would tell their teachers “I don’t know how to say that in my language”. Ms. Hailey felt it was “sad” that those children “lost some of their identity in the whole assimilation process” (interview transcription, 5.23.17).

Similarly, Ms. Sullivan described the law as “oppressive. And it is taking what works and it is binding it up and shutting it down”. Additionally, she described it as “powerful piece of information” that led to “subtractive bilingualism” in her students. She defined this subtractive policy as a “machine” and an “indignity” that destructed far more than children’s heritage languages:

Unfortunately I am seeing firsthand the subtractive bilingualism. And I have a student in grade two who did not speak any English and now she's in grade 5 and she's saying ‘what is the Spanish word for that Ms. Sullivan? How do you say it again?’ And I’m literally like, it makes me want to quit, it makes me feel like I'm part of the machine, it makes me feel like I'm part of this indignity of stripping them from, not their language, but their identity and their culture and their heritage and their connection to their past. It is scary. But I realized what we are doing is catapulting them academically to become who they want to become. (Interview Transcription, 5.10.17)

As she pointed out, the purpose of the policy “machine” was to “catapult” children with standardized language skills that ensure academic achievement, while ignoring other aspects of their identity as bilingual and bicultural human beings. Ms. Sullivan’s description of the subtractive policy as a “machine”, that she considered herself to be a part of, is a reminder of Benjamin Rush’s idea of “machine of the government” or “Republican machines” (Flores, 2014; See Chapter 3). I will unpack this concept further in the discussion chapter.

In contrast to the principal and the ESL teacher, Ms. Taylor and Ms. Murphy had a more multilayered view on the state language policy. Ms. Taylor was initially against the policy when it was being promoted back in 2002. She felt it was being falsely advertised to influence those who were not in the education field. She agreed that immigrants need to learn English when they come here, just like her grandfather learned English when he had immigrated from Italy and had no access to bilingual education. However, she also believed the policy was not fitting to the current times “it is a different world today”. Additionally, she was against separating emergent bilinguals in SEI classrooms because she had been witnessing “great results” at her school when students were placed in mainstream classrooms beyond the second grade⁹. She believed emergent bilinguals could thrive in these classes because of peer mentors who “will jump up and try to explain it to a student”. Yet, she knew mainstreaming emergent bilinguals in English-dominated classrooms was not sufficient because it did not allow biliterate students such as Arturo to use all their linguistic resources. Nevertheless, she considered bilingual education as a transitory solution for the end result of “general education”:

I just think that, so I see both sides of it. I see like someone like Arturo would totally um benefit from having bilingual classroom, you know? But I think, I think initially if people come here that they should be in bilingual classrooms, but I don't think it should be an end all be all. I think at some point they, they have to make that transition into a general education classrooms. (Interview Transcription, 5.10.17)

It is unclear whether by “bilingual classrooms”, Ms. Taylor was referring to bilingual education models (i.e. dual immersion, transitional bilingual education) or simply mainstream classrooms in which students were allowed to use both languages dynamically (such as in her classroom).

⁹ As mentioned before, the school had a special agreement with the Department of Education to mainstream students beyond the second grade because of a steady improvement in standardized test performance as a result of targeted language instruction provided by their mainstream teachers. These teachers had participated in a longitudinal writing initiative informed by Systemic Functional Linguistics led by a local university.

However, she believed a “transition” to monolingual English mainstream classrooms, which she called general education, had to ultimately take place.

Similarly, Ms. Murphy believed that the state language policy had pros and cons. In her opinion, the proponents of English-only and bilingual education should look for an “overlap” to come up with “a great law”. She believed looking for a one-size-fits-all, or “cookie cutter”, solution in education disregarded that students had very different needs:

Like everything else, I think that nothing is cookie cutter. And I think that’s where in education we make our mistakes. We say that it has to be all this or all this. And then we lose the fact that not every child is the same. And that so I think there’s a fine line between holding kids back, right? ... We hold them back and we keep them separate, and they never make great gains. The other side is we only speak to them in English, we frustrate them, we, you know. Teaching should be, education and teaching should, and learning should be a little messy. You, it ebbs and flows. But it shouldn’t be, ‘I’m stupid.’ No one should feel that way. (Interview Transcription, 5.10.17)

Like Ms. Murphy, reform scholars have previously called educational change as “messy” process that bears “intended consequences” (Maxwell-Jolly, 2000). However, it is unclear whether Ms. Murphy was comparing English-only mainstream environment to SEI classrooms or the bilingual classes that “hold them (*children*) back” and “keep them separate” to the point that “they never make gains”, presumably in English. Ms. Murphy approved of the immersion model her school followed for upper grade levels because it had contributed to her students’ academic improvement.

School compliance process with the state policy.

The school staff at the Wilson were not very concerned about compliance with the policy. No matter what their viewpoints or understanding of the state language policy was, they all prioritized the immediate needs of their students in their practices, rather than complying with the policy:

Ms. Taylor: I don't know that much about it. So if actually, and it's probably just as well. Because I am a very law-abiding citizen [laughs]. So, I don't want to know if I am doing something that is against the law. No, no I'm okay. I'll just play dumb. If anybody ever questioned me, 'oh I don't know. I didn't know I couldn't do that!' yeah, that's crazy [laughs]

Yalda: I think you're fine.

Ms. Taylor: Whatever. It's all about the kids, so whatever you have to do to help the kids to understand, that's my job. That's my responsibility. I take that very seriously.

(Interview Transcription, 5.10.17)

Similarly, Ms. Murphy said she did not think about the law. She separated “compassion” for her students from “following the law”, and she always prioritized compassion: “they pay me to teach children. And I have to find any means that I can to reach them... so I have to be creative... I don't really think about the law when I'm teaching. I think about the child” (Interview Transcription, 5.10.17).

The teachers' approach towards compliance aligned with the school leader. Principal Hailey took lessons from her teaching days during the early implementation of the SEI model and made sure she prevented isolation of children while holding the SEI classes for the early grades at her school. She arranged for classes at the same grade level (mainstream and SEI) to have recess simultaneously so that children could socialize with a greater variety of their peers. Additionally, she made sure the children in SEI classes had the same instructional resources and opportunities as those in mainstream classes. She even planned the rooms in a way that SEI classes were never placed in the basement. The well-being of the children in the SEI model was a greater priority for her than compliance with the policy. She tried to communicate to her teachers to have “balance” between using children's heritage languages and teaching English:

I never really pay attention to compliance. I just look at it as you know, the government needs to do what the government needs to do, but at the end of the day, we need to do what is best for kids. And so I have always told my teachers, like if you need to teach it in the child's native languages so they get it, then you teach it. Just remember that we also have a responsibility to the child, that we have to also teach them English so that they can better navigate living in this country. (Interview Transcription, 5.23.17)

According to the state policy, Principal Hailey was officially required to observe her teachers and make sure they effectively “sheltered” their instruction to support bilingual learners.

The person mainly in charge of the official paperwork for showing compliance with the district and the state policies was Ms. Sullivan. Despite her disagreements with the oppressive nature of the law, she still had to be prepared to prove to the state and district officials from the Department of Justice, Office of Civil Rights, or the Office of ELL that the school was in compliance if they had an unannounced visit during the year. Ms. Sullivan showed compliance by recording the ESL minutes that all the 263 emergent bilingual students received (those officially designated as “ELL” or recently exited) as well as the credentials of the teachers providing the ESL instruction. Each student was supposed to receive at least thirty minutes of ESL instruction daily. Additionally, she needed to make sure that all the teachers had sufficient SEI endorsement. She described the responsibility as having “an axe hanging over everybody. It’s horrible. It’s horrible. But this is how to comply” (Interview transcription, 5.10.17). Lastly, Ms. Sullivan needed to keep track of META consent decrees, how they used Title 1 funds for students identified as compensation group, the number of emergent bilinguals, and the breakdown of their languages and ELD levels. She felt the number of hours she had to spend on keeping track of all this documentation was “ridiculous”.

Despite her obligation for compliance, Ms. Sullivan had put her frustration with the policies she strongly disliked into activism in order to make a change. On behalf of her emergent bilingual students, she had met with a representative of a state senator in 2011 to discuss the injustice in requiring emergent bilinguals to participate in standardized assessments. Ms. Sullivan followed up on that meeting by writing a letter to Arne Duncan, the U.S. secretary of

education at the time. Based on insights from her students, she proposed four suggestions to the secretary of education in her letter:

- Allow us time to become proficient in the English language before labeling us a failure.
- Ensure that our testing and report cards reflect the work that we are actually doing and not condemn us for the things we are not yet able to comprehend.
- Give us a chance to grow and flourish and prove to you our intelligence with the normal constraints that are provided for second language acquisition through native language or scaffolded instruction.
- Verbally affirm to us that you believe in us and we are not a burden to you.

We, the future leaders of the United States, thank you for considering our challenges worthy of your attention.

In conclusion, you may have just speak to a colleague overseas, perhaps in a US Embassy somewhere and find out how their child is doing in a foreign language school to realize the challenges our students face and the ardor with which their teachers instruct them!
(Ms. Sullivan letter to U.S. Department of Education Press Office)

In her closing statement, Ms. Sullivan pushed back on the double standard in place for the English-speaking children of the U.S. privileged elites who are learning additional languages in comparison to the children of immigrants who are proficient in another language beside their developing proficiency in English. Ms. Sullivan heard back from the Deputy Director of the Office of English Language Acquisition a few months later that acknowledged the issues with the accountability measures. She encouraged “schools, districts, and states to know that relief is on the way”, referring to the administration’s proposal to improve No Child Left Behind (NCLB), which she referred to as “The Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESSA) flexibility package” (Deputy Director’s letter to Ms. Sullivan).

In addition to her independent activism, Ms. Sullivan collaborated with principal Hailey and a team of researchers at the local universities to push back on some these restrictions. The principal, Ms. Sullivan, and a group of researchers from a university that had been collaborating with the school for several years met with the Department of Justice a few years ago and made

an agreement (although not in official writing) that allowed the students beyond the second grade to be mainstreamed. Ms. Sullivan supported her position on the harm and isolation that SEI classrooms caused by drawing from the research conducted at their school as well as other studies on the failure of the SEI model:

I think we belittled the power of their human brain by setting up this very simplistic model that is failing. The success rate is 20% for SEI... And because of all the great data that we have with this we continue to push back and say they're only being pulled for ESL one hour a day and they are going to be in their classroom with the linguistic modeling where everything shows that this is really what works. (Interview Transcription, 5.10.17)

Ms. Sullivan had also used the research on benefits of mainstreaming emergent bilinguals and providing them access to grade-level instruction in order to push back on the 2.5 hour pullout ESL time limit that the district was still imposing on them.

Classroom Language Management.

Language Management in Arturo's Classes. As established previously, bilingual practices became the norm in spaces where Arturo was taught. However, his teacher, Ms. Murphy, still declared that she had a language policy for speaking English in her class: "if we can speak English, we do speak English" (Interview transcription, 5.10.17). Ms. Murphy exempted emergent bilinguals such as Arturo from this policy until they were able to fully communicate in English. Additionally, it was acceptable for Ms. Murphy that her students said something in Spanish "first", if they were translating or if they could not remember a word in English. She explained that her English-only policy was "meant to include versus exclude." She meant to prevent children who used their heritage language to exclude others who did not speak that same language. Ms. Murphy wanted the climate of her class to be inclusive and therefore, she asked her students to translate what they were saying or switch to English. If the students were not excluding anyone, she would allow heritage language use, depending on the timing of

it: “if it was an appropriate time? Yeah, I’m not gonna say anything. Yup. Yeah!” (Interview transcription, 5.10.17).

According to Arturo, he was “always” allowed to speak Spanish with other students and to use English only when necessary. Additionally, he said the teachers allowed him to write all his homework in Spanish, “*Em, sí porque no sé escribir en ingles*” (because I don’t know how to write in English) (Interview transcription, 5.26.17). However, similar to Ms. Murphy’s account, Arturo’s answer implies that his freedom to use his heritage language for schoolwork was temporary and contingent upon his development of English.

Language Management in Lidia’s classes. Ms. Taylor had a very different vision than Ms. Murphy’s for language management approaches in her class. In contrast to Ms. Murphy who prevented heritage language use when it was meant for exclusion, Ms. Taylor seemed very open about use of non-English languages in her room. She believed children’s including or excluding others could happen in any language:

I’m not intimidated by it at all. I trust my students. And I can pretty much tell when there is something going on that they maybe should not be discussing, because they will whisper. So that is usually a good indication that I need to break it up. That could be that way in English too. It doesn't matter. (Interview Transcription, 5.10.17)

Ms. Taylor also felt “fortunate” to have a number of bilingual children who shared Spanish as their heritage language because they were able to and communicate with Arturo. She regarded those communications as a “necessity”, especially when his teachers were not proficient in his language.

Parental involvement at the school and school’s recommendation about family language use.

Parental involvement was somewhat limited at the Wilson school. There were essentially three main activities that parents would typically come in for during the year: community

gardening day, open houses, and literacy and math night. The Community Gardening day was a “Healthy Family, Fun, and Community day” that had been going on at the Wilson school for two years. This included activities such as gardening, cooking, doing yoga, and other exercises for parents and children. The math and literacy nights were similar to regular school open houses. The principal had rebranded them in the past couple of years in order to make the conversations more focused around math and literacy.

The school had lost the family-community outreach coordinator position a few years ago, which had resulted in a decrease in parental involvement. Principal Hailey, however, believed that losing that position made classroom teachers more involved in engaging the families. For instance, the teachers were now involved in planning and facilitating the math and literacy nights and the community garden day. Principal Hailey observed a usual decrease in parents’ involvement when the children went through the upper grade levels. She believed as the parents got more acclimated with the school, they did not feel the need to attend all school events.

The Wilson school did not have a multicultural night, or a similar occasion, during which students and parents presented on their languages and cultures. The school used to have a multicultural night when the family coordinator position existed. The principal claimed this was a potential gap. The classroom teachers also felt that parental involvement was minimal at their school, especially after losing the family coordinator position. The teachers considered parental involvement critical for their students and they wanted to see it being reinstated. In order to fill this gap, Ms. Murphy and Ms. Taylor had to create activities for involving parents such as having a publishing party or a poetry party. Sometimes children recited their poems in English and in Spanish at the poetry night, when a parent did not speak English very well. Ms. Murphy

also mentioned inviting parents and grandparents when their lived experiences related to the content at hand: “So anytime I can get them to come in to talk about his—their history, their culture, they’re always welcome to” (interview transcription, 5.10.17).

Ms. Murphy attributed parents’ limited involvement at the Wilson school to their intimidation by the English language, in addition to the loss of the coordinator position. She tried to counter that by being welcoming to the parents and learning some words in their languages before they came in: “If I know someone’s coming in that’s not Spanish, I’ll try to learn some words to welcome the person myself. And some will just come and they’ll muddle through it, which is the best we can do, right?” (Interview Transcription, 5.10.17). On the contrary, Ms. Taylor believed parental involvement was hindered due to the fact that most of the parents in her class had to work during the day.

Ms. Taylor and Ms. Murphy both strongly refrained from providing suggestions to parents about language use at their homes. They both felt home language use was a family decision and they would never overstep their boundary by telling parents how they should communicate with their children. Ms. Murphy specifically refused to encourage parents to speak English because she was worried it would accelerate the language loss that she believed normally started in children after a few years of schooling. The teachers said that the parents had never asked them for language advice either. Both teachers provided supplemental curricular materials for math, glossaries for ELA vocabulary, or dictionaries as “extra support” for homework when families were not fully proficient in English.

Principal Hailey believed that parents came in to the schools already knowing what was best for their children. However, she also believed the language ideologies that were represented

through educational language policies and school practices significantly impacted parents' agency regarding language use at home:

I think parents come in knowing what they believe is best for their child. However, what we do impacts what parents are able to do and I think in a lot of instances we might stifle or clip the wings of what families should be doing because we, I don't know if we are aware, but I think in a lot of instances we have, I don't know if knowingly, but we, we have basically taken our own values and belief systems and kind of dump it on families and expect for them to see things our way and do as we do. And when they don't, then we blame them and say why can't you get it, not knowing that there are different ways and different reasons for doing things, and my view, by no means should be greater than someone else's. (Interview Transcription, 5.23.17)

Once again, Principal's Hailey's vision as a leader showed critical thinking and awareness of the larger ideological forces that were shaping their practices at the school and thereby their influence on the families.

Chapter 6 Summary

The Wilson school language policies showed a partial alignment with educational language policies at the state and district-level. All the teachers and the principal claimed that the needs of the children were the first priority shaping their language practices rather than complying with district and state-level mandates. Additionally, they all praised bilingualism and biliteracy as important skills for their students and attempted to be “inclusive” of their languages and cultures “with open arms”. The social relations between the teachers and the children at the Wilson school captured some of the characteristics of culturally relevant teaching proposed by Ladson-Billings (2009) such as teachers encouraging a community of learners; establishing connectedness with their students; and encouraging them to learn collaboratively.

The analysis revealed some disparities between the language beliefs of the school staff and their language practices, as observed and articulated by them. Both classroom teachers praised bilingualism and biliteracy as important skills and believed bilingual children should

maintain their heritage languages because it benefited them in various ways. Accordingly, they respected Arturo for his bilingual skills and tried their best to facilitate his bilingual use by relying on curricular materials in Spanish, use of Spanish, peer assistance, and technology. Although they admittedly disregarded the state language policy, given the monolingual educational model they worked in, they all engaged in targeted, and exclusive, instruction favoring English without careful, and systemic, incorporation of children's languages and cultures. Both classroom teachers claimed that they included other cultures when it was aligned with their curricula and instructional units. Therefore, although the teachers claimed that they did not base their language practices on the state language policy, the progression of their practices ultimately fulfilled the goals of that policy. This can be interpreted in relation to the theoretical framework of "governmentality" and the concept of "omnipresence of power": "It is the population itself on which government will act either directly through large-scale campaigns, or indirectly through techniques that will make possible, without the full awareness of the people" (Foucault, 1991, p. 100). In other words, by viewing non-English languages as temporary solutions for English language development, the teachers contributed to the sociohistorical trends for linguistic assimilation in favor of Standardized American English in this country (Crawford, 1992; Flores, 2014; Heath, 1976; Nieto, 1999; Wiley & García, 2016).

There were significant differences between language practices used for Arturo's class versus Lidia's. As the case studies showed, due to Arturo's emergent English proficiency, the teachers used every linguistic resource they knew of in order to make their English instruction comprehensible to him. However, as Lidia's case study showed, English ultimately became the exclusive language of schooling once children showed comprehension in English. As confirmed by the teachers, use of Spanish with Arturo was a means to an end. Although the teachers valued

Arturo's bilingualism and biliteracy very much and believed it was important for him to maintain Spanish, their main goal was to use Spanish to help him make the transition to English. Thus, in line with the English-only model they worked in, the classroom teachers did not consider supporting heritage language maintenance as a part of their responsibilities, although they were witnessing a pattern of heritage language loss in their children. Lastly, the teachers' ability to support Arturo was significantly facilitated by the fact that he spoke Spanish, for which there were many more resources available than less dominant languages such as Cape Verdean Creole.

The principal and the ESL teacher, however, showed more cognizance and disapproval of the systemic issues in the current monolingual educational model that stripped the bilingual children from their heritage languages and bicultural identity. This can be explained by their personal background as bilinguals and their experiences living in other countries. An extensive body of research has shown that teachers' background can shape their views on bilingualism, emergent bilingual children, and the way they position them in their practices (Karabenick & Noda, 2004; Lee & Oxelson, 2006; Lucas et al., 2008; Walker, Shafer, & Iiams, 2004). Principal Hailey and Ms. Sullivan had taken affirmative action in order to push back on the SEI model and the restrictive assessment policies that marginalized emergent bilingual children. However, they were both aware that the marginalization of heritage languages and cultures was not being addressed and was slowly, but powerfully, being communicated to the children and their families through the educational policies and the school practices.

Chapter 7

The Eliot School Language Policies

This chapter presents the findings on language policies of the Eliot school regarding the use of English and children's heritage languages. In line with the main theoretical framework of this study, school language policy is documented based on: (1) Language beliefs of the Eliot school staff, (2) language practices at the Eliot school, and (3) school language management approaches. The findings are presented based on the thematic analysis of selective transcriptions of audio recordings of classroom observations, the observation field notes, the artifacts collected during the observations, and the interviews with the children (Bruno and Tara) and the school staff (classroom teachers, ESL coordinators, and the principal). The chapter opens with a brief introduction of the school staff to set a context for the school language policies.

The Eliot School Context

The Eliot School Staff

Ms. Cohen.

Ms. Cohen was one of the three fourth grade teachers at the Eliot school. She was the lead teacher for Bruno's class. She self-identified as White and Jewish. Ms. Cohen considered herself to be English monolingual although she had literacy skills in Hebrew, had taken Latin in high school, and had some familiarity with the structure of the Fijian language as she had lived briefly in Fiji during her undergraduate studies. She considered herself "terrible at foreign languages" and regarded not being proficient in another language as one of her "biggest regrets".

Ms. Cohen held a bachelor's degree in arts and a master's degree in education. She was dual certified in special education and elementary education. She was also SEI-certified. She was

the youngest teacher in this study. She had been a teacher for five years, during which she had only taught fourth grade. She had student taught in a primary grade during her graduate studies. For teaching mathematics, Ms. Cohen followed Everyday Math curriculum and Context for Learning Math. For writing instruction, she used Lucy Calkins and what she called, “reading and writing project materials”. She relied on additional resources from the district and her own materials for reading instruction. Lastly, she used Jennifer Serravallo’s work to guide her “strategy groups”. Ms. Cohen was a thorough planner. During my presence, I witnessed that she prepared a detailed agenda every day that laid out her plans. She provided copies of the lesson plans to her aides and me. According to one of her aides, Ms. Cohen came in two to three hours early every morning to plan her day.

Ms. O’Brien.

Ms. O’Brien was Tara’s classroom teacher. She self-identified as White, Irish and English, which she described as “the whitest of the White”. Ms. O’Brien was bilingual. She spoke English as her first language and had taken French courses in college and was able to speak it to some extent. However, similar to Ms. Cohen, she was not satisfied with her language skills. During the interview, she brought up her bilingual brothers and Latin-American sister-in-law multiple times in reference to bilingualism: “I speak like a little French because I took it in college, but my sister-in-law and my two brothers speak fluent Spanish, but I just can’t get it” (Interview transcription, 5.16.17). Ms. O’Brien had a bachelor’s degree in elementary education and political science and a master’s degree in elementary education. As mandated by the district, she also had an SEI endorsement.

She had been a teacher for eight years. She had taught a variety of elementary grade levels including first, third, fourth and fifth but her experience had been primarily focused in

fourth and fifth grade. Ms. O'Brien followed similar curricula to Ms. Cohen for her instruction: Every Day Math for mathematics, Lucy Calkins for English language arts, and a district-level curriculum for science and social studies designed by the teachers. She did not mention adding materials or curricula of her own besides the ones suggested for the teachers in her district.

Ms. Bianchi.

Ms. Bianchi was the chorus and music teacher for the Eliot school. I sat in her class three times during the two weeks I observed Tara and Bruno. Due to the relevance of her instructional practices to this study, she is included in the introduction of focal school staff at the Eliot school. Ms. Bianchi self-identified as Caucasian and Italian. She spoke limited Italian and Hindi. She had also been exposed to multiple languages through her music education including Russian, Spanish, French, and several others that she could not recall. She had been a music teacher for five years. Before that, she had served as a substitute teacher for two years. Ms. Bianchi held a bachelor's degree in music education and was working on her master's degree in the same field. As a music teacher, she was not required to have any ESL or SEI certification.

Teacher aides and other staff.

In addition to the homeroom teachers, Bruno and Tara interacted with several members of the school staff. During a typical week, they spent the majority of their time in their homerooms with their main teachers (Ms. Cohen and Ms. O'Brien) and two teacher aides. Ms. Cohen, Bruno's teacher, had two teacher aides (male and female) who were in their mid-fifties or early sixties. Both teacher aides were White and English-dominant. During our many side conversations, they did not mention that they spoke another language. Ms. O'Brien, Tara's teacher, had two White, female, English dominant teacher aides who were also in their mid-fifties. All the four aides were certified to work with students with special educational needs.

They were each assigned to work primarily with one student, but they helped any student who needed extra academic or emotional support throughout the day. They also served additional roles including watching students during content area classes, recess, and lunch when the homeroom teachers were not present. While the main teachers were the ones in charge of the instruction, the teacher aides provided additional support when students worked in their groups or independently. The teacher aides followed the students whenever they switched to spaces other than their homeroom including: physical education, art, chorus, recess, and lunch. In some of those spaces, Ms. Cohen and Ms. O'Brien would stay behind in their room in order to plan their instruction. Some days the students spent more time with the teacher aides than their main teachers. In addition to these teachers, Tara and Bruno also interacted with several other teachers during the week: physical education teacher, art teacher, librarian, chorus teacher, and the musical band teacher.

Ms. Gonzalez.

Ms. Gonzalez was one of the two ESL coordinators for the Eliot school. She and the other ESL teacher, Ms. Kim, shared the responsibility for teaching ESL to students identified as English language learners at the school. Ms. Gonzalez self-identified as "Caucasian, Northern European descent". She was multilingual: she spoke English as her first language, was fluent in Spanish, and had limited proficiency in Portuguese. She had lived in Ecuador for several years, where she met her husband. Ms. Gonzalez and her husband spoke Spanish to their children.

Ms. Gonzalez was a dual major in transitional bilingual education and ESL with a concentration in elementary education. She also had a master's degree in curriculum and instruction with a focus in literacy. She also had an ESL certificate and a transitional bilingual education license for Spanish. She had obtained the bilingual certification before the English-

only policy of the state was fully implemented: “Because after question 2, and the Ron Unz movement and all of that people went to SEI, ESL, no programs followed. They weren’t offering bilingual certification anymore” (Interview transcriptions, 5.16.17). Ms. Gonzalez had an extensive teaching background. She had been a teacher for almost 20 years and had taught in a variety of roles including English teacher in an immersion English program in Ecuador that followed the whole language model. In the U.S., she had served as a Spanish and English teacher in a dual immersion program, third and fourth grade main classroom teacher, and ESL teacher.

Principal Laurent.

Principal Laurent was in his first year as the leader of the Eliot School. He had been a principal for about seven years and prior to that, he had been a middle school teacher. He had a bachelor’s and a master’s degree in education and was pursuing his doctorate in education. As required by the state language policy, he was SEI-endorsed as well.

Principal Laurent self-identified as Black, Haitian. He had immigrated from Haiti to the United States when he was a teenager to pursue his education. He spoke three languages: French, Haitian Creole, and English. He recalled his early days in this country were “interesting” as a high school student who was trying to learn a new language, connect with “other folks”, and make friends out of his own “bubble” of Haitian friends in Massachusetts (Interview transcription, 5.25.17). He did not mention any major challenges during that time. Even learning the language was not particularly difficult for him because he was already proficient in French and Haitian Creole and had “a natural proficiency for it” (Interview transcription, 5.25.17).

I asked Principal Laurent if he had made any changes to expand the school’s mission for “inclusiveness” during his time at the Eliot school given the significance of his role as a Black, Haitian, multilingual male leader in a predominantly White and English monolingual

neighborhood. He mentioned that he had partnered with a group of parents, school staff, and district officials to start an initiative called “understanding our differences” that aimed at raising awareness for learning disabilities. This was an initiative that started at the district-level and mainly relied on parent volunteers to give presentations in order to raise awareness on different types of learning disabilities and ways to better include students with all learning styles. Additionally, principal Laurent had promoted the yearly multicultural night more strongly in order to reflect the value the Eliot school held for ethnic, cultural, and linguistic diversity.

Typical Schedule of School Activities

In general, Tara and Bruno’s time during a typical school day was mainly spent in their classrooms with their homeroom teachers on a variety of topics including math, English language arts, social studies, and science. Fourth grade classrooms at the Eliot had two recess periods during each school day. They had a morning snack time and had lunch at around 1 pm. Lunch was served in the school cafeteria where children from different grade levels convened for lunch. During a week, the fourth graders at the Eliot school received two physical education periods, one art period, a library visit and a lesson with the librarian, chorus period, and music period. The music and chorus periods were separate from “band” time where children met with a music instructor to learn the instrument of their choice in small groups. I observed Tara receiving a flute lesson, but did not observe Bruno attending one.

Although Tara and Bruno were in two different classrooms, their schedules were rather similar. Their teachers had daily lesson plans that possibly followed a general yearly schedule, but varied everyday based on other events that were going on at the school. As mentioned before, Ms. Cohen printed her daily lesson plan every day and provided a copy to her aides and me (see Figure 7.1). However, Ms. O’Brien only shared a printed copy of her lesson plan on one of the

days I was in her classroom. She had to attend a professional development session on that day and had a substitute teacher filling in for her (see Figure 7.2).

News of the Day

-Meetings

- During Art, the hope is we get coverage and can meet about a strategy for supporting all the students in the room. Allison is organizing coverage so it might be a bit of a game time plan given MCAS
- 12:00 I have AP's eval. Meeting. Students will be finishing up their Watsons Projects and I'll be here to start it and get students introduced to the task at hand. I would be pretty strict about computer usage though and if silliness is going on, transition them to independent reading.

-Math

Plans for Thursday, April 13th, 2017

8:20-8:30 Morning Work → Thursday's Math Problem

8:40-9:00 Morning Meeting
 Greeting: Thankful it's Thursday and almost school vacay. _____
 Activity/Share: "Over vacation I'm looking forward to..." Marathon share
 Schedule/News & Announcements: MCAS testing (stay off black top for morning recess), Lava tag

9:00 Math Workshop → Cart 3 reserved

Group 1- Mini Lesson	Group 2- Math Game	Group 3- Dreambox

Mini-lesson
 Review adding fractions with uncommon denominators and finding equivalent fractions

Teach multiplying fractions
 m goes running for $\frac{3}{4}$ of an hour. She goes on a run 5 days in a row. How many hours in total? $1\frac{15}{4}$ or 3 and $\frac{3}{4}$
 - $1\frac{15}{4}$ is called an improper fraction and we need to turn it into a mixed number
 • remind us what a mixed number is
 -Practice turning improper fractions into mixed numbers → $\frac{6}{4} = 1\frac{2}{4}$
 -How could you use a number line to solve $3 \times 1\frac{1}{2}$
 • the fraction shows us the size of the jumps, the whole number shows how many jumps

you make

- Start by labeling a number line with halves

-Try $4 \times \frac{1}{2}$

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10:15 Morning Recess

10:30 Social Snack

10:45-11:40 Art
 -Classroom Staff Meeting in Plowshares space

11:40 Reading Workshop
 -12:00
 *12:00

1:10-1:50 Recess/Lunch

1:50-2:00 Quiet Time → Bloggers to blog

2:15 Dane & Knox NTHW
 *2:30-2:50 []

2:45 Pack Up

Figure 7.1. Ms. Cohen's daily lesson plan.

At the Eliot school, the students were made aware of the daily agenda and the activities that were coming up many times during a school day. Every morning, the teachers posted their daily agenda on the board for their students' preview. The agendas were made of moveable cards that the teachers could revise if necessary (see Figures 7.3 and 7.4). The teachers walked their students through the agenda during morning meetings. Furthermore, throughout the day the teachers often reminded the students of the upcoming items on the agenda:

Ms. O'Brien: "Fourth graders, we have about five more minutes before we get ready for PE" (Observation transcription, 5.3.17).

Ms. Cohen: So fourth graders, your voices are off. You're pausing on typing, so I feel heard and like I'm being listened to. We need to log out of Google docs or out of the Chrome book in one fell swoop. Close our chrome books and then our tech helper Amy

will come around to collect them. We have to get ready for chorus so that we're there on time. So, by zero, I wanna see chrome books closed. And I will give you a countdown of fifteen. [*She starts counting down from fifteen*] (Observation transcription, 4.11.17)

In addition to the verbal reminders, the teachers signaled transitions by using chime and/or turning the classroom lights on and off.

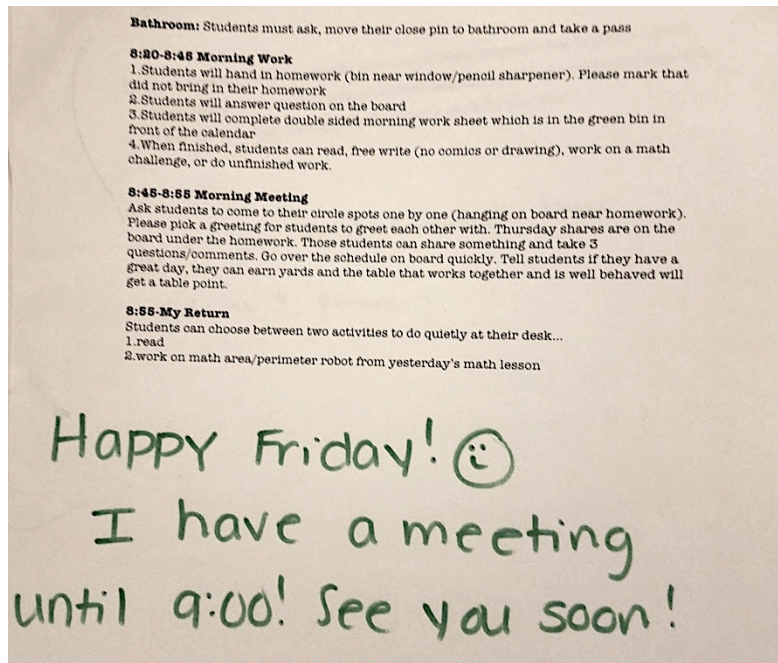


Figure 7.2. Ms. O'Brien Friday schedule.

The students at the Eliot school were engaged in two forms of morning greetings through which they formally socialized with their teachers and peers. Firstly, the students received a “morning greeting” from their teacher and teacher aides on the board to which they had to respond (see Figures 7.5 and 7.6). Secondly, the students and the teachers started their day by meeting on the rug for a morning meeting. The first item on the agenda for the day was “morning greeting”. The morning greetings consisted of various activities that changed every day, such as saying “hello” in different languages to the classmate sitting next to them, and repeating phrases with alliteration while greeting the people next to them (e.g. Thankful it's Thursday and almost vacation, Bruno).

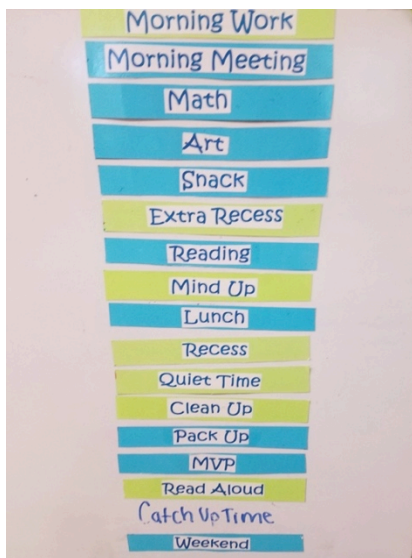


Figure 7.3. Ms. Miller's daily schedule.

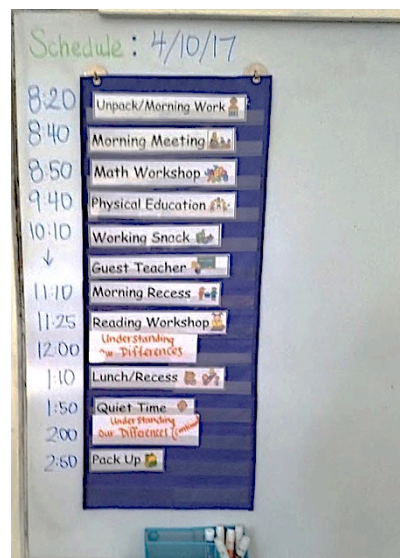


Figure 7.4. Ms. O'Brien's daily schedule for students.

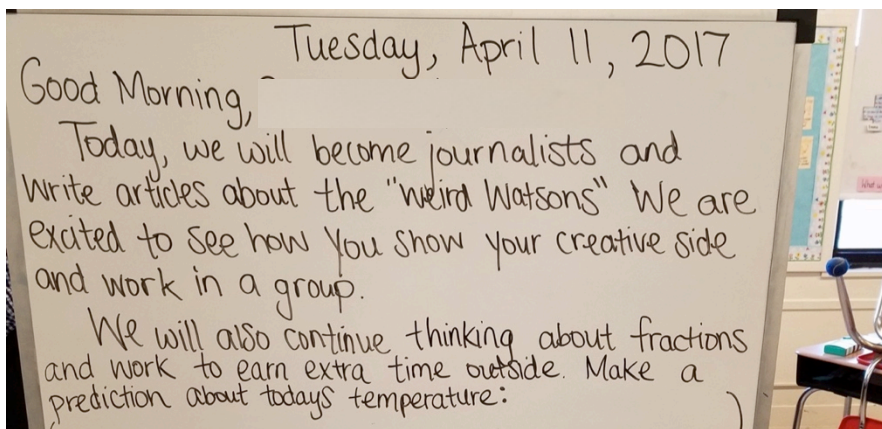


Figure 7.5. Morning greeting in Ms. Miller's class.

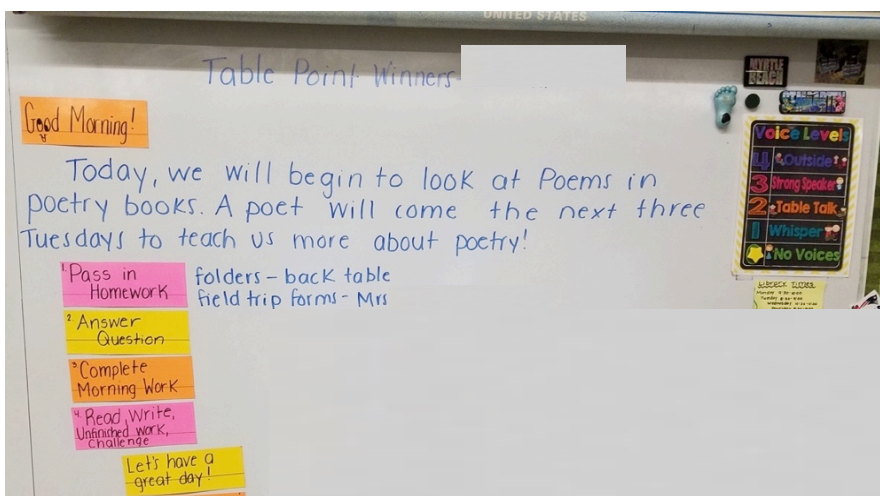


Figure 7.6. Morning greeting in Ms. O'Brien's class.

Language Beliefs of the Eliot School Staff

Language beliefs of the school staff were documented through a thematic analysis of the interviews and side conversations at the time of school observations. All of the four members of the school staff who were interviewed expressed a strong belief in the importance of bilingualism and that it was equally important for children of immigrants to maintain their heritage languages while developing English. For instance, Ms. Cohen believed developing strong oral and literacy skills in English was important because it carried “quite a bit of social capital in the United States”. However, she added, “Still, I feel just as strongly that native language should be maintained” (Interview transcription, 5.16.17). One of the reasons for her strong belief in bilingualism was that she deeply regretted not knowing another language besides English. She considered elementary school as a “crucial time” for determining the maintenance and development of heritage languages in children who came from non-English speaking homes: “Ms. Cohen: I also think Elementary School is this crucial time where kids either keep their native language or they lose it. And I wish school made more space for them to keep it” (Interview transcription, 5.16.17).

Similarly, Ms. O’Brien referred to her personal regrets for not knowing Spanish when highlighting the importance of heritage language maintenance for her students. Additionally, she believed knowing another language helped children learn about other cultures and facilitated communication when traveling to non-English speaking countries. She referred to her bilingual sister-in-law in order to make her point. Ms. O’Brien also insinuated that bilingualism had academic and cognitive advantages, but she was less explicit, and confident, about mentioning research on bilingualism:

I don't know if there's any background to this, but I think academically it helps them. I think might be a little tough at first when they are little, but I think as they get older it just

makes them smarter in a way. (Interview transcription, 5.16.17)
Ms. O'Brien's personal experiences with bilingualism and bilingual parenting through her brother's family seemed to inform her language beliefs more strongly than her textbook knowledge of bilingualism:

Yalda: Do you think it can compromise their development of English if they are developing another language at the same time?

Ms. O'Brien: I don't know exactly. I know from like experience that my nephew is almost 2, and my sister-in-law does not want him to learn Spanish right now. She wants him to learn English first and then Spanish. And my brother, who didn't know a lick of Spanish until he met his wife and now he is absolutely fluent, wants him to learn both. And like I see both of their sides. Like my sister-in-law wants him to get his English firm and then Spanish. But my brother thinks if he is learning them both at once, like it will be easier in the long. So I'm not really sure. I think if I were to be bilingual, I would want my kids to learn both from day one, but I could see how that might be confusing. (Interview transcription, 5.16.17)

Although Ms. O'Brien's insights on bilingualism through her personal experiences might seem contradictory, they allowed her to understand the complexity of language decisions for immigrant parents of color:

I don't know if it's just because we all speak English but like she (*her sister-in-law*) won't speak Spanish in public. She won't speak Spanish like in front of me. She will do it to my brothers, but gets annoyed if they speak Spanish to her... Well it's interesting with like the election and everything, like seeing it through her eyes is like so eye opening. Because I am White, and I am like privileged in that sense and you don't realize. What you know like she just says what she looks like she gets at sometimes. Like she was out with my nephew and me and I was so offended for her because we were at like a gym class for toddlers and they looked at her and said 'oh you're his nanny'. And I was like 'No that's his mom'. And like little things like that, she gets that a lot. Yeah, I don't like it, but I never really realized that until she was coming into our family. (Interview transcription, 5.16.17)

Having a bilingual, Latina family member and witnessing the microaggressions she was experiencing on a daily basis, especially during the election of the United States 45th president, had helped Ms. O'Brien realize her privileges as a White woman and understand her sister-in-law's choice to use English with her child, especially in front of English-speakers.

Besides favoring heritage language maintenance and bilingualism because of her personal

experiences, Ms. O'Brien also believed that it was "really important" for her students to learn English because, "they are here and I think that is the language that we all use" (Interview transcription, 5.16.17). It is unclear whether her use of "we all" is referring to "all teachers" or "the U.S. society at large". Given that she is most likely referring to the "United States" by using "here", it is more plausible that she is suggesting that English is the language everyone uses, or shares, in the U.S. society at large, which would also include schools and teachers.

Another member of the Eliot staff who had even deeper personal experiences with bilingualism and bilingual parenting was the ESL teacher, Ms. Gonzalez. She had worked in Ecuador for several years, was married to an Ecuadorian, and was raising bilingual children. She and her husband mainly Spoke Spanish to their children. As an ESL teacher, Ms. Gonzalez's instructional decisions were shaped by her academic and professional training as an ESL educator as well as her personal experiences with learning Spanish, living in a Spanish-speaking country, and raising bilingual children:

I always tell kids when they come, you can count in your first language. Don't worry about it. Like we'll learn the names of all these things, but the rest of your life you probably will be counting in your first language. That's fine... But I think because of my kids and teaching them, you know we count as we go up the stairs at home or come down the stairs, you know... or like I play cards, like in Ecuador, I played cards with the family. So, you know, sometimes just certain things. I always count like that when I play cards. (Interview transcription, 5.16.17)

In addition, Ms. Gonzalez's decision to incorporate children's heritage languages in her English language instruction was based on her knowledge of research on bilingual development, notions such as "Common Underlying Proficiency" (Cummins, 1979) in bilinguals, and the importance of first language proficiency in second language development. Although she was also aware of other benefits of bilingualism such as higher cognitive advantages, she regarded them as a "nice selling point for people", and not a determiner of her own practice:

There is research on the brain and benefits of like for example Alzheimer's, there are less incidents in people that are bilingual. Um but I don't usually think about that. But that is a nice selling point for people [*laughs*]. If a child has a strong base in their first language it is very helpful for their literacy development, for their oral development as well. If a child knows how to read in their first language, skills that they know about reading like thinking about what the words mean or you know making connections or all of those skills transfer from one language to another. So they already know what reading is, they already know how to hold a book, that the symbols on the page mean something, depending what level they come in. (Interview transcription, 5.16.17)

Lastly, Ms. Gonzalez incorporated children's heritage languages in her instructional space because she believed it validated their bicultural identity as they navigated spaces such as home and school on a daily basis. When two children shared a heritage language, she encouraged them to speak in that language among themselves during transitional times in order to have more freedom in expressing themselves.

The Eliot school Principal also strongly favored heritage language maintenance for his students based on his personal experiences of being multilingual. He also referred to research to discuss academic benefits of bilingualism, compartmentalization of languages in bilingual minds, and its benefits for brain plasticity. Additionally, he discussed the societal advantages of bilingualism for increasing compassion and understanding of other cultures based on his personal experience as an immigrant from Haiti. Principal Laurent believed learning additional languages and familiarizing oneself with other cultures was the way to build "a better society, a more compassionate society, a more accepting society", especially in the context of globalization. He believed it was important for children of immigrants as well as those with U.S.-born parents to understand that bilingualism "sets you above and gives you a competitive advantage in the world, in addition to making you a more enlightened person" (Interview transcription, 5.25.17). Lastly, he emphasized the important role of knowing English in order to "feel connected" and "be part of the community" of English speakers.

Language Practices at the Eliot School

Language Practices in Bruno's Classes

Thematic analysis of selective transcriptions of audio recordings from classroom observations, observation field notes, and the interviews with Bruno and his teachers showed that Bruno mainly interacted with two groups: the teachers and his peers. “Teachers” refer to his main homeroom teacher (Ms. Cohen), two teacher aides, and content area teachers (chorus teacher, librarian, art teacher, and physical educator). Bruno used to receive ESL services from with Ms. Gonzalez until the end of the previous year, but he had been “exited” from the services since then. Bruno’s interactions with his teachers were almost exclusively in English. There were no instances in which his classroom teachers interacted with him, or another student in his class, in Portuguese or any other non-English language. The only exceptions were two instances in which non-English languages were used, although not for interactional purposes, that will be discussed below.

Bilingual practices.

Although the instructional practices at the Eliot were predominantly in English, there were two instances in one week where the teachers incorporated non-English languages. One was in Ms. Cohen’s morning greeting, and the second time was a chorus lesson with Ms. Bianchi.

Morning greeting in non-English languages with Ms. Cohen. The only instance in which Ms. Cohen used a non-English language was during a morning greeting. Once in a while, Ms. Cohen did morning greetings in “foreign languages”. In preparation, she had prepared examples of “hello” from five different languages from a guide that I later found in the room (see Figure 7.7). She invited students to share three more greeting words. A student shared a greeting

from her “invented” language. Bruno also volunteered to share the greeting word in Portuguese:

Bruno: Oi, which is, I know how to spell, it’s o, l, a. which there’s a comma on top of a.

Ms. Cohen: And do you, but you pronounce it /oy/?

Bruno: yeah.

Ms. Cohen: So, in parentheses I’m gonna write /oy/. So, like I said if your foreign language, is not posted there it does not mean you can’t use that to greet the person next to you. So, we’re going to choose one foreign language and greet the person to our right and our left with a high five. (Observation transcription, 4.11.17)

Bruno referred to the informal greeting in Portuguese that is “Oi” (*hi*), but spelled it as “Olá” (*hello*). This can suggest that he was more accustomed to the informal use of the language, but he had been exposed to the formal variation through text. When the greeting circle started, some students used Bruno’s Portuguese greeting, Oi. When it was Ms. Cohen’s turn in the circle, she said “Namaste”. A few students used Namaste after that. Not all of the bilingual children chose to use their heritage languages to greet others for this activity. For instance, Valentina (a Spanish-English bilingual whose parents were from Argentina) used her friend’s invented greeting, and Adrian (a Korean-Greek-English multilingual) chose to greet other students in English.

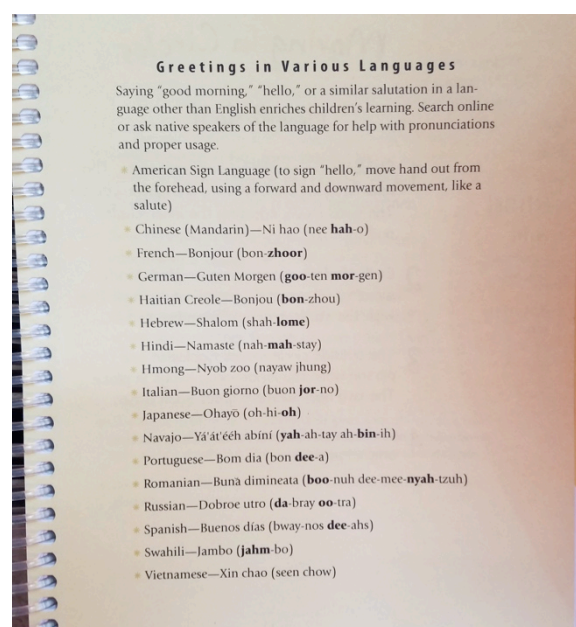


Figure 7.7. Ms. Cohen’s guide for greetings in various languages.

Chorus lesson with Ms. Bianchi. The most significant incorporation of non-English languages during the week I observed Bruno was during Ms. Bianchi's chorus lesson. All fourth graders gathered in the auditorium for chorus lessons with Ms. Bianchi once a week. The students sang three songs together including Swing by Robert Luis Stevenson, Tafta Hindi, and The Greatest by Sia. Tafta Hindi is a folklore song in Arabic (see Figure 7.8 for lyrics). As a Middle Eastern with limited proficiency in Arabic, the song immediately captured my attention, although I could not fully understand the words the students were singing. I checked in with Ms. Bianchi as soon as the lesson came to an end to ask about the song. She explained that Tafta Hindi was a song about a man who was selling Indian cloth "and he's saying beautiful women, let me in, so I can sell you cloth." (Observation transcription, 4.11.17).

Ms. Bianchi's choice of an Arabic song during a time of xenophobia and discrimination against immigrants, people of color, Muslims, and Arabic speakers was undoubtedly valuable. However, there were a few issues with the choice of this song. Firstly, when I spoke to Bruno and Valentina later that day about the song neither of them knew they were singing in Arabic. They both assumed Tafta Hindi was in "Indian". Additionally, only Valentina recalled the song was about the vendors who were selling cloth. Bruno admitted that the teacher had explained it to them at the beginning of the unit, but he could not recall it.

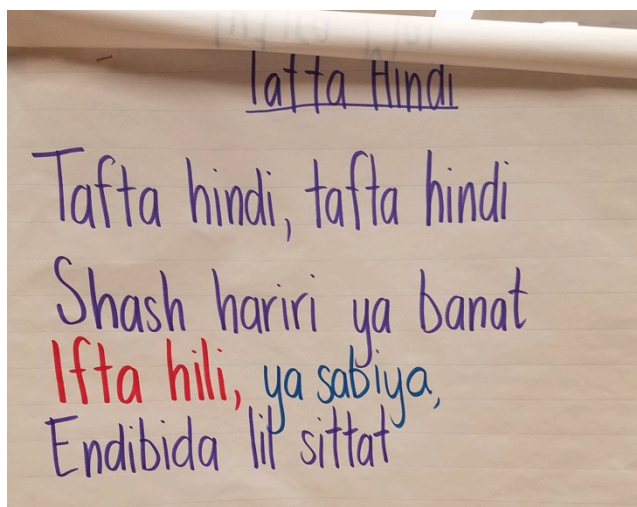


Figure 7.8. Tafta Hindi lyrics.

Ms. Bianchi later described her process for building background information for this song as follows:

So, I told them it was in Arabic. I showed just like a picture, of like a map, and like this is the area of the world it comes from. We're not exactly sure what country, but somewhere in this area. And we talked about the meaning of it, and what, you know, how that translates to the way that we sing it. You know. Is this a love song? Is this is 'I'm so sad song?' It's not really either of those. It's just like a 'hey! *[laughs]* we're super ha, we're super happy about this'. So that you'll come buy my stuff (Observation Transcription, 5.4.17)

The second issue with Tafta Hindi is that it is a rather convenient, “multicultural” choice. Once I searched Tafta Hindi on the Internet, a few websites with the subject of “multicultural chorus” came up. As Ms. Bianchi pointed out, the song did not have very deep or meaningful lyrics, which could explain why it did not stay with the students. Ms. Bianchi explained that she chose this particular song because it was musically interesting and that she wanted to teach her students a song in Arabic:

Ms. Bianchi: I really wanted to do a piece in Arabic...for a couple of reasons. We have a couple of students in this school that speak Arabic. And we don't do a lot as a part of our regular curriculum, involving the Middle East. There's usually things that happened in the United States, things that happened in Europe, or in Asia. We don't do a lot with Africa or the Middle East. So, I wanted to pull in some of that. I do a lot of Africa music too. Just to be like, these are other places *[laughs]*, they also exist and they do stuff. Um, it's a, it's one a very few not religious Arabic pieces *[inter]*

Yalda: hmmm!

Ms. Bianchi: That I've found! A lot of them were fairly religious, which makes sense, based on you know the culture and based on just the music that they use in their lives. This is a street call...So, it's, it's as secular as it gets. It's come buy my stuff *[laughs]*. But it's, it was a lot of fun, I thought. And the political culture has, does a lot of demonizing, or otherizing, people that are different than us. And I think it's really important to be like they do the same things that we do, they just do it in different ways. So, like they, they sing. They just sing in a different way. It sounds a little different. The language sounds a little different, but they do the same things we do. (Observation Transcription, 5.4.17)

Ms. Bianchi's knowledge of the languages spoken by the students at their school and her attempt to include songs in those languages is commendable. I also appreciate that she included a happy song with the attention to disruption of xenophobia (“otherizing”) and prejudice

(“demonizing”) against “people that are different than us”, including Arabs. However, I would be remiss not to problematize her perception that the majority of Arabic songs are religious based on “the culture and based on just the music that they use in their lives” and her conclusion that Tafta Hindi is “as secular as it gets”. Based on my limited understanding from growing up in a non-Arabic-speaking country in the Middle East, Arabic music is as versatile as music in any other language capturing the variety of human feelings including romance, joy, grief, and resistance, and little to do with religion. Additionally, two of the countries with the largest Arabic music industry are Lebanon and Egypt, which their populations’ religious orientations represent both Islam and Christianity¹⁰. Therefore, although Ms. Bianchi included an Arabic song with all the right intentions, her beliefs about Arab cultures and music reflect some of the larger societal stereotypes about the Middle East and are slightly monolithic. Those beliefs prevented her, in my opinion, from taking a more critical view and selecting a song with lyrics that better aligned with the important purpose she decided to teach an Arabic song in the first place (i.e. resisting otherizing of Arabs).

English-only practices.

Bruno’s interactions with his main teachers were exclusively carried out in English. Despite exclusive use of English, the teachers used strategies to create space to empower bilingual children and children of color in their classrooms and also to unpack their English-only instruction. Similar to the Wilson school, coding of classroom practices was quasi-deductive, partly based on conceptual understanding of linguistically and culturally responsive teaching in the field of education for bilingual students (Echevarria et al., 2004; Ladson-Billings, 1995,

¹⁰ Demographics show that Lebanon’s population is comprised of about 54% Muslim and 46% Christian (U.S. Department of State, [2013](#)). Additionally, while about 90% of Egyptians are Muslims and 10% are Christians (Pew Research Center, [2011](#), U.S. Department of State, [2013](#)).

2009; Lucas & Villegas, 2011), and was further developed based on emergent patterns in the data. These interactions were coded and categorized under three large themes: (1) teachers' incorporation of children's cultures, (2) teachers positioning of children, and (3) teachers' use of strategies to unpack English-only instruction. These characterizations were made based on how the teachers responded to the cultural and linguistic knowledge, and the needs of the children in their classroom despite using English exclusively as their language of instruction.

Incorporating children's cultures. One of the main distinctions between Ms. Cohen and the other three teachers in this study was that she chose to allocate time to her social studies instruction despite the standardized assessment season. More specifically, Ms. Cohen chose to focus an entire unit to discuss the Civil Rights Movement and some of its implications in depth. She had provided her students with fairly extended background knowledge on the topic including concepts such as White supremacy, segregation, racism; affiliations such as Ku Klux Klan (KKK), The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP); as well as important historical incidents leading up to and following the Civil Rights Movement. This was evident in the key vocabulary of the unit presented on the classroom wall (see Figure 7.9).

It is important to note that the fourth grade History and Social Science curriculum frameworks provided by the State Department of Education focuses more heavily on the geography of the regions in the U.S. and does not explicitly refer to the Civil Rights Movement:

In grade 4, students study the geography and people of the United States today. Students learn geography by addressing standards that emphasize political and physical geography and embed five major concepts: location, place, human interaction with the environment, movement, and regions. In addition, they learn about the geography and people of contemporary Mexico and Canada. Teachers may choose to teach the standards on the geography and social characteristics of the nations in Central America and the Caribbean Islands. Teachers may also choose to have students study in the first half of the school year one early civilization. We recommend China because it is not taught in grade 7 and

can be easily connected to the English language arts curriculum through its myths, legends, and folktales.

During later conversations with the two ESL coordinators, I learned that discussing concepts such as “discrimination” was partly an element of the Lucy Calkins writing curriculum that intersects with social science. Additionally, Ms. Cohen chose to teach about the Civil Rights instead of focusing on the geography of regions because she was more passionate about it and that it resonated more with her students’ tendencies for “fairness” and “justice” at this age: “The Civil Rights is everything that I wish the whole year was, the unit on civil rights, because it is so interesting to them. It taps into their social justice...So, I just go deeper with it” (Interview transcription, 5.16.17).

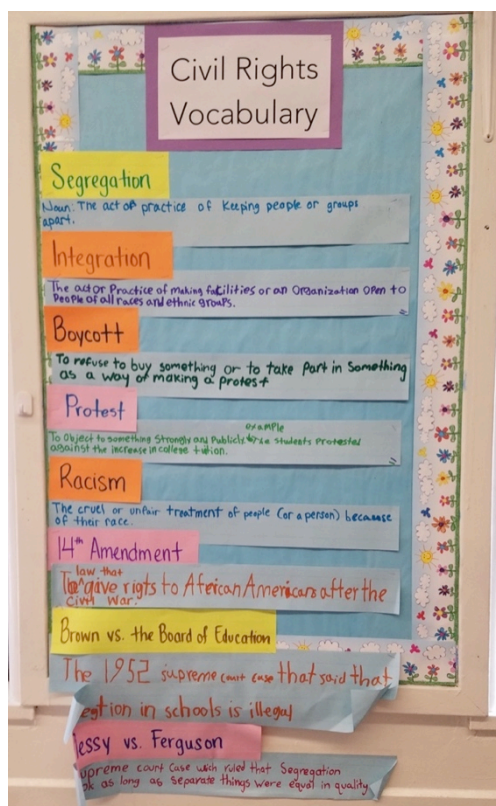


Figure 7.9. Civil Rights vocabulary.

On my first day in Bruno’s class, Ms. Cohen invited the grandmother of one of her students to give a guest lecture on the Civil Rights Movement and her involvement in the

Freedom Summer. The grandmother, Mrs. Timothy, was a child of Greek immigrants and self-identified as White. She had joined the Movement as a volunteering teacher. She started her presentation by discussing her pin that read: “We Shall Overcome”, and the song related to it. The students were all familiar with the song and many of the concepts Ms. Timothy touched upon including the Jim Crow law, Brown v. Board of Education, and racial segregation. In addition, the students seemed aware of the sentiment of the Civil Rights Movement and its relevance to the present time. As Ms. Cohen mentioned, the unit resonated with her students and they seemed very enthusiastic about the lessons and the guest lecture. Bruno, for instance, seemed much more engaged during social science than other periods during that week. During Ms. Timothy’s visit, he also had his hand up a few times to ask questions.

Despite the students’ awareness of the persistence of racism and injustice in the U.S. society, some of their background knowledge on topics such as Brown v. Board of Education had led them to believe that racial segregation had been fully resolved. Mrs. Timothy tried to challenge those thoughts by taking the students’ attention to existence of racial segregation at the societal and local level and pointing out that they were attending a predominantly White school, with not many students of color. She pushed back on a student who seemed to believe nothing was currently prohibiting him from going to school with Black students:

Ms. Timothy: How would you feel if you couldn’t go to school with Black students?

Student: We can!

Ms. Timothy: Right! But there aren’t very many here. Anytime you can’t communicate with anyone you lose their perspective. (Observation field notes, 4.10.17)

There were no Black students in Bruno’s class. Ms. Cohen later explained that her attempt was to expose her students to the “current understanding” of the key elements of the Civil Rights Movement and the challenges people face with racial discrimination to this day, albeit not discussing the “current events”. Ms. Cohen’s based her decision on the developmental level of

her students as well as a shortage of background knowledge among them on some of the current events such as Black Lives Matter. Nevertheless, she wished she were able to make those connections more explicitly. Although Ms. Cohen did not mention it, the students' lack of awareness on some of the current events can be attributed to the racial demographics of the class and the school at large. Although many of the parents at the school were highly educated and might have been aware of those events and some might have discussed it with their children, these topics might not have been a big part of family conversations since they did not directly affect them.

In addition to the social studies unit that Ms. Cohen taught, Bruno was exposed to narratives on people of color through his librarian, Mrs. Marquez. She was White, but married to a Latino. Fourth graders met with her at the school library for an entire instructional period once a week. During the week I was with Bruno, Mrs. Marquez was finishing a unit on “Windows and Mirrors” and multicultural books. This concept was originally suggested by Dr. Rudine Sims Bishop as “Mirrors, Windows, and Sliding Glass Doors”:

When children cannot find themselves reflected in the books they read, or when the images they see are distorted, negative, or laughable, they learn a powerful lesson about how they are devalued in the society of which they are a part. Our classrooms need to be places where all the children from all the cultures that make up the salad bowl of American society can find their mirrors (Bishop, 1990a, p.ix).

In this country, where racism is still one of the major unresolved social problems, books may be one of the few places where children who are socially isolated and insulated from the larger world may meet people unlike themselves. If they see only reflections of

themselves, they will grow up with an exaggerated sense of their own importance and value in the world—a dangerous ethnocentrism (Bishop, 1990b, p. 557).

The idea of “Windows and Mirrors” in children’s books has also been discussed more recently by Grace Lin, a Chinese-American author of children’s books, in her popular TED Talk (2016). Similarly, she suggested that characters in children’s literature should either reflect the reality of all children as “mirrors” or provide them with “windows” into narratives of children that are different from them. Mrs. Marquez had a large artifact on the library wall reflecting this theme (see Figure 7.10). During the library lesson, she taught students to search online in the database that the school had access to for “multicultural books”. She showed them how to search with keywords that would bring up books portraying African American, American Indian, Asian Pacific, Latino, Middle Eastern, or South Asian stories.

Ms. Marquez ended the lesson by giving the students a survey on windows and mirrors that asked them whether they saw themselves reflected in the books at the library. The students, including Bruno, did not seem very interested in the activity. I tried to encourage Bruno to fill out the survey by telling him that his opinion was very important, but he was not interested.



Figure 7.10. Mrs. Marquez’s depiction of children’s books as “windows & “mirrors”.

In addition to representing other cultures in the books at the library, Ms. Marquez also had a bookshelf in one corner with books in foreign languages. The bilingual students in Bruno's class, however, did not seem to utilize it very much, mostly due to their limited literacy skills in their heritage languages. During our visit, one of the Korean-English bilingual students, Oliver, picked a book from there to share with his classmates and me. He said he would have been able to read it if he had his paper with the Korean alphabet. Similarly, Valentina (a Spanish-English bilingual with Argentine background) said she never borrowed Spanish books from the library because she did not have literacy skills in Spanish although she spoke it very fluently.

Teachers positioning of children. Overall, the students at the Eliot school were given a lot of agency and were generally positioned as competent. In comparison to the Wilson school, the children and their families were a bigger part of the decision-making processes at the school. This included putting a student in charge of saying the pledge of allegiance through the school microphone every morning, asking pre-planned questions from guest speakers during their presentations, and collaborating with their parents when they came in for presentations at the school. I will discuss the role of parents under “parent involvement” with school-level policies later in this chapter.

At the Eliot school, children were also given agency by being a part of the conversations on deciding classroom (and school) rules and policies. There was one instance that depicted this distribution of power very vividly. On the last day of the week, Ms. Cohen announced that after an incident, she had checked the school rules and found out that playing any form of tag was prohibited inside the school. The students immediately started voicing their dissatisfaction with being notified of this policy so late in the school year. Ms. Cohen said that she was a human and had made a mistake because she misunderstood the policy. She acknowledged students'

frustration and told them they could “absolutely take it to the principal”, but it is the rule “for now”. A student said that he would indeed talk to the principal. Not much longer in the day, right before the morning recess, Ms. Cohen personally organized a game of tag and announced to the students that they could play with her.

In addition to her responsiveness to her students’ desires, Ms. Cohen often used affirmative language to describe their abilities during her instruction. This included calling them “mathematicians”, saying they were good at a math, or saying “You just need to believe in yourself” (observations transcription, 4.10.17). Similarly, during her one-on-one meetings with her students, she positioned them as competent mathematicians who were in charge of their learning:

Bruno, I moved you in here so that, we’re coming with our math journals cause I want you [*adds emphasis*] to kind of do some of the teaching right now. And what I mean by that is that I said, what is the rule for figuring out equivalent fractions? I think as mathematicians, we could look at what we discovered in our math journals and try to notice things and come up with the rule ourselves. (Observation transcription, 4.11.17)

Ms. Cohen acknowledged her students’ differences in learning styles and that they worked at different paces:

I noticed that we are at such different places. Some of us have nothing written and others like Adrian are finished. So, what I wanna think about is how we all get it done because for the MCAS we will know that ok, I’ve written an essay like this before and I feel prepared. (Interview transcription, 5.16.17)

Lastly, she planned grouping mainly based on her students’ preferences. Occasionally, she picked partners for them based on their “social and behavioral dynamics”. Yet, every time she read the names of group mates, she reminded her students to have “a poker face or a smile”. Ms. Cohen did not base grouping on children’s heritage language background, but rather based on their “verbal output”. For instance, for the activities on the rug that involved a lot of turn and talk, she paired more outspoken students with those who were quieter.

Strategies to unpack English-only instruction. Ms. Cohen used a variety of linguistic and nonlinguistic strategies in order to make her instruction comprehensible to all her students. Linguistic strategies mainly entailed use of examples, modeling, preview, and repetition of the content. On a few occasions, Ms. Cohen defined the meaning of words when her students asked her. Ms. Cohen used modeling during writing instruction and mathematics. She modeled the writing by providing a rubric and a graphic organizer. However, reflecting the district-mandated curriculum that she followed (Lucy Calkins), I found her method of modeling more abstract and less step-by-step than the genre-based approach that the Wilson teachers followed. The ESL coordinators at the school shared similar doubts about the vagueness of the Lucy Calkins curriculum for teachers to implement and for students to decipher. Additionally, they expressed that the teachers' rigidity in following the district guidelines for the Lucy Calkins curriculum without making changes in response to their students' needs had exacerbated language development of students at the school: "*Ms. Kim*: the kids' grammar is horrible, across the whole school not just the ELLs... because Lucy Calkins does not focus on grammar. It is this quick little mid-workshop teaching, if the teachers even have time to get to it" (Interview transcription, 5.16.17).

In addition to the linguistic strategies, Ms. Cohen used a variety of non-linguistic strategies to make her instruction more comprehensible. The most frequent non-linguistic strategies were "check-ins" with individual students, use of visuals, artifacts, and manipulatives, especially during math instruction and geometry (see Figure 7.11), and use of technology. It is worth noting that technology use was very prevalent in Bruno's classroom. This was partly due to the many resources the Eliot school and the district provided to the teachers and the students. There were many computers available at the Eliot school and all the students had email accounts

with the district domain address. However, technology use in Bruno's class was also a characteristic of Ms. Cohen's teaching. Bruno explained that she taught them how to work with Google drive at the beginning of the year. All of her students had a folder on Google Drive shared with Ms. Cohen, which she used for checking on their progress. Since Bruno was very interested in technology, he was most engaged during the time on the computers. He was very skilled in using Google documents and enjoyed using the voice function and looking up pictures and dragging them into his writing, more than the actual writing tasks sometimes. Investigating the cause(s) of Bruno's occasional disengagement with writing is beyond the scope of this study.

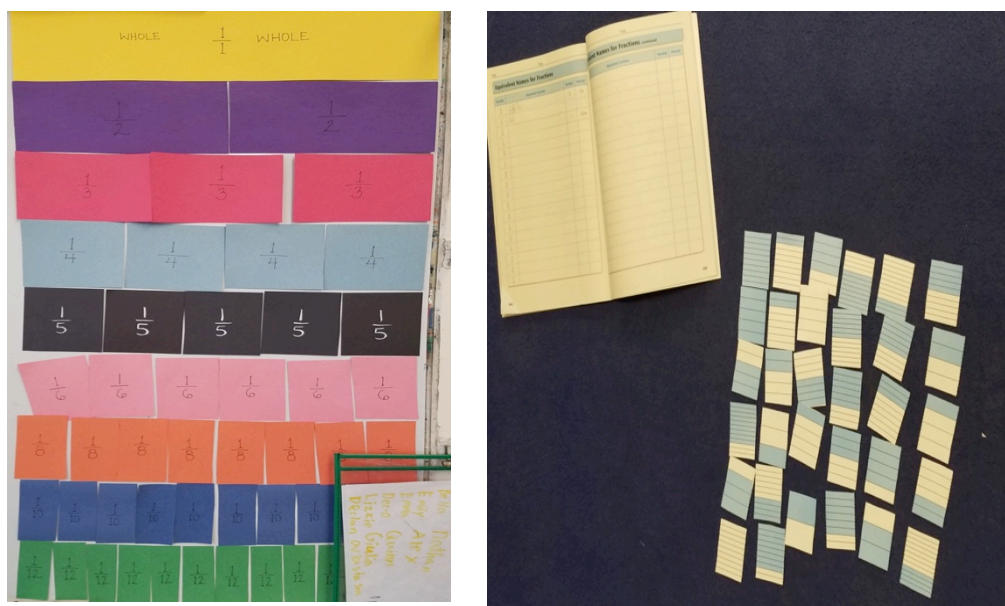


Figure 7.11. Use of visuals and manipulatives for teaching fractions.

Language Practices in Tara's Classes

The thematic analysis of selective transcriptions of audio recordings from classroom observations, observation field notes, and interviews with Tara and her teachers showed that Tara mainly interacted with her homeroom teacher (Ms. O'Brien), the two teacher aides, her peers, and me during the week of the observations. Additionally, she met for a lesson with the

music teacher (Ms. Bianchi), the librarian (Ms. Marquez), the band teacher, and the physical educator one time during that week. The observation of Tara's classroom took place the week after the English Language Arts statewide standardized assessment (MCAS). Similar to Bruno, Tara's interactions with her classroom teachers were entirely conducted in English. Tara's teacher did not do morning greetings in foreign languages during that week, although she mentioned that she had occasionally tried it with her class throughout the year.

Bilingual practices.

Although the instruction in Tara's homeroom was exclusively carried out in English, there was one instance when the Eliot school music teacher, Ms. Bianchi, incorporated non-English languages in her music lesson. Ms. Bianchi incorporated a non-English language, Italian, for instructional purpose this time. Her lesson focused on the interactions of a musical conductor with his band. She showed two YouTube videos of Gustavo Dudamel, a world-renowned conductor from Venezuela. Although the interactions were not in Italian, the conductor used musical words that were in Italian to instruct his band before the performance. Before showing the video, Ms. Bianchi pre-taught a few of the key vocabulary in Italian. She encouraged the students to rely on their knowledge of cognates between English and Italian to guess the meaning of the words including "espressivo", "allegro", "presto", "justo", and "accelerando", "ritardando", "crescendo", and "decrescendo". After watching the video, Ms. Bianchi discussed how the expressions of the conductor implied the meaning of the words she had discussed. After the first video, she showed another video of Dudamel during a rehearsal with a high school band in Venezuela.

Ms. Bianchi decided to teach the Italian key vocabulary because she believed Italian is one of the international languages for music. She specifically chose Dudamel because he was a

very expressive conductor and was optimal for showing how conductors conveyed their emotions to their bands. However, she also chose him because he was from Venezuela and was conducting this rehearsal with students in his home country:

I liked him because he is from some place that is not the United States. So, to be like, this happens all over the world. And then these are a bunch of kids from a high school in Venezuela and look they play violin too! (Observation transcriptions, 5.4.17)

As with Tafta Hindi, Ms. Bianchi's intention was to challenge the stereotypes and misconceptions of American exceptionalism by showing that a high school band in Venezuela could be so good to be conducted by a well-respected conductor.

Although the lessons with Ms. Bianchi were short and did not comprise a significant portion of Bruno and Tara's school week, they were the only instructional spaces where non-English languages were incorporated, during my observations. Ms. Bianchi believed she was able to include non-English languages because, unlike classroom teachers, she did not have to abide by a mandated curriculum:

I have the opportunity to be as inclusive as I can. And I also, my curriculum is not dictated. So, I get to say, you know, this week we're talking about Ghana. And we're gonna be talking about Ghana for the next month because I can and nobody is gonna tell me you have to be working on this piece on this day, which a lot of classroom teachers are dictated that. And they don't really have as much freedom with that. (Observation transcriptions, 5.4.17)

English-only practices.

Teachers' English-only interactions with Tara were coded and then categorized under two large themes based on how the teachers responded to the cultural and linguistic knowledge and needs of the children in their classrooms: (1) teachers' incorporation of children's cultures, and (2) teachers' use of strategies to unpack English-only instruction. Coding was quasi-deductive, partly based on conceptual understanding of linguistically and culturally responsive teaching in the field of education for bilingual children (Echevarria et al., 2004; Ladson-Billings,

1995, 2009; Lucas & Villegas, 2011), and was further developed based on emergent patterns in the data.

Incorporating children's cultures. The extent of incorporating students' cultures was very limited in Tara's classroom, at least during my visit. Ms. O'Brien's instructional focus for the week was mostly on the tall tales in social science and fractions and geometry in mathematics. She explained that the overemphasis on math was due to the circumstances of testing. In social science, Ms. O'Brien also touched upon Civil Rights movement, but her approach was different than Ms. Cohen's. Although I missed the section where Ms. O'Brien had taught her class about Brown vs. Board of education, Martin Luther King and Rosa Parks, the unit (to my knowledge) was depicted as a historical event without discussing any relevance to today's world. Yet, Ms. O'Brien admired that Ms. Cohen was able to invite a speaker who was participated in the Civil Rights Movement. Nevertheless, I heard the children autonomously making links between racial segregation and discrimination in those readings to today's world in their side conversations as they were collaborating on a group activity.

Ms. O'Brien tried to incorporate stories from other languages and cultures from a set of books that were assigned by her curriculum. She explained that she would sometimes "go off the vocabulary curriculum" to incorporate another language or a country that her students were from. She would try to draw on her students' expertise and ask them to help her pronounce the words. Lastly, she mentioned that she spoke about her brother's family and their young son who was developing two languages to her students as her personal experience with bilingualism. Ms. O'Brien was aware of the lack cultural representation in her instruction, but seemed somewhat convinced that she did as much as she could:

I think like I don't think about it as much as I should but I think like certain ways, even we see that morning meetings... Other than that, sometimes we read books with other

languages, and I will tell the kids I'm not great at this and sometimes I'll have one of them help me... And the only other thing is I will talk about my personal experience with my sister-in-law who her first language is Spanish and I talked about her a lot and how their son is like not even speaking yet but he does both, so he is two. But I don't really feel like I unpack what I am saying in the moment, but I try to get it into my classroom I guess as much as I can. (Interview transcription, 5.16.17)

Besides the limitation of linguistic and cultural representation in instructional materials, another aspect of Ms. O'Brien's practice that could represent the cultures of all her students was the design of her classroom and the behavioral norms established for the class. Ms. O'Brien was a passionate sports fan. She displayed her pride for local teams in her room. She also conveyed a sense of collaboration and being a team player through those representations (see Figure 7.12).



Figure 7.12. Sport signage in Ms. O'Brien's classroom.

While not all the sports that were displayed were U.S.-based sports, baseball and the North American football were the most dominant. In addition, Ms. O'Brien set the main behavioral norm in her class following the rules for the North American football. The class earned "yards" if they behaved well in every school period and the teacher would move the ball on a printed football field forward. The goal was to reach "touchdown" in a school week. Although many of her students seemed passionate about discussing sports and the games from the previous night, several of them (including Tara) always remained quiet during those conversations.

Strategies to unpack English-only instruction. Strategies that Ms. O'Brien used to unpack her language and make content comprehensible included linguistic strategies and nonlinguistic strategies. Linguistic strategies that Ms. O'Brien used in her instruction mainly entailed use of example and modeling, preview and repetition of the content, and semantic discussion to make content comprehensible. She previewed and repeated the steps the class was going to take for each task multiple times. She provided many models and examples to clarify those steps for her students. For math instruction, she walked the students through multiple examples while drawing on insights from them. After a few collaborative examples, she would call on the students to work on the next problems. Even then, she and the other students supported the student as he/she worked on the problem. Ms. O'Brien's mathematics mini-lessons were always conducted on the rug. She sat on a chair next to the board, close to her students. This physical proximity of the classroom community, in my opinion, also contributed to the feeling of support.

Similarly in English language arts, Ms. O'Brien always provided examples and walked the students through them to clarify the expectations for an activity. To support reading

comprehension, she provided students with guiding questions and sentence starters or sample answers. At times she also explained her thought processes out loud for her students as a model. In addition to the linguistic strategies, she used a variety of non-linguistic strategies to assure she was conveying her instruction clearly to her students. These strategies included strategic grouping, check-ins, use of visuals and artifacts, and use of technology.

The only caveat was that Ms. O'Brien spoke very fast in general. This became much more noticeable during the transcription process. Her instruction had the greatest number of statements marked as "inaudible" in this study. In addition, compared to the other three teachers, there was less enunciation and shift of intonation in her speech. Although Ms. O'Brien provided a lot of repetition in her instruction, in my opinion, her pace could have prevented comprehension if she had an emergent bilingual in her classroom. Ms. O'Brien was aware of this issue and had been trying to work on it, although it had not been easy: "I try to (*slow down*), I feel like I talk really fast when I teach sometimes. So I tried to come up, but I think that is something that is hard for me" (Interview transcription, 5.16.17).

The Eliot School Language Management Approaches

The Eliot School Language Management: "as Written"

Similar to the Wilson school, the Eliot school had no written language policy on their website, social media pages, or printed brochures. Principal Laurent explained that there were no written language policies dictating language use at their school. He doubted having such a policy would be even legal since the United States does not have an official language. On the contrary, he declared that, in line with the district policy for inclusiveness, the school valued cultural and linguistic diversity, and that was reflected on their school website. The "overview" of the school

on its website, confirmed Mr. Laurent's statement regarding the school mission to celebrate multiculturalism:

Eliot School is a diverse and dynamic learning community comprised of (*number of students*) students in grades K-5. Each spring the Eliot community gathers to celebrate the rich fabric of our many cultures by hosting a multicultural night. Families pull out all the stops preparing a multicultural feast reflective of our many countries of origin and families create informational booths allowing children to virtually visit nations around the world.

Ms. Cohen (Bruno's teacher) and Ms. Gonzalez (the ESL teacher) echoed the school's "mission" to celebrate diversity, rather than a "policy" for limiting or promoting the use of any language:

Ms. Cohen: I think that Eliot is proud of the diversity of its student body. That being said, there isn't anything in place in regards to policy that values or invalidates languages other than English. (Interview transcription, 5.16.17)

Yalda: Do you think this school has a language policy?

Ms. Gonzalez: No. Not at all. (Interview transcription, 5.16.17)

Ms. O'Brien (Tara's teacher) was the only one who wished for a more concrete policy or a stronger initiative for incorporating diversity in a systemic way at the school:

I kind of wish they had something. Not like you can't speak, but that it was more, more cultural stuff, more language stuff. I wish there was a little bit more of that... Like I know we have multicultural night but I almost wish like, not like every month, but I wish there was like a day where we celebrate or like my old school we had um, like around Christmas time, we had a family tradition project, and every grade would do it. And they'd have to talk about a family tradition based on their culture. So it could be Christmas, like what you celebrate Christmas, or it could just be Hanukkah. You know, you don't really hear about it that much. (Interview transcription, 5.16.17)

The Eliot School Language Management: "as Practiced"

There was a varying degree of familiarity and commitment to compliance with the state and district language policies among the teachers and principal at the Eliot school. In practice, the language policies of the Eliot school responded to the district and state-level policies in five main ways: (1) teacher certification, (2) the way school staff interpreted and regarded the state language policy, (3) ways in which the school complied with the state policy, (4) classroom

language management, and (5) parental involvement at the school and the school's recommendation about family language use.

Teacher certification.

In compliance with the state mandate, the teachers and the principal at the Eliot school were required to have the SEI endorsement. Although the policy had been in effect for about 15 years at the time of this study, the school staff mentioned that the deadline for certification was by the beginning of the 2016-17 school year. The teachers were given the opportunity to either “test out” or take an SEI course offered by the district or a local university. Ms. O’Brien took a 12-week course offered at the district level. However, Ms. Cohen studied independently and took the test (Massachusetts Test for Educator Licensure). She said she would have taken the course if she had “all the time in the world”, but due to its intensity, she decided to save her time by studying for the test. Mrs. Gonzalez had separate ESL and bilingual education licensures and did not have to take the same SEI courses as the rest of the school staff.

School staff's interpretations and viewpoints regarding the state language policy.

The classroom teachers and the principal at the Eliot had a generally positive view of the state language policy. Although Ms. Cohen and Ms. O’Brien admitted they did not fully understand the policy, they believed following the sheltered instruction model had made them more conscious of making their instruction accessible to all their students, without limiting them to incorporate students’ languages. Ms. Cohen attributed the absence of students’ languages in her instruction to the limitations of her own linguistic abilities rather than the state policy:

I can't say that I fully understand what the law is. But my understanding is that there was value placed on, on making sure all students from a diversity of backgrounds were being supported. And making sure that teaching best practice was, you know, was supporting the diversity in your room. (Interview transcription, 5.25.17)

Ms. O'Brien was similarly unsure of the nature of the law, but she believed taking the course had given her helpful instructional tools benefiting all her students, and "specifically kids who have a second or third or fourth language":

Ms. O'Brien: I know that there was something that made us do it, but I, from what I heard, it was like the, it was based on like the ACCESS testing. Is that what it was based off of? They said that they bubbled things in wrong? So I don't even know if that's what happened.

Yalda: Okay. Do you know what that law requires you, as a classroom teacher, to do?

Ms. O'Brien: No. Is that terrible?

Yalda: No! [laughs] That says something. Not about you, but about the system. You know? So then why do they require you to take SEI endorsement you think?

Ms. O'Brien: Well now that I've taken it, I think that it is helpful to know instructional strategies to reach all your students and in that class specifically kids who have a second or third or fourth language. So just like they teach special ed strategies, I think that, I think that's why we have that class, and I found it super helpful. (Interview transcription, 5.25.17)

The Eliot school principal also believed that the SEI certification had expanded the teachers' "tools of pedagogical approaches and strategies that they can use to deepen the language richness and vocabulary":

The professional development that they received kind of expanded their tools of pedagogical approaches and strategies that they can use to deepen the language richness and vocabulary of not just the students who are ELs, but any child, particularly children who may be living in language poor or language deficient environments. (Interview transcription, 5.25.17)

It is unclear whether Principal Laurent considered an overlap between "ELs" and "children who may be living in language poor or language deficient environments", but he seemed to believe implementing sheltered instruction helped compensate for students with one, or both, of those conditions.

Ms. Gonzalez (the ESL teacher) only knew about the SEI because she had taken a course that was a prerequisite for it. Additionally, she had been an instructor at a local teacher's college for another course aimed at training teachers of bilingual learners, which incorporated some of

the elements of the SEI model. The syllabus for the course followed state guidelines and she had to train teachers to interpret students' WIDA scores and plan their instruction with language and content objectives. Ms. Gonzalez believed while some of the strategies in the model were valuable, others were not as practical. Unlike Ms. Sullivan at the Wilson who was aware of most of the details in the policy and was closely involved with compliance with it, Ms. Gonzalez was not very informed about it. For the interview, she had asked to receive the questions ahead of time. When I entered her room to interview her, I saw her checking the Massachusetts Department of Education website: "I'm just looking up the laws in the department of education. You have all these questions about them and I am like, I don't know! We don't really receive guidelines about that. I follow research." (Field notes, 5.16.17). Despite not receiving any concrete guidelines, Ms. Gonzalez understood that the primary goal that the policy defined for her as an ESL teacher was teaching students to become English proficient:

I haven't been given any guidelines, however, um, I mean we are teaching English as a second language. So, the primary goal is that students become proficient in English, it is not that they are bilingual, it is not that we are going to be teaching any literacy in their first language or in further developing oral competencies in their other language. Really the goal is that they will be fluent in English and comparable with their English-speaking peers. That is the goal. So it is understood, I think, that we are teaching English. (Interview transcription, 5.25.17)

School compliance with the state policy.

According to Principal Laurent and Ms. Gonzalez, there were three ways their school had to show compliance with the state policy: (1) all the classroom teachers and the principal had to have SEI certification by the beginning of that year; (2) every 5 years when teachers renewed their license they had to have 15 professional development points related to teaching emergent bilinguals; and (3) the teachers had to be observed and evaluated by the principal on their implementation of the sheltered English instruction. The principal explained that his observations of the teachers were both informal and formal, which would be announced ahead of time. The

principal was required to evaluate the quality of the teachers' instruction and then provide written and oral feedback to them.

Since the school district had an "inclusive" approach towards education of emergent bilinguals, the Eliot school did not have any SEI classrooms. All emergent bilingual students were placed in mainstream classrooms, where they were supported by SEI-certified teachers who sheltered their instruction for emergent bilinguals and special education teacher aides who supported students with special needs. According to the Principal, the district had not sent guidelines on whether non-English languages could or could not be used for instruction, because it was assumed that English was the language of instruction by default since the students were placed in mainstream classrooms with predominantly English monolingual classmates:

Well, most by virtue of the fact that those children are in inclusion settings meaning they are with the English-speaking peers so the instruction primarily obviously has to take place in English because the majority of kids in that class are gonna be English-speaking only students. (Interview transcription, 5.25.17)

Additionally, since all emergent bilinguals were mainstreamed in this district, the ESL coordinators at the Eliot school did not need to submit paperwork showing the number of hours of English language instruction the students received inside their homerooms. As mentioned, she was not given any concrete guidelines to follow in her practice. In her role as the ESL coordinator, she was required to receive professional development from the Department of English Language Learners at the district level and then communicate those instructions to the teachers at her school in the form of PD modules. She believed if the teachers received the PDs more frequently, they would be more comfortable supporting emergent bilinguals in their classrooms. She predicted that would lessen her load as the ESL teacher as well.

The principal believed that the teachers were actually following their learning in the SEI course and were implementing the model in their instructional practices: "Most teachers they're

hungry for knowledge and if they take a course, and it makes sense and they're convinced that yeah that's the strategy that will work. They'll implement it and I've seen teachers implementing those strategies in the classroom" (Interview transcription, 5.25.17). The ESL coordinators (Ms. Gonzalez and her colleague, Ms. Kim) had a very different view of the teachers' implementation of strategies to shelter their instruction for bilingual learners: "The teachers are supposed to be sheltering the instruction...the classroom teachers, because they have the SEI endorsement. Is that really happening? No. In many of the classrooms absolutely not. Not at all" (interview transcription, 5.16.17). Ms. Gonzalez explained that the teachers were supposed to write lesson plans that included language objectives, language models, and strategic grouping to support students' language development, but the majority of them did not follow through. She added that some teachers took away valuable practical lessons from the SEI course, while many others were unhappy that they were pushed to get certified without receiving ongoing support to implement the model in the long run. Even the teachers who felt they understood the concepts "logically" had a hard time "connecting the dots" and realizing that the model required them to build background knowledge, provide language models for their students, and teach vocabulary, without expecting the students to do all the work on their own.

According to Ms. Gonzalez, this uneven implementation of the model among the teachers, sometimes in the same grade level, could widen achievement gaps among the children in the years to come:

So next year in first grade we are going to have this big gap. It is not because of proficiency level of the children when they came in. It is because of the type of instruction and support they received. So it is like night and day. You can look at their writing samples and see Woah! (Interview transcription, 5.16.17)

She believed the SEI course should have been followed by "coaching" in the same way the ESL coordinator of the district coached school ESL instructors. Ms. Gonzalez and her supervisor

designed a lesson plan together, the coach helped her implement it, and they debriefed afterwards to reflect on it. Ms. Gonzalez and Ms. Kim had offered to sit in the classrooms and provide similar feedback and support to the teachers. However, most of them felt “threatened” and “confused” by the offer because they believed they knew how to teach vocabulary and activate background knowledge by virtue of having the SEI certification. Therefore, getting the endorsement had given some teachers a false sense of assurance that the strategies were readily translated into their practice. According to Ms. Gonzalez, the school principal was invested in seeing a real change in the instructional practices and was willing to provide opportunities for additional professional development sessions in the following year. However, she doubted that would be effective unless more teachers were open to accepting the need for improvement in their practice.

Classroom Language Management.

Language Management in Bruno’s Class. Ms. Cohen did not limit the use of non-English languages in her classroom. Yet, she could not even recall her students ever asking her to use their languages. She attributed the absence of request from her students to the possibilities the instructional space provided for their heritage languages. She believed that teachers made policies for matters they struggled with. Accordingly, Ms. Cohen’s classroom language management had little to do with allowing non-English languages and more to do with using proper and “kind” language. Using proper language was one of the main struggles in her class. Ms. Cohen was aware that the “currency” in her classroom was English at the moment and she stood by it:

You know I set expectations around like language that is not acceptable. Like there’s a trend in my room to say shut up. So there is kindness expectation around language, like that is a policy. Does it always get followed? No. That is why it's a policy because that is a struggle. But I would say my classroom is definitely like English-based and favors like

that is the currency. Good or bad. That is where it is currently. (Interview transcription, 5.16.17)

Language Management in Tara's class. Ms. O'Brien believed her classroom did not have a language policy. Although she would hypothetically allow her students to use other languages, language choice had never been an issue in her class because of the linguistic makeup of the students at the school: "I feel like their language doesn't come into my classroom as much, if that makes any sense". In contrast, she referred to her teaching days in Florida where language management was a more conspicuous part of her decision-making as a teacher:

I've never like told them they could or couldn't (*use non-English languages*). I am totally fine with it...I just say Florida because that's where I had a lot of different languages, but a lot of kids where English wasn't their first language, they would use it. Like to speak to each other, not all day, but like we didn't really, I didn't necessarily prefer one language to another. And a lot of times I had the translators in my room. So it was very different down there. And it was good different. But it was also hard for me because I didn't know these languages. But I didn't want to take that away from them either. (Interview transcription, 5.16.17)

Ms. O'Brien's teaching experiences in Florida sounded similar to the experiences of the teachers at the Wilson school. She allowed the students to use their languages to talk to each other or to translate for their peers because she did not want them to lose their languages. However, even in Florida, she did not seem to actively incorporate the children's heritage languages in her practice in order to prevent the language loss.

Parental involvement at the school and school's recommendation about family language use.

Parental involvement was noticeably higher at the Eliot school in comparison to the Wilson school. Even the methods of communication between the parents and the school staff were different. Teachers at the Eliot school mostly contacted parents through email. Additionally, the parents exerted higher agency at this school. The school had a strong PTO

(Parent Teacher Organization), that had a website of its own which was linked on the school website. The PTO organized different events including a yearly fundraiser. On the PTO website, there was a form through which parents could volunteer to participate in those events.

Parents were also active in presenting their skills at the school. Each classroom had “room parents” who volunteered for the class-level activities including coaching students for math and writing, running math craft and art project stations, participating in writing celebrations, and making photocopies. Ms. Cohen sent a parent survey and volunteer form to her students’ homes at the beginning of each year in order to get to know her students and their families’ “expertise” better and also learn about the resources families could offer to support her instructional activities (see Figure 7.13). For instance, the grandmother who came to speak about the Civil Rights movement in Ms. Cohen’s class had been identified through these surveys. Nevertheless, Ms. Cohen was not satisfied with the extent of parental involvement at their school: “I don’t think we make space for them to come in as much as we should, just because time is very limited” (interview transcription, 5.16.17).

Family Questionnaire

Child’s Name: _____ Child’s Nickname _____

Child’s Birthday: _____ Name of Parents/Guardians: _____

What is your family structure? (ex: 2 brothers, 1 sister, mother)

What language is spoken at home?

What are your child’s strong interests and preferences? (Passions, likes, dislikes)

What are your impressions of your child as a thinker and learner?

How would you describe your child socially?

What are your goals for your child in fourth grade?

Please share any other information you feel we should know about your child.
(medications, allergies, special seat requirements)

How do you prefer that we contact you and send our weekly updates home?

If you would like, please use the back to write any additional comments or concerns you would like to share.

Volunteer Survey

As parents and family members, you play an important role in our classroom community. We firmly believe in the importance of parents, teachers and children all working together to build confident and successful learners.

There are a variety of ways you can become involved in the classroom. Below we have listed some suggestions. Feel free to add in your own ideas! Once we get settled into the year, we will contact you to set up specific ways you can help.

_____ Reading conferences with students

_____ Practicing math facts with students

_____ Technology Support

_____ Assembling class books of writing

_____ Chaperoning field trips

_____ Guest speaker in the area of _____

Other Ideas:

Parent Name: _____

Student Name: _____

Email: _____

I am available the following times: _____

Figure 7.13. Classroom survey and volunteer form.

In addition to these classroom surveys, when families first registered their children at the school, they received a survey that inquired about the language(s) spoken at home. If families indicated that they spoke a language other than English, the school secretary would arrange a meeting with the ESL coordinators. The secretary would ask if parents needed an interpreter for that meeting. During that meeting, the ESL coordinators asked parents a variety of questions to determine whether their child would need ESL services, before they “screened” them for their English language skills. The questions they asked parent inquired about: the language(s) parents speak to the child; the language the child uses to respond to parents and their siblings; the percentage the parents speak to their children in their heritage language and English; whether the child has literacy skills in their heritage language; the cultural activities the child participates in and outside of school; and the languages used in those activities and in any previous schooling experiences. After the initial registration, the ESL coordinators met occasionally with the families of emergent bilinguals for breakfast and coffee during the year.

The largest form of involvement of parents from other linguistic and cultural backgrounds was the multicultural night. Every spring the school invited parents from different cultural and ethnic backgrounds to present during that night on their language, cultural festivities, cuisine, and history, among other things. Each family was provided with a booth to give their presentation. Families also printed stickers representing their flags to give to the visitors. Many countries were represented at the Eliot school multicultural night during the time this study was conducted (see Figure 7.14).

Since Principal Laurent had joined the school earlier that year he had highlighted the multicultural night in order to reflect the school’s appreciation for ethnic, cultural, and linguistic diversity. However, as discussed in chapter 5, the extent of the participation of immigrant

families was very different based on their socioeconomic resources. Principal Laurent also admitted that despite his attempts to highlight the multicultural night and the initiative on understanding differences, there were still shortcomings in the systemic incorporation of the linguistic and cultural resources of the school community. The principal and the classroom teachers confirmed that they had observed families of higher socioeconomic status to be more involved in the school activities. They did not believe the families were holding back from participating in school activities because of a language barrier. They related parental involvement to financial resources, flexibility with work schedule, and even feeling connected to the school. These reasons align with the ones Bruno's mother mentioned about her limited involvement in school activities and the multicultural night.



Figure 7.14. Countries represented at the Eliot school multicultural night.

The school provided support in non-English languages to families in a few ways. As mentioned earlier, the school asked parents if they needed interpreters. Secondly, Ms. Gonzalez was available to Spanish-speaking families. Thirdly, the school “sometimes” sent home forms in

non-English languages. As indicated in chapter 5, neither Mrs. Montez nor Mrs. Hien received forms in their languages, although they both would have appreciated them, especially when their children were in lower grades and the mothers were less confident in English. The principal was aware of the shortages of the language support that the school provided. Yet, he seemed content that the school was at least doing “something”:

We could do a better job, I think for example before a lot of the communications that we send out, we try to translate as much as possible those documents so that parents are able to read those in their own language and feel connected that they know what’s going on. We also obviously, you know provide translators and we also have the multicultural night, but frankly these are not enough, there’s much more we could do... For example, PTO being done only in English, you know, a lot of the, while we translate some of the documents but not all of the documents are translated. So there’s a lot that could be done ... We could do more and could do better but we are doing some, which is good. (Interview transcription, 5.25.17)

In addition to a shortage of support for non-English languages in school communications, there were minimal conversations between the teachers and the parents about language use. The Eliot teachers only provided suggestions for language use in relation to content learning and only when the parents requested it. The teachers never instructed parents about the language they should use at home. Ms. Gonzalez was the only teacher who provided suggestions about language use at home. She urged parents to constantly read with their children, in any language they preferred. However, she also encouraged them to use their stronger language with their children in order to facilitate their linguistic development. She considered parents “child’s best language teacher”:

You should model the language that you are, that you feel the most comfortable and proficient at. And you should use vocabulary that’s, don’t dumb down your vocabulary. Be very specific about labels and things that you use because your child won’t know and you are your child’s best language teacher. (Interview transcription, 5.16.17)

She encouraged parents to keep using their heritage language, even if their children only respond in English. During her years of practice, Ms. Gonzalez had witnessed when parents who

were not English-dominant used English with their children, it often led to “a kind of subpar, I don’t know how to say that in a nice way but not a standard of English that is expected by the classroom teachers” (Interview transcription, 5.16.17). She, however, acknowledged that from the parents’ perspective, the decision to use English with their children is “logical”, because they want their children to develop English since they live in the United States. Yet, from her perspective it was “actually really counter-intuitive” because the children would lose their heritage language and develop “not the greatest English”. As mentioned earlier, Ms. Gonzalez mainly used Spanish with her children at home. However, she spoke English as her first language. Therefore, her experiences were very different from immigrant parents who could have suffered from not being proficient in English.

Lastly, Principal Laurent believed that the state educational language policies that were implemented in schools strongly shaped parents and children’s language beliefs and practices in non-educational spaces. In his opinion, when children’s heritage languages were absent from educational spaces, it signaled an “either or kind of trade off” about their identity to them. Consequently, he believed, children would read those signals and come to believe that in order to be “American” they need to leave their heritage languages behind. He believed children could accept their bilingual and bicultural identity if their languages and cultures were represented more significantly at schools:

They are looking at almost like as in “either or” kind of trade off when it doesn't have to be. You could be both. And if, I believe, if kids see their home languages being honored at the school level, then it tells them ‘yeah it’s actually cool to know another language’. And as they become more English proficient as much as being proficient in their home language, they will see for themselves that mastering their own lang, their home language doesn’t impact negatively their ability to be proficient and then this stops. When they realize that they can actually code switch, it becomes something huge for their self-esteem. They feel at home in their home culture and they feel at home in their adoptive culture and in everyone it benefits. (Interview transcription, 5.25.17)

By “honoring” children’s languages, principal Laurent was referring to “including” them in school spaces. He admitted that the extent of “honoring” was currently limited to translation services at his school.

Chapter 7 Summary

The Eliot school did not have a written policy about the use of languages. The school was more closely oriented towards celebration of diversity, multiculturalism, and multilingualism, than the actual use of those languages and cultures. The language beliefs articulated by the school staff reflected a similar sentiment of appreciation for diversity and inclusion. The teachers and the principal strongly believed that bilingualism was academically, cognitively, and socioculturally advantageous for children. Accordingly, they concurred that heritage language maintenance helped with the development of English in bilingual children. Moreover, they declared that a strong base in the English language helped bilinguals be more “well connected” and successful in the U.S. society. Although no one explicitly linked heritage language maintenance to sociocultural advantages within immigrant communities, principal Laurent and Ms. Gonzalez mentioned that including children’s languages and cultures in school spaces helped affirm their bicultural identity.

Although the district had never dictated the language of instruction to the school, the language was readily assumed to be English because it had to respond to the demographics of the majority of students in mainstream classrooms. The majority of the students were English-dominant at the Eliot school. Therefore, there was no need for a policy to allow or ban the use of non-English languages. Children’s languages neither entered, nor were they invited to be entered, in the instructional spaces. English was the omnipresent “power” and “currency” in nearly all spaces at the school (Foucault, 1991). Except for ESL lessons with Ms. Gonzalez, non-

English languages were incorporated on the periphery of education at the Eliot school during morning meetings, music or chorus lessons, and the yearly multicultural night. As the principal pointed out, the monolingual practices of the school did not honor the children's heritage, which would lead to a desire for assimilation in them. In one case when the librarian attempted for cultural representation in her library through the unit on children's books as windows and mirrors, she did not receive a high engagement from the children. That is no surprise given that the unit was done only in one month of the year during the weekly library hour. This unit could have been reinforced if the classroom teachers had aligned their units with the librarian's.

Lastly, in line with the state policy for sheltered English instruction, the focus of the Eliot school district and the office of English Language Learners was more heavily on training teachers to provide accessible English instruction to all children, rather than incorporation of non-English languages. Additionally, due to the short-lived nature of those trainings, they did not make a significant change in every teacher's practices and yielded uneven results in students' achievement. The linguistic and nonlinguistic strategies that were incorporated to "shelter" English-only practices were possibly helpful for bilingual children's academic English development. Yet, they all eventually favored the standardized American English, rather than positioning bilingual children as fully competent learners who could draw on all their linguistic and cultural resources for learning. Finally, there was a substantial shortage of cultural representation observed in the instructional practices. This could be partially explained by the mandated curricula and the standards that the classroom teachers had to follow in preparation for the standardized assessments. However, as seen in the case of Ms. Cohen's Civil Rights unit, alternative materials and meaningful instruction could be incorporated in line with the standards, even during the testing season.

Chapter 8

Discussion

When I set out to conduct this study, my purpose was to examine the connections between language policies in the four immigrant families with children enrolled in fourth grade and educational language policies at the schools, the districts, and the state of Massachusetts. My goal was to study the agency of the children, the parents, the teachers, and the principals as micro-level language policy arbiters, while examining if/how macro-policies were informing their language decisions. However, as I engaged in the data collection and data analysis, I came to see a much more dynamic interplay between language policies at home, school, and the state-level. I realized that the reality of language practices at homes and schools had little to do with legislated state policies and more to do with the monoglossic ideologies of the larger U.S. society. There is no doubt that these monoglossic ideologies were clearly prevalent in the state language policy as well (see Chapter 3 for analysis of Chapter 71A). However, the policy had never been communicated to the families, and the teachers knew little about its details and claimed not to consider it in their practices. Instead, the parents and the school staff claimed that their language decisions were ultimately determined by what best served interests of the children. However, the way they defined best interests of children was very much aligned with the monoglossic sentiments in the state language policy, which was also shaped by the ideologies recurrent in the U.S. history (See Chapter 1). Therefore, instead of examining whether the language policies at homes and schools were congruent with one macro policy, I focused the culminating analysis on if/how language policies at homes and schools were linked.

In line with previous scholarship in critical applied linguistics (Flores, 2013b, 2013c, 2014; Johnson, 2013; Pennycook, 2002; Tollefson, 2006), this study takes up Foucault's

“genealogical method” that looks to language policies of the past in order to understand the current policies and practices. More specifically, this study applies Foucault’s notion of governmentality in effort to understand language policies in schools and families as representations of monoglossic ideologies rooted in the U.S. history, rather than focusing on their links to one state language policy. As explained in chapter 2, governmentality is defined as governments’ use of “institutions, procedures, analyses and reflections, the calculations and tactics” to make their power omnipresent in the target populations who define, and redefine, the interests of the state and function as self-governing apparatuses (Foucault, 1991, p.102). It is important to note that although this study applies Foucault’s notion of governmentality in a generic sense in order to understand language socialization in post-colonial United States, Foucault did not address the role of colonization as an essential element to the emergence of governmentality (Stoler, 1995). Flores (2012, 2013b, 2013c) has further specified Foucault’s generic use of governmentality by using the phrase “nation-state/colonial governmentality” in order to demonstrate “the mutually constitutive nature of the formation of nation-states and colonization” (Flores, 2013b, p.5).

Scholars such as Pennycook (2002, 2006) who have applied governmentality to critical studies of language suggest shifting the focus of language policy research from macro-level policies to examining language practices within social institutions (e.g. law, education, medicine, printing) and their instruments (e.g. books, regulations, exams) for reflections of those policies and their creation of “governable ethnolinguistic subjects”. Similarly, Flores (2014) draws on Foucault’s notion of “governmentality” and Pennycook’s (2002) “language governmentality” to connect the monoglossic ideologies in the current language policies (such as the English-only policy of Massachusetts) to the attempts of the early U.S. leaders to unify the new nation in

multiple ways including establishing a common American English language. Rather than reverting to monarchical ways of imposing power in the British Empire, the early leaders decided that “ideal citizens” could be socialized in ways to adopt the mindsets intended by the leaders and become “Republican Machines” who would perform in the interests of the republic in a longer term (Rush, 1786, pp. 16–17; as cited in Flores, 2014). Education was one of the main means through which that socialization was applied.

The culminating analysis of the findings from this study showed that language policies at homes and schools were strongly linked through two channels: “spoken dialogues” between homes and schools about language use, and “unspoken dialogues” carried out between them through children as language policy agents. By claiming that family and school language policies were “strongly linked”, I do not suggest that they were necessarily identical. The language policies at homes and schools occasionally showed disconnects and misalignments at the surface-level, but they were ultimately “linked” and shaped by larger power structures that defined the value of languages for the participants. Besides occasional spoken dialogues between homes and schools on the subjects of language, they were “linked” through unspoken dialogues, which were manifested in the language beliefs of the children, the parents, and the school staff as well as the language practices of homes and schools. The language beliefs of the participants reflected the monoglossic ideologies of the larger U.S. society, although they were rebranded in the form of resource-based views on bilingualism. Children, who were language policy agents in both contexts, communicated these beliefs between homes and schools through their increasing preference for English and influenced language practices in both contexts.

This discussion chapter will address the spoken and unspoken dialogues between school and family language policies and their relations to the state language policy as well as the

societal monoglossic ideologies. Within that, I present a comparative analysis of language beliefs, practices, and management approaches in the families and the schools in the urban and the suburban context with links to previous studies in the literature. The chapter follows with implications for education, policy, and research and closes with conclusions. Before starting the discussion, I would like to emphasize that the purpose of investigating the traces of monoglossic societal ideologies in language beliefs and practices of a child, a parent, or a member of school staff is not to blame an individual, a family, or a school. Rather this discussion attempts to unpack how omnipresent and powerful the societal ideologies can be even for those who value bilingualism and genuinely care for the future of bi/multilingual children.

Dialogues between Educational and Family Language Policies

As mentioned previously, the findings showed that the family language policies and school language policies were strongly linked. Despite variations in family language policies and school language policies within and across the urban and the suburban contexts, the links between homes and schools were strikingly similar in both contexts. These links were established through two channels: the “spoken dialogues” between homes and schools and the “unspoken dialogues” carried out between them through children as language policy agents.

Spoken dialogues.

The “spoken dialogues” between educational and family language policies were present under three main themes in the data: (1) parental involvement at the school and teachers’ recommendations about family language use (2) family language decisions influenced by the schools, and (3) parents’ awareness of the district and state language policies. These links were established through interactions identified during analysis of the interviews with the parents and the school staff. Parental involvement was much more limited at the urban school (Wilson)

compared to the suburban school (Eliot). The Wilson school parents came in to the school mainly for open houses and parent-teacher conferences, whereas at the Eliot school parents were more engaged in the PTO (Parent Teacher Organization), presenting their skills at the school events, and volunteering in classroom activities such as being “room parents”. Yet, family language policies were not explicitly in conversation with educational language policies in either context. In other words, the classroom teachers never instructed the parents about the language they should use at home and the parents did not seek advice from the teachers about their home language use either. Home language practices were regarded a familial matter, both by the parents and the classroom teachers. Therefore, the topic was never really discussed between them. Teachers at both schools occasionally provided supplemental curricular materials such as glossaries for math and English language arts as “extra support” for homework when families were not fully proficient in English or when they specifically asked for them.

Ms. Gonzalez (ESL teacher at the Eliot school) was the only one who provided suggestions about language use at home. She urged parents to constantly read with their children, preferably in their stronger language, in order to facilitate the children’s linguistic development. She considered parents “child’s best language teacher” and encouraged them to persist in using their heritage language, even when the children responded in English. It is worth repeating that Ms. Gonzalez was the only teacher in this study who was raising her own children to be bilingual. In conclusion, the teachers generally refrained from making suggestions about home language use and in cases they did, it did not align with the state recommendation to “encourage family members and others to provide personal English language tutoring to such children as are English learners, and support these efforts by raising the general level of English language knowledge in the community” (Chapter 71A of Massachusetts General Laws, section 8).

Unspoken dialogues.

In addition to the occasional exchanges between families and schools regarding language use, there were significant links between them through what I would like to call “unspoken dialogues”. The comparative analysis of language beliefs of the children, the parents, and the school staff as well as the language practices at homes and schools revealed that language policies in families and schools were strongly linked by the monoglossic ideologies of the larger U.S. society, despite supporting bilingualism as a resource for success. These ideologies were communicated between homes and schools through children, and led language decisions in both contexts to increasingly favor English over time. Those language decisions were reflected in the participants’ articulation of their language beliefs as well as the progression of their language practices overtime.

Family language beliefs in the urban and the suburban contexts. The case studies of the four families who participated in this study show that language policy in immigrant families is a very complex and multifaceted concept. Although the unit of study is much smaller when studying families, compared to research on language policies in educational contexts, unpacking policies in families can be similarly complicated because they reflect ideologies and policies at higher societal levels. Additionally, in contrast to studying educational policy at macro levels, there is no legislation process, policy texts, and often no verbal agreement that establish “de jure” policies. Language policies in families are established, and re-established, “as lived” (de facto) by all family members. The policies are determined through a push and pull of agencies between family members who evaluate, and reevaluate, their preferences based on what their lived experiences show them would secure the best social standing for them, and their family (Curd-Christiansen, 2009).

All the four parents in this study believed in the importance of maintaining their heritage languages for two main reasons. Some of them described the value of their heritage language maintenance as a way to hold on to their roots and to preserve their children's connection to grandparents and extended family members during visits to their home country or grandparents' visits to the U.S. (Brown, 2011; Kaveh, 2017; King & Fogle, 2006b; Li, 1999; Tannenbaum, 2003; Wong-Fillmore, 1991). Others described the value of their heritage language in relation to the socioeconomic capital it entailed in the English speaking society, such as finding better job opportunities. Two of the parents compared the “free” cost to teach their heritage language to their children to the price English monolingual families had to pay for their children to become bilingual.

Although all these benefits signal parents' investment in maintaining their heritage languages, those that link heritage languages to economic benefits in the U.S. inherently make them contingent on English language proficiency. All four parents expressed that English was, or would become, their child's “first language” by virtue of being born in the U.S. and growing up in an English-dominant society (See Appendix 11 for a summary of comparative analysis of parental language beliefs). These parental beliefs align with the statement in the state language policy that, “Immigrant parents are eager to have their children become fluent and literate in English, thereby allowing them to fully participate in the American Dream of economic and social advancement” (see Table 8.1). However, the state policy leaves out that immigrant parents also value maintenance of their heritage languages, although at times to a lesser extent than English.

Table 8.1.
Comparative Analysis of State Policy's Projection of Parents' Views and Parents' Voices

Chapter 71A Section 1	Parents' views			
	Arturo's Mother	Lidia's Father	Bruno's Mother	Tara's Mother
(b) Immigrant parents are eager to have their children become fluent and literate in English, thereby allowing them to fully participate in the American Dream of economic and social advancement;	English and Spanish are equally important because of their global dominance.	It is very important that Lidia learns academic English very well.	I would be sad if Bruno lost Portuguese. It's Bruno's first language.	Tara has to keep Mandarin to understand her Chinese part.
	I would like my children to be bilingual in the future.	English is Lidia's first language because she was born here.	English is very important because it will ultimately be Bruno's first language.	That is her root. I would be very sad if Tara lost it.
	My children's future is in English. That should be clear.	Basic oral proficiency in Creole is sufficient.		Mandarin is Tara's second language.
	If they are from a nation whose language is English then they have to have a good English.			English is more important than Mandarin. It is Tara's first language because she lives in an English speaking country.
	My role is to give and reinforce Spanish. The country's role is to give and reinforce English. But the two have to go hand in hand.			

Similar to the parents, all four children considered bilingualism beneficial. They believed that despite the occasional challenges that their bilingualism presented (such as confusion or difficulty in fully expressing themselves), it facilitated their communication with more people and made them smarter and more aware of the world around them (Lillie, 2016). The children's attitudes toward their languages were shaped by the ways speaking each of their languages made them feel in their surrounding environment. Three out of the four children (Arturo, Lidia, and Tara) felt relatively proud and "happy" to speak their heritage languages (See Appendix 12 for a summary of comparative analysis of children's language beliefs). Yet, Arturo felt proudest of

speaking Spanish when he was in his hometown in the Dominican Republic, with no English speakers around him. Lidia was proudest of speaking Cape Verdean Creole when she was learning it as a child and was more fluent in it. Similarly, Tara felt very proud of being a Mandarin speaker during the Chinese New Year and the yearly multicultural night at her school. Bruno was the only child who currently felt “normal” speaking his heritage language. However, he recalled feeling “special” when he first came to the school and found out he was the only Portuguese-speaking student. Similar to their parents, the four children considered knowing English very important in an English-speaking society. They all had a pragmatic view of languages and were very cognizant that English was essential for survival in this country, albeit for different purposes (Wong-Fillmore, 1991). Arturo, Tara, and Bruno connected the importance of English to the ability to communicate with English speakers while Lidia linked English specifically to the ability to communicate with her teachers. Furthermore, Tara considered English and Mandarin equally important, whereas Bruno considered English “special” because he could not imagine doing any of his main daily activities such as “speaking” and “going to school” without it.

Accordingly, the children’s attitudes towards their languages were also greatly shaped by their daily experiences at the intersection of home and school. For instance, although Bruno sometimes felt insecure about his family’s socioeconomic status in comparison to his peers, he proudly self-identified as “an immigrant” (despite being born in the U.S.) and felt “special” as the only Portuguese-speaking student at his school. However, he was also aware that he had no choice but to speak English at his school, due to its demographics. According to his mother, Bruno’s language preference at home quickly took after the language practices at his school once he finished first grade. Also, while Arturo was in a school context with many Spanish-speaking

peers and supportive teachers who incorporated his language, he vividly observed the overbearing dominance of the larger English-speaking context. He felt embarrassed speaking English and was not very proud of speaking Spanish in presence of English speakers “here”, in the U.S.

Language beliefs of the staff at the urban and the suburban schools. There were some variations in the school staff’s language beliefs, at both schools, based on their personal experiences with bilingualism and multiculturalism. Teachers and principals who were proficient in other languages (Ms. Sullivan, Ms. Gonzalez, principal Hailey, and principal Laurent) had a deeper knowledge of linguistic and cultural development in bilingual children. The two principals were both immigrants from the Caribbean and were the only educational staff of color in this study. They both shared an appreciation for bilingualism and an understanding of bilingual development processes. However, they had different approaches for the way they translated those values in their leadership. Other school staff with immediate family members who were bilingual (Ms. Taylor and Ms. O’Brien) also had some sense of understanding, and appreciation, for linguistic and cultural development in bilingual children and their parents (See Appendix 13 for a summary of comparative analysis of school Staff’s language beliefs).

The Wilson school principal (Ms. Hailey) was more critical of linguistic and cultural experiences of immigrant communities of color in the U.S., as she reflected on her personal experiences of living in a biracial family after immigrating to the U.S. as a teenager. She applied some of those experiences in positioning emergent bilinguals at her school (specifically those in SEI classes) in instructional spaces that empowered them. On the other hand, the Eliot school’s principal (Mr. Laurent) who came to the U.S. for his studies in high school had very different experiences than Ms. Hailey’s, and admittedly did not face many challenges. His approach

towards children's languages and cultures were more skewed towards symbolic celebration of diversity and inclusion, rather than problematizing the elimination of their languages and cultures in the U.S. society. Yet, even principal Laurent discussed how monoglossic practices of schools that did not honor children's heritage led to a desire for assimilation in them rather than preparing them to be bilingual and bicultural.

Shared belief: embracing bilingualism with English in the fine print. The children, the parents, and the school staff who participated in this study unanimously valued bilingualism and biliteracy as important skills. Some parents and school staff referred to "research", in a general sense, as they listed a myriad of benefits for bilingualism including cognitive, linguistic, academic, professional, and societal advantages (August & Shanahan 2006; Bialystok, 2001; Brisk, 2008; Brisk et al., 2004; Collier, 1995; Cummins, 1980). Some school staff also referred to research to emphasize the importance of heritage languages for cross-linguistic transfers and helping English language development (Cummins, 1979). The parents also believed in the importance of bilingualism and heritage language maintenance without worrying it would interfere with their children's English language development. This departure from subtractive views of bilingualism among immigrant parents from various social classes had been previously documented in research on bilingual families (King & Fogle, 2006b).

In addition to the advantages listed above, the family members and the school staff mentioned some resource-based, neoliberal values for heritage language maintenance and bilingualism in relation to enhanced career opportunities for children in the future. The issue with this resource-based view in a racially stratified society such as the U.S. is that it tends to prioritize bilinguals who are White and speak English as their primary language, and position bilinguals with a non-English primary language as the underclass. As Flores (2016) explains, "In

a society with hierarchies created by hegemonic Whiteness, language as a resource for all is likely to benefit those who most closely fit the ideals of hegemonic Whiteness—namely, White middle- and upper-class students and their families” (pp. 31-32). In addition to career-related benefits, some of the children and the teachers mentioned that bilingualism was useful for traveling to other countries. These benefits tokenize heritage languages based on the values of White English monolingual society, rather than valuing benefits of heritage languages within the speech community. Katznelson and Bernstein (2017) explain that the value of languages in these neoliberal processes is twofold: “First language becomes an instrument for profit or another way of “adding value” to human capital. Second, and perhaps more importantly, language is also the medium in which “profit” discourse is constructed and spread and through which neoliberal ideology is naturalized as commonsense” (p.13). In other words, neoliberalism promotes multilingualism as a commodity and reinforces the importance of English by valuing a new elite class of English-dominant multilingual individuals who serve the interests of transnational corporations (Flores, 2013a).

The language beliefs of the participants fully align with Section 1(a) of the state language policy that describes English as “The leading world language for science, technology, and international business, thereby being the language of economic opportunity” (see Table 8.2 for a summary of children, parents, and school staff’s language beliefs in relation to the state policy). Although the children, the parents, and the school staff described “bilingualism” as the language of opportunity, rather than English, they inherently made the opportunities created by bilingualism contingent on English language proficiency. Except in three cases (Lidia’s father, Ms. Murphy, and Ms. Sullivan), heritage language maintenance was not linked to cultural and familial benefits in the United States. Heritage languages were only deemed valuable when they

supplemented strong English language proficiency. No one regarded maintaining heritage languages, on their own, vital for functioning successfully in the personal or societal spaces in the U.S. society. The value of heritage languages was even lower regarded for languages that were less dominant in the U.S. and the world such as Cape Verdean Creole. On the other hand, all but one of the participants spoke to the importance of English for bilingual children because of its dominance in the U.S. society. The only person who problematized the dominance of English and its historical impacts on marginalizing heritage languages was the Wilson school ESL teacher, Ms. Sullivan.

Table 8.2.
Summary of Comparative Analysis of Children, Parents, and School Staff's Language Beliefs about English in relation to the State Policy

Chapter 71A statement about English	Children	Parents	School Staff
Section 1 (a) The English language is the common public language of the United States of America and of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts. It is spoken by the vast majority of Massachusetts residents, and is also the leading world language for science, technology, and international business, thereby being the language of economic opportunity;	<i>Arturo</i> : It Embarrasses me to speak English. It's very important to know it for communicating with people.	<i>Arturo's mother</i> : Future of my children is in English in this country. I will probably use more English with my children in the future.	<i>Ms. Murphy</i> : The end result is for children is to become successful and comfortable learners in English.
	<i>Lidia</i> : English is how and when I know how to communicate with my teachers.	<i>Lidia's farther</i> : It is very important that Lidia learns academic English very well. English is Lidia's first language because she was born here.	<i>Ms. Taylor</i> : It is a different world now than the time everyone was expected to learn English when coming to this country. But children should ultimately transition to mainstream, English classrooms.
	<i>Bruno</i> : Speaking English is special because without English I could not speak, go to school, help my mother, or do anything.	<i>Bruno's mother</i> : English is very important because it will ultimately be Bruno's first language.	<i>Ms. Sullivan</i> : The U.S. history and the current education system impose English and marginalize heritage language, which is "terrible" and unjust.
	<i>Tara</i> : Knowing English is really important because I live here and have to know English as well as Mandarin.	<i>Tara's mother</i> : English is more important than Mandarin. It is Tara's first language because she lives in an English speaking country.	<i>Principal Hailey</i> : I think to understand the way of the land in which you live in and are expected to navigate and function, you also need to understand the language and understand it really well so that you aren't taken advantage of and that you can think critically.

Ms. Cohen: English carries social capital. It is valuable for students to express themselves well (orally and through writing).

Ms. O'Brien: Knowing English is very important for children because they are here and English is the language "we all" speak.

Principal Laurent: Knowing English is extremely important for children to be connected and be a part of the community.

Schools and families seem to have progressed from a subtractive view of bilingualism that regarded "language-as-problem" and urged emergent bilinguals to replace their home language with the standardized societal language (García, 2009; Ruiz, 1984). Ideologically, everyone in this study had an additive view of bilingualism and perceived heritage "language-as-resource" for English language development and bilingualism, rather than a hindrance (Ruiz, 1984). However, this view overwhelmingly reflects the state policy and the historical monoglossic ideologies of the U.S. society, as it takes English monolingualism as the norm when evaluating linguistic diversity. As García (2009) argues, subtractive and additive perspectives on bilingualism function similarly in preserving the monoglossic ideologies, despite their different appearances. While the subtractive view explicitly calls for replacement of heritage languages to make room for the societal language, the additive perspective considers bilingualism of value only if the standardized societal language is secured. In other words, additive approaches "attempt to reframe the problem of language diversity by emphasizing respect for the home linguistic practices of minoritized students while acknowledging the importance of developing standardized language skills" (Flores & Rosa, 2015, p.151).

Additionally, although the additive views of bilingualism seem race-neutral, they continue to reinforce hegemonic Whiteness by valuing White English-dominant bilinguals over people of color who are also bilingual but speak a non-English language as their primary language (Flores, 2016). Moreover, although schools and families reported that they did not know a great deal about the state language policy, their language beliefs were reminiscent of the monoglossic sentiments in that policy, which are rooted in sociohistorical attempts in the U.S. to establish a standardized American English. Despite the progress to resource-based views of bilingualism, the schools and the families are yet to take on “language-as-right” orientation (Ruiz, 1984) and see merit in heritage languages for cultural and familial values determined within speech communities, without legitimizing them by comparing them to values of English monolingual society.

Family Language practices and management approaches in the urban and the suburban contexts. The language practices of the four families varied greatly based on the language proficiency of the people involved in a conversation, the people surrounding the conversation, and the topic that was being discussed. These conditions align with the extended conditions that Spolsky’s (2004) language policy model defines for language choice: speakers’ language proficiency, the desire to achieve an advantage by using their stronger language, and the desire to achieve an advantage by accommodating the wishes of a given audience (see Figure 2.1, Chapter 2). Arturo’s family members exclusively communicated in Spanish; in Bruno’s family English strongly dominated the conversations with the exception of occasional Portuguese interactions initiated by the mother; Tara and her mother used both English and Mandarin and communicated with Tara’s father in English; and in Lidia’s family there was a fluid use of both English and Cape Verdean Creole, especially between Lidia and her father.

Although this fluid bilingual use, referred to as “translanguaging” (among other terms), was only present in Lidia’s family in this study, it is regarded as a common “discursive norm” in many bilingual households (García & Wei, 2014, p.23). From this view, bilinguals fluidly draw from their linguistic repertoire to communicate and to make sense of their bilingual world (García 2009, 2011).

Despite the variations in their beliefs and practices, three of the four families described a clear, and at times sudden, shift from frequent heritage language use to English language dominance as their children began schooling. The only exception to this progression was Arturo, which was expected based on the fact that he had spent most of his life in the Dominican Republic and was still Spanish-dominant. Even in his family, both Arturo and his mother predicted that English would become dominant in their practices as he became more fluent in it.

The impact of school as one of the most important contexts shaping immigrants’ dispositions toward languages has been previously documented (Howard et al., 2003; Noro, 1990; Schirling et al., 2000). In contrast to previous studies, these parents did not decrease their heritage language use because they were worried about language confusion in their children (King & Fogle, 2006a) or risking their child’s English language development (Howard et al., 2003). Although most parents valued their heritage languages and set out to maintain them when their children were young, they increasingly used more English with their children as they went through elementary school (Park et al., 2012) for two main reasons: 1) The parents either made a strategic choice that would best serve their children’s academic and professional success, given their language beliefs described earlier; and/or 2) they responded to their children’s language preference and increasing English proficiency and got “caught up” in English (using Bruno’s mother’s words) that was dominating home conversations.

This progression of language practices is aligned with a part of the state language policy’s prediction that children will acquire English “rapidly” if they are taught in English “as soon as they enter school” (Chapter 71A, Section 1.e & 1.f, see Table 8.3). However, whether children will learn English both “rapidly and effectively” and will “acquire full fluency and literacy... if they are taught that language in the classroom as soon as they enter school” is nearly impossible. Research on language development of bilingual children shows that it takes an average of six years for those who start in kindergarten and receive quality education in both of their languages (with at least half of the time dedicated to their first language), for a minimum of six years, to achieve grade-level achievement across the school curriculum in English. This duration can be extended to seven to ten years for those with no schooling in their first language (Collier & Thomas, 2017).

Table 8.3.
Summary of Language Practices at Home and School

Chapter 71A of MA General Laws	Child	Home Language Practices Before Starting School	School	Current Language Practices Home
Section 1-(e) Immigrant children can easily acquire full fluency and literacy in a new language, such as English, if they are taught that language in the classroom as soon as they enter school. (f) Therefore it is resolved that: all children in Massachusetts public schools shall be taught English as rapidly and effectively as possible.	Arturo	Spanish	Both English and Spanish	Exclusively Spanish
	Lidia	Cape Verdean Creole	English only	English and Cape Verdean Creole
	Bruno	Portuguese and English	English only	Mostly English, Portuguese used when mother pushed for it.
	Tara	Mandarin and English	English only	Some Mandarin with the mother, and individual words in Cantonese with the father, but predominantly English.

In addition to variations in language practices among families, there were disparities between language beliefs and practices within each family, due to the realities of English speaking world around them. Families used their language management approaches to alter those

language practices and bring them closer to their beliefs. Similar to many other bilingual families studied in previous research, these four families used a variety of strategies to maintain their heritage languages including reading books, watching TV, traveling to parents' home countries, inviting grandparents, and attending community-based events conducted in their language such as cultural celebrations or services at the church (Bayley et al., 1996; Kaveh, 2017; Park et al., 2012; Phinney et al., 2001). All the parents and the children in this study described travels to the parents' home countries highly effective, but it was a complicated solution depending on families' socioeconomic background, the distance between the U.S. and their country of origin, and the family's legal status in the U.S. Tara's family had the highest socioeconomic status in this study, which gave her additional advantages in accessing resources in her heritage language and culture including yearly visits to China, attending a Chinese program on the weekends, affording to present at the school multicultural night, and being surrounded by Chinese-American family friends who bought her books in Mandarin. However, according to Tara's mother, only the visits to China had proven to be effective for Tara's Mandarin proficiency. On the other hand, despite the limited financial resources in Arturo's family, his mother was always searching for Spanish books that were linguistically advanced on the Internet, through Arturo's teacher, or during her visits to the Dominican Republic. She also frequently borrowed books from a local library for Arturo. Yet, Arturo's mother believed the most effective strategy for maintaining their heritage language at home was daily interactions through oral conversations and reading with her children. This aligns with previous research on language practices in bilingual families (Bayley et al., 1996; Kang, 2013; Park et al., 2012).

In conclusion, the participating families in this study showed great variations in their language policies and the many factors that contributed to establishing them. The families came

from different racial, ethnic, linguistic, and socioeconomic backgrounds. They lived in different neighborhoods and had different immigration stories, socioeconomic resources, jobs, levels of education, and bi/multilingual proficiencies. Accordingly, their family language policies were determined by a myriad of factors including: the parents and the children's language proficiencies, socioeconomic status, family values, presence of relatives and the community around them, families' perceptions of success, lived experiences of the parents and the children (including children's schooling), and demographics of their house and school neighborhood(s) (Canagarajah, 2008; Curdt-Christiansen, 2009; Schirling et al., 2000).

Language policies in the families were established, and re-established, as they lived their lives and evaluated, and reevaluated, their preferences based on what they considered would ensure the best social standing for them. Although this study confirms that parents' (or caregivers') language beliefs and practices are a very strong predictor of language practices in bilingual children (De Houwer, 2007; Fishman, 1991; Hakuta & D'Andrea, 1992; Kim Park, 2007), it also shows that the contextual factors outside home can be as significant. These internal and contextual factors can vary greatly from one family to another, regardless of the urban or the suburban context. Additionally, the influence of these factors can be transient with the passage of time within each family. Sociopolitical, cultural, and economic conditions of the society are not static, neither are immigrant families' experiences. Children, and parents reevaluate their language beliefs and practices as live their lives in their immediate environments and the larger sociopolitical context.

Language practices and management approaches at the urban and the suburban schools. In line with previous research on the English-only policies in Massachusetts, California and Arizona, the findings of this study showed a level of contradiction between the state

language policy and the language beliefs and instructional practices at the two schools (de Jong, 2008; Grijalva & Jimenez-Silva, 2014; Maxwell-Jolly, 2000; Rios-Aguilar et al., 2012; Sanchez, 2006; Schirling et al., 2000). Despite performing under an English-only state law, neither the urban school nor the suburban school had an official language policy promoting English. In fact, the two schools did not have an official policy specifying any type of language use on their websites or other publicly available platforms.

Given that the two schools were situated in two different districts, they followed different procedures to officially comply with the state policy. The Wilson school had to fully implement an SEI model and have separate SEI classrooms for emergent bilingual students. However, with support from collaborations with local universities, the school had been able to obtain an exemption (verbally) from state officials to place emergent bilingual students in upper elementary grades (grades three to five) in mainstream classrooms. Additionally, based on the availability of the ESL teacher, the emergent bilinguals at all grade levels met with her for additional support outside their classrooms. The Wilson school ESL teacher was also in charge of foreseeing compliance. She documented ESL minutes that the students in the upper grades received in mainstream classrooms. In contrast, the Eliot school followed the district's "inclusion model", through which all students were mainstreamed and received pullout ESL services or push-in special needs assistance, as needed. Therefore, there was no pressure on the ESL teachers to document ESL instructional minutes inside classrooms. The principals at both schools were ultimately in charge of observing classroom instruction to ensure the quality of sheltered instruction, not the choice of language.

In contrast to previous research conducted during earlier years of implementation of the Unz initiatives in Massachusetts, California or Arizona, the teachers in this study seemed much

less informed about the details of the policy and did not have strong feelings in response to the initiative. The classroom teachers were never given any specific guidelines for including or excluding non-English languages. In general, the teachers' extent of awareness at both schools was that the policy required them to have SEI certification in attempt to effectively "shelter", or scaffold, their instruction to facilitate every student's content learning and language development. The teachers' definitions of sheltered English instruction generally align with the state policy's description of sheltered Instruction that "Nearly all classroom instruction is in English but with the curriculum and presentation designed for children who are learning the language" (Chapter 71A, Section 2.e). However, it contrasts with the second part of the definition stating that, "Although teachers may use a minimal amount of the child's native language when necessary, no subject matter shall be taught in any language other than English, and children in this program learn to read and write solely in English".

All the eight staff members claimed that their language decisions were ultimately led by what they believed best served their students, rather than compliance with the policy. Serving the needs of their students sometimes required using non-English languages. Although the teachers did not surpass the minimal amount of using non-English languages, the inhibitor was not compliance, but the teachers' limited bilingual skills. Therefore, they functioned as "language policy arbiters" who appropriated the policy based on their local context, rather than merely implementing the policy that was imposed on them from above (Johnson & Johnson, 2015b). At times, the teachers were "policy makers" who established their own policy without awareness of the state policy.

The observations shed further light on the practiced (de facto) policies of the two schools regarding the inclusion of students' languages and cultures in response to their language

proficiencies. The Wilson school teachers functioned in the form of a collaborative community with their students to offer every linguistic resource they possessed to help emergent bilinguals (Arturo in this case) comprehend instruction and conversations in their classrooms. According to principal Hailey, having newcomers with limited English proficiency was a normal instructional challenge for her staff: “That is not seen as a barrier. It is just like, this is a fact that presents itself. We have to come up with a strategy or different ways to get beyond that” (Interview transcription, 5.23.17). The student population at the Wilson school that was largely bilingual undoubtedly facilitated some use of bilingual strategies. Additionally, the emergent bilingual student in this study (Arturo) spoke Spanish, which was one of the most commonly spoken languages at his school and allowed for more opportunities for peer translation. Lastly, given the global dominance of Spanish, there were more resources that his teachers could draw from, despite their limited proficiency in Spanish.

Although there were no recently arrived emergent bilingual students in the two Eliot classrooms that were observed, I would assume (based on the observations) that building a collaborative support network similar to the Wilson school would have been unlikely. The Eliot school students in the classes that I observed rarely shared a common language. In cases they did, the students were mostly English dominant. As Tara’s teacher, Ms. O’Brien, pointed out, the children’s heritage languages barely appeared in the instructional spaces. It is important to add that the languages were not invited to those spaces either. Due to the absence of an urgent need for including heritage languages, the Eliot school took a “celebratory” approach for inclusion of non-English languages in the sidelines including morning meetings, music lessons, and multicultural night.

The observations further revealed that despite the differences in the approaches for

supporting newcomers, the two schools were strikingly similar when there were no emergent bilinguals present. As the case studies of Arturo and Lidia's school experiences showed (See Chapter 6), the teachers mainly incorporated non-English languages in their instruction when there was an emergent bilingual student with limited English proficiency and a common heritage language background such as Spanish. As inclusive and supportive the bilingual practices were in Arturo's classes, they were viewed as a "means to an end" and were transformed to monolingual practices as soon as emergent bilingual children showed more proficiency in English. At that point, the teachers at both schools engaged in targeted, and exclusive, instruction in and for English without systematic incorporation of children's languages and cultures. In line with the state language policy, the teachers considered it their responsibility to teach English:

The government and the public schools of Massachusetts have a moral obligation and a constitutional duty to provide all of Massachusetts's children, regardless of their ethnicity or national origins, with the skills necessary to become productive members of our society. Of these skills, literacy in the English language is among the most important.

(Chapter 71A of Massachusetts General Laws, section 1.c)

Although the teachers did not explicitly describe English as one of the most important skills for being "productive members of our society", they considered it their responsibility to teach it and ensure success for their students. As mentioned earlier in the discussion of language beliefs, the teachers strongly believed in the importance of English for bilingual children because of its dominance in the U.S. society.

Despite this commonality in the teachers' language beliefs and practices favoring English, they showed some variations within and across the two schools (as described by the teachers and observed) in the ways they delivered their English-only instruction in response to

the cultural and linguistic knowledge and needs of their students. The teachers used a variety of strategies from some of the most popular models for linguistically and culturally responsive teaching in the field of education for bilingual children (Echevarria et al., 2004; Ladson-Billings, 1995, 2009; Lucas & Villegas, 2011). These linguistically and culturally responsive strategies were summarized under three main themes: teachers' incorporation of children's cultures, teachers positioning of children, and teachers' use of strategies to unpack English-only instruction through linguistic and non-linguistic strategies. Each teacher incorporated some aspects of the aforementioned models and not others. Therefore, the findings cannot conclude that the teachers at one school performed more effectively with regards to incorporating language(s) and culture(s) in their English-only instruction compared to the other. For instance, while Ms. Murphy at the Wilson school frequently used metalinguistic strategies with her students, she was not as consistent with incorporating students' cultures. On the other hand, Ms. Cohen spent a lot of time on discussing the Civil Rights Movement and the relevance of its roots in fighting racism and segregation to today's world, albeit not discussing relevant current events such as Black Lives Matter. Yet, her writing instruction, led by the district curriculum, was not as linguistically responsive for bilingual learners who faced challenges in writing such as Bruno. Furthermore, Ms. Taylor was excellent in creating a collaborative classroom community (Ladson-Billings, 2009), but her instruction was not as reflective of children's cultures due to its heavy focus on test preparation. Lastly, Ms. O'Brien used a lot of modeling, preview, and repetition to make content comprehensible, but she tended to speak very fast during her teaching and her classroom heavily represented the American culture.

Despite the sporadic application of the linguistically and culturally responsive models, it is safe to state that in general, the classroom practices of both schools generally favored the

Dominant American English (DAE) and sometimes the White American culture as well. None of the teachers included curricular materials directly related to the cultural and linguistic knowledge of the children present in their classes. The one time that this opportunity was spontaneously created by a school snack served in Ms. Taylor's class (See Chapter 6), it allowed for a uniquely enthusiastic exchange of cultural knowledge among the children, including those who were normally reserved such as Lidia. In conclusion, the "inclusive" approaches that the staff at both schools described were mainly add-on approaches in the form of "asset pedagogies" that incorporated non-dominant cultures and languages for temporary, and often celebratory, purposes. While asset-oriented pedagogies are valuable in repositioning and honoring linguistic and cultural practices of bilingual children, they work as quick fixes that are inherently aimed for giving children access to the dominant American English and White middle-class cultural norms of schooling, without challenging those norms and attempting to sustain children's languages and cultures at the same time (Paris & Alim, 2014, 2017).

Shared policies: Heritage languages fading at homes and classrooms communities. In addition to the monoglossic ideologies, the language practices and management approaches were part of the "unspoken dialogues" shared between homes and schools. Although the teachers did not instruct the parents about home language use, they exclusively used English and barely incorporated children's languages and cultures in their practices. Except for Arturo, the other three parents reported a sudden preference for English in their children with schooling. Additionally, in line with the parents' prediction for the future and the fact that they all ultimately regarded English as their children's first language, they also leaned towards using more English as the children went through elementary school. Therefore, language practices and management approaches at the schools and the homes became increasingly identical over time.

Being led by monoglossic ideologies, the teachers were convinced that the language guaranteeing success for their students was English because they lived in the United States. Therefore, they considered it their job to focus, exclusively, on the development of English. They considered heritage language maintenance the responsibility of the parents. Although the teachers used some linguistically and culturally responsive strategies to make their English-only instruction accessible for all children, those strategies tended to fade away as emergent bilingual children became more proficient in English. Like families, the schools reevaluated their language decisions in response to language proficiency of the children and their needs. Since all the children became increasingly proficient in English, this reevaluation ultimately favored English. These English monolingual practices align with the English-only instructional model the teachers taught in and the language policy they admittedly disregarded. Yet, these practices contrast with the teachers' beliefs in the advantages of heritage language use for cross-linguistic transfers and English development in bilingual children.

As the children became more dominant in English and the teachers decreased their efforts to make their English instruction linguistically accessible, the children's language choice also increasingly favored English, at school and at home. Moreover, as the children became more proficient, and willing, to use English at home, the parents also reevaluated their practices and did not persist on heritage language use as much as they did before the children started school (Wong-Fillmore, 1991; Hammer et al., 2003; Hammer et al., 2008). The parents and the children were aware that English was the language of survival, while their heritage languages afforded them "additional" benefits. Similar to immigrant parents in previous studies, most of the parents in this study gradually surrendered to the assimilative forces of the English-speaking society and settled for less than their original ideals (Nesteruk, 2010). This settlement was not only divergent

from some parents' original goals for bilingualism in their children, it was also in contrast with their current hopes and dreams for their children to be multilingual in the future and enjoy academic and professional benefits. In order for children to put their bilingualism into professional use, they would need more than basic proficiency obtained through mundane activities. The current language practices in these families were likely to yield "intergenerational mother tongue transmission", rather than "language maintenance" (Fishman, 1991). Although language transmission makes language maintenance possible, the foundation for future intergenerational language transmission will continually weaken without an effective post-transmission process (i.e. language maintenance) in place.

Lastly, although most adults in this study (parents and school staff) were witnessing a pattern of heritage language loss in the children, there was no systematic action to prevent it. Most had conformed to the idea that a transition to English monolingualism, or English dominance, was inevitable and they (knowingly or not) adjusted their language practices to it. With the exception of Tara's family's yearly visits to China and Arturo's mothers' visits to the library, the parents' language management strategies admittedly fell short. At the schools, the only ones who most notably resisted this language loss were the two ESL teachers. Ms. Gonzalez constantly reminded parents to speak and read with their children in their heritage languages. On the other hand, Ms. Sullivan wrote to the state and federal officials to object to the policies that marginalized bilingual students such as the miscategorization of emergent bilinguals through standardized assessments. However, even Ms. Sullivan was aware that her attempts were not sufficient and that she felt part of the subtractive machine that no one was trying to stop: "The subtractive bilingualism that happens that now separates them from their own family and their own culture and their identity, that is the injustice, and that is what is not being watched, or cared

for, or protected” (Ms. Sullivan, interview transcription, 5.10.17). Similarly, both principals were aware that the schools, knowingly or not, signaled an “either or kind of trade off” to children about their identity, imposed monoglossic values that “stifle or clip the wings of what families should be doing”, and expected families to follow the schools’ lead on the way languages were perceived and practiced (Principal Laurent, interview transcription, 5.25.17; principal Hailey, Interview transcription, 5.23.17). These findings confirm that school language practices send strong, yet unspoken, messages that shape parents and children’s dispositions toward languages (Howard et al., 2003; Noro, 1990; Schirling et al., 2000). As Nieto (1999) argues, “Young people are especially keen observers of the verbal and nonverbal messages of the adults around them, and they are usually adept at spotting inconsistencies between what their teachers say and what they do” (p.54). Schools’ emphasis that all learning and assessment take place only in English have been historically reported to create reluctance towards heritage language use in children of immigrants and to interrupt the intergenerational transmission of those languages (Wiley & García, 2016).

Although schools and families claimed that they did not base their language practices on the state language policy, the progression of their practices ultimately fulfilled the goals of that policy. This is precisely what Foucault defined as “governmentality” and the “omnipresence of power”: “It is the population itself on which government will act either directly through large-scale campaigns, or indirectly through techniques that will make possible, without the full awareness of the people” (Foucault, 1991, p. 100). Continuing the efforts of early U.S. leaders for linguistic assimilation of Indigenous peoples, people of color, and immigrants, schools continue to function as powerful filtering sites where monoglossic ideologies are perpetuated and non-English languages are marginalized, and then assimilated into the dominant American

English ways of languaging (Crawford, 1992; Flores, 2014; Heath, 1976; Nieto, 1999; Wiley & García, 2016). Parents and educators who settle with an additive view of bilingualism ultimately put heritage languages at risk to ensure that children will be fluent in the language of power and success. By doing so, they contribute to sustaining language governmentality, which continually produces new generations of governable subjects who will carry on the historical monoglossic ideologies and heritage language loss patterns among the second and third generations of immigrants in the United States.

Implications

Although families and schools have progressed from subtractive views on bilingualism, they are yet to overcome the perspective that values bilingualism with the contingency of English proficiency and ultimately gives up on heritage languages. Therefore, there is much work to be done in educational practices, community-based activism, policy change, and research to gradually raise awareness and break from those monoglossic ideologies rooted in the U.S. history and eventually slow down the language shift among the second and third generation immigrant children.

This is not intended to paint a dim and hopeless picture. Although the teachers and the parents in this study eventually gave into the monoglossic ideologies, some of them occasionally questioned the arbitrariness of the restrictive policies, refused to submit to them, and even pushed back against them when they did not fit the interests of the children. There is hope, and room, for further advancement to “language-as-right” orientation (Ruiz, 1984): to perceive heritage language as the birthright of children of immigrants, even if they are born and raised in a country with a different societal language. As Flores & Rosa (2015) argue, while changing language beliefs and breaking from monoglossic ideologies that view standardized American

English as the key to success cannot in and of itself lead to social transformation, “it can disrupt appropriateness-based approaches to language education in ways that might link to a larger social movement that challenges the racial status quo” (p. 169). Bearing that in mind, the findings of this dissertation have implications for (1) educational practices, (2) language policy research on schools and families, and (3) educational language policies.

Rather than providing an exhaustive list of everything that could be improved, the implications provide selective recommendations under each category based on the findings of the study. Additionally, I have chosen to focus the implications on educational systems, rather than providing suggestions for families. As the findings of this study showed, schools continue to transfer monoglossic ideologies to families. Therefore, it is unreasonable to provide suggestions for change in family language policies without working to improve educational practices that strongly shape language beliefs and practices at homes. For the first set of recommendations on educational implications, I have also chosen to include the children’s viewpoints on the educational practices at their schools and their suggestions for improvement.

Implications for Educational Practices

Schools are influential gateways to the society for young children. They have an enormously significant role in representing, or rejecting, the monoglossic societal ideologies and showing to children and their families what counts as the language of value, power, or both. Flores (2013a) criticizes that on one hand, there is a lack of significant attention to theorizing language education among critical applied linguists who have used Foucault’s notion of governmentality; while on the other hand, there is a lack of attention to Foucault’s work among those who attempt to rethink language education by recovering truth and responding to it. Instead, Flores (2013a) suggests “a paradigm of linguistic aesthetics” that seeks to create change

by “denying the existence of truth and constantly seeking to reinvent oneself outside of what is currently taken as true... to help students experiment with new subjectivities that will help them move towards creating a new world” (p.14). The educational implications offered by this study are positioned within that paradigm.

The problem, and the solution, for improving education for linguistically and culturally marginalized students is much more complex than language of instruction (Schirling et al., 2000). The first step for creating educational change is to push back on power structures that have historically normalized English monolingualism, marginalized non-English languages, and perpetuated monoglossic ideologies for education of linguistically and culturally diverse children. The expectation is not that mainstream schools should adopt bilingual education, but rather to encourage heteroglossic language ideologies that create instructional space for dynamic bilingualism and allow bilingual children to use all their linguistic and cultural resources for learning content as well as the English language (Canagarajah, 2013; Flores & Shissel, 2014; García, 2009). There are many factors that could be changed in order to break from current additive views of bilingualism in educational practices including, but certainly not limited to, (1) professional development for in-service teachers (2) teacher preparation for prospective teachers, and (3) revitalizing curricula for producing “ungovernable subjects” in the future.

As the findings showed, among the six teachers in this study, the two ESL teachers had the highest personal and professional experience with dual language development and therefore the highest commitment for maintaining children’s heritage languages. The language proficiencies, educational background, teaching experiences, and personal backgrounds of these two ESL teachers enabled them to be more prepared to teach bilingual learners and also to be more resistant in the face of monoglossic policies. Researchers have been reporting that teachers

are not adequately prepared to work with bilingual learners for a long time (See National Academies of Sciences, Engineering, and Medicine, 2017 for a review). Most recently, the National Center for Education Statistics (2017) report that students who were identified as “English language learner” in public elementary and secondary schools constitute 9.5% of the total student population, while teachers with English as a second language (ESL)/bilingual education (BLE) certification only made up 1.4% of elementary school teachers and 0.7% of secondary teachers. Some scholars have suggested that all mainstream teachers should be required to take at least one course focused on teaching emergent bilinguals in order to help educational outcomes in them (López et al., 2013; Lucas et al., 2008). While that is undoubtedly important, the findings of this dissertation showed that taking a course was not nearly enough for creating sustainable linguistically and culturally responsive practices.

In order to help in-service teachers create sustainable change in their practices, they need ongoing professional development and mentorship through curriculum development and lesson planning. Yearly observations by principals (such as those required by the State of Massachusetts at the time of this study) are neither effective because of their intimidating nature, nor productive because they are done in limited and superficial manners. As Ms. Gonzalez suggested, ongoing professional development for teachers can be provided by the districts’ ESL departments, which could be transferred to schools through ESL coordinators. However, that would require increasing the number of ESL teachers at each school and dividing the responsibilities for documenting compliance with state policies, professional development for teachers, and teaching emergent bilinguals.

This study has two major suggestions for teacher preparation programs in response to issues that were shown to be important in this study. Firstly, the demographics of the teaching

force of the United States do not correspond to the diversity of student population. According to the National Center for Education Statistics' projections for the year 2017, 51.9% of students enrolled in public elementary and secondary schools were Black, Latinx, Asian/Pacific Islander, American Indian/Alaska Native, and belonging to two or more races, whereas 80.1% of their teacher population was White. As Villegas and Irvine (2010) point out, well-qualified teachers of color can contribute to positive educational experiences for students of color. As Arturo suggested, "*Que dejan viajar a los profesores de otros países para que también puedan aprender en sus idiomas.* (Let teachers from other countries travel so that they (*children*) can also learn in their languages". Arturo further added that having teachers from other countries would make a better world for everyone and help children "have more intelligence" (*tener más inteligencia*) (see Table 8.4). While this is not to suggest that having teachers of color and/or international teachers will ensure linguistic diversity in the teacher population or that all bilingual teachers will necessarily use heteroglossic language practices, it is important for teacher education programs to produce many more teachers who have proficiency in non-English languages, have cultural understanding of the communities they will be working with, or know culturally appropriate strategies to reach that understanding once they are placed in the field. However, given the scarcity of teachers of color at the moment (19.9% of the U.S. teacher population), turning the teacher demographics around is a not a simple goal. It requires many changes besides assisting college completion rates among students of color and increasing their interest in becoming teachers, which would certainly go beyond the scope of this study and my expertise.

Instead, I suggest rethinking teacher preparation programs in order to better prepare the prospective teachers to be able to systematically incorporate, and sustain, children's languages and cultures, albeit the current teacher demographics. Scholars in the field of education for

linguistically diverse children have recommended that teacher preparation programs should recruit and prepare teachers who have personal experience with language diversity, knowledge of second language acquisition, instructional skills for promoting content and language learning in bilingual students, positive attitude toward linguistic diversity, and commitment to knowing their students' communities (See Markos, 2011 for a review of necessary qualities, knowledge, and skills for teachers of emergent bilinguals). Although these strategies have been effective in the last two decades in shifting teachers' viewpoints from subtractive views on bilingualism, they exemplify "asset pedagogies" that were problematized in this study. These characteristics will not be sufficient to break from resource-oriented approaches toward bilingualism that ultimately aim for English and marginalize heritage languages along the way.

Alternatively, teacher preparation programs could include several courses on linguistic and cultural development of bilingual children of color, culturally and linguistically sustaining practices, critical pedagogies, and inquiry-based practices rooted in teachers' positionality (race, ethnicity, language, and socioeconomic background). Having all-embracing courses on "teaching bilingual students" with the purpose of giving "strategies" and "tools" to prospective teachers, without aiming for an epistemological change, is certainly not enough in yielding substantial results. Additionally, ensuring that preservice teachers are assigned to classrooms with linguistically and culturally diverse students during their supervised student teaching could better assist them in applying their learning in meaningful practices concurrent with their coursework (García et al., 2010; Hollins & Crockett, 2012; Lucas et al., 2008; Talbert-Johnson, 2006).

Table 8.4

Children's Perceptions of School Language Practices and their Suggestions for Improvement

	Perceptions of school language practices	Suggestion for Improvement
Arturo	Both English and Spanish are used at school. Spanish is mostly used by other children.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • I do not want teachers to teach in Spanish. • I would have liked my peers to get better at Spanish. • “Let teachers from other countries travel so that students can learn their languages” • Having teachers from other countries who speak other languages will make a better world for everyone. • Having multilingual teachers will help students have more intelligence
Lidia	All English	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • I wish teachers would “sometimes” use other languages. • I do not want teachers to use my language because they would understand everything I say. • English homework is making me forget Creole.
Bruno	All English	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • It’s good as it is. I do not wish teachers used other languages. • I would have liked if teachers used Portuguese because it would make me feel special.
Tara	All English.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • It would be ok to hear teachers using other languages if they are joking. • I would like my teacher to teach in Spanish. • It would have been “cool” to listen to teachers using Mandarin and to learn in a surrounding with it.

Last but not least, we need to teach the new generation how to be “ungovernable” (as opposed to Pennycook’s “governable ethnolinguistic subjects”) and “willful” subjects (Ahmed, 2014) who push back on the monoglossic ideologies of the larger society by raising critical awareness in them. As the findings showed, although the children in this study imagined a bilingual future for themselves (not English-dominant), they had started to give in to the monoglossic ideologies, which were already apparent in their language preferences (see Table 8.4). As Alim (2005) points out, the ultimate goal of critical language awareness is to make the students “more conscious of their communicative behavior and the ways by which they can transform the conditions under which they live” (p. 28). One way to raise critical awareness among linguistically and culturally diverse students is to revitalize the curricula and to include

instructional materials that not only represent children's languages and cultures, but also problematize the marginalization of their communities and apply stories of resistance in the U.S. history (such as the fourth grade unit on Civil Rights Movement) to resist oppression in the present time. In order to achieve this, we need to ensure to prepare preservice and in-service teachers who are theoretically and methodologically prepared to take on "culturally sustaining pedagogies (CSP)" (Paris, 2012; Paris & Alim, 2014) that would challenge the current norms and ensure that languages and cultures are not only incorporated in additive, resource-oriented, and inherently temporary ways, but rather sustained over time.

Implications for Educational Language Policies

The teachers in this study were not fully informed on the details of the state policy and its requirements from them. Additionally, they occasionally disregarded what they knew about it in favor of their students' needs. Similarly, the parents and the children, who were the ultimate stakeholders of the state language policy, were neither consulted nor informed about the policy. This is not uncommon for educational language policies. Over the years when parents have been reached for ballot initiatives, it has not been for the purpose of consulting them. Instead, in the case of the Unz initiatives in California, Massachusetts, and Arizona, parents were "misinformed" to help achieve the goals of policy. Even in the state of Colorado where the advocates were able to defeat this initiative, they achieved it by misinforming the White monolingual English-speaking parents (See Chapter 1). The most recent ballot initiative that successfully overturned the English-only educational policy in California, Proposition 58, was the only exception to this strategy in the recent history (California Secretary of State, 2016). It is time for language policy and planning to be driven based on the needs of children, parents, and teachers determined by the realities of their lives rather than inferred by out of touch politicians

and entrepreneurs. One way to do so is having representatives from those communities in legislative bodies (such as Senator Ricardo Lara who was behind Proposition 58 in California). However, legislation of the new California policy was not without issues either. Despite involving parents and immigrant communities, the ballot initiative succeeded by promoting neoliberal values and additive perceptions of bilingualism rooted in monoglossic ideologies, rather than its values within the very communities who advocated for it (Katznelson & Bernstein, 2017).

In addition to consulting the stakeholders, language policies need to be established on, and responsive to, facts presented by rigorous research. A series of studies conducted on the impact of the English-only laws on children in California, Massachusetts, and Arizona consistently suggest that language policies that established SEI models led to isolation of emergent bilinguals (Gándara & Orfield, 2010; Lillie et al., 2010; Lillie, 2011), which eventually led to silencing them (See Jimenez-Silva et al., 2014 for a review). Yet, each of these policies remained in power for a very long time. To this day, we have only witnessed recent changes to de jure policies of two of those states (California and Massachusetts), while one of those states (Arizona) continues to have the same de jure English-only educational policy. There is urgent need for new research to document whether or not the policy changes in California and Massachusetts have led to changes in de facto school language policies.

Implications for Research

In response to the findings of this study pointing to language governmentality and self-governance in favor of English monolingualism at homes and schools, I strongly believe that it is much more fruitful to shift the focus of educational change from top-down approaches starting at legislation of macro level policies to bottom-up methods, with grassroots activism informed by

research. Although no one paid close attention to the state policy, the teachers and the principals referred to research to prove their points about the advantages of bilingualism. The teachers were also informed of, and occasionally used, some of the popular methods on linguistically and culturally responsive teaching that had been fairly recently developed through research in the field of education for bilingual children. The teachers had learned about those methods through professional development, district initiatives, and university-school research collaborations. While it is not the purpose of this study to evaluate which of those initiatives were more effective in helping children with the academic English development, it is important that in all those cases research had the potential to be communicated to schools and to be translated into practice, although at a slow pace and in a variety of forms. However, even those research collaborations fell short in two main ways. Firstly, given that their purpose was academic English development, they all eventually favored the standardized American English. Therefore, they contributed to teachers' viewing non-English languages as a means to an end and not acknowledging or validating other varieties of English. Secondly, to my knowledge, none of those initiatives were driven by the needs and resources of the parents and the school communities or even involved them throughout the implementation process.

The parents in this study also showed to respond to research. Bruno's mother referred to research on bilingualism in order to explain the advantages of bilingualism and to refute its effects on speech delays. Additionally, during and after the interview, Tara's mother expressed that participating in this research study inspired her to reflect more on the progression of language policies in her family. A strong and constant commitment to heritage language use without any sense of external support has been documented to be very challenging for immigrant parents (Nesteruk, 2010; Park et al., 2012). Therefore, this study recommends university-school-

community research collaborations as a way to create linguistically and culturally sustaining educational initiatives through involving parents, learning about the resources and the needs in the family communities, reshaping curricula based on those insights, rethinking instructional practices, and providing relevant professional development for the teachers. The findings of such community-based research studies are more likely to shift the monoglossic ideologies at homes and schools. Additionally, the findings could also be used to inform and create more productive and relevant educational policies at macro levels. Nevertheless, such university-led initiatives ought to be framed with anti-hegemonic goals; otherwise they would further transfer the monoglossic practices of the academy to K-12 schooling.

Lastly, as the profoundly unique experiences of each individual child and parent in this study showed, there are great variations across, and within, immigrant families in the process of establishing their language policies. Therefore, regardless of the number of participants in research studies on immigrant families, we should refrain from generalizations empowered by statistical values that devalue the deeply personal and shifting experiences of individuals based on being immigrants, belonging to a racial, ethnic or linguistic category, living in the same neighborhood, or attending the same school.

Limitations

This study mainly focused its definitions of language policy on beliefs, practices, and management approaches in relation to “language” itself, and not vastly beyond it. As any study in the field of applied linguistics, including this one, would show language decisions of any individual are informed by a myriad of factors including race, ethnicity, culture, socioeconomic status, level of education, and lived experiences, that this study could not feasibly examine to a

fuller extent. A focus on any of those factors could yield vital insight for the fields of educational language policy and family language policy.

Similar to many studies on family language policy, this study relied solely on a “recount” of those policies provided by the children and the parents, rather than direct observations of the participants in their home context. This created a high likelihood of social desirability bias because the participants were likely to report their language policies in a way that would seem plausible to me as a researcher with an interest in bilingualism (See Chapter 3 for my positionality statement). Therefore, long-term, ethnographic studies of immigrant families in the context of their homes through which researchers spend extended durations of time with families before collecting data could provide opportunities for deeper, and more authentic, understanding of family language policies. Similarly, although I spent an entire month in the four classrooms with the focal children in this study and recorded about 120 hours of observation audio recordings (excluding the interviews), my presence was very short-lived for each of those contexts. Thus, ethnographic studies of language policy (Hornberger & Johnson, 2007, 2011) could provide a deeper understanding of school language policies.

Conclusions

In the demise of the English-only law in the state of Massachusetts, after almost 15 years of its implementation, the families and the schools seemed finally ready to appreciate and welcome bilingualism. However, they were not exactly preparing for the future bilingual society they were idealizing for the next generation. Despite valuing bilingualism, the schools and the families were “linked”, and strongly influenced, by the historical monoglossic ideologies of the society that convinced them to conform to English in the name of ensuring success for the children. By doing so, the parents and the school staff functioned, although unintentionally, as

“governmental apparatuses” (Foucault, 1991) or “republication machines” (Flores, 2014) that would help reproduce the historical monoglossic ideologies of the United States in the next generation and would carry on the historical heritage language loss that continues in the second and third generations of immigrants in this country (Fishman, 1991; Krogstad et al., 2015). It is hoped that the findings of this study be used as instructional tools to raise awareness in teacher preparation programs, schools, and immigrant communities. While some might argue that critical thinking is a political act and we cannot realistically expect teachers and parents to get involved in epistemological debates, continuing to play along with those dominant narratives will only sustain the historical marginalization of non-dominant languages, cultures, and values.

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Appendices

Appendix 1. Parent Invitation to the Study

Dear parent

You are invited to a research study on language use in immigrant families, schools, and districts. You were selected for this study because you are an immigrant parent, you are raising a child/children in the United States, and speak a language besides English. The purpose of this study is to understand whether language use in bilingual families with children in elementary school is similar to educational policies of the school, the districts, and the state of Massachusetts. This study is done through a sent-home survey (see attached), an optional interview with you and your child, and school observations of your child if she/he is selected for case studies.

If you are willing to help this study please consider taking the survey attached. The survey should take 5-10 minutes to complete. Please also read and sign the consent form attached if you decide to take the survey.

This research is NOT from your child's school. However, the school officials have checked and approved it. The researcher is a doctoral candidate from Boston College in education and has several years of experience working with bilingual elementary school children. Please kindly consider participating in this study that can help improve the education of immigration children, like yours.

Very best,

Yalda Marzieh Kaveh

Appendix 2. Home Survey Protocol

1. Gender:
2. What is your relationship status? (*For example: single, married, divorced, lives with a partner,*)
3. How old are you? If in a relationship, how old is your spouse/partner?
4. How many children do you have? How old are they?
5. Where do you live? (City and neighborhood)
6. Have you lived in the same town/state raising your child(ren)? If no, please specify.
7. Were you born in the U.S.? How about your spouse/partner (if married/in a relationship)?
8. Where are you from? How about your spouse/partner (if married/in a relationship)?
9. How old were you when you moved to the U.S.? How about your spouse/partner (if married/in a relationship)?
10. What is your educational level?
 - ☐ Elementary school
 - ☐ Middle school
 - ☐ High school or GED
 - ☐ Bachelor's
 - ☐ Master's
 - ☐ PhD
 - ☐ MD
 - ☐ other- please specify
11. What is your spouse/partner's educational level?
 - ☐ Elementary school
 - ☐ Middle school

- ☐ High school or GED
- ☐ Bachelor's
- ☐ Master's
- ☐ PhD
- ☐ MD
- ☐ other- please specify.

12. What is your job/profession? What is your partner's job/profession (if married/in a relationship)?

13. Do you ever use your native language at work or do you only use English or a mix?

14. How well do you understand English?

- | | | | |
|----------------------------------|--|-------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> I don't | <input type="checkbox"/> Not very well | <input type="checkbox"/> well | <input type="checkbox"/> very well |
| understand it | | | |

15. How well do you speak English?

- | | | | |
|--|--|-------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> I can't speak | <input type="checkbox"/> Not very well | <input type="checkbox"/> well | <input type="checkbox"/> very well |
| English | | | |

16. How well do you read English?

- | | | | |
|---------------------------------------|--|-------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> I can't read | <input type="checkbox"/> Not very well | <input type="checkbox"/> well | <input type="checkbox"/> very well |
| English | | | |

17. How well do you write English?

☐ I can't write in English ☐ Not very well ☐ well ☐ very well

18. What are some activities you spend most of your time doing with your children (for example: playing, talking, watching TV, cooking, reading, writing)? What languages do you mostly use for those activities (English/ your native language/a mix)?

19. How well can your child speak and understand your native language?

20. Can your child read and write in your native language? If yes, how well?

21. How well does your child know English (understanding, speaking, reading, and writing)?

22. Would you be willing to meet for a 30-minute interview to further help this research?
Yes ☐ No ☐

23. Do you prefer to be interviewed in your native language/English?

Thanks you so much for spending your valuable time to take this survey. The information you shared will be very helpful in this research.

Appendix 3. Second Parent Invitation to the Study

Dear parents

My name is Yalda Kaveh. I am a doctoral candidate at Boston College. Today, your child will bring home an initiation to a research study on language use in bilingual families and public schools. You were selected for this study because you are an immigrant parent raising a child/children in the United States and speak a language besides English. The purpose of this study is to understand whether language use in bilingual families with children in elementary school is similar to/different from educational policies of the school, the districts, and the state of Massachusetts.

This study is done through a sent-home survey, an optional interview with you and your child, and school observations of your child if she/he is selected for case studies. You have received two sets of forms today, one is a parent survey and consent form and the other is a permission form to allow your child to be in this study. You can choose to sign one or both forms. You may also fill in both forms, but choose not to be interviewed.

As an immigrant myself, protection of your identity is very important to me. Therefore, I can assure you that you and your child will remain anonymous in any report published on this study. I hope you give me the honor to learn from your experiences as bilingual parents. If you have any questions, you can email me at yalda.kaveh@bc.edu

Many thanks,
Yalda M. Kaveh

Appendix 4. Child Language Log

Weekday Language Use Log

Time	Activities	Place	Heritage language speaking/listening/reading/writing	English speaking/listening/reading/writing
7 a.m.				
8 a.m.				
9 a.m.				
10 a.m.				
11 a.m.				
12 p.m.				
1 p.m.				
2 p.m.				
3 p.m.				
4 p.m.				
5 p.m.				
6 p.m.				
7 p.m.				
8 p.m.				
9 p.m.				
10 p.m.				
11 p.m. -7 a.m.				

Weekend Language Use Log

Time	Activities	Place	Heritage language speaking/listening/reading /writing	English speaking/listening/reading/writing
7 a.m.				
8 a.m.				
9 a.m.				
10 a.m.				
11 a.m.				
12 p.m.				
1 p.m.				
2 p.m.				
3 p.m.				
4 p.m.				
5 p.m.				
6 p.m.				
7 p.m.				
8 p.m.				
9 p.m.				
10 p.m.				
11 p.m. -7 a.m.				

Appendix 5. Child Interview Protocol

Starting monologue:

Thanks for taking the time to talk to me. I am going to ask some questions to get to know you better and learn a little more about what language(s) you use at home and school and what you think of them. You should know that whatever you discuss with me here is going to be confidential, meaning that I will not share it with your teachers, principals, or your parents. I am only recording our voice in order to help me remember everything we say today. I will not share this with anyone else.

As we are talking, you can choose to stop our conversation or skip any of my questions if it makes you feel uncomfortable in any way. You can simply say, “I don’t want to answer that question”. Now, let’s start.

Demographic info

The first few questions are going to help me to get to know you better:

1. How old are you?
2. Were you born in the U.S. or abroad?
 - *If says abroad, probe: where? How old were you when you came to the U.S.?*
3. How many siblings do you have? Are they younger/older than you?
4. Where do you live?
 - *Do you live school to the school or you take the bus?*
5. Who do you live with?
6. Do you have any extended family who live with you for all/some times during the year?
7. How do you identify your ethnicity? (give examples based on the kid’s ethnicity)

Now we are going to shift a little and talk about the language/languages you use at home and at school.

As I ask you these questions, we can look at your language log to help you answer some of them.

I. Language Practice

Home:

8. What languages do you speak at home?

- *Probe for dynamics of language use:*

You to your parents,

Your parents to you,

You and your sibling

9. What language(s) do you use most of the time?

- *Probe whether one was used more than another or both were used equally.*

10. Do you use the language(s) for different things or activities?

- *Probe: Are there certain subjects you usually talk about in your native language and certain ones for which you switch to English? (If they aren't sure how to answer give options such as talking daily routine, school stuff, behavioral and cultural matters, etc.)*
- *Probe: why do you use language X for purpose Y?*

- *Probe: Do your parents use different languages for different purposes (if does not understand the meaning of "purpose", say: things/activities)?*

11. Do you find it challenging to speak two languages at home/one language at home and one outside home?

12. How much access do you have to your heritage language at home?

- *Explain: books, TV shows, etc.*

Language Management

13. Do you have a "language rule" at home?

Explain: e.g. a. No strategy. Anyone can speak any language he/she wishes.

b. We only allow our native language at home

c. We only allow English

d. One parent speaks the native language and the other speaks English to them.

e. We speak in our native language and they respond to us in English

probe: do your family members follow that rule?

Community:

14. Do you attend a weekend program in your heritage language?

15. Do you have friends and family members from your/your parents' country living close to you?

How about other places in the U.S.? Are you a member of any communities of people from your country here in Boston?

- *If says say yes to friends, family, and community close by probe: Do those communities have any gatherings (e.g. celebrations, exhibitions, talks, etc) you would attend with your family?*

School:

16. What language do you use the majority of the time?

17. Do teachers use any language other than English in their instruction?

18. Do you ever hear a non-English language when you are at school (used by students, talking to friends, families visiting, etc).

If says no, probe: Do you wish they would teach your heritage language at school?

19. Does anyone present in their heritage language on any special occasions (e.g. cultural festivals)?

Beliefs and ideologies about language and language use

20. Who do you admire most in life about their language knowledge and use?

21. I will say a sentence and would like you to complete it: When I use Spanish/HL, I feel

22. What was a time when you felt proud of your language?

- *Probe: How did you express yourself? What language was that in?*

23. What was a time when you felt embarrassed/ashamed/scared to speak your language?

- *Probe: what did you do about it?*

24. Do you like speaking your heritage language? Why/why not?

- *Probe: Do you like it when parents speak heritage language to you?*

25. Have you found knowing heritage language to be useful? Why?

26. How important do you think having friends and family who speak your heritage language is in maintaining it?

27. Do you think going to school has affected how well you speak your heritage language?

- *Probe: How about other factors such as friends, TV, social media, music,?*

28. How important do you think learning English is for kids like you who speak another language at home?

- *Probe: How important do you think is knowing two languages for kids?*

29. Have the recent political events or news changed the way you think about your heritage language in any way?

30. If have any further comments about using your native language or learning a second language in bilingual children, or other related issues, I would really appreciate if you share it with me.

Thank you so much for your time speaking with me today.

Appendix 6. Parent Interview Protocol

Starting monologue:

Thank you for agreeing to meet with me. I am very interested in learning about how languages are used at immigrant homes with children in elementary school. Particularly would love to know about the way you and your child use different languages, languages used at your child's school, as well as your thoughts about it.

Immigration History

1. By referring to the survey, ask the participant if they would like to share a little bit about when they and their spouse/partner (if married/in a relationship) came to the U.S.

- *Probe: how would you describe your immigration experience in general? Explain that they can think of the process of coming to the U.S., settling in, finding a job, etc.*

2. How do you identify your ethnicity?

II. Language Practice

3. How well do you think you know English &HL?

- *If lives with a partner, ask about them.*
- *If parent has indicated divorced, ask if the child spends any time with her other parent?*

4. What languages do you speak at home?

- *Probe for dynamics of language use:*
parent-parent,
parent-child,
child-child

5. What language do you use the majority of the time?

- *Probe: Is one used more than another or are both are used equally?*
 - *Probe: Can you read and write in your native language(s)?*
 - *If lives with a partner, ask about them.*
6. Do you use different languages for different purposes or activities?
- *Probe: Are there certain subjects they/you usually talk about in your native language and certain ones for which you switch to English? (If they aren't sure how to answer give options such as talking daily routine, school stuff, behavioral and cultural issues, etc.)*
-
- *Probe: why?*
7. When/if do you find it challenging to speak two languages at home/one language at home and one outside home?
8. How much access do/did your child have to your native language speakers now/when growing up?
- *Probe: Do you have friends and relatives who live/visit the U.S.?*
 - *If not mentioned in the above questions, probe: Who took care of the child when he/she was growing up?*
 - *Options (parents, grandparents, nanny, babysitter, daycare, etc)*
 - *If they say daycare, probe: When did he start the daycare?*
 - *Probe: is/was there a community of people from their country around them here?*
 - *If responds positive to the previous probe ask: did/do those communities have cultural activities you would attend with your kids?*

9. How much access do/did your child have to native language materials/recourses now/when growing up? (examples: HL class, books, videos, etc.)
10. How important do you think is having a community of native language speakers in maintenance of native language in children? Why?
11. Did going to school affect native language use at your home?
- *If yes Probe: how so? And how did that impact your kids' attitude and proficiency in your native language?*
 - *If they say it had a negative impact on kids' your native language, probe if they did anything in reaction.*
12. What language(s) are the school communications are in (letters sent home, phone calls, meetings)?
- *Probe: Have you ever used your language communicating with any of the school officials?*
13. Does this school provide any instruction about languages that should be used at home and at school?
14. Has your child's attending this school in any way changed the way you think about the language you should use with your child?

15. To what extent do you think the external factors such as school, peers, and community have impacted your child/children's proficiency/lack of proficiency in your native language? Why?

III. Language Management

16. Do you have a "language rule" at home?

Explain: e.g. a. No strategy. Anyone can speak any language he/she wishes

b. We only allow our native language at home

c. We only allow English

d. One parent speaks the native language and the other speaks English to them.

e. We speak in our native language and they respond to us in English

- *Probe: how closely do you follow it?*

- *Probe: How did you (and your spouse) come up with this decision?*

IV. Beliefs and ideologies about language and language use

17. Who do you admire most in life about language proficiency and use?

18. What was a time when you felt proud of your language?

- *Probe: How did you express yourself? What language was that in?*

19. What was a time when you felt embarrassed/ashamed/scared to speak your language?

- *Probe: what did you do about it?*

20. How important do you think learning English is for kids like yours?

- *If the family has small kids probe: What language or languages would you like your child to know when he/she is older? Why?*

- *If they mention more than one ask if one is more important than the other given the context they are living in and why?*

21. How will you feel if your child forgets your native language over time?

- *Probe if no: how come?*
- *Probe If yes: do you do anything to prevent it?*

22. (If say yes on 11) Has the change in your children's language use patterns changed how you think of your native language and English over the years?

23. Have media, society and current sociopolitical events (TV & social media) changed the way you think about the language you should use with your child?

Probe: How about your child? Have they impacted your child/children's proficiency or his/her attitude toward HL?

24. How about the laws of this state or the country? First of all, do you think the U.S. has an official language? How about this state? (ask if they remember about Question 2 of 2002 regarding using English as the only language of instruction).

Probe: How have those laws influenced the way you think about the language/languages your child should grow up with?

25. If you have any further comments about maintaining a native language or learning English in children in immigrant families, or other related issues, I would really appreciate if you share it with me.

Thanks you so much once again for participating in this study and taking the time to sit with me for this interview. The information you shared with me will be very helpful in determining patterns of native language loss in immigrant families and helping immigrant parents fight against them.

Appendix 7. Classroom Teachers Interview Protocol

Demographic info

Since this study focuses on language policy, we are going to start by discussing your identity, teaching, and language background.

1. How long have you been a teacher? What degree do you hold? Do you have any ESL certification?
2. How do you identify your race and ethnicity?
3. Do you speak any language other than English?
4. Have you taken any foreign language classes before and/or lived in a non-English speaking country?
5. Do you follow a particular curriculum for any of the subject areas you teach?
6. What is your planning process like?
7. Are there intentional sitting arrangements in your classroom? How about intentional grouping?

The next set of questions will focus on language policies and practices of your classroom and the school at large.

I. Language Practice

8. What language do you use the majority of the time in your classroom?
9. During my observations I noticed that you only used English/you sometimes used your students' native languages (this will depend on the observations). Given that I only observed your class for

a week, were there instances you used any languages other than English in your classroom that I might have missed? (*explain: for teaching content, using non-English resources to make content comprehensible for emergent bilinguals, etc*)

Probe:

10. Does English language proficiency of your students impact your use of non-English languages in your classroom? In other words, how do you manage language use when you have a newcomer in your classroom versus when you have advanced bilinguals, who understand the directions but might benefit from additional linguistic support? (Explain: e.g. I have seen that sometimes when teachers have a student with ELD level 1 or 2, more L1 is used in class than when all students are more proficient in English).

Probe. What strategies do you consciously use to link to HLs of advanced bilinguals? Or to unpack English with relying on other methods?

Probe. If you ever think to slow down or simplify their discourse when you do not have students at levels 1 and 2 of English language development.

11. Do you allow students to use non-English languages in your classroom for learning purposes and/or informally?

If yes, probe: How is it used? Are non-English languages used strategically?

12. Do you ever incorporate students' culture into your curriculum?

13. Do students/parents present in their HL on a special occasion during the year? (*explain: e.g. some schools have a culture day, others have celebrations of different cultural holidays during which students might present on their language and culture.*)

14. How big is parent involvement in general? Are there generally some parents who participate more than others?

15. Do, or have, you ever provided language suggestions for language use at home to your students' or their parents?

Probe: Have they ever asked you for recommendations?

II. Beliefs and ideologies about language and language use

16. Since your students are growing up in the U.S., they go to school, and hopefully to college here, do you think it is still useful for them to know their HLs?

Probe: how so?

If doesn't come up, probe: How important do you think learning English is for your students? why?

17. Do you think knowing HL can compromise learning English and being professionally and academically successful?

Probe: If so, how?

III. Language management

18. Would you say you have a "language strategy" or "language policy" in your classroom?

Probe: if yes, how closely do you keep to it?

Explain: e.g. a. No strategy. Anyone can speak any language he/she wishes

b. We only allow English

19. Why and how did you come up with that decision?

20. Would you say the school has a “language strategy” or “language policy”?

21. As you know, the ballot initiative that passed under Question 2 in 2002 and legislated English-only instruction and SEI is still in effect in this state. Do you think your classroom language policy responds to the State language policy in any way? *(explain: in the case of the language practices and rules we discussed earlier, do you think you have made any of those decisions as a result of the state educational language policy?)*

Probe: How do you feel about this policy?

22. Has this compliance/incompliance with the state language policy been the same in your practice? *(explain: has there been an evolution in your practice since the policy was just legislated until today?)*

23. If you have any further comments about use of native languages and English in schools for children of immigrant, or school and state language policies, I would really appreciate if you can share them with me. Thank you very much for your time.

Appendix 8. ESL Teachers Interview Protocol

Demographic info

Since this study focuses on language policy, we are going to start by discussing your language background.

1. How long have you been a teacher? What degree do you hold? Do you have any ESL certification?
2. How do you identify your race and ethnicity?
3. Do you speak any language other than English?
4. Have you taken any foreign language classes before and/or lived in a non-English speaking country?
5. Do you follow a particular curriculum for any of the subject areas you teach?
6. What is your planning process like?

The next set of questions will focus on language policies and practices of your classroom and the school at large.

I. Language Practice

7. What language do you use the majority of the time in your classroom?
8. Do you allow students to use non-English languages in your classroom for learning purposes and/or informally? (see question 12)

If yes, probe: How is it used? Are non-English languages used strategically?

9. Does English language proficiency of your students impact your use of non-English languages in your classroom? In other words, how do you manage language use when you have a newcomer in

your classroom. (Explain: e.g. I have seen that sometimes when teachers have a student with ELD level 1 or 2, more L1 is used in class than when all students are more proficient in English)

II. Beliefs and ideologies about language and language use

10. Since your students are growing up in the U.S., they go to school, and hopefully to college here, do you think it is still useful for them to know their heritage languages?

Probe: how so?

If doesn't come up, probe: How important do you think learning English is for your students why?

11. Do you think knowing a heritage language can compromise learning English and being professionally and academically successful?

Probe: If so, how?

III. Language management

12. Would you say you have a “language strategy” or “language policy” in your classroom? → goes with question 8.

Probe: if yes, how closely do you keep to it?

Explain: e.g. a. No strategy. Anyone can speak any language he/she wishes

b. We only allow English

13. Why and how did you come up with that decision?

14. Would you say the school has a “language strategy” or “language policy”?

15. Are there any guidelines/policies from the state and the district sent to you about language of instruction?

Probe: How are those policies usually communicated to you?

Do you access them through the website? Can you show me where that is?

Or do they send you the guidelines via email/mail?

16. How closely do you follow those policies in your practice?

Probe: As you know, the ballot initiative that passed under Question 2 in 2002 and legislated English-only instruction and SEI is still in effect in this state. Do you think your classroom language policy responds to the State language policy in any way? *(explain: in the case of the language practices and rules we discussed earlier, do you think you have made any of those decisions as a result of the state educational language policy?)*

Probe: How do you feel about this policy?

17. Has this compliance/incompliance with the state language policy been the same in your practice? *(explain: has there been an evolution in your practice since the policy was just legislated until today?)*

18. How much of those policies/guidelines do you communicate to classroom teachers and the principal?

Probe: What is that process like?

19. Are there any SEI teachers in your school? Do you communicate the policies to them as well? If yes, is that any different than what you do with classroom teachers?

20. Do you need to communicate those policies to parents as well? What is your level of contact with them in general?

21. If you have any further comments about use of native languages and English in schools for children of immigrant, or school and state language policies, I would really appreciate if you can share them with me. Thank you very much for your time.

Appendix 9. Principal Interview Protocol

Demographic info

Since this study focuses on language policy, we are going to start by discussing your language background.

1. How long have you been a principal? What degree do you hold? Do you have any type of ESL certification?
2. How do you identify your race and ethnicity?
3. Do you speak any language other than English?
4. Have you taken any foreign language classes before and/or lived in a non-English speaking country?

The next set of questions will focus on language policies and practices of the classrooms and the school at large.

I. Language Practice

5. Do you know what language(s) the teachers in your school use the majority of the time in their classrooms? If so, what are they?
6. Are you aware if any of the teachers use any language other than English in their classrooms? (for instruction/informally)
7. Have you observed students' using non-English languages at school, at large, for learning purposes and/or informally in the hallways/during lunch, recess?

If yes, probe: How is it used? Are non-English languages used strategically?

8. Do students/parents present in their HL on a special occasion during the year? *(explain: e.g. some schools have a culture day, others have celebrations of different cultural holidays during which students might present on their language and culture.)*
9. What is the extent of parental involvement in general?

II. Beliefs and ideologies about language and language use

10. Do you think knowing HL is useful for students since they are growing up in the U.S.?
Probe: how so?

11. How important do you think learning English is for the students at your school?
Probe: why?

12. Do you think knowing HL can compromise learning English and being professionally and academically successful? If so, how?

III. Language management

13. Would you say that you have a “school language policy” or “school language strategy” here?
Explain: e.g. a. No strategy. Anyone can speak any language he/she wishes

b. We only allow English

Probe: if yes, how closely do you keep to it?

14. Is there an official school language policy, or statement about use of languages, in any of school websites/brochures/official documents?
15. If yes, were you in charge of making that decision? If so, how did you reach that decision?
16. As you know, the ballot initiative that passed under Question 2 in 2002 and legislated English-only instruction and SEI is still in effect in this state. Do you think your school language policy responds to the State language policy in any way? *(explain: In the case of the language practices and rules we discussed earlier, do you think you have made any of those decisions as a result of the state educational language policy?)*
17. Has this compliance/incompliance with the state language policy been the same in your practice as a principal? *(explain: has there been an evolution in your practice since the policy was just legislated until today?)*
18. Throughout your experience as a principal, has language use at schools ever come up by a district official?
19. If you have any further comments about use of native languages and English in schools for children of immigrant, or school and state language policies, I really appreciate if you can share them with me.

Thank you very much for your time.

Appendix 10. Transcription Notations

Italics for original Spanish statements

[*italics*] for non-verbal movements

[*inter*] for interruption

(*italics*) for inferences

... for ellipsis

Due to the large amount of evidence that had to be presented for this study, I have chosen to maintain single spacing whenever evidence is presented from the data. However, I have followed APA and maintained double spacing for block quotes from sources other than the primary data collected for this study (i.e. literature or policy texts).

Appendix 11. Summary of Comparative Analysis of Parental Language Beliefs

	About Heritage Language	About English	About Bilingualism
Arturo's Parent	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • I am always proud of Spanish. • I get embarrassed when I don't remember a word. • It's parents' responsibility. • I would be disappointed if my children forgot their Spanish. • It's illogical not to teach Spanish to my children because English-speaking families pay me to teach their children Spanish. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Future of my children is in English in this country. • Teaching English is the country's responsibility. • I will probably use more English with my children in the future. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • English and Spanish are equally important because of their global dominance. • I would like my children to be bilingual in the future.
Lidia's parent	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Important for communicating with the elders. • It is "rude" and "disrespectful" for me to prevent Lidia from learning it. • Basic oral proficiency in Creole is sufficient. • As long as Lidia only uses it orally, it will not affect her grades in English. • It is Lidia's second language because she was born here. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Very important that Lidia learns academic English very well. • English is Lidia's first language because she was born here. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Not challenging • One can learn any language they put their mind into. It depends on the learner's attitude. • The more languages Lidia knows the better.
Bruno's Parent	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • It's free. • Bruno should take advantage because people pay for their children to be bilingual. • It would make me sad if Bruno lost Portuguese. • It's Bruno's first language. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Very important because it will ultimately become Bruno's first language. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • It does not cause language delays. • It is developmentally beneficial. • Really good to know more than one language for better jobs in the future, doing best academically, and communicating with people from other countries. • Not challenging to have two languages at home.
Tara's parent	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Tara has to keep Mandarin to understand her Chinese part. • That is her root. • Would be very sad if Tara lost it. • Mandarin is her second language. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • More important than Mandarin. • It is Tara's first language because she lives in an English speaking country. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Can be challenging because Tara wants me mother to improve my English. • Would like Tara to know English, Mandarin, and Spanish when she grew up. • Wants Tara to know Spanish because it is common.

Appendix 12- Summary of comparative analysis of children's language beliefs

	About Heritage Language	About English	About Bilingualism
Arturo	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • I like Spanish because it's my primary language. • Proud of speaking it in Santo Domingo because there were no English speakers. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • I Like learning it. • Embarrasses me to speak it • It's very important to know it for communicating with people. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A little difficult • Useful for communication between people • I Like learning as many languages as he can fit in my head.
Lidia	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Can be confusing. • "Sometimes" makes me feel good. • Good for the mind and helps me know more about the "Creole stuff". • "Sometimes" makes me feel bad because I know I need improvement. • Cousins help for improvement. • I am losing part of my language. • It makes me sad. • I was proud of Creole when I was learning it as a child. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • English is how and when I know how to communicate with my teachers. • English homework is making me forget Creole. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Challenging because the two languages can be mixed up. • Useful because children need more technique to know more "stuff".
Bruno	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Speaking Portuguese feels normal. • Do not like speaking it because it is confusing and annoying. • Useful for traveling to Brazil. • I felt proud when I came to school and was the only Portuguese-speaking student. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Special because without English I could not speak, go to school, help my mother, or do anything. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Not challenging. • Helps with communication between people such as in emergency situations.
Tara	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • I like speaking Mandarin and knowing my heritage. • Sort of cool. • Makes me happy. • It gives me a bigger sense of the world around me. • Chinese New Year and school multicultural night made me proud of speaking Mandarin. • Useful for communicating with people when traveling to China. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Really important because I live here and have to know English as well as Mandarin. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Knowing more than one language is good.

Appendix 13- Summary of comparative analysis of School Staff's language beliefs

	About Heritage Language	About English	About Bilingualism
Ms. Murphy	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Important to maintain to communicate with family. • Maintaining it is a family decision. • It's a means to an end in her classroom. • Uses it to assist learning. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • End result is for children to become successful and comfortable learners in English. • Does not push producing output in English to Arturo in order not to undermine Spanish. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Great skill to be biliterate.
Ms. Taylor	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Spectacular • It does not compromise English development. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • It is a different world now than the time everyone was expected to learn English when coming to this country. • Children should ultimately transition to mainstream, English classrooms. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Admired anyone who knew more than one language. • Had respect for bilinguals because bilinguals have to process two languages and work harder cognitively. • Bilingualism takes time • There is unreasonable expectation between research and practice. • Bilingual classrooms should not be the end goal.
Ms. Sullivan	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Helps attract, and not subtract English language. • Links to their identity, family, and culture. • Helps students linguistically, academically, and socioculturally. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The U.S. history and the current education system impose English and marginalize heritage language which is "terrible" and unjust. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • It has academic, cognitive advantages. • Helps with the compassion with the global society.
Principal Hailey	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Important for children to maintain. • Schools do a disservice to them. • Used as an indicator to discriminate against people. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Important to know the dominant societal language to decipher legal documents and know one's rights. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Asset for the 21st century. • Has cognitive and social advantages. • Sets children above.
Ms. Cohen	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Should be maintained 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Carries social capital • Valuable for students to express themselves well (orally and through writing). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Huge advantage. • Learning multiple languages does not interfere with English. • Regrets not being bilingual.
Ms. O'Brien	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Knowing Spanish is great because it is very commonly used. • Works great in her brother's family. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Very important because children are here and English is the language "we all" speak. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Useful for conversing with other people, learning about other cultures, traveling. • Might be difficult at

	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• She wishes she knew Spanish.	<p>first, but has academic advantages eventually.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">• She wanted her child to be bilingual.
M.s Gonzalez	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Helps with second language development.• Important for parents to read in it with their children.	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Using English at home will expose children to a “subpar” version of English.• Can be learned just at school. <ul style="list-style-type: none">• Cognitive advantages• Facilitates cross-linguistic transfer.
Principal Laurent	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Helps with cultural understanding and compassion.• Helps with English language development.	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Extremely important for children to be connected and be a part of the community <ul style="list-style-type: none">• Has cognitive, academic, and sociocultural benefits.• Important for today’s world and for the future of the U.S. as a part of the global community.