LIDERAZGO: PRINCIPALS ENACTING LANGUAGE POLICY

by

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DEDICATION

To my dad, Dr. Thomas G. Muir. I did it! Thank you for making this possible. We've started a family tradition.

To my mom, Molly Browning: Thank you for supporting me always.

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would like to thank the entire Hippo Nation for their support, particularly Dr. Robert Sormani, for his constant encouragement.

Finally, to my family. Mom, Jim, Ted, Joe Seth, Georgia, Dad, Sharon, Rachel, and Pati: Thank you for your love and patience throughout this process.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Abbreviation	Description
DL	Dual language
DLI	Dual language immersion
EB	Emergent bilingual
EL	English learner
ESL	English as a second language
LTEL	Long term English learner
SEL	Social Emotional Learning
SLL	Spanish language learner

ABSTRACT

Language policies in the United States have traditionally been characterized by assimilationist and deficit-based discourse about linguistically diverse students, resulting in subtractive schooling practices that have significantly limited educational access and achievement for Latino students (Brown, 2016; Valencia, 2010; Valenzuela, 1999). Dual language programs have proliferated as an additive alternative to the subtractive nature of transitional bilingual programming. Drawing on research about culturally and linguistically responsive leadership practices, language policy enactment, and holistic bilingualism, this study used a multicase study method to explore the lived experiences of four elementary school principals navigating language policy. All the schools in this study had well-established dual language immersion programs. Results from the study suggest that principals who were deeply knowledgeable about dual language practices made policy adaptations to improve students' language and literacy outcomes, contested subtractive practices not aligned with bilingual and biliteracy-specific pedagogies, and employed an equity and social justice discourse to engage in advocacy and policy enactment.

I. INTRODUCTION

Testimonio

My journey in education started 27 years ago. I volunteered in a friend's bilingual third grade classroom and was hooked. I was assigned to help students with reading. I came back the next day, and the next. The draw, for me, was a young boy named Nazareth. He struggled mightily with reading in Spanish and in English. He loved soccer. Nazareth always read better when we did it his way: he picked the book, then we talked about whatever he wanted to talk about (soccer), then we looked at all the pictures in the book and talked about the pictures, and then he read the book. Then we'd read it again. I loved working with students.

I enrolled in the University of Texas as a post-graduate to study bilingual education and become a teacher. My coursework in bilingual and ESL education emphasized authentic experiences in language acquisition based on Krashen and Terrell's (1983) natural approach, which aimed for communicative competence developed by engaging learners to use language in authentic contexts. The emphasis was on natural communication of the message since a preoccupation with grammar could stifle the message. Our professor assigned us immersive Spanish experiences. Many of my Latina/o classmates had grown up speaking Spanish yet lacked fluency because subtractive assimilation schooling practices had "phased out" their native language skills by emphasizing English over Spanish. My coursework included a focus on culturally relevant pedagogical practices. Reading the works of Geneva Gay, Sonia Nieto, and Gloria Ladson-Billings led me to question my privilege and confront biases and assumptions about race and education.

As a bilingual teacher at Mollie Dawson Elementary School in the late 1990s, I worked with first generation and immigrant students. I prepared daily lessons in Spanish and English according to the early-exit transitional program in place at that time. I applied what I had learned at the university and tried to teach language and content through immersive, authentic experiences. ESL time once involved a trip to McDonald's to order off the menu in English. During a math field trip to a grocery store, students were given a budget and a task (also in English)—*You are having a party for 10 of your friends. You have $20. What will you buy? Don't forget the tax!* There were a lot of rules about language in bilingual education at that time. You had to separate the languages. Today, translanguaging is largely conceived as a marker of bilingualism, but back then, translanguaging and code switching were frowned upon. I was not very good at enforcing these language norms because I found my students' discourse to be as endearing as it was expressive. "La pelota de Ernesto flew over the fence." "Guardo mi Pokemon in mi cubby." "No me puches!" For me, my students co-mingling Spanish and English to approximate correct syntax and semantics within the same sentence reflected the progress of their bilingualism and the heavy linguistic lifting going on within their big, beautiful, bilingual brains.

My early years of teaching were the hardest I'd ever worked. I planned lessons and built relationships with my students and their families. As a teacher, I was an honored guest at many birthday parties, quinceañeras, and first communions. I learned a lot about my students, their families, their rich culture, and hospitality norms. At parent conferences, I learned to listen, instead of talk. Parents wanted their students to be bien educados, behave well, and show kindness to others. Some parents needed help with

translation. At this point, I learned about the unethical and predatory lending practices that prey on immigrant families. I helped a family with their loan paperwork and learned they were offered a 25% interest rate on an auto loan.

Around the time I started teaching, the Texas version of the school reforms that would later accompany the No Child Left Behind Act began to take hold. In addition to liberal use of the phrase "scientifically based" to describe desired reforms, a new system of campus ratings led to an increased focus on end-of-year standardized tests. Teachers were asked to start tutoring kids in September for a test that was to be a cumulative exam of the entire school year. The assistant principal directed me to stop teaching social studies and focus on the test. Instead, I closed my door and taught social studies anyway. I deeply believed it was irresponsible not to present students with well-rounded curricula.

In the years since I worked in the classroom, I've served as an educational specialist at a regional service center, an academic dean at a middle school rated "needs improvement," a district director of bilingual education, and a district curriculum director. I've seen high stakes testing lead to impoverished teaching with a stripped down, basic skills curriculum. I've seen how a focus on standardized testing has resulted in struggling campuses weakening or walking back bilingual education programs in order to accelerate English acquisition. These decisions were attributed to a flawed and deficit-based rationale that students are hindered, or confused by their native language, which "interferes" with mastery of English.

It's not easy to implement a bilingual program in an educational space that is dominated by a monolingual lens already (English) and threatened by the performative demands of standardized testing. Teaching for bilingualism and biliteracy requires the

development of oral language, curriculum integration, language-rich classrooms, authentic, language-rich experiences, and content area learning applications that allow for the exploration of academic language in two languages. All of this takes a significant amount of time and resources. Additionally, principals must compete with other principals to staff their schools with quality bilingual teachers amidst a national bilingual teacher shortage.

Over the years I've seen how principals play a pivotal role in the success or demise of bilingual programming. I saw campuses that "officially" had bilingual education programming that complied with state law because there were certified bilingual teachers at every grade level. Those same campuses prohibited native language instruction after first grade. I've witnessed a principal so hostile to bilingual education she prohibited its implementation by confiscating all the Spanish resources on her campus and shipping them to the district warehouse so teachers would not have Spanish materials to use. I saw an early career principal who struggled to lead a school rated low performing walk back her commitments to provide bilingual programming so she could implement short-term improvement reforms to get her campus off the school-closure list. Diluting bilingual education programming was expressed, at this campus, through practices like accelerating the "exit" in transitional bilingual early-exit programming using logic like *"Let's make transition happen earlier so kids will be better prepared before they go to middle school!"*

Conversely, I've had the privilege of working with principals who were strong advocates for bilingual education and worked to implement quality programming that fostered bilingualism and biliteracy. I served with one principal who had a vision and a

mission to equip all students to be bilingual since the state was projected to be majority

bilingual by 2040. This principal consistently yet diplomatically pushed back on district

initiatives that ran contrary to the goals of the campus' dual language program and

skillfully integrated dual language educational practices with fine arts programming. A

fierce advocate for linguistically and culturally diverse students, she used relationships to

advocate for bilingual programming with the superintendent and board members. She

lobbied hard to bring a bilingually certified dyslexia teacher to the district. This principal

masterfully employed politics, relationships, culture, and research in her approach to

develop and sustain a dual language program on her campus.

These personal and professional experiences serving in public schools have fueled

my interest in researching how school leadership creates spaces for bilingualism and

biliteracy to flourish. My journey as a second language learner, my experiences as a

bilingual teacher implementing bilingual programming at the classroom level, and as an

administrator responsible for leading bilingual program implementation at the district

level have given me a unique lens with which to conduct this research and an enduring

commitment to do this work.

Background

Contrary to popular belief, the majority of the world's population is bilingual or

multilingual. Monolinguals constitute a minority of the world's population (Marian &

Shook, 2012). As of 2019, five million students in U.S. schools were linguistically

diverse, constituting 10% of the student population (NCES, 2019). Since the passage of

the Bilingual Education Act of 1968 (BEA), the U.S. has officially committed to

addressing the needs of linguistically diverse students with the provision of students'

native language in addition to English with varying degrees of implementation and success (Gándara, 2015). However, federally funded, compensatory educational programming for culturally and linguistically diverse students is rooted in a deficit-based ideology centered on the skills and attitudes of the child rather than addressing structural inequities in schools and society at large. Historically, language in education policies have been positioned to promote assimilation by overcoming language deficits (Gándara, 2015).

Bilingual education refers to teaching academic studies in students' native language and English (Bybee et al., 2014; Moughamian et al., 2009; Walsh et al., 2018). Varying amounts of each language are taught according to the goals of the particular model employed. Transitional bilingual education employs students' native language to provide instruction in academic subjects with a transition to English occurring in 3–5 years in an early exit model, or 5–7 years in a late exit model with a goal of fluency in English (89 Tex. Admin. Code, 2012). Dual Language education, a form of bilingual education, employs the use of both languages, with the goal of fluency in both languages (Boyle et al., 2015; Lindholm-Leary, 2001). The argument for bilingual education stems from research on language acquisition that suggests that when it comes to language and literacy development, linguistically diverse students do better when the teacher builds on students' existing frameworks of knowledge in a language that students already understand (Gándara & Contreras, 2009; Krashen, 1996). Educators can bridge learning to other subject areas while introducing concepts in additional languages through the use of language rich, context-embedded pedagogy. Studies comparing bilingual education with English-only approaches are inconclusive regarding the rate at which students

acquire fluency in English (Gándara & Contreras, 2009), yet bilingual education affords an advantage when it comes to the development of reading skills in Spanish (August & Shanahan, 2006).

Problem Statement

A sociocultural and policy narrative, characterized by assimilationist and deficit-based discourse about linguistically diverse students, has resulted in subtractive schooling practices that have significantly limited educational access and achievement for Latino students (Brown, 2016; Valencia, 2010; Valenzuela, 1999). Language in education policies, school structures and processes, and teacher beliefs about language have predominantly been rooted in the language-as-a-problem perspective that views languages other than English as a handicap to be overcome through acquisition of the English (Ruiz, 1984). Language in education policy has evolved from the BEA, which provided for bilingual instruction through the No Child Left Behind and Title III programming, which emphasized attainment of English. Schools were evaluated according to a strict standardized testing-based accountability system that led many schools to abandon bilingual education programs in favor of English only programs (Gándara, 2015; Menken & Solorza, 2014) resulting in low student achievement and limited opportunities (Kanno & Harklau, 2012; Kanno & Kangas, 2014).

Educational reformers point to an achievement gap that they attribute to disparate performance of English learners and non-English learners as evidence that English language learners are not well served by current educational policies, programs, and pedagogies (Brown, 2016; Crawford, 2004; Kieffer & Thompson, 2018). Disparities in student performance may more convincingly be attributed to disparities in opportunities

that have been historically afforded to students who are English learners (Brown, 2016; Callahan et al., 2010; Crosnoe, 2005, 2006; Cummins, 2000; Irvine, 2010; Ladson-Billings, 2006). Language in education policies, school structures and processes, and teacher misperceptions about language acquisition have resulted in subtractive schooling practices that have historically marginalized linguistically diverse students (Butvilofsky et al., 2017; Callahan et al., 2010; Crosnoe 2005, 2006; Dabach, 2015; de Jong, 2013; DeMatthews & Izquierdo, 2018; Gándara, 2015; Gándara & Contreras, 2009; Gándara & Rumberger, 2009; Menken & Kleyn, 2010; Olsen, 2010; Pettit, 2011; Rizzuto, 2017; Shim & Shur, 2018; Thompson, 2017; Valencia, 1997; Valenzuela, 1999; Wang, 2017). Despite the increase in linguistically diverse students, there exists a "poverty of language learning" (Pettit, 2011, p. 123) in teacher education that points to a need for increased professional development. A review of the research indicated that language program implementation at the school level is negatively impacted by poorly implemented, low-level, remedial programming that hinders academic achievement (Callahan et al., 2010; Menken & Kleyn, 2010), reclassification practices not aligned with research about second language acquisition resulting in long-term ELs (Thompson, 2017), novice teachers being disproportionately assigned to teach Els, and a lack of clarity regarding roles and responsibilities of teachers of ELs (Dabach, 2015).

Bilingual education maintenance programming and dual language programming are grounded in an assets-based, pluralist orientation that values linguistic and cultural diversity and views language as a resource valuable to maintaining cultural heritage and identity (de Jong, 2013). Yet many American schools have not changed their instructional approaches to language programming in decades, using a deficit mindset in considering

the abilities and needs of language learners reinforced by federal and states' language in education policies that frame students in terms of their limited English proficiency and academic struggles (Valencia, 1997; Williams, 2015). In the absence of a national research agenda on bilingual and dual language education, effective program implementation is typically isolated at the classroom level (Williams, 2015). Quality dual language education occurs in isolated pockets (Williams, 2015), in what de Jong (2013) characterized as assimilationist spaces with "pluralist edges." Within these implementational and ideological spaces, educators conceive of multilingualism as a resource and appropriate language policies in ways that benefit bilingual learners (Johnson, 2010).

A pervasive, monolingual lens which dominates current pedagogy about early literacy instruction fails to account for the nuanced and complex process of developing bilingualism and biliteracy. The pedagogies and methodologies designed for monolingual language students do not include the development of metalinguistic awareness, transferable skills, application of cognate awareness, syntax, and contrastive analysis and dispositions that are needed to develop the linguistic and literacy resources needed for bilingualism (Hopewell & Escamilla, 2014). There is a dearth of research about biliterate writing (Hopewell & Escamilla, 2014) and a shortage of well-designed assessments for bilingual/biliterate learners (Williams, 2015) in addition to a lack of teacher and administrative professional learning for administrators and teachers (Pettit, 2011).

The orchestration of successful additive bilingual maintenance and dual language programming requires effective, supportive school leadership. In the 21st century, the conception of a school principal has evolved from building manager to engaged

instructional leader (Fullan, 2003; Marzano, 2005). There is a shortage of research on principal leadership as it relates to serving ELs and leading schools with effective dual language programming (DeMatthews & Izquierdo, 2018). The research that was available and reviewed for this study indicated that principals lacked knowledge of language programs operating in the schools (Menken & Solorza, 2015; Padron & Waxman, 2006), a concern since principals are tasked with being instructional leaders as well as marshaling resources and providing professional learning to teachers. Principals untrained in language acquisition research and the pedagogical practices underlying bilingual education were more likely to shift school language programming from bilingual education to English only instruction to accelerate English acquisition, resulting in less opportunities for students to become bilingual and biliterate (Menken & Solorza, 2015).

School administrators, by virtue of their leadership positions, critically impact the language programming implementation and the quality of education linguistically diverse students receive (Ascenzi-Moreno et al., 2015; Menken & Solorza, 2014; Reyes, 2006; Scanlan & López, 2012; Wiemelt & Welton, 2015). Principals' own experiences, knowledge, and beliefs influence how they perceive their roles as leaders and how they prioritize their work. Principal priorities are influenced by their district's mandates, policies, and initiatives.

In order to successfully lead language programming committed to the development of bilingualism, biliteracy, and sociocultural integration, leaders must create a cohesive, integrated learning architecture that provides for the cultivation of language proficiency, culturally responsive instructional practices, high-quality curriculum, and the

development of school, family, and community partnerships (DeMatthews & Izquierdo, 2018; Khalifa, et al., 2016; Scanlan & Lopez, 2012; Scanlan & Lopez, 2015). Principals, as a result of their positional authority, visibility, and role in creating and implementing campus-based instructional systems, are key arbiters of language policy implementation (Khalifa, et al., 2016; Menken & Solorza, 2015; Scanlan & Lopez, 2015). As of now, existing research that identifies strategies and/or dispositions that principal leaders who are successful in navigating language policy use to support bilingualism is limited. If we could pinpoint the needed leadership knowledge, understandings, behaviors, and actions of principals engaged in language policy implementation, then districts and preparation programs could marshal the necessary mentoring, professional development, and leadership preparation support to ensure that all principals are equipped to serve bilingual students.

Purpose of the Study and the Research Questions

The purpose of my dissertation research is to study how campus principals in schools with a majority of students served by bilingual programming experience language policy. I designed my research questions to understand the intersection between leadership practices and the specific language orientations, leader behaviors and actions that come into play within language policy enactment. My goal is to contribute to the field of bilingualism and leadership by capturing the experiences and stories of these leaders as they navigate school leadership, implementation of language policy and programming, and the development of culturally and linguistically responsive practices. My research questions were designed to support the understanding of the essential question of this inquiry: What is the lived experience of campus principals navigating

language policy in four elementary schools with established dual language immersion programs? This study will address three sub questions:

1. What are the principals' beliefs and understandings about language and language policy?

2. How do the principals enact language policy?

3. What informs the principals' decision making and leadership actions in enacting language policy?

Brief Overview of Conceptual Framework

Several constructs contributed to this study's conceptual framework for principals navigating language policy, including an assertion that principals are de-facto language policy arbiters (Johnson & Johnson, 2015), an understanding that culturally and linguistically responsive leadership is crucial in developing and sustaining quality language programming (Khalifa et al., 2016; Lucas & Villegas, 2011), and the theory of holistic bilingualism (Grosjean 2008) that suggests that a bilingual learner's two languages should be considered holistically rather than separately.

First, principals, as decision makers, are de-facto language policy arbiters (Johnson & Johnson, 2015). According to Spolsky (2004), language policy encompasses "language practices, beliefs, and management of a community of polity" (p. 9). McCarty (2011) defined language policy as "complex sociocultural processes and modes of human interaction, negotiation and production, mediated by relations in power" (p. 8). Both definitions are useful for this study because they position language policy as a social construct that encompasses multiple aspects including power, planning, practices, culture, beliefs, and agency. Johnson and Johnson (2015) conceptualized language policy arbiters

as individuals who have an inordinate influence on language policy programming and implementation. Language policy involves the process of creation, interpretation, and appropriation by various actors at diverse stages in the implementation process within institutional contexts (Johnson, 2013). Schools are sites where language policies determine what language(s) are spoken. Research on U.S. language policy illustrates predominantly restrictive policy environments (Johnson & Johnson 2015). Johnson and Johnson's theory of language policy arbiters helps to situate principals as key arbiters with decisive power in how policy is interpreted and appropriated through principals' influence and decision-making.

Secondly, culturally and linguistically responsive leadership is essential to engaging bilingual learners and sustaining quality language programming. Culturally responsive leadership includes affirmation of the cultural beliefs and practices of students while challenging teaching and schooling practices that have traditionally marginalized minoritized students (Khalifa et al., 2016). Linguistically responsive leadership includes commitment to sociolinguistic consciousness, value for linguistic diversity, advocacy for English learners, and knowledge of second language acquisition practices (Lucas & Villegas, 2011).

Lastly, privileging bilingualism requires an understanding of holistic bilingualism necessary to champion emergent bilingual students, since "biliteracy is a greater and more complex form of literacy than monoliteracy" (Hopewell & Escamilla, 2014, p. 182). Holistic bilingualism incorporates all of students' linguistic resources because what students learn in one language transfers to another language and can provide a learning scaffold (Grosjean, 1989, 2010). A bilingual learner should be regarded as a unified

whole rather than as two monolinguals in one person (Hopewell & Butvilofsky, 2016). Consideration of the totality of the linguistic resources and competencies of a bilingual learner privileges bilingualism whereas the conception that one language interferes with another, causes confusion, or delays learning of the other language impoverishes bilingualism.

In summary, principals, by virtue of their leadership role, greatly influence language policy. Culturally and linguistically responsive leadership is enhanced when principals rely on research-informed practices that privilege bilingualism and biliteracy through pedagogies, curricula, material, and assessments that are grounded in research about sequential and simultaneous bilinguals as opposed to monolinguals.

Brief Overview of Methodology

A qualitative, inquiry approach is best suited for this study because it seeks to uncover the individual perceptions, beliefs, and experiences of multiple participants while presenting a complex, detailed understanding that may not be accurately measured by a quantitative approach (Creswell & Poth, 2018). This research study employed the key tenets of qualitative research methodology including a context-dependent, natural setting for data collection, an emergent design, a reflexive researcher stance, the use of multiple methods of data collection (interviews and observations) to illustrate the participants' multiple perspectives and meanings, and the use of inductive and deductive reasoning to build a comprehensive set of themes (Creswell & Poth, 2018). Additionally, this topic involved sensitive issues related to race, economic status, and cultural biases. Such complex issues are best understood through talking directly with the participants in their own contexts about their perceptions and experiences.

More specifically, a case study approach fit my study, an issue-focused inquiry that sought to understand the experiences and dynamics of school principals engaged in implementing bilingual language programming. Case study method is grounded in a constructivist epistemological understanding that knowledge and meaning are socially constructed (Stake, 1995), and researchers are at once interpreters, recorders, and reporters of others' interpretations (Merriam, 1998). Merriam described case study as an "intensive, holistic description and analysis of a bounded phenomenon such as a program, an institution, a person, a process, or a social unit" (1998, p. xiii). Distinctive attributes of case study design are a flexible design (Stake, 1995), a focus on a particular issue, rich, thick description, and a heuristic approach (Merriam, 1998).

For this study, I identified four elementary school principals through purposive and criterion sampling. I sought leaders who had a minimum of three years of principal experience in culturally and linguistically diverse settings where at least 25% of the students were identified as students served by bilingual programming. I conducted a series of semi-structured interviews with open-ended questions that aimed to illustrate the contexts, situations, and leadership dilemmas that principals experienced in implementing language policies and programming. Evidentiary sources included a reflexive researcher journal, language policy artifacts, and participant interviews. Greater detail about the methodology will be offered in Chapter 3.

Significance of the Study

It is my hope that the results of this study can better inform researchers, campus administrators, and educators about the leadership actions, dilemmas, behaviors, and beliefs that come into play within a principal's role in enacting language policy. There is abundant research concerning the intersection of principal leadership and culturally

responsive practices (DeMatthews & Izquierdo, 2018; Gooden & Dantley, 2012; Khalifa, et al., 2016; 2011; Scanlan & Lopez, 2015; Theoharis & O'Toole, 2011), yet much of the research fails to account for the specific academic and linguistic needs of emergent bilingual students, much less the political acumen and systems thinking needed by leaders to implement responsive language policies.

Insights gained through this study can support the development of professional learning experiences for principals. Developing principals with the linguistically responsive orientations, knowledge, and skills to best meet the needs of bilingual students is an antidote to subtractive schooling practices. Language policies and programming prescribe the quality and quantity of services and influence the experiences that emergent bilingual students receive through schooling. The school leader has the power and influence to sway both through the implementation of language policy and quality programming for bilingual learners and the development of culturally and linguistically responsive educators to support students' academic performance and social and emotional well-being.

My literature review pointed to ways that historically, language policies, programming, and deficit-based educator beliefs resulted in subtractive schooling practices that perpetuated low student achievement for linguistically diverse students. By situating the principal as a language policy arbiter, I captured the lived experience of language policy by highlighting the daily actions and behaviors that can privilege or imperil the implementation of dual language programming and the development of biliteracy. It is my sincere aspiration that my work will make a positive social impact by

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contributing to the research about quality implementation of dual language programming, equitable language policies, and culturally and linguistically responsive leadership.

Definition of Terms

The terms used in the study are defined below:

Bilingualism – The ability to speak in two languages.

Biliteracy – The ability to read and write in two languages (Escamilla et al., 2014).

Dual language immersion (DLI) – A bilingual instructional program where students are taught literacy and academic content in English and a partner language in order to develop high levels of language proficiency and literacy in both program languages, attain high levels of academic achievement, and develop an appreciation and understanding of diverse cultures (Howard et al., 2018).

English learner (EL) – A person who is in the process of learning English in addition to their native language and any other languages they may speak. Also known as English language learner (EL). The term English learner is used in this study in the literature review when summarizing studies that specifically used that term. Additionally, EL is used to distinguish English learners from Spanish learners within the context of language groups in a dual language classroom.

Emergent bilingual (EB) – coined by Ofelia García (2009), a term positioned to refer to a student who is in the process of developing bilingualism. The term emphasizes the additive capacity of bilingualism rather than a focus on language deficiency.

Language policy–for the purposes of this study, language policy is defined as the "language practices, beliefs, and management of a community of polity" (Spolsky, 2004, p. 9).

Latino/a–In this study, I use the term Latino/a is used to refer to a person of Latin American descent residing in the United States. Additionally, the term Latinx is commonly used in some of the research read for this study.

Long-term English language learner (LTEL) – Students who have been enrolled in US schools for successive years and continue to be labeled with EL designation long past the time it should take for redesignation (Olsen, 2010).

Spanish language learner (SLL)–Students whose native language is English or another language who are enrolled in a dual language program to learn Spanish.

A note about terminology–The relevance and usefulness of labels and categories within a discourse is related to the specific interests of the user. The language we use to describe language learning in the US is fundamentally impoverished and fails to account for the incredible linguistic variability of students. In the research, the term EL dominates, yet it is woefully inadequate in articulating native language skills that students may already possess, instead defining students by their relationship to English, which may be only one of many languages in their linguistic repertoire. The term emergent bilingual (García et al., 2008) addresses students' potential for bilingualism but can lead to confusion when applied in dual language two-way immersion contexts to additionally refer to monolingual English speaking students learning Spanish. Terminology used in the field of language teaching and learning are what Kibler and Valdés (2016) refer to as manufactured socioinstitutional learner categories and are problematic to describe the

great variability and complexity of students engaged in the process of acquiring languages and invariably result in comparison that is influenced by a monolingual bias. Within this research study, I will use the term English learner so as to distinguish within the dual language contexts between English learners and monolingual English students learning Spanish.

Chapter Summary

The first chapter of this dissertation described the purpose of the study and provided information that includes background, research, context for the study, research questions, a brief overview of the conceptual framework and methods used, the significance of the study, and a definition of key terms. Chapter 2 included a presentation of the literature that summarizes the education of English learners through language in education policies has been characterized by subtractive schooling practices through (1) language in education policies, (2) language programming and implementation, (3) educator beliefs, and (4) principal leadership and English learners. These focus areas undergird the conceptual framework and the purpose of the study. Chapter 3 describes the methods used in this study and illustrates the process for data collection and analysis. Chapter 4 presents the findings in major themes and subthemes that emerged from the research data. Chapter 5 presents the findings in relation to the conceptual framework and provides conclusions, recommendations, and implications for further research.

II. LITERATURE REVIEW

The purpose of this literature review is to explore the intersection of language policy, language programming, schooling, and leadership practices as they relate to serving English learners (ELs) in U.S. public schools. Language policy, programming implementation, classroom, and leadership practices are all influenced and negotiated by conceptions and beliefs about the role of linguistic and cultural diversity in U.S. schools. This literature review begins with an overview of student demographics, a description of how the academic performance of English learners is evaluated, and a summary of the historical context and current programming provided to ELs in the U.S. The literature is organized into several sections: (a) the current context of ELs in U.S. public schools, (b) the historical background of language in education policies, (c) a description of how deficit beliefs about ELs influence language policy and programming implementation, resulting in subtractive schooling practices, and (d) the role of school principals in enacting policies and practices that contribute to the achievement of ELs. The literature review concludes with a presentation of a conceptual framework for leadership of schools that serve ELs. The conceptual framework is grounded in research about language and policy planning and implementation, culturally and linguistically responsive leadership practices, and instructional practices that develop bilingualism and biliteracy.

Current Context of English Learners in Public Schools

ELs numbered 4.9 million in 2015 and comprised 9.6% of students enrolled in U.S. public schools, an increase of 1.1 million students since 2000 (NCES, 2019). The enrollment of ELs in public schools is higher in urban and suburban areas (NCES, 2019). ELs comprise 10% or more of the population in nine states in the West and Southwest

regions of the U.S., with the greatest population in California with 20.2 %, followed by Texas with 17.2%, and Nevada with 15.5% (NCES, 2019). A greater percentage of ELs in U.S. public schools are enrolled in lower grades than upper grades, a pattern attributed to students being identified as ELs in lower grades but obtaining English proficiency before reaching upper grades (Saunders, & Marceletti, 2013). Spanish is the predominant language spoken by ELs enrolled in US public schools, followed by Arabic and Chinese, respectively (NCES, 2019). Despite a widely held perception that ELs are largely immigrants, the majority of EL students currently enrolled in school were U.S. born including 85% of ELs enrolled at grades pre-K-5 and 62% of ELs enrolled in grades 6–12 (Zong & Batalova, 2015).

From 2002 to 2011, the National Assessment of Educational Progress (NAEP) reading scale scores for non-EL fourth and eighth grade students were higher than their EL peers' (National Center for Education Statistics, 2012). For 2011, the achievement gap between non-EL and EL students was 36 points at the fourth grade level and 44 points at the eighth-grade level (National Center for Education Statistics, 2012). This 40-point average achievement gap has been constant from 2000 to 2012. However, this achievement gap excludes the performance of former EL students. Students who were at one time designated as English language learners, but who have attained English proficiency, are not included in data sets like NAEP or state assessments that grew out of No Child Left Behind (NCLB) legislation assessments that are typically utilized to illustrate an achievement gap between ELs and non-ELs.

In both NAEP and NCLB assessments, the notion of an EL student group is a questionable construct. ELs are a highly diverse and fluid population with varied prior

schooling experiences, multitudinous cultural backgrounds, and ranges of socioeconomic status (Crawford, 2004). Students in this category include newly arrived students with little exposure to English as well as those with extensive exposure to English learned in their countries of origin. Students in the EL category also include U.S. born students who are long term ELs students who have attended schools in the U.S. for seven or more years, have received language support services, yet have not met program exit requirements to be reclassified from EL status (Callahan et al., 2010). Labeling disparate academic performance between current ELs and non-ELs as an achievement gap is an oxymoron since ELs, by definition, are not proficient enough in the listening, speaking, reading, and writing domains of the English language to be successful on NAEP and NCLB assessments. The construct of the EL student group as an assessment category problematically defines EL students on the basis of their low achievement. When EL students have learned enough English to pass state assessments, they qualify to exit from receiving language program services. This reclassification removes their identification as "limited English proficient," and these students and their achievement scores are no longer included in the EL student group. Crawford (2004) noted that it is a mathematical impossibility for ELs as a student group to reach full proficiency (since they are no longer included in the EL category when they become proficient) and questioned the practice of holding schools accountable "for failing to achieve the impossible" (p 7).

Kieffer and Thompson (2018) re-examined NAEP data to include current ELs as well as former English learners who had gained proficiency and were no longer considered ELs and found that the gap between English only and current and former ELs was significantly narrowing by 24% in reading and 37% in Math from the years 2003 to

2015. For eighth graders, gaps between non-ELs and current and former ELs diminished by 27% in reading and 39% in math during the same time period (Kieffer & Thompson, 2018). Excluding former EL students who were educated with special language programming from states and federal achievement data fails to accurately portray whether educational systems are improving or declining in serving students who are ELs and promotes a deficit-based interpretation that ELs' linguistic challenges contribute to the achievement gap (Kieffer & Thompson, 2018).

Performance disparities between Black, Latino, and White students are frequently labeled as the achievement gap. Ladson-Billings (2006) observed that the achievement gap is a misnomer and disparities in performance are more aptly attributed to an education debt that the American educational system owes students it has poorly served. The problem lies not in students' abilities, but rather in the disparate opportunities they are afforded historically and that are sustained by systemic racism and pervasive economic inequality (Ladson-Billings, 2009). Students designated as English language learners (EL) that attend schools which report poor achievement by other major student groups are characterized by similar issues that correlate to poor test performance including high student-teacher ratios, overcrowded schools, and elevated levels of students living in poverty (Brown, 2016; Fry, 2008;). With this lens, we can reconceptualize the achievement gap in a way that takes the blame off students and addresses the inequities that caused the disparities in the first place. Irvine (2010) pointed out the structural and systemic practices that perpetuate the achievement gap including:

> … the teacher quality gap; the teacher training gap; the challenging curriculum gap; the school funding gap; the digital divide gap; the wealth and income gap;

the employment opportunity gap; the affordable housing gap; the health care gap;

the nutrition gap; the school integration gap; and the quality childcare gap. (p. xii)

Historical Background

A sociocultural and policy narrative, characterized by assimilationist and deficit-thinking oriented discourses, has contributed to a plethora of subtractive schooling practices that have significantly limited educational access and achievement for students of color.

The origins of assimilationist and pluralist discourses are important in the consideration of language in education policies. Historically, linguistic pluralism was evidenced by the many languages spoken by Native Americans and immigrant colonial settlers. Colonists valued multilingualism as an advantage for regional and special interests (de Jong, 2013). Community schools offered instruction in English as well as German, Swedish, Italian, Norwegian, Danish, Polish and Italian, to name a few. The19[th] century concluded with the enactment of laws that favored bilingualism in about 12 states (Gándara, 2015). This linguistic and cultural pluralism was short-lived, however. Industrialization, urbanization, exponential immigration growth, and the rise of compulsory public education in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, along with patriotic movements stoked by two World Wars contributed to an emphasis on assimilation through English as a marker of American identity. The United States was a nation of immigrants, yet an assimilationist ideology took hold that espoused that economic and political success was only attainable through full immersion in English (de Jong, 2013).

Valencia (1997) noted that school segregation practices were rooted in deficit beliefs that Black and Latino students were intellectually inferior, linguistically limited in

English, and lacking in motivation and morality, practices that would hinder the progress of White students if segregation were not entrenched. By the mid-20th Century, generational racism and discrimination resulted in Black and Mexican-origin children being educated in "colored" and "Mexican" schools; separate but unequal schools with poor facilities, and out-of-date and remedial curricula (Acuña, 1988; Rodriguez, n.d.; San Miguel, 1987; Valencia, 1997). English immersion, or "sink or swim" policies were the de-facto educational practices for linguistically diverse children (Bybee et al., 2014).

The Civil Rights movement of the 1960s brought about societal unrest that led to reforms that included recognition of rights and antidiscrimination laws and policies for minoritized groups, including *Lau v. Nichols* and the Bilingual Education Act, both of which affected EL students. Language programming in U.S. schools today is a result of language in education policies such as the Bilingual Education Act (BEA), and Title VII of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act, which provided for students' native language to be used for instruction (de Jong, 2013; Walsh et al., 2018). Chinese parents argued in *Lau v. Nichols* (1974) that instruction provided in a language their children did not understand denied them equal access to education. The Supreme Court agreed, stating "there is no equality of treatment merely by providing students with the same facilities, textbooks, teachers, and curriculum; for students who do not understand English are effectively foreclosed from any meaningful education" and required accommodations for English learners (*Lau v. Nichols,* 1972). While *Lau* did not mandate a specific language support program, school districts were charged with identifying students with "limited English proficiency" in order to provide services designed to assist them (Menken & Kleyn, 2010).

As noted, the movement for bilingual education was a product of the larger civil rights movement of the 1960s that was characterized by the changing belief systems and language experiences of policy actors (Bybee et al., 2014). The Bilingual Education Act (BEA) of 1968 was an outgrowth of Lyndon Johnson's "War on Poverty" measures enacted through the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 (Gándara, 2015). President Johnson himself worked as a teacher in the "Mexican school" in Cotulla, Texas in the 1920's, integrating Spanish into his English-language instruction while teaching (Blanton, 2005). Title VII of the Bilingual Education Act of 1968 limited the scope of bilingual education to only be offered to non-English speaking students living in poverty; it lacked well-defined programmatic goals and was positioned as a tool to promote assimilation by overcoming language deficits (Gándara, 2015).

A reauthorization of the BEA in 1974 clarified the use of limited native language instruction to allow the child to progress educationally, thus establishing the role of bilingual education as a program that was to be transitional in nature (Gándara, 2015). Subsequent reauthorization of Title VII of the BEA in 1978 and 1984 emphasized English language skills over bilingualism; native language was only to be utilized for the purpose of fostering English acquisition (Gándara, 2015). The 1984 reauthorization provided for the establishment of "special alternative instructional programs" that did not utilize native language instruction, laying the groundwork for the English only educational policies that would flourish in some states in the late 1990s and early 2000s. The Improving America's Schools Act of 1994 emphasized bilingual programs that provided for the development of native language and English, however the pendulum swung back with the No Child Left Behind Act (NCLB) of 2001 which eliminated the

Bilingual Education Act and changed the Federal Office of Bilingual and Minority Language Affairs to the Office of English Language Acquisition. Title III of NCLB shifted the policy discourse from the focus of bilingualism as an asset to one that conceived of English learners as defined by their lack of English proficiency (Gándara, 2015).

De Jong (2013) characterized the dominant ideological discourse regarding language in education policies today as "assimilationist with pluralist edges" (p. 104). 40% of states in the U.S. have declared English as the official language. California and Arizona have restricted access to bilingual education, yet pluralist policies "continue to create multilingual spaces in schools," with the growth of additive, dual-language immersion programs across the U.S. as an example (de Jong, 2013, p. 105). Federal law stipulates that ELs are identified for placement and offered language support programs as defined by the states. Lewis and Gray (2016) reported that 68% of enrolled ELs at the secondary level are provided English as a Second Language (ESL) instruction "either through ESL push-in instruction (the ESL instructor works with students within a content class) or pull-out instruction (students move out of a class for ESL services), while 47% are provided sheltered English/content instruction (integrated language and content-area instruction provided to English learners)" (p. 2). Additionally, 1/3 of districts with secondary ELs offered instructional support provided by a paraprofessional while 16% of districts reported having a newcomer program, defined as a temporary program of instructional support provided to recent immigrants (Lewis & Gray, 2016). States determine whether to offer bilingual programming and/or ESL programs at the elementary level. Transitional bilingual education programs, also known as early-exit

programs, utilize students' native language to some degree, but emphasize the rapid acquisition of English. Developmental bilingual education programs (also known as dual language immersion or late-exit programs) develop fluency in English and students' native language (Moughamian et al., 2009; Thomas & Collier, 2002). The majority of programs at the elementary level are ESL and transitional (early-exit) bilingual programs.

Language Policy

It is important to unpack the definitions for "language policy" that undergird this study. Traditionally, language policy has been conceived as a set of regulations or legislative guidelines enacted by an authoritative or governmental entity to regulate language use (Kaplan & Baldauf, 1997). This definition assumes intentionality and top-down implementation while excluding aspects of linguistic culture including values, beliefs, and prejudices that are often in play when designing language policy (Johnson, 2013). Newer definitions grounded in sociolinguistic research offer alternate perspectives. Spolsky (2004) defined language policy as inclusive of the "language practices, beliefs, and management of a community of polity" (p. 9). McCarty (2011) defined language policy as "complex sociocultural processes and modes of human interaction, negotiation and production, mediated by relations in power" (p. 8). Both definitions are grounded in a sociocultural approach that positions language policy as socially constructed and inclusive of multiple aspects including power, planning, practices, culture, beliefs, and agency.

In conceptualizing language policy Ricento and Hornberger (1996) articulated a theoretical framework of language policy using an onion metaphor to depict the multiple layers of policy development; slicing through the onion affords a view of the connections

and conceptualizations of language policy among various actors across the multiple layers of policy. Johnson (2013) illustrated language policy layers as processes that are first created and conceptualized as policy texts and discourses. Once articulated, a policy is open to diverse interpretations by those who are expected to appropriate it in practice: the language policy actors (Johnson, 2013). A particular policy implementation may or may not reflect the original intent. Language policy may be generated at the macro level and instituted in a top-down fashion, yet it may also derive from the ground up in a grassroots fashion. Language policy means and goals may be overt or covert, explicit or implicit, and de jure or de facto. Johnson's (2013) interpretation lends itself to consideration of the space between the structure prescribed by a particular policy and an individual's agency to bend or shape a given policy to specific contextual demands (Johnson & Johnson, 2015).

Subtractive Schooling

The literature surveyed for this review pointed to ways in which language policies, institutional processes and structures, programming implementation, and teacher beliefs about language intersected to produce subtractive schooling practices that negatively impact ELs. In this section, I will define subtractive schooling and summarize what the literature says about how language in education policies, school structures and processes, and teacher beliefs about language influence language programming delivery of services resulting in subtractive schooling practices that have historically marginalized linguistically diverse students.

Valenzuela's (1999) seminal ethnographic research presented subtractive schooling as a framework rooted in social linguistic literature and social reproduction

theory. Subtraction results when the process of schooling and assimilation strips minoritized groups of students of their language, culture, and academic success (Valenzuela, 1999). Valenzuela (1999) argued that by negating Mexican-origin students' cultural heritage, language, and community-based identities, school structures and processes subtracted their resources. As a result of subtractive schooling practices, students in Valenzuela's (1999) study emerged from schooling experiences as monolinguals without a bilingual/bicultural orientation needed to identify with their heritage culture and lacking a clear understanding of the social capital needed for economic success and higher education.

Language in Education Policies and Subtractive Schooling

This section will explore how language in education policies, conceived from a deficit perspective, have contributed to subtractive schooling practices for ELs. Valencia (1997) defined deficit thinking as an endogenous theory that holds that students fail because of internal deficits or deficiencies. Educational policy for culturally and linguistically diverse students at the federal level in the form of compensatory educational programming is rooted in a deficit-based ideology focused on building up skills and attitudes of the child rather than addressing structural inequities in the schools and society at large. Ryan (1971) noted: "the logical outcome of analyzing social problems in terms of the deficiencies of the victims is the development of programs aimed at correcting those deficiencies. The formula for action becomes extraordinarily simple: change the victim" (p. 8).

Language in education policies in the U.S. have been expressed through discourses characterized by conflicting assimilationist (monolingual) and pluralist

(multilingual) ideologies regarding cultural and linguistic diversity in schools and society (de Jong, 2013). Assimilationist perspectives that favor monolingualism over multilingualism have historically viewed linguistic and cultural diversity as a threat to unity and an invitation to economic destabilization and societal fragmentation (de Jong, 2013). Standardization of English is perceived as the pathway to academic success and economic well-being. Code-switching and non-standard forms of English are not valued and may be perceived as indicative of linguistic confusion or a lack of competence (de Jong, 2013). de Jong (2013) notes: "Assimilationist discourses have emphasized language-in-education practices that privilege English over other languages and that lead to subtractive bilingualism—the native language is replaced by the use of English" (p. 102). In contrast, language in education policies that hold a pluralist, multilingual orientation value linguistic and cultural diversity and view other languages as resources valuable to maintaining cultural heritage and identity as assets (de Jong, 2013). A pluralist discourse regarding language in education assumes an additive approach; English is added to the students' linguistic repertoire without subtracting the native language.

In analyzing the impact of educational policy and programming on ELs it is important to consider the vocabulary of the discourses wherein they are expressed. De Jong (2013) observed "what earns legitimacy (what is valued) is reflected in discursive practices (how we talk about things) as well as concrete actions, such as formal policies and resource allocation" (p. 98). Carpenter and Diem (2015) conducted a discourse analysis of federal policy documents related to educational leadership and found that policies previously concerned with educational equity have been replaced with discourses

that emphasize assessment, efficiency, and accountability. Within the current discourse of accountability and improvement, the vocabulary we use ("at-risk," "limited English proficient," and "achievement gap," to name a few), labels the marginalized and reifies deficit-related ideologies without addressing the socioeconomic inequities that are to blame (Brown, 2016; Carpenter & Diem, 2015; Ronda & Valencia, 1994). Carpenter and Diem state that "vocabularies, once written into policy documents, will structure both the researched activities and implementation-related enactments of policy actors by determining what can be considered as legitimate solutions for public schools" (p. 519). In their discourse analysis of federal policy documents, Carpenter and Diem noted that "the term "race" was not as prevalent as other coded language terms that alluded to issues of race, as such language such as "high-need," "disadvantaged," "diversity," "inner city," and "urban," and "lowest-performing." (p. 530). Use of coded terms can perpetuate deficit-based, subtractive ideologies while ignoring the causes of racial and socioeconomic inequities and the quality and relevance of instruction provided. Discourse matters. According to Alim (2005) language can be used to maintain, reinforce, and perpetuate existing power relations or to resist, redefine and reverse power relations.

In his seminal research on orientations toward language within language in education policies, Ruiz (1984) described three distinct language planning orientations: language-as-problem, language-as-a-right, and language-as-a resource. A language-as-a-problem orientation problematizes an individual's first language as a handicap to be overcome through acquisition of the majority language (Ruiz, 1984). A language-as-a-right orientation grants that an individual has a basic human right to his/her first language

(Ruiz, 1984). A language-as-a-resource orientation postulates that an individual's first language is a resource that should be developed for the benefit of the individual as well as society.

Language in education policies in the U.S. have predominantly been rooted in the language-as-a-problem perspective that views languages other than English as a handicap to be overcome through acquisition of the English. Such policies, rooted in assimilationism, have resulted in subtractive schooling practices perpetuating the epistemic exclusion of ELs. The various iterations of United States language in education policies since the Bilingual Education act of 1968 have favored bilingual education as a transitional model, only to be used as a bridge to English while propagating a deficit-based perspective of English learners as "remedial students" (Gándara, 2015). Two pieces of federal education legislation in the last two decades, the No Child Left Behind (NCLB) and the Every Student Succeeds Act (ESSA), can be characterized as subtractive in their failure to explicitly address the value of bilingualism for linguistically diverse students.

The rise of accountability measures associated with NCLB have significantly influenced language programming in U.S. schools. The central purpose of Title III of NCLB was to ensure that limited English proficient and immigrant students "attain English proficiency, develop high levels of academic attainment in English, and meet the same challenging State academic content and student academic achievement standards as all children are expected to meet" (Title III, 2001, Sec. 3102 (1)). Schools were evaluated according to a strict standardized testing-based accountability system, despite research that suggested assessments of students who lack proficient command of English present

reliability and validity issues (Gándara, 2015). Title III of NCLB was based on the assumption that teacher accountability to higher standards would result in increased student achievement. Several researchers have investigated how accountability practices including sanctioning of schools with large numbers of ELs (school closure, school takeovers, loss of federal funding) have caused many schools to abandon bilingual education programs in favor of English only programs (Gándara, 2015; Menken & Solorza, 2014). Menken and Solorza (2014) researched bilingual programming elimination in New York City and found NCLB to be a restrictive language education policy that resulted in the reduction of the city's traditional transitional bilingual education programs by 50% since 2002. Principals cited pressures of accountability and a lack of preparation in educating bilingual learners as reasons for shifting from bilingual to English-only programming (Menken & Solorza, 2014). Menken and Solorza (2014) noted that administrators blamed bilingual programs for poor testing performance of linguistically diverse students as a result of their ideological beliefs about language rather than data; central to administrator beliefs about language is that bilingual programs fail to teach English.

In contrast to assimilationist subtractive approaches, many language education researchers and practitioners have promoted additive methodologies that facilitate the development of standardized language skills while encouraging minoritized students to maintain the home linguistic practices they bring to the classroom. Flores and Rosa (2015) valued the rejection of subtractive approaches yet questioned the underlying assumptions of additive approaches and posited that a discourse of "appropriateness," rooted in a conceptualization of standardized linguistic practices, contribute to a

raciolinguistic ideology that further marginalizes minoritized students. That is, "raciolinguistic ideologies produce racialized speaking subjects who are constructed as linguistically deviant even when engaging in linguistic practices positioned as normative or innovative when produced by privileged white subjects" (Flores & Rosa, 2015, p. 150). This concept of raciolinguistic language ideologies has significant implications for this study since several dual language programs featured in this study are experiencing a significant amount of gentrification as White parents flock to two-way dual language programming to gain perceived advantages for their children.

García (2009) posited that additive approaches to bilingual education work to perpetuate monoglossic language ideologies that center monolingualism as the norm and bilingualism as double monolingualism. In reality, populations whose linguistic practices occur within the context of a multilinguistic context are not simply adding one language to another in a manner of developing double monolingualism; rather, they are engaging in dynamic linguistic practices that do not conform to monolingual norms (Garcia 2009). Languages interact in complex ways within the context of linguistic practices and sociocultural relations of a multilingual people (Flores & Rosa, 2015). Constructs such as "first language" and "second language" do not account for the complexity of dynamic language constructs experienced by simultaneous bilinguals in a multilingual society (Garcia, 2009).

Language Programming Implementation and Subtractive Schooling

The way that language in education policies are implemented in schools is closely related to states' will and ability to marshal the necessary resources to support schools in providing quality language educational programming. Local education agencies must

create systems-oriented structures and processes to support the delivery of language

educational programming that meet the needs of English language learners. A review of

the research indicated that language program implementation at the school level is

negatively impacted by poorly implemented, disorganized, and ill-conceived systems and

processes that result in subtractive schooling practices for English language learners

including low-level, remedial programming that hinders academic achievement (Callahan

et al., 2010; Menken & Kleyn, 2010), reclassification practices that are not aligned with

research about second language acquisition resulting in long-term ELs (Thompson,

2017), novice teachers being disproportionately assigned to teach English learners, and a

lack of clarity regarding roles and responsibilities of teachers of ELs (Dabach, 2015).

The states, as the arbiters of federal policy, determine individual guidelines and

policies for language program implementation, including entrance and exit requirements.

Gándara and Rumberger (2009) considered the role of federal policy in shaping

immigrant students' educational opportunities and determined that shifting priorities from

Washington have resulted in a lack of funding and direction needed to serve ELs at the

state level. They also found that immigrant students are routinely placed in lengthy ESL

classes without content-area instruction, a significant departure from *Lau v. Nichols* that

they attributed to post 9-11 xenophobic public opinion and a belief, inconsistent with

second language acquisition theory, that children who speak another language should first

be taught English before being given access to other subject matter (p. 752). The practice

of waiting to teach ELs content area subject matter until they have achieved a level of

English fluency is inconsistent with research regarding best practices for ELs that holds

that access to academically challenging, integrated content-area instruction is an effective

pathway to English proficiency (August & Shanahan, 2006; Chamot & O'Malley, 1996).

Thompson (2017) studied the reclassification patterns of ELs in Los Angeles

Unified School District (LAUSD) longitudinally for nine years. Second language

acquisition theory suggests that it takes ELs 4-7 years to acquire fluency in English

(Cummins, 2000), however ELs in LAUSD took longer. After 9 years, only a fourth of

ELs in the district had reclassified, 30% of whom qualified for special education

(Thompson, 2017). The fact students who were male, native speakers of Spanish, and

students whose parents had lower levels of education were less likely to be reclassified

speaks to deficit-based ideologies of educators in implementing policies and educating

ELs (Thompson, 2017). In the case of LAUSD, deficit-thinking, remedial programming,

and stringent program requirements for reclassification aligned to make students long

term ELs.

Dabach (2015) conducted a qualitative study in California to analyze the practice

of teacher placement into immigrant EL classrooms and found that state-level changes in

certification requirements for teaching ELs coupled with institutional processes, norms,

and practices at the local level resulted in a disproportionate novice teacher distribution

within assignments to EL's content-area classrooms, limiting ELs access to educational

opportunities. Dabach (2015) found less experienced teachers were more likely to be

placed in content area classrooms with ELs unless more senior teachers requested EL

placements or met the new certification requirements (being recently licensed, the less

experienced teachers were more likely to be in compliance with the new certification

requirements). Dabach (2015) observed that teacher tracking, a process in which teachers

with seniority are given first choice in teaching their preferred populations and courses, while new and novice teachers are given "remedial," classes, occurs often at the local level (p. 248). Administrators described teacher placements as a political process facilitated by "the perception that immigrant parents would not challenge these staffing decisions" and a rationalization that EL classrooms represented a less challenging assignment for a new/novice teacher since EL students were more likely to respect the teacher (Dabach, 2015, p. 261). Exploiting ELs cultural norms of respect while banking on the marginalization of EL parents to not challenge the system suggests that teacher placements, navigated on every secondary campus, are a political struggle.

A prevalent theme throughout the literature reviewed is how deficit beliefs about the linguistic resources of ELs work to produce remedial language programming that perpetuates low EL student achievement and precludes ELs from participating in opportunities for higher education (Callahan et al., 2010; Dabach, 2015; Gándara & Rumberg, 2008; Menken & Kleyn, 2010; Thompson, 2017). In a mixed methods study, Menken and Kelyn (2010) used interviews and document analysis to examine the intersection of ELs schooling experiences and language use and concluded that subtractive schooling practices that put ELs in a "linguistic bind," causing the academic challenges that work to perpetuate their long term EL status (p. 413). An emphasis on English acquisition over bilingual education is rooted in a misperception, despite decades of second language acquisition research, that the native languages of ELs are liabilities for learning (Menken & Kleyn, 2010).

ESL and English language development (ELD) are examples of instructional program offerings offered to ELs at the secondary level to help them attain English

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language proficiency and meet academic standards. However, studies in this review demonstrated that such programs are remedial in nature, and work to perpetuate long-term EL status and promote grade retention (Menken & Kleyn, 2010) while limiting access to post-secondary opportunities (Callahan et al., 2010). There exists a mismatch between the needs of long term ELs students and rigor and expectations of the ESL courses that many are required to take (Menken & Kleyn, 2010). Students in two studies illustrated this mismatch in their characterization of ESL classes as "boring" and "too easy" (Menken & Kleyn, 2010; Shim & Shur, 2018). While long term ELs need explicit instruction in academic literacy skills in content-area subjects, typically, ESL classes at the secondary level are intended for new arrivals with less developed oral English proficiency skills. In a longitudinal research study that examined the effects of ESL placement on ELs academic trajectories and college preparation, Callahan et al. (2010) found that recent immigrants with low levels of English proficiency received did better in math yet stalled in other academic areas and were "less likely than non-ESL students to enroll in college preparatory coursework by the end of high school" (p. 96). Additionally, ESL placement negatively impacted ELs' cumulative GPA (Callahan et al., 2010). Students who stayed in ESL for extended periods of time did not benefit.

Educator Beliefs and Subtractive Schooling

In the previous sections, we have explored how language policy implementation and language programming delivery of services result in subtractive schooling experiences for ELs. This section will explore the role that educators' beliefs play in language policy implementation and classroom practices. Before discussing the research about educator beliefs and schooling experiences for linguistically diverse students, it is

important to explore the role deficit thinking has played in the educational experiences of culturally and linguistically diverse students. Valencia (1997) defined deficit thinking as attributing student failure in schools to internal deficiencies historically attributed to cognitive deficits, linguistic limitations, and a lack of motivation. Valencia (1997) noted:

> Deficit thinking is a person-centered explanation of school failure among individuals as linked to group membership (combination of racial/ethnic minority status and economic disadvantagement). The deficit thinking framework holds that poor schooling performance is rooted in students' alleged cognitive and motivational deficits, while institutional structures and inequitable schooling arrangements that exclude students from learning are held exculpatory. (p. 2)

Educator beliefs play an essential role in language policy enactment and programming implementation in the classroom. Educator beliefs and attitudes are formed by values that shape their judgment, expectations, and actions. Educator beliefs influence student performance, behaviors, motivation, and outcomes. When educator beliefs are informed by deficit thinking narratives, subtractive schooling results.

Studies in this review converged around several themes regarding teacher beliefs including deficit-based thinking about EL abilities, misperceptions about second language acquisition, and a reluctance to take responsibility for ELs language and content-area learning in the classroom. Several studies in this review identified predictors of teacher beliefs about ELs. Pettit (2011) summarized a variety of predictors of teacher beliefs identified by researchers, including years of teaching experience, years of experience teaching ELs, exposure to language diversity, and professional development related to teaching ELs. Teacher training was the strongest predictor of positive beliefs

about ELs, suggesting that teachers with a greater knowledge about teaching ELs had more confidence in their skill set, and exhibited practices more in line with research about second language acquisition.

The literature suggests that negative teacher beliefs about ELs are associated with misperceptions about second language acquisition and native language use. In the studies reviewed, misconceptions about ELs' second language acquisition included confusion about the length of time to learn a language, erroneous beliefs about ELs use of native language while learning English, and a minimization of the importance of specialized pedagogical techniques to meet ELs' linguistic needs (Karabenick & Noda, 2004; Pettit, 2011; Reeves, 2006; Rizutto, 2017; Shim & Shur, 2018). Reeves (2006) found that teachers believed that ELs should be able to acquire English within two years. In reality, it takes ELs four to seven years to acquire academic English (Cummins, 2000). Karabenick and Noda (2004), Reeves (2006), Rizzuto (2017), and Shim and Shur (2018) found that teachers erroneously believed that ELs' native language use slowed the rate of English acquisition and delayed acquisition of English. As a result of this belief, teachers held that ELs should not use native language while learning English and some teachers surveyed acknowledged not permitting ELs to use their native language in class, a subtractive practice (Rizzuto, 2017). This misperception has deleterious effects on ELs because it contradicts how a second language is acquired and contributes to a lack of understanding of the relationship between the native language and the second language in mastering academic content. Second language acquisition research holds that proficiency in a native language can facilitate acquisition of a second language, and a strong

proficiency in the native language facilitates higher academic achievement (Cummins, 2000).

Fitzimmons-Doolan et al. (2017) found that educators' own ideologies about language influence bilingual education policy implementation at the local level regardless of what program model is in place. Conflicts between district practices and local program requirements led teachers to make policy decisions at the local level (Fitzimmons-Doolan et al., 2017). Hopkins (2016) reported that bilingual teachers' beliefs about language and diversity correlated to their reported use of students' primary language. To put it simply, a bilingually certified teacher teaching bilingual education may follow his/her language ideology for the language of instruction rather than a particular school district's content and language allocation plan. Consequently, educators are important arbiters of language in education policies.

Some studies considered the role of professional development in supporting outcomes for linguistically diverse students. Reeves (2006) noted that only 12.5% of U.S. teachers received in excess of 8 hours of professional development about meeting the needs of ELs. More professional development is needed to better equip the teaching force to part with misguided assumptions and develop capacities, based on research, to better meet ELs linguistic needs. Unfortunately, a number of studies indicated a belief on the part of teachers of ELs that additional professional development was not needed (Pettit, 2011; Reeves, 2006; Rizzuto, 2017; Vázquez-Montilla et al., 2014). Clair (as cited in Pettit, 2011) attributed teachers' ambivalence about professional development to a generalization that good teaching would suffice, not accounting for the differentiation and specialized pedagogy required to meet EL students' needs.

A lack of professional development necessary to grow teachers' capacity to serve culturally and linguistically diverse students may contribute to deficit beliefs about ELs that result in implementation of low-level, remedial programming. In a study of how early childhood teachers' perceptions of ELs shaped their literacy practices, Rizzuto (2017) found that teachers did not believe they could use the same pedagogical strategies with ELs that were used with native English speakers in the classroom, since ELs were "lacking in experiences" to bridge to new learning connections (p. 193). Pettit (2011) found that teachers held low expectations for ELs and some did not believe that ELs had enough skills to be in the mainstream classroom, attributing their academic difficulties with laziness and lack of effort, thus situating the problem within the ELs themselves. This tendency of teachers to view language as a problem (Ruiz, 1984) situated within the students themselves, was a theme throughout the research. Teachers in Rizzuto's (2017) study blamed ELs' families for their low levels of literacy instruction and delegated ELs literacy instruction to the ESL teacher or utilized remedial, skill-based curriculum resources. One study illustrated the disconnect between teachers' perception of language as a problem (Ruiz, 1984) and students' perspective of their native language as a resource (Ruiz, 1984) that students perceived would be helpful to them in acquiring English fluency. Shim and Shur's (2018) qualitative research on student and teacher perspectives of limiting factors on ELs learning found that student perspectives sharply diverged from teacher perspectives, illustrating a mismatch that worked to the detriment of ELs. Students considered boring ESL classes, mean teachers, and not being able to tell their stories to build on language and learning as the factors that limited their learning (Shim & Shur, 2018). Conversely, teachers identified the EL students' prolonged use of their

native language, and EL parents not valuing education as limiting factors for ELs (Shim & Shur, 2018). Overall, the studies cited illustrated a tendency for teachers to exhibit deficit thinking in perceiving language as a problem situated within the academic and cultural practices of the students rather than conceptualizing native language as a resource.

Another issue rooted in deficit thinking that resulted in subtractive education practices was the tendency of some teachers to eschew their responsibility for educating linguistically diverse students. Several studies of secondary content-area teachers illustrated the issue of teachers' unwillingness to take responsibility for educating ELs, viewing ELs as the purview of the ESL teacher (Pettit, 2011; Reeves, 2006; Rizzuto, 2017; Vazquez-Montilla et al., 2014), a dangerous perception given the critical role that content-area teachers play in accommodating instruction to facilitate access for ELs in content area classrooms. A majority of teachers in a study conducted by Vázquez-Montilla et al. (2014) believed that having EL students in the classroom was detrimental to non-EL students, and that it was unreasonable to expect a classroom teacher to teach a student not fluent in English. Rizzuto (2017) found that teachers believed low levels of literacy among ELs was a problem outside of the teacher's control, and desired more pull-out programming to address EL needs. Relegating students to a low level, remedial curriculum track as a result of teachers' deficit thinking, lack of professional development, or unwillingness to differentiate instruction, results in subtractive schooling practices that marginalize students and result in low student achievement.

Dual Language Immersion Programming

A rapid advancement of dual language immersion programming has occurred in the U.S. in the last decade (Palmer & Henderson, 2016). Dual language bilingual education programs are immersion programs that espouse the goals of bilingualism and biliteracy, with instruction delivered in two languages with at least 50% of instruction provided in a language other than English (Howard, 2018). Dual language two-way immersion programs have two groups of students who are native speakers of the languages of instruction within the program. These programs have historically been presented as additive programs because they seek to develop high levels of bilingualism, biliteracy, academic achievement, and sociocultural competence (Howard, 2018). Dual language two-way immersion programs have recently been problematized because of asymmetries in the implementation which can disproportionately privilege native English speakers (López & Fránquiz, 2009; Palmer, 2009). New research suggests that dual language two-way immersion programs are gentrifying as more privileged, White, English-speaking students replace native Spanish speakers (Dorner et al., 2021; Valdés, 2018). Dual language two-way immersion programs are becoming increasingly shaped by monoglossic language discourses as White middle- and upper-class parents gentrify urban neighborhoods and seek boutique educational options like additive language programs while displacing the students the programs originally designed to support. Language policies and practices of dual language two-way programs can be disrupted by gentrification and monoglossic discourses in the areas of enrollment access, and transportation access with negative results for English learners (Dorner et al., 2021)

Role of a Principal

      This section will explore the varied role of a school principal, and the notion of role conception and how it influences how school principals enact their roles as leaders. The literature suggests that the principal's role is varied, contextual, and ever evolving. In the decades since the reform movement brought about by No Child Left Behind, the role conception of a school principal has pivoted from that of a building manager to an engaged instructional leader (Fullan, 2003; Marzano, 2005). Matthews and Crow (2003) presented various role conceptions of the principal as a leader who prioritizes leadership primarily as a means to improve instruction by embracing the roles of leader, mentor, supervisor, manager, politician, and advocate.

      Principals' own experiences, knowledge, and beliefs influence how they perceive their roles as leaders. Matthews and Crow (2003) defined role conception as "the values and underlying assumptions that influence the way leadership is practiced in a school" (p. 2). An individual's role conception is shaped by an individual's personality, personal characteristics, experiences, education, training, and beliefs (Matthews & Crow, 2003). Social factors that mediate role conception include the expectations of teachers, parents, and community members, as well the images of the profession held by individuals within an organization. Teachers and central office systems and structures are contextual factors which influence a leader's role conception. Effective administrators have a clear understanding of their underlying values and assumptions that help them to prioritize tasks and take actions that center around a central focus of student learning (Matthews & Crow, 2003).

Principals and Language Policy

The literature surveyed for this review points to ways that principals play a central role in language policy appropriation at the campus and classroom level (Ascenzi-Moreno et al., 2015; Brooks et al], 2010; Colón & Heineke, 2015; DeMatthews & Izquierdo, 2018; DeMatthews & Izquierdo, 2016; Hunt; 2011; Menken & Solorza, 2015; Morita-Mullaney, 2019; Scanlan & Lopez, 2012; Scanlan & Lopez, 2015; Reyes, 2006; Rodriguez & Alanís, 2011; Theoharis & O'Toole, 2011; Wiemelt & Welton, 2015). Several themes emerge from the literature. First, principal preparation programs do not adequately prepare leaders to meet the needs of bilingual students, implement language policy, or create more culturally and linguistically responsive schools (DeMatthews & Izquierdo, 2018; Menken & Solorza, 2013; Padron & Waxman, 2016; Reyes, 2006). Second, principal knowledge around bilingualism and language learning correlates with additive orientations about bilingualism and bilingual education (Ascenzi-Moreno et al., 2015; Hunt, 2011; Menken & Solorza, 2015; Morita-Mullaney, 2019; Rodriguez & Alanís, 2011). Additionally, the research reviewed suggested that school-wide approaches to the implementation of bilingual programming characterized by distributed leadership and shared decision making resulted in structural changes that positively benefited policy implementation (Ascenzi-Moreno & Flores, 2012; Ascenzi-Moreno et al., 2015; Hunt, 2011).

Leadership preparation programs are inadequate in equipping principals with the requisite knowledge, skills, and orientations to meet the needs of varied needs of English learners while implementing language policies, often with grave consequences (DeMatthews & Izquierdo, 2018; Menken & Solorza, 2015; Padron & Waxman, 2016;

Reyes, 2006). Reyes (2006) argued that "principal preparation is in need of a reculturation that fosters leaders who are moral stewards, educators, and community builders for learning environments that include culturally and linguistically diverse populations" (p. 157). Menken and Solorza (2016) studied the elimination of bilingual education and found that leaders who shifted from bilingual to "English only" programming, had received no formal preservice preparation to work with bilingual learners. Padron and Waxman (2016) researched principals' knowledge and perceptions of language programming for ELs and found that principals had a significantly limited knowledge of language programs operating in their own schools, a concern since principals are tasked with being instructional leaders as well as marshaling resources and providing professional learning to teachers. Padron and Waxman (2016) pointed to a need for quality staff development for teachers and improved communication and direction from districts regarding guidelines for implementing language programming.

Limited knowledge of ELs was a theme echoed in a study by Menken and Solorza (2015) who researched the implementation of bilingual programming in New York City and found that principals lacked specialized preparation to implement language policy and held limited understandings about cultural and linguistic diversity. A prevalent theme in Menken and Solorza's (2015) study was that principals untrained in bilingual education believe their practical experience afforded them the expertise to shift bilingual learners to English-only instruction in order to accelerate English acquisition. In contrast, school administrators schooled in the theoretical and linguistic components of bilingual education were adept at protecting their school's bilingual programming from outside pressures (Menken & Solorza, 2015). Rodriguez and Alanís (2011) studied a principal in

a border community in Texas and found that her specialized knowledge of students, context, and place enabled her to leverage advocacy, leadership for social justice, and curriculum expertise to position bilingual education as a school-wide concern and improve the academic and linguistic success of students.

Several studies echoed this theme of language policy as a school-wide concern. Ascenzi-Moreno and Flores (2012) found that shared decision-making among the leaders, teachers, parents, and students at the school contributed to the emergence of a more flexible and responsive language policy accountable to the academic and social needs of students. Hunt (2011) studied established bilingual programs to understand how they survived external pressures and discovered that a school-wide commitment to bilingual education, shared decision-making and collaboration, and flexibility were key elements in programmatic success.

Ascenzi-Moreno, Hesson and Menken (2015) researched school leaders engaged in language policy change from monolingual to multilingual programming and found that leaders who made informed structural changes to language policy implementation, accompanied by ideological changes that embraced linguistic diversity as an asset, experienced shifts in leadership structures that emphasized collaborative, distributed leadership over traditional hierarchical leadership. Ascenzi-Moreno et al. (2015), discovered that the process of language policy development and adoption was a fluid, dynamic, process that correlated with the adoption of positive attitudes toward emergent bilingual students and their language practices and an increase in collaborative leadership structures that involved a wider community of decision makers. The implications are that

mindful policy implementation and shared leadership can bring about transformative changes for learning communities.

Conceptual Framework

Research suggests that effective principals should prioritize instructional leadership that improves teaching and learning (Marzano, 2005). However, the research about what effective leaders prioritize as they serve in schools populated by culturally and linguistically diverse students is emergent. A wide body of research suggests that culturally responsive pedagogical practices positively engage culturally and linguistically diverse students (Cummins, 1986; Khalifa, et al., 2016; Delpit, 1995; García & Guerra, 2004; Ladson-Billings, 2009; Nieto, 2005; Nieto, 2013; Valenzuela, 1999). The majority of the research prioritizes the role of culture at the expense of specific language-related issues, and the specific needs of ELs are often not clearly articulated.

Several perspectives shape this study's conceptual framework for language policy leadership. First, principals, as decision makers, are de-facto language policy arbiters. Secondly, culturally and linguistically responsive leadership is essential to the implementation of quality bilingual programming. Lastly, an understanding of holistic bilingualism is necessary for leaders to develop emergent bilingual students while privileging bilingualism.

Principals as Language Policy Arbiters

Since meaning making is a social activity influenced by local ideologies and discourses, a specific language policy may be interpreted in different ways by various policy actors (Johnson et al., 2018). Language policy is widely conceptualized in sociolinguistic research contexts as a multi-leveled phenomena in which an

understanding of the multiple levels, or layers, is paramount to understanding the processes of policy interpretation and implementation within various contexts (Johnson, 2013; Johnson & Johnson, 2015; Ricento & Hornberger, 1996; Hornberger & Johnson, 2007). Johnson (2013) characterized language policy as layers of "processes of creation, interpretation, and appropriation" (p. 223). Though language policy is often positioned as a top-down agenda by national, state, or district-level sources, policy may be interpreted and reinterpreted by policy intermediaries such as school administrators (Johnson & Johnson, 2015). Johnson and Johnson (2015) noted: "Once a policy has been created and put into motion, it is open to diverse interpretations, both by those who created it, and by those who are expected to appropriate it in practice" (p. 223). In this conception, *appropriation* of policy is an interpretation by the policy actor, an interpretation that "may or may not reflect the macro-level intent." (Johnson & Johnson, 2015, p. 223).

Johnson and Johnson (2015) noted that while language policy is often portrayed as active across multiple levels of policy implementation, school leaders as language multilayered policy arbiters wield a disproportionate amount of power relative to other policy actors and are in a unique position to privilege or delimit bilingual educational programming for students. The interpretation and appropriation of language in education policies is influenced by policy arbiters whose decision making is in turn influenced by language ideologies, beliefs about research, and personal pre-existing positions on language education (Johnson & Johnson, 2015). Conceptualizing principals as language policy arbiters helped guide my research and data analysis because I sought to understand how they exerted their influence and what factored into their policy decision-making.

Culturally and Linguistically Responsive Leadership

Culturally responsive leadership is essential to developing and sustaining quality programming that supports the development of biliteracy. In a comprehensive synthesis of the literature, Khalifa et al. (2016) provided a framework that outlined four strands of leadership behaviors of culturally responsive school leaders including critical self-awareness, the ability to develop culturally responsive teachers through professional learning, promoting culturally responsive, inclusive school environments, and engaging students and parents in community contexts. Together, these combined behaviors provide a point of departure for school leaders to create school contexts and experiences that affirm the cultural beliefs and practices of students while challenging teaching and schooling practices that have traditionally marginalized minoritized students (Khalifa et al., 2016). Conducting research and analyzing data through the lens of a culturally responsive leadership framework helps to keep the focus accountable to the needs of minoritized and traditionally underserved students.

A lens of culturally responsive leadership practices is not enough, however, to undergird a research study in settings where the majority of students are ELs. Rather, it is necessary to also attend to ELs specific linguistic needs. Lucas and Villegas' (2011) framework outlined the needed orientations and expertise of linguistically responsive teachers including sociolinguistic consciousness, value for linguistic diversity, an inclination to advocate for English learners, knowledge of second language acquisition practices, and the ability to support teachers in identifying the language demands for classroom tasks while scaffolding instruction to promote learning. Lucas and Villegas' (2011) framework added the specific linguistic articulation needed to attend to the

linguistic needs of students who are ELs. Though Lucas and Villegas' (2011) framework was designed for teachers, I extrapolate that the presence of these core orientations and beliefs may serve as ideological anchors for principals to incorporate culturally and linguistically responsive behaviors into their leadership practices.

Holistic Bilingualism

Lastly, because I chose to study principals in majority EL settings where students are served through bilingual education programming, the conceptual framework must attend to the nuances and tensions of bilingual and biliteracy contexts. Biliteracy is a more involved and complex form of literacy than is monoliteracy (Hopewell & Escamilla, 2014). Holistic bilingualism (Grosjean, 1989, 2010) is a theoretical conceptualization of biliteracy that considers the two languages holistically as parts of a unified whole rather than as separate, isolated skills. Holistic bilingualism incorporates all of a students' linguistic resources since what students learn in one language transfers to another language and may provide a learning scaffold. A theoretical perspective of holistic bilingualism would develop language and literacy in Spanish and English, rather than the exclusive privileging of English (Hopewell & Butvilofsky, 2017). Culturally and linguistically responsive leadership is enhanced when principals rely on research-informed practices that privilege bilingualism and biliteracy through pedagogies, curricula, material, and assessments that are grounded in research about sequential and simultaneous bilinguals as opposed to monolinguals. Applying the concept of holistic bilingualism to the research and data analysis process helped to produce a more nuanced and research-informed investigation.

Principals as language
policy arbiters (Johnson
& Johnson, 2015)

Culturally and linguistically
responsive school leadership
(Khalifa et.al., 2016; Lucas and
Villegas, 2011)

Holistic
bilingualism
(Grosjean, 1989,
2010)

Liderazgo
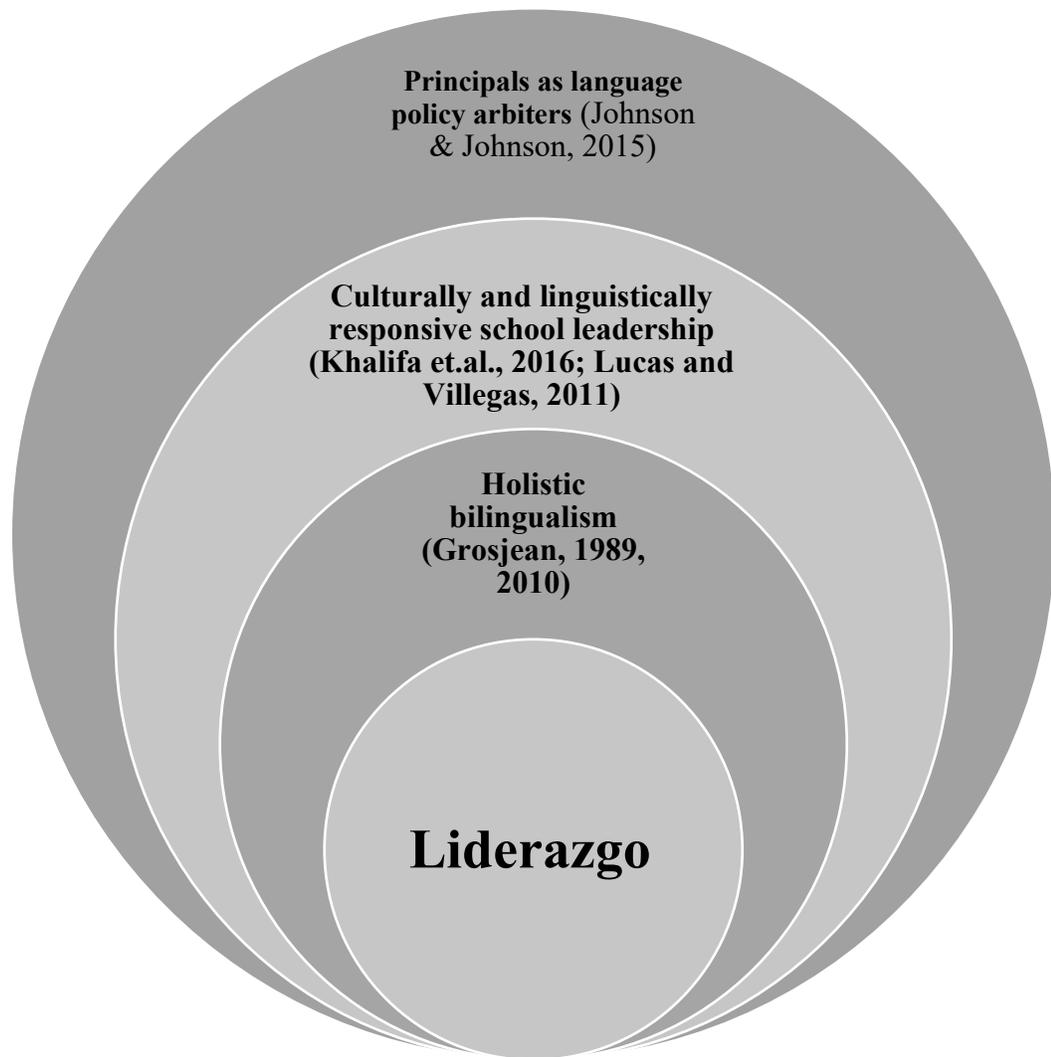
Figure 1

Conceptual Framework for the Study

Conclusion

According to the research included in this review, there exists a relationship

between beliefs about culturally and linguistically diverse students and the

implementation of language policy and programming at federal, state, district, school,

and classroom levels. The literature suggests that language programming in the U.S. has failed to attend to the affective and linguistic needs of ELs, resulting in subtractive schooling practices that perpetuate low student achievement among ELs.   Ill-defined language in education policies (Gándara, 2015), shoddy program implementation (Callahan, 2010; Menken & Kleyn, 2010), an emphasis on strict accountability measures as determined by high-stakes assessments that are poor indicators of EL's linguistic proficiency, and teacher beliefs rooted in deficit thinking (Crawford, 2004; Garcia & Guerra, 2004; Menken & Kleyn, 2010; Menken & Kleyn, 2014) contribute to subtractive schooling practices that negatively impact ELs such as tracking, (Dabach, 2015), low graduation rates and lack of college access (Callahan, Wilkinson, & Muller, 2010), and increasingly segregated schools (de Jong, 2013), culminating in low student achievement (Gándara, 2015; Menken & Kleyn, 2010).

Teacher and leader beliefs about linguistically diverse students shape pedagogical practices, yet they may be positively influenced by quality professional learning experiences. The development of sound policies, responsive programming, and culturally and linguistically responsive leadership practices to serve ELs, informed by research about pedagogies, curricula, materials, and assessment that are grounded in bilingualism and biliteracy is needed to improve educational experiences and outcomes. Leadership that promotes the academic achievement and sociocultural well-being of English language learners should emphasize the development of language proficiency, provide access to high-quality curriculum, and promote sociocultural integration (Scanlan & Lopez, 2015). Additionally, leadership practices that support ELs are informed by social justice leadership and discourse (Wang, 2017; DeMatthews & Izquierdo, 2018; Theoharis

& O'Toole, 2011; Wiemelt & Welton, 2015), and advocacy grounded in authentic school/family partnerships (Khalifa et al., 2016; Lucas & Villegas, 2011; Wiemelt &Welton, 2015). The ability of principals as instructional leaders to engage teachers in conversations about classroom practices that improve outcomes for emergent bilingual students is enhanced by principals' subject matter knowledge about language and literacy practices, including understanding of phonology, oral language development, morphology, syntax, semantics, linguistics, pragmatics, register, and knowledge of second language acquisition theories. Principals of schools that offer bilingual programs should understand that there are varied trajectories of biliteracy and bilingualism that are influenced by linguistic and sociocultural variables.

III. METHODOLOGY

Introduction

Culturally and linguistically responsive leadership practices are widely held to positively engage culturally and linguistically diverse students (Delpit, 1995; García & Guerra, 2004; Ladson-Billings, 2009; Nieto, 2005; Nieto, 2013). Although there is an emerging body of research around principal leadership and culturally and linguistically responsive practices (Khalifa, et al., 2016; Marshall & Olivia, 2006; Terrell & Lindsey, 2008), the majority of this research is theoretical and fails to explicitly account for leadership as it relates to the nuances of language policy and planning. There is scant research on the ways principals influence the implementation of language policy amid the multiple challenges of staffing with quality, certified teachers, and the complexities of school reform initiatives resulting from state and federal accountability systems. To implement quality language programming, principals must be more than linguistically responsive; they must be linguistically decisive, serving as advocates, developers, and at times defenders as they enact language policy and pedagogy.

This chapter explores the methodological choices used to uncover the ways that principals influence the implementation of language policy in schools. Specifically, this study sought to understand how principals perceive, experience, and enact language policy through beliefs, experiences, and actions. The chapter includes an overview of the research design and approach, a description of the context of the study, research participants, and research sites, as well as the data collection procedures, protocols, and process used for data analysis. The chapter concludes with a summary of trustworthiness

and reliability measures, my positionality, ethical considerations, and a discussion of limitations and delimitations.

Qualitative Research Design

Qualitative research is inductive in nature and focuses on experience, perceptions, and meaning making to present the complexity of situations and phenomena with description (Creswell & Poth, 2018; Merriam, 1998). A qualitative, inquiry approach was best suited for this study because it sought to uncover individuals' perceptions and beliefs through the perspectives of multiple participants, providing a complex and detailed understanding that may not be accurately measured by a quantitative approach (Creswell & Poth, 2018). Qualitative research "employs an interpretive framework as a lens in order to address the meaning individuals or groups attribute to a social problem, phenomenon, or issue" (Creswell & Poth, 2018, p. 8). In qualitative inquiry, the process of research "flows from philosophical assumptions to interpretive lens, and on to the procedures involved in studying social problems" (Creswell & Poth, p. 43).

Several philosophical assumptions underlie this study's qualitative approach to research. This study was grounded in the ontological perspective that there are multiple constructed realities, the axiological assumption that no one is free of bias, and an epistemological belief that human beings (including researcher and participants) interact and shape one another (Creswell & Poth, 2018). In a social constructivist paradigm, beliefs are not fixed, they are evolving; as we learn and grow through relationships and experiences, perceptions and beliefs may evolve and change. My role as a researcher was to look for the complexity of views—those of the participants and my own—which are

formed and informed through our interactions as well as the historical and cultural norms that govern them (Creswell & Poth, 2018).

Qualitative, Collective Case Study Approach

I used a qualitative, collective case study approach for this study, an issue-focused inquiry that sought to understand how school principals negotiated and experienced language policy. A case study method is grounded in a constructivist, epistemological understanding that knowledge and meaning are socially constructed, (Stake, 1995) and researchers are at once interpreters, recorders, and reporters of others' interpretations (Merriam, 1998). Merriam (1998) described case study as an "intensive, holistic description and analysis of a bounded phenomenon such as a program, an institution, a person, a process, or a social unit" (p. xiii). Distinctive attributes of case study design are a flexible design (Stake, 1995), a focus on a particular issue, rich, thick description, and a heuristic approach (Merriam, 1998). Yin (2014) noted that case study methodology is most applicable when the research questions aim to answer how and/or why, as in this study's exploration of how principals enact language policy.

In this study, I used a collective case study design to research the perspectives, experiences, and leadership practices of campus principals navigating language policy in four elementary schools with established dual language immersion programs. Stake (1995) defined the collective case study as an approach where the focus is a specific issue, situation, with a case or cases used to illustrate the phenomenon or issue. The study is presented as a collective case study because it explores four campus principals whose representative perspectives and experiences provide insight into the issues of leadership and language policy. Yin (2014) characterized this type of design as a single case that

gives attention to sub-units within the same organization. The findings and analysis are not intended to be generalizable, but rather to illustrate the experiences, understandings, and sense-making for researcher and participants.

Additionally, this method enabled me to bring to life the lived experience of language policy in education as a collection of social practices formed, appropriated, and enacted by actors across multiple sites. A case study approach lends itself to the study of language in education policy implementation and provides an opportunity to "gain the rich understandings of the language policy processes" (Menken & Garcia, 2010, p. 3). A collective case study approach is compatible with research about practice and policy because within case study research one can "consider how social actors, with diverse motives, intentions, and levels of influence, work in tandem with and/or in response to social forces to routinely produce the social and cultural worlds in which they live" (Bartlett & Vavrus, 2017, p. 1). Since policy practices are not isolated, but rather developed in response to wider sociocultural, political, and economic environments (Bartlett & Vavrus, 2017), a collective case study method allows for exploration of policy implementation as context-bound representations of cultural and social processes. In my literature review I found few collective case studies of principals' perceptions and experiences in enacting language policy; an area of study that is critical given the number of students who are served by language programming (Lewis & Gray, 2016; National Center for Education Statistics, 201; Saunders & Marceletti, 2013; Zong & Batalova, 2015;) as well as the systemic concerns about the achievement of English learners (Callahan et al, 2010; Crawford, 2004; Dabach, 2015; DeMatthews & Izquierdo, 2018; Fry, 2008; Gándara, 2015; Kieffer & Thompson, 2018; Menken & Solorza, 2014;

National Center for Education Statistics, 2019; Saunders & MarcELetti, 2013). Thus, this study helps to inform practice, policy, and fill the gap in the literature.

Merriam (1998) posited that the "single most defining characteristic of case study research is delimiting the object of study" (p. 27). The establishment of boundaries in a qualitative case study design "indicates the breadth and depth of the study and not simply the sample to be included" (Baxter & Jack, 2008, p. 547). For the purposes of this research, the case was bound by time (with research being conducted in the year 2021), place (the four campus research sites selected for their demographic profiles and language program offerings), and activity (campus principals enacting language policy). I define language policy in this study as the language ideas, practices, beliefs, statutes, frameworks, decisions, and management that determines how languages are used, cultivated and/or maintained. This broad interpretation afforded the opportunity to consider the multilayered tiers in which policy enactment occurred and the varied sociocultural contexts in which principals interpreted, negotiated, enacted, and contested language policy.

Case Context

Texas is one of nine states that offers dual language immersion programming with the program goals of promoting bilingualism and biliteracy in English and the partner language, academic achievement, and the development of cross-cultural understanding (Boyle et al., 2015, p. 34). Bilingual education has been required in Texas for qualifying students since 1973 (Rodriguez, n.d.). Dual language programming has grown since the 1980s as a result of availability of state and federal funding, a rising interest in language

learning and global awareness, and emerging research on effective language

programming (Boyle et al., 2015).

Selection Criteria

For this study, I identified sites and participants through purposive sampling

(Creswell & Poth, 2018). The specific parameters for site and participant selection

included:

- Four elementary principals with a minimum of three years of principal experience at the site.

- Site was linguistically diverse with a minimum of 25% of enrolled students identified by the state designated category of "English learner."

- Dual language programming was the identified language in education program.

- Dual language program had been practiced on the site for a minimum of three years.

- Principal had knowledge and experience implementing dual language programming at the campus.

In subsequent paragraphs, I explain each of these qualifiers for the case context, sites, and

participants.

Sites. The provision of dual language educational programming was a qualifier

for site selection for this study for several reasons. First, dual language programming is a

more complex type of language programming than is transitional bilingual programming.

Dual language programs may vary in structure, yet they tend to adhere to common goals

including the development of bilingualism and biliteracy to high levels of proficiency,

high levels of academic achievement, and the development of sociocultural competence

(Boyle, et al., 2015; Beeman & Urow, 2013; Howard et al., 2018; Lindholm-Leary, 2001, Rodriguez & Alanís, 2011). Secondly, dual language programs are typically administered for longer periods of time than are transitional bilingual programs to give students adequate time to develop both languages to a high degree of fluency. Dual language programming is concerned with high levels of bilingualism and biliteracy, yet research suggests that its implementation is often compromised by the dominance of a monolingual lens (Hopewell & Escamilla, 2014). To study how principals experience language policy, selecting sites where dual language programming was practiced helped me to better understand how principals negotiated the complexities and nuances of language policy in the context of bilingualism and biliteracy. I specifically sought campuses where dual language programming had been implemented for a minimum of three years. My rationale for this qualifier was that after three years of implementation, the program would be articulated in terms of the language and content allocation plan and the instructional design, educators would have engaged in professional learning regarding program policy, implementation, and instructional practices, and routines and procedures would have already been established to guide program implementation.

This study was carried out in four linguistically diverse elementary schools located within large or mid-size traditional, public-school districts in a metropolitan area in Texas. I sought permission within several districts with schools from principals that met these criteria. The diversity of each campus selected was purposeful. I wanted to select campuses that mirrored the linguistic diversity of Texas. In Texas, students designated as English learners in 2020 comprised 20% of the population of students enrolled in public schools (Texas Education Agency, 2020). I situated this research in

culturally and linguistically diverse settings where at least 25% of the students were identified by the state designated category of "English learner" and were served by dual language immersion programming. My rationale in seeking sites with a 25% minimum threshold of English learners was that campuses with a high degree of linguistic diversity would likely have experience with language policy, planning, and programming. I deduced that a population in which at least 1/4 of the students were identified as English language learners receiving language programming would elicit different considerations and differentiation as the principal engaged in the design and implementation of curriculum, instruction, and assessment practices.

Participants. I identified four elementary school principals through purposive, snowball sampling (Creswell & Poth, 2018). Participants were chosen because of their ability to provide information and share insight to answer the research questions and because they worked in a school context that met the criteria for the study (Merriam, 1998). By selecting principals with a minimum of three years of experience, I sought to collaborate with leaders who had knowledge of leadership in curriculum, instruction, and assessment practices as well as experience in language planning, language program design, and organizational management.

Purposive Sampling Process. To identify sites and participants that met the desired characteristics for this study, I initially conducted a search on the Texas Education Agency website to identify and list schools that met the criteria of serving a minimum of 25% of students identified as English learners within the designated metropolitan area. Next, I verified through school district websites whether the campus identified had dual language programming. I then removed non-dual language campuses

from the list and identified the names of principals of schools in the region that administered dual language programming and had more than 25% of students identified as English learners. Next, I searched school district websites to review school board briefs, specifically principal appointment announcements, to identify which administrators had served on the campus for ≥3 years. School board briefs indicated approximately when a campus administrator was hired for a particular campus.

There were 23 campuses who met the criteria for the study. Since 23 was a large sample number, I relied on my professional network of contacts from my years in the field of bilingual and ESL education to identify potential candidates for the study. My professional network contacts included campus principals, directors and executive directors in school districts as well as regional service center contacts, all of whom worked in the field of bilingual education. I spoke with my professional points of contact to explain the specific criteria for my participants: continuous service as a principal for at least 3 years on a dual language campus where 25% of the students are identified as English language learners served by dual language programming. I explained that I was interested in candidates who have demonstrated a commitment to educating linguistically diverse students through dual language education. I added that such a commitment could be expressed through a positive mindset about bilingualism as an asset, engagement in professional learning, and/or advocacy for dual language education. I also asked if my professional network contacts would be willing to make an introduction for me. This step proved invaluable since many of the first round of email requests for collaboration in the research study were not returned. School principals are incredibly busy people with

significant demands on their time. Having a third-party contact, known to the administrators, to intercede on my behalf significantly increased my response rate.

Once I submitted my proposal for my study to and received approval from the Institutional Review Board (IRB) to conduct my research, I reached out to any recommended candidates who met the criteria for the study via email and followed up with a phone call or virtual online meeting to provide an overview of the study and answer any questions (see Appendix A for script). My informed consent forms are located in Appendix B. Once the participants were secured, I created a timeline for interviews, observations, and data collection with each participant and shared this timeline with the administrators.

Data Collection

In qualitative research, data collection techniques and what is considered "data" in a study are "determined by the researcher's theoretical orientation, by the problem and purpose of the study, and by the sample selected" (Merriam, 1998, p. 70). To examine, describe, and analyze how principals enact language policy, I relied on a variety of data sources to illustrate the contexts, situations, and leadership dilemmas that principals experienced in enacting language policy and programming. Data sources for this study included structured participant interviews, a reflexive researcher journal, and researcher memos. Interview transcripts, research memos, and reflexive research journal entries enabled me to "create a triangulated database, adding depth, breadth, and credibility to research findings" (McCarty, 2015, p. 89). The significance of and procedures for each data source are described in subsequent paragraphs.

Interviews

Merriam (1998) noted that "interviewing is necessary when we cannot observe behavior, feelings, or how people interpret the world around them" (p. 72). Interviews were the primary source of data collection in this qualitative case study, conducted to gain insight into principals' lived experience in interpreting and enacting language policy. Through interviews, I was able to uncover how principals made sense of and constructed reality in relation to their experiences. I conducted two semi-structured interviews with each of the participants in the study.

I created a set of semi-structured interview questions to be used with each principal for the first interview (Appendix D) and the second interview (Appendix E) to explore their beliefs, understandings, and experiences with language policy, and how they influence language policy enactment. The questions created for each interview served as an organizational template for all the interviews, yet the semi-structured format enabled me to follow relevant topics and use specific follow up questions relevant to each participant that strayed from the interview guide as needed (Ravitch & Carl, 2016). Merriam (1998) noted the semi-structured interview format is ideal for a case study approach because it "allows the research to respond to the situation at hand, to the emerging world view of the respondent, and to the new ideas on the topic" (p. 74). A semi-structured interview format corresponded with the constructivist paradigm of this study as well because underlying this choice of interview format is the assumption that individual respondents define the world in unique and varied ways (Merriam, 1998). The first semi-structured interview enabled me to establish rapport and trust with the participant by eliciting a narrative account of their personal life experiences in light of the

topic while understanding the context that grounded each individual case. The second semi-structured interview focused on eliciting descriptions of specific experiences, behaviors, and actions principals took in enacting language policy, and their motives in doing so.

Each interview duration lasted between 45 and 50 minutes. Interviews were conducted virtually and recorded via Zoom in accordance with COVID-19 safety protocols that will be discussed more in the ethical considerations section of this chapter. Interviews were transcribed immediately following the conclusion of the interview after writing a field notes memo. This helped me to engage in researcher reflexivity and note observations about the interview process, clarifying questions, and implications for future interviews. Upon transcription of interviews, a copy was sent to each participant for the purpose of member checking.

Language Policy Artifacts

I collected artifacts from participants that illustrated evidence of language policy actions and processes. Specifically, I collected each school's language program content and allocation plans. Merriam (1998) noted that such documents are "nonreactive and grounded in the context of the study" while providing additional sources of meaning, understanding, and insights relevant to the research problem (p. 133). These artifacts were requested from each participant to be shared electronically at the conclusion of the first interview.

Researcher Journal

In accordance with the constructivist paradigm of this case study, I kept a reflexive research journal and engaged in journaling to probe how I understand and make

sense of my experiences while reflecting at all stages throughout the research process. I

wrote researcher memos to capture my observations and reflections after each interview.

Reflexive research journaling enabled me to develop and reflect on research questions

and interview practices, note valuable references for future research, and document my

evolving understandings of this study's conceptual framework (Ravitch & Carl, 2016).

Additionally, I used the reflexive journal to track the development of my perspectives and

understandings of the multiple cases. I consulted with this reflexive journal throughout

the research process including as an additional data source during the final data analysis.

In Table 1, each data collection method is provided along with a timeline.

Table 1

Data Collection Activity Timeline

Methods	Timeline	# Conducted	# Participants
Contacted participants to explain the study and gauge interest using phone calls, virtual meetings, and emails	December 2020/ January 2021	7	4
Contacted principals to set up the initial interview with participants.	January 2021	4	4
Collected language policy artifacts	January-May 2021	4	4
Conducted interview #1 through Zoom virtual meeting	February 2021	4	4
Conducted interview #2 through Zoom Virtual meeting	March 2021	4	4
Kept a researcher's reflective journal	January 2021– October 2021	1	4

Data Analysis

I took an integrative and iterative approach to qualitative data analysis by

employing structured processes to organize the data, closely examining multiple data

sets, identifying analytic themes, forming an interpretation of themes, and presenting a

rich description. Merriam (1998) noted that analysis is an interactive activity in which "emerging insights, hunches and tentative hypotheses direct the next phase of data collection which in turn leads to the refinement or reformulation of questions, and so on" (p. 151).

In qualitative research, data collection and analysis are simultaneous, interactive activities (Merriam, 1998). I used reflexive journaling to capture my overall impressions after conducting each interview and transcribing each interview to capture my thinking about the process itself, ideas that stood out, and potential connections to previous experiences and themes previously read in the literature (Maxwell, 2013). In the first phase of data analysis, I listened to interview audio recordings and then read the transcripts multiple times to develop a holistic interpretation of what I saw and heard in the data (Maxwell, 2013). Before coding the transcripts, I reviewed the journal for reflections and conclusions about potential themes and analysis (Yin, 2011). In the first phase of data analysis, I followed Patton's (2002) advice regarding coding and reading and reread the data "over and over and over" (p. 446).

First Round of Coding

For the first round of coding, my goal was to conduct a content analysis of the data. I wanted to become intimately familiar with what interviewees said, emphasized, and valued in response to the interview questions. I used the comment feature in Microsoft Word to affix codes corresponding to text segments from each interview in the right margins of the transcripts. All interviews were first open coded to identify and label emerging patterns and categories observed in the data. I read and re-read the data for

emergent and potential themes and categories related to the research question and sub questions.

My research questions were both ontological and epistemological in nature. For the ontological questions (focused on capturing the nature of participants' realities) I used a variety of first cycle coding methods including emotion coding, in vivo coding, and value coding (Saldaña, 2013). For more epistemological questions, I used process coding, descriptive coding, versus codes, and theming data to begin to know and understand participants' respective phenomena (Saldaña, 2013). I created a digital spreadsheet to compile highlighted words, phrases, and open codes that corresponded to participants' texts from the interviews. The initial coding yielded roughly 125 codes that I grouped into roughly 20 labels and categories related to how principals perceived, experienced, and enacted language policy. Figure 2 outlines a sample of these emerging codes and categories.

Codes/Interview #1	categories
parental engagement	parental engagement
SEL as a complementary component of DL implementation	SEL as a component to DL
confidence in knowledge of pedagogy	Confidence in knowledge as and pedagogy
Advocacy	Advocacy
principal agency	commitment to equity
mentorships +4	experience and knowledge as basis for leadership
family support	gentrification
closing the gap	staffing
bilingual teacher experience +4	value for language and culture
Dual language teacher experience +2	understanding, reflecting on biases/blind spots
advocacy for bilingual students	the DL framework (content and language allocation)
culture shock immigrant family (E)	scheduling
connections with families	experiences as biingual teachers
partnership with families	conception of parents as partners
being a voice for students and families	falling back on philosophy of DL (pillars)

Figure 2

Code Book Sample of Initial Codes and Categories

Second Round of Coding

I used the constant comparative method (Corbin & Strauss, 1998) as an analysis approach for comparing and contrasting emerging themes and categories among multiple sources of data (Merriam, 1998). Codes and themes were grouped into concepts, then categories, and ultimately themes, with a consistent focus on meaning that captured the essence of participants' experiences, understandings, and perceptions regarding language policy.

For the second cycle of coding and analysis, I sought to identify what was similar and different about the data across the different principals and began to interpret why variances were presented while considering the emerging themes. The process I used in the second cycle of coding was to reread all the interview transcripts and refine and recode labels. I then transferred the data from the margins of the initial transcripts to a new Excel Spreadsheet. The spreadsheet was organized to capture the specific interview question asked, as well as the initial codes for each of the four participants' responses. A final column was added to denote focused coding labels that appeared frequently in the data. Through focused coding of the data, I was able to consider multiple layers of meaning that similar codes shared while identifying connections between themes, sub-themes and recurrent patterns observed in the data. During this stage of data analysis, I made notes of outlier codes, categories, and themes that were not comparatively shared collectively among all participants in my researcher journal.

Round 1 Interview Questions:	Codes from the data AA	Codes from data EE	Codes from data VV	Codes from Data RR	Focused Coding
Personal Experiences and Language learning	L1 Spanish; transition to Eng older age; challenge: dyslexia; family support; Parental expectation for formal spanish; no codeswitching; relating to parents; use myself as an example to parents; large family; migrant work, movement; 8 siblings; attended bilingual program in RGV; mom chose bilingual to communicate with teachers; brother cerebral palsy; teacher high expectations; teacher support; asset to have another language	Grew up in non-diverse community; L1 English; took spanish for GT enrichment, engaging teacher, majored in Spanish in college, year abroad in Mexico; used Spanish as ESL teacher, peer mentor to college students; husband from mexico; Prejudice/judgment; Native Speaker husband not positively recognized for English langauge use the way I am for using Spanish; commitment to asset-based lens of language acquisition	L1 English; parents spoke Spanish in the home; grandparents only spoke Spanish; generational language loss; neighborhood culturally Hispanich and rich; embraced my culture; wanted to learn spanish; took Spanish in HS; became fluent, love for bilingualism; language stories: grandparents dropped out of elementary; disciplined for speaking Spanish; loss of opportunities; working class;	Grew up in the Barrio; South San Antonio; attended public school in Kinder; rough setting, got picked on; skirmishes in kinder; parents sent me to Catholic school; immigrant parents wanted "the right kind of school;" firstborn son; parents had minimal education; value for education; 2nd and 3rd generation kids at Catholic school; fluent english speakers; I struggled; acculturation into that code and way of schooling; lack of vocabulary; did not get a lot of reviewing/support from teachers; linguistic minority; outsider feeling	navigating school as an EB; labeled as EL; parental high expectatons; generational langauge loss; search for culture; acculturation, prejudice/judgement; commitment to asset based

Figure 3

Code Book Sample of Second Round of Codes and Categories with Focused Coding

Third Round of Coding

A third round of coding was needed primarily because my process of sense-making with the data was not complete at the conclusion of the second round of coding. For the third round of coding, I sought to magnify the emerging themes and more deeply explore their connections to sub themes to extract a more detailed and accurate analysis. A third round of coding gave me an opportunity to reconstruct the data and look at the various stories implicit in the data with new eyes. The process I used during the third round of coding was in response to themes around policy enactment that arose during cycle 2 coding. During the second round of coding, I noted that principals' engagement with language policy was nuanced and complex. The data illustrated that principals at various points interpreted policy, negotiated policy, enacted policy, and at times contested policy in leadership contexts. Additionally, the value that principals had for language and culture, based on their identity and personal experiences, figured prominently in their leadership actions. I sought to explore these themes more deeply during cycle 3 of coding and

created a new spreadsheet where I coded specific policy flashpoints and associated values within the data.

policy flashpoings EE	Code (I) interpret (N) negotiate (E) enact (C) contest	Value coding
But I feel like the resources that we have at the district level usually are written from the English perspective and that's been shifting lately, and so I feel like sometimes there is conflict there because when district visitors will come in, And it hasn't been this year, and I feel like there's been improvement since the multilingual director has worked with the multilingual team about starting from a perspective of biliteracy,	C	V: bilingualism and biliteracy
Supervision is different in DL because it's not just what you observe in the classroom; there are all of the foundational understanding pieces, the environmental pieces, the belief set from the teacher, and different outcomes you are working for.	N	V: bilingualism and biliteracy

Figure 4

Code Book of Third Round of Codes and Categories

The application of discourse analysis—a close analysis of the relationships between language, power, and identity, was a good fit for this study. It makes sense that a study about language policy be especially concerned with language. Haberman (2000) stated that "language is not an innocent reflection of how we think. The terms we use control our perceptions, shape our understanding, and lead us to particular proposals for improvement" (p. 203). Discourses refer to the systems of meaning that are attached to what we say and how we say it. Discourses draw upon and construct larger meta-narratives of identity, power, race, glass, and gender (Rogers & Mosley-Wetzel, 2014). Through discourse analysis, language can be situated within social, political, and historical contexts in order to trouble and transform existing narratives and ideologies (Rogers & Mosley-Wetzel, 2014). For this study, a discourse analysis-informed approach employed aspects of Gee's (2010) building-tasks analysis to uncover situated meanings at the word and phrase level, as well as the activities and practices, identities, relationships, and perspectives on social capital that are enacted within participants' language use. By

analyzing participants' language, I was able to consider connections between culture, power, and identity in order to reflect on policy, leadership, and practice.

Finally, this study's conceptual framework served as a filter through which to consider and make sense of the data. In this way, the conceptual framework serves as an integrating mechanism (Ravitch & Carl, 2016) that works within and across the "concepts, assumptions, expectations, beliefs, and theories" that guide the research (Maxwell, 2013, p. 39). By continually referring to the conceptual framework throughout the data analysis phase of the research, the conceptual framework "continually iterates throughout the research" allowing the researcher to "make meaning and use of the overlaps and disjuncture within and between core constructs of the study in ways that produce deeper, more integrative understanding of the topic and contexts central to the study" (Ravitch & Carl, 2016, p. 38). I created a visual to illustrate the relationship of the predominant themes that emerged from the three cycles of coding as they related to the conceptual framework as shown in the figure below.
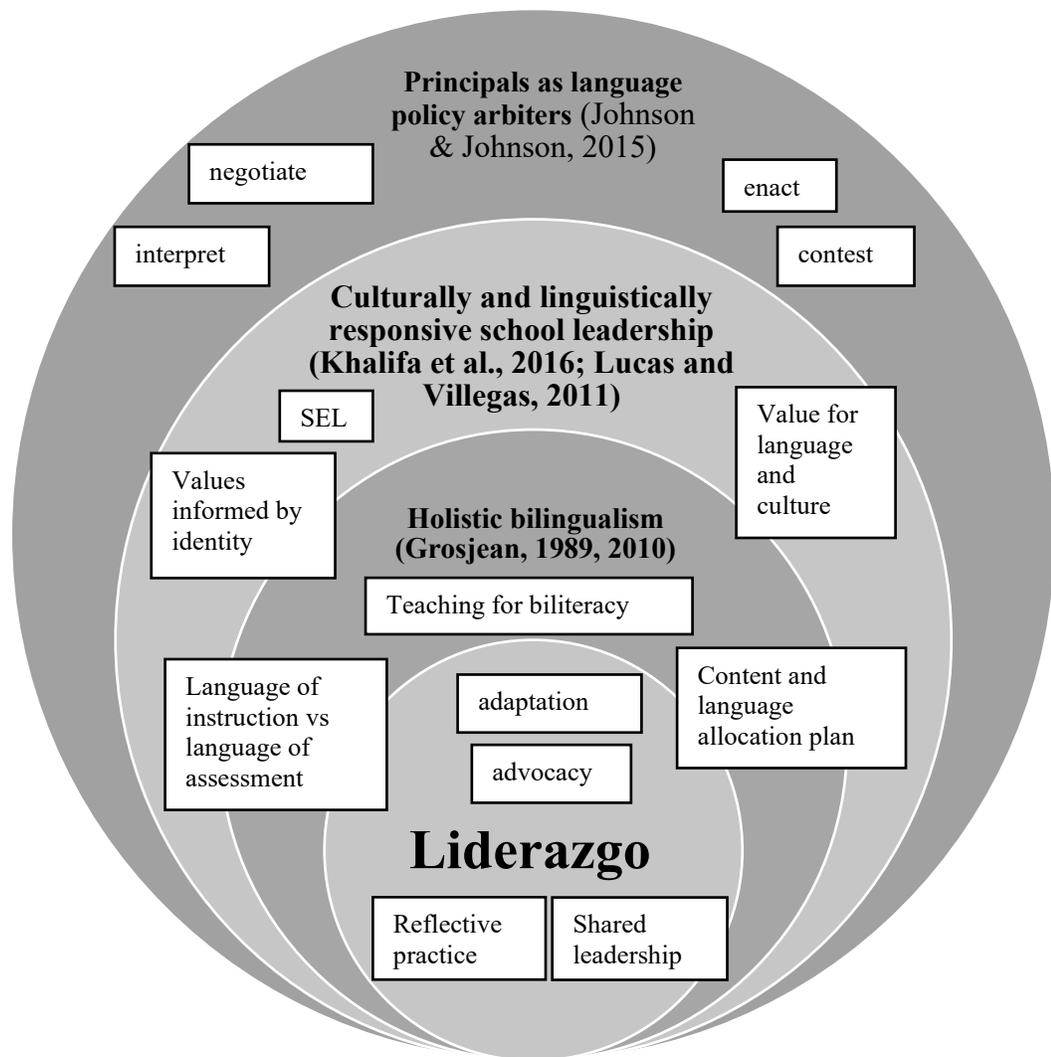
Figure 5

Cross Case Themes with Conceptual Framework

Though I manually coded and analyzed the data myself, I utilized several applications to assist with data management and organization, including Microsoft Word and Microsoft Excel to help me describe and classify the information using the color-coded notes and labels. Additionally, the Command F feature was used to locate key words to cross check against manually coded categories and themes. All data was stored in a secure drive.

Trustworthiness and Reliability

This research study design used member checking, peer consulting, and triangulation to ensure reliability and rigor within the research (Ravitch & Carl, 2016). Merriam (1998) noted that "rigor in qualitative research derives from the researcher's presence, the nature of the interaction between researcher and participants, the triangulation of the data, the interpretation of perceptions, and rich, thick description" (p. 151). To address threats to validity, I used evidence collected during the research itself, including thick descriptions that describe the context in which questions were asked and situations were observed, and reflexive journaling to discuss personal experiences and perceptions about the phenomenon in order to claim them, and set them aside to focus on the study (Creswell & Poth, 2018). Since lived experiences are conscious and directed toward an object, bracketing my own biases, and engaging in self-reflexive dialogue, along with member checks from participants helped me to ensure the accuracy of conclusions drawn.

Positionality

As a White, middle-class woman, I have benefited from implicit, systemic advantages relative to non-white peers, a privilege that needs to be considered deeply as I interpret others' experiences. I come from a different socioeconomic background from the students and families in the schools in which this study took place, contributing to my outsider status. Among the potential influences I bring to this work are my experience in the field of bilingual/ESL education as a teacher and administrator and my experience with school reforms and family engagement practices at the regional and district level. Because of my experiences, I identify with additive language ideologies and beliefs that

view cultural and linguistic diversity as an asset to be cultivated rather than a problem to be eradicated. I value leadership practices that validate students' and families' language and culture through authentic engagement and participatory approaches, and I am sensitive to overt and covert efforts to marginalize students' and families' cultural and linguistic identities. I did identify with participating principals' experiences and several participants' beliefs regarding additive language policies, cultural responsiveness, equity, and access resonated with me. I used a reflexive researcher journal to bracket this bias and sought to minimize preferential bias in reporting data and discussing outcomes.

Ethical Considerations

During the time of this research, the world was in the grip of a global pandemic as a result of COVID-19. During the time that data was collected for this research study, the geographical region where this study took place, all campuses were closed to the public. To reduce risk and avoid the spread of transmission of an airborne virus, all interaction with participants and campuses was conducted virtually.

Limitations and Delimitations

The conclusions drawn through this qualitative study were dependent upon the researcher's observations and interpretation. Since beliefs and perceptions are highly personal and subjective, there are significant limitations in generalizing these conclusions to other principals and leaders. The perceptions and beliefs of these participating principals, though subjective and only representative of four individuals, offer an insightful perspective for those seeking to better understand and plan for supporting the cultural and linguistic needs of English language learners as well as the cultural and

linguistic competencies required to lead campuses that serve large numbers of culturally and linguistically diverse students.

IV. FINDINGS

In Chapters 1, 2, and 3, I presented an introduction, a literature review, and a discussion of the methodology used for data collection and analysis to answer the following research question and sub questions: What is the lived experience of campus principals navigating language policy in four elementary schools with established dual language immersion programs?

1. What are the principals' beliefs and understandings about language and language policy?

2. How do the principals experience and enact language policy?

3. What informs the principals' decision making and leadership actions in enacting language policy?

In this chapter, I present the findings from my multicase study of four elementary dual language principals at four different elementary schools within a large metropolitan region in central Texas. I used purposive sampling to identify four principals for this research study. My sampling criteria specified that participating elementary principals have three or more years of experience at a campus that served a minimum of 25% of students identified as English language learners, served by dual language programming for three or more consecutive years.

First, I present each case independently and include a detailed description of the participants, their individual contexts, their conceptions of language, and their experiences with language policy. I use the participants' own words to provide an authentic portrayal of their contexts, beliefs, and experiences. By using participants' own words, I more accurately portray that personal histories, language stories, individual

contexts, values, beliefs, and experiences all impact a leader's conception and enactment of language policy. Additionally, I provide a description of each principal's school setting including an overview of the campus demographics and a description of each school's language program and student performance data. It is important to note, that as a result of the coronavirus pandemic, Texas waived state accountability ratings for the 2019-20 school year. Therefore, campus data presented in this study corresponds to data and accountability ratings from the 2018-19 school year.

I then describe the themes that were derived from the data analysis of each case. I use data from interviews, curricular artifacts, field notes, and reflections from my research journal to provide analysis of principals' enactment of language policy, decision making, and leadership actions. To conclude this chapter, I provide a cross-case analysis of the data to present, compare, and contrast themes across cases. The table below provides an overview of principals' backgrounds and their corresponding individual case themes.

Table 2

Summary of Principal Backgrounds and Corresponding Case Themes

Leader 1: Adelita	Leader 2: Erin	Leader 3: Roberto	Leader 4: Valentina
Latina Born in México Immigrated to U.S. at age 11 Served by Bilingual programming Former bilingual teacher	White Born in Midwest Teach for America Husband from Mexico Raising bilingual child Former bilingual teacher	Latino Raised in Latino neighborhood Native Spanish speaker Attended parochial school Language struggle Former bilingual teacher	Latina Raised in Latino neighborhood Generational language loss Attended neighborhood public schools Former bilingual teacher
Leader 1: Case Themes	Leader 2: Case Themes	Leader 3: Case Themes	Leader 4: Case Themes

Parents as partners	Critical self-reflection	Identification with students	Shifting philosophies
Culturally and linguistically responsive leadership	Shared leadership	Funds of knowledge	Commitment to equity

Leader 1: Adelita

Adelita Alvarez is the principal of Mesquite Grove Elementary School. Born in Mexico, Adelita immigrated to the United States with her mom, dad, and eight brothers and sisters at the age of eleven and settled in the border region of South Texas. Adelita's parents had a limited formal education up to fifth grade and stressed the importance of education:

> We were migrant workers, so we changed schools and had six months here and six months there … but my parents valued education, we had a strong system within our family, and school support … they formed us. And all my brothers and sisters had the opportunity to go to college.

For Adelita, as a native Spanish speaker, being supported by school meant having access to a transitional bilingual education program as a child:

> My mom was very involved in education and had us go through bilingual education … She wanted to make sure that we don't lose that language but more value, you know learn another language that was going to help us live in this country ... I had dyslexia and my brother had cerebral palsy and my mom was like, "Oh no, I gotta be able to understand what they're saying."

Adelita's mother valued education and English acquisition for her children to thrive in the U.S., but additionally prioritized communication with teachers to provide support for her children's special needs. Having access to Spanish in school, along with parent support, helped Adelita to be successful in school, "I started learning English at an older age, and I think, because I had a good education in my first language, it was easier for me to make that transition to learning in English." A generational value for education runs through the family, as Adelita's three children are college graduates while the youngest has embarked on a master's degree.

For Adelita, Spanish is valued as the language that connects family: "Spanish was always my first language, it still is… I always think in Spanish and I communicate with my kids, my parents, and my husband in Spanish." As a principal of a dual language campus, Adelita consistently advocates for students to hold on to their native language: "I tell them whatever you do, learn that language, because you have your grandparents, your relatives that still live back home, and you'll want to communicate with them…you don't want to lose communication because you don't speak the language." Adelita's transition to the U.S. was difficult because of her struggles with dyslexia and the frequent school changes she experienced as a result of migrant farm working yet made somewhat easier in that she came from a Spanish speaking school in Mexico with literacy practices already formed and attended school in a community where a majority of the inhabitants were Spanish speaking. Nevertheless, at the age of eleven, Adelita navigated complex messages about language. Adelita's parents had particular beliefs about their children's language use: "My parents really wanted me to speak a formal Spanish. They did not want us to mix languages, so it was hard." The bilingual education

programs in the Rio Grande Valley, where she was from, at that time were transitional early exit and by the fourth grade when Adelita enrolled, most students had transitioned to English by then: "It was very hard at the beginning, because even at that time they didn't want you to speak in the Spanish, you know, they wanted to immerse you in English."

Adelita married a man from Bolivia and moved there and taught kindergarten in an American school for several years. Upon her return to Texas, she became a bilingual teacher and later a bilingual instructional coach before serving as an assistant principal for three years. Adelita has served as Principal of Mesquite Grove Elementary for 6 years. Adelita's fundamental perspective on language is that it is an asset to be developed and celebrated: "I'm always telling the kids, they have such a great asset with them, just knowing two languages … one that will result in better job opportunities. I tell them never to be embarrassed or ashamed of your language."

The Context

Mesquite Grove Elementary is located in a large, suburban district in central Texas characterized by rapid growth. The neighborhood is home to a variety of income levels and housing types including single family homes, duplexes, townhomes, condos, and apartment communities, predominantly constructed in the 1970s and 80s. The neighborhood is home to a thriving Asian community, a fast-growing population in central Texas that includes people of a variety of nationalities, including Indian, Chinese, Korean, Vietnamese, Filipino, and Japanese. Though Mesquite Grove is located in a suburban school district, its borders are in a major metropolitan area that has experienced

a considerable amount of gentrification, a process that has somewhat changed the essential character of the neighborhood.

According to the Texas Education Agency's Academic Performance Report system, in the 2018-2019 school year, 489 students were enrolled in Mesquite Grove Elementary. Within the campus enrollment, 87% of students were identified as economically disadvantaged and 67% of students were considered at risk of dropping out of school. Students enrolled in bilingual and English language learning programs comprised 54% of the student population. Campus demographics indicated 17% of students were African American, 64% Hispanic, 12% White, and 5% Asian, and 0.2% were Pacific Islander. At Mesquite Grove Elementary, 46% of teachers were Hispanic, 38% were White, 7% were African American, and 5% were Asian.

Texas uses an A-F rating system to communicate performance on state standardized assessments within the domains of student achievement, school progress, and closing achievement gaps among student groups. In the 2018-19 school year, Mesquite Grove was rated a B by the state's accountability system and earned an academic distinction for being in the top 25% for comparative academic growth as compared to campuses with similar demographics in the same comparison group. Students enrolled in bilingual education programming at Mesquite Grove were served by a bilingual dual language one-way program and performed comparably to or better than their non-bilingual peers on state assessments in reading and math as indicated in the table below.

Table 3

Comparative Ratings for Mesquite Grove State Assessment Performance 2018–2019

	State	District	Campus	Campus Dual Language One-Way
	%	%	%	%
All Grades Reading				
Approaches	75	77	76	75
Meets	48	51	41	44
Masters	21	22	22	32
All Grades Math				
Approaches	82	81	82	79
Meets	52	50	48	44
Masters	26	24	23	32

Mesquite Grove practices a 50/50 one-way dual language program. Previously, the district administered a 90/10 model, and then moved into an 80/20 model before settling on a 50/50 model: "A lot of the students were not getting the phonological awareness in phonics that they needed to be successful for reading in English." A subsequent shift to an 80/20 model included a block of time for English language development, but a further shift to a 50/50 model came about out of a concern for student progress in reading English. Currently, in pre-K and kindergarten, students work in an 80/20 model to develop early literacy skills in the home language (Spanish). In first grade, students shift to a 50/50 design with Language Arts taught in Spanish and English, social studies taught in English, and Science and Math taught in Spanish. Second grade

stays the same, but Social Studies moves to Spanish and Math moves to English. In grades 3-5, Language Arts has a Spanish block for 95 minutes and an English block for 45 minutes, Science and Math are taught in English, and Social Studies is taught in Spanish for 45 minutes.

The Case

To understand how Adelita perceived, enacted, and experienced language policy, it is important to consider her personal experiences, values, and beliefs and the context in which they are realized. Adelita's experiences navigating language and culture as an immigrant to the U.S., as a migrant farmworker as a child, and as an emigrant to Bolivia, along with her experiences as a bilingual student and bilingual teacher, gives her a unique perspective to shed light on principals' experiences enacting language policy. The themes that arose from coding the interview data on Adelita included: "Parents as partners" and "Culturally and linguistically responsive leadership."

Parents as Partners

Central to Adelita's beliefs and understandings about language is her personal experience as a language learner and an immigrant. Her personal story about family, immigration, and her experience as a learner navigating schooling in the U.S. in a new language is one that she shares with the parents she works with as a principal:

> It's ok, you know, whatever language is spoken at home … support your child with that language, and eventually they are going to end up getting their second language. I always use myself as an example. I say, you know, I came here at an older age, you know, we were eight brothers and sisters, we were migrant workers, we had so many challenges … so many things going against us. But

even at that rate, we were able to do it. Just like you came to this country, to give

your kids a better opportunity … so we have to become partners. We need to have

a partnership. And know that I'll be there, we'll be there as a campus to help you.

Adelita's conception of parents as partners echoes both the experiences her mom had as

an immigrant mother navigating life in a new country with eight children and needing to

understand school expectations as well as Adelita's own experience as an older language

learner learning English: "I mean, I lived it…because of my experience, my philosophy

has always been that we can get our students there, but it has to be with the family

partnership." Adelita's view of parents as partners manifests in several ways: reassuring

parents about language acquisition, and engaging parents through relevant activities.

Reassuring Parents about Language Acquisition. Above all, Adelita conceived

of language as an asset to be developed; she possessed a strong value for bilingual

education. This was evident in her comments, "I think, because I was a bilingual student

in a bilingual education program, I feel that has shaped how I see it … just knowing that

we were all able to learn it, and just the value of living in a state that is right across the

border." At various points, Spanish-speaking parents expressed concerns to Adelita that

their students were not learning English: "The parents were like, they're in second grade

… they don't know any English … I don't want mijo all in Spanish … I want him to

learn English." Adelita frequently used her personal experiences as a language learner to

reassure parents about their students' language acquisition:

It's about really explaining to parents what our philosophy is on our campus, what

our goals are, and how we're going to get there. I'll sit with the parents and

explain the framework and make sure they're understanding the research about

how it takes three to five years to acquire another language, and how important it

is for parents to support students with Spanish at home.

Adelita's response represents an understanding of language acquisition research for

English language learners that indicates it takes 3–5 years to develop oral proficiency and

4-7 years to develop academic English proficiency (Hakuta, Butler, & Witt, 2000).

Taking the time to share research with parents, discuss the bilingual framework, hear

parent concerns, and share personal experiences illustrates Adelita's conception of

parents as partners, a collaboration essential for student success.

Engaging Parents in Relevant Activities. Mesquite Grove is located in a

working-class neighborhood populated by young families. In recent years, student

enrollment at the campus has declined with the proliferation of charter schools in the

area. In order to keep and win back families to Mesquite Grove, Adelita and her staff

worked hard to offer a variety of relevant activities for parents. Literacy nights were

initially offered on the campus Tuesdays and Thursdays for an hour and a half, but later

expanded to be open to parents from other campuses. Childcare and pizza were provided,

along with reading strategies to promote family literacy that include the provision of free

books to take home. Eventually, ESL classes for parents were provided along with a

series of parent workshops that showcased a guest speaker from Univision, the local

Spanish news affiliate. Adelita commented that parents were eager to open up and share

about some of their struggles: "One parent said that he felt guilty because he worked until

late and couldn't take his child to the park. And the speaker told him it's about the

quality, not the quantity of that time with your child." The relationships formed with

parents during these activities resulted in partnerships that mutually benefited the parents

and the school. Parents took an active role in organizing school/community events like decorating the campus for Día de los Muertos and providing Ballet Folklorico dance lessons for students.

Cultural and Linguistic Responsiveness

Adelita's data reflected an understanding that language is a key component of culture, and that to value language is to affirm family culture and create a welcoming environment. Including parents in cultural celebrations was a component of cultural affirmation at Mesquite Grove: "It's important to make parents feel valued and appreciated, making sure we're celebrating Cinco de Mayo, Diez y Seis, Día de los Muertos…they need to feel a part of that." Emphasizing cultural celebrations connected the practice of elevating Spanish language while validating culture.

Additionally, Adelita used her leadership platform to ensure that families from different cultures had access to literacy materials in their home languages:

> We have committees that include both monolingual and bilingual teachers, so that they can help out with purchasing resources for the variety of language populations we have on our campus. This year we've bought a lot of books in Farsi … whatever we can find on the market in their language so that they can come and check out books and read to their kids.

When a parent expressed concern about providing support to a child because of low literacy levels, Adelita reassured the parent: "I always tell parents, even if you don't know how to read, it's ok. You can come get a picture book, you can build that story in your head and read to the kids." These actions reflect Adelita's conception of parents as

partners as well as a belief that family and cultural connections are a key aspect of language and literacy acquisition.

Attending to students' varied learning needs by emphasizing cultural and linguistic responsiveness is evidenced by Adelita's active role in seeking out research and resources to better serve students from increasingly diverse cultures as enrollment grows at Mesquite Grove:

> It's important to immerse yourself, not only in the culture of our Spanish speakers, but different languages. When our middle eastern students came, I did a lot of reading, a lot of research, and passed it on to teachers. It was important for them to have that support. I brought in a refugee coalition from a neighboring district to come and do professional development for our teachers.

Building awareness of language variances is another aspect of Adelita's cultural and linguistic responsiveness:

> We do research and look at literature that is going to support our students…we have students coming not just from Mexico, but Central and South America as well. It's not the same thing being from México as being from Guatemala or Honduras … we speak Spanish but sometimes use different words, and that's got to be okay. I tell our bilingual teachers if the students say "troca," it's fine. Don't tell them it's wrong.

Validating all linguistic responses is a way to affirm, rather than discourage language students' learning while celebrating the diverse regional language conventions. Teachers use "regionalism" charts to identify various terms used in different regions. Adelita

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explained: "You can say *troca*, or you can say truck, or you can also say *camioneta*, so then the kids are just expanding their vocabulary."

Leader 2: Erin

Erin Ellis is the principal of Hector P. Garcia Elementary School in Lagos ISD. Erin is an Anglo woman married to a man from Mexico and raising a bilingual child. grew up in a small, predominantly White community in the Midwest as the daughter of a career teacher. As an elementary student she was identified as gifted and talented and placed into an enrichment program for Spanish:

> I got put into Spanish early as like a GT extension in this small community where
> there weren't really GT programs. So, they put a couple kids in Spanish early and
> I was fortunate to have this really amazing teacher who sparked an interest and
> who kind of had a legacy of doing that.

As she excelled in Spanish, Erin determined to major in Spanish in college and pursue immigration law. A volunteer position teaching adult ESL in her community moved her to consider a career in education:

> I started volunteering teaching adult ESL classes in this community in Iowa that
> was kind of rocked by a sudden culture shock that comes along with immigration,
> and I started thinking more about education as an opportunity, essentially because
> I saw how hard like these adults were working to seek out a GED after working
> 12 to 16 hour days at the meatpacking plant.

A study abroad program for a year in Mexico was a turning point for Erin in becoming fluent in Spanish. Erin joined Teach for America and taught in a dual language elementary program in the Rio Grande Valley of Texas and determined that elementary

education was where she could make an impact. After serving five years as a dual language classroom teacher in a charter school, Erin became a coach to beginning teachers in the Teach for America program before returning to the classroom and then relocating to central Texas to pursue a master's degree in educational administration, becoming an assistant principal and ultimately a principal. Erin had not planned to become an administrator, but her experiences teaching in charter and traditional public schools contributed to her belief that more could be done at the administrative level to support bilingual students:

> At my placement school in the Valley, they were implementing Gómez and Gómez dual language and I heard a lot of *"these kids don't have any language…why should we have dual language? They can't speak English or Spanish!"* So those were formative experiences for me in thinking about why dual language was important, because I actually thought our kids had lots of language and lots of experience to draw upon, but they weren't necessarily valued by the adults who were making decisions.

Erin's commitment to dual language education and mindset that language is an asset contributed to her decision to pursue a career in education.

The Context

Erin has been the principal of Hector P. Garcia Elementary school for five years. Hector P. Garcia Elementary School in Lagos ISD is located in a large, urban area in a neighborhood called Cannon Creek. The neighborhood was a planned community of starter homes built in the 1960s and 70s to house middle class families who worked at a nearby air force base. After the closure of the air force base, the neighborhood shifted

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from homeowners to renters making lower incomes, with a large portion of low income, immigrant families. Juvenile gang violence and drugs made their mark on the neighborhood in the eighties and nineties as generational neglect from the city resulted in declining property values and an increase in crime. In 2013, and again in 2015, the neighborhood was submerged underwater during massive flooding events that left hundreds of homes damaged and families displaced. Today Cannon Creek is experiencing another shock in the form of rapid gentrification that is displacing residents.

In the 2018-19 school year, Hector P. Garcia Elementary had 601 students enrolled. Within the campus enrollment, 89% of students were categorized as economically disadvantaged and 70% were categorized as being "at-risk" of dropping out of school. Students identified as English learners accounted for 54% of the population while 63% of the campus population was enrolled in Bilingual Education or ESL programming. Campus demographics indicated 5% of students were African American, 88% Hispanic, 5% White, and .2% were Asian. At Hector P. Garcia Elementary, 65% of teachers were Hispanic, 29% were White, 5% were African American, and 1.5% were Asian.

In the 2018-19 school year, Hector P. Garcia was rated a B by the state's accountability system. The table below indicates that students enrolled in bilingual education programming at Hector P. Garcia performed comparably in mathematics and better in reading than their campus-based non-bilingual peers on state assessments:

Table 4

Comparative Ratings for Hector P. Garcia State Assessment Performance

	State	District	Campus	Campus Dual Language One-Way
	%	%	%	%
All Grades Reading				
Approaches	75	77	72	76
Meets	48	53	41	45
Masters	21	26	18	22
All Grades Math				
Approaches	82	81	73	73
Meets	52	54	40	38
Masters	26	28	21	19

Hector P. Garcia Elementary has a two-way dual language program that uses a 50/50 model of language and content allocation. To create stronger biliteracy and bilingual outcomes in Spanish fluency, the campus planned to shift from a 50/50 to a 90/10 model in the next school year.

The Case

Erin's perspective on language and dual language policy has been shaped by the experiences that she has had personally and professionally. To understand how Erin conceptualized and enacted language policy, it's important to understand and contextualize her values and beliefs about language as well as her experiences as a policy

actor. The themes that arose from coding the data from Erin's interviews are: "Critical Self-Reflection" and "Shared Leadership."

Critical Self-Reflection

Analyzing and making judgments about one's experiences are a way to question and assess deeply held assumptions about knowledge and perceptions about beliefs, value systems, actions, and decision-making. Examining biases and engaging in critical reflection is a way to reform one's thinking and change behaviors. Erin noted:

> I try to understand and am continually reflecting on my own experiences, biases, and blind spots … I'm critically aware that I'm white and I lead a school that is not predominantly white. And while I consider myself fully bilingual, I recognize the privilege behind my becoming bilingual … it was an additive choice … it wasn't the same experience as maybe some of my other colleagues or parents.

One area where Erin has closely examined bias is in the area of language use. Erin's husband is from Mexico, and comparing his experiences as a native Spanish speaker adding English versus her experiences as a White, native English speaker adding Spanish have prompted her to critically reflect on privilege and bias:

> For me, because of my background I think in privilege, it was always like oh, wow, you speak such great Spanish … or how amazing that you have a second language. But my husband, who speaks with an accent, prefers to never speak in English. There's a different perception of someone who's a native Spanish speaker adding English versus when someone whose native language is English is adding another language....

Erin's powerful reflection conjures up the insecurities her Mexican husband feels and his reluctance to use English in settings outside of close familial contexts out of concern for language fluency, accent, and how he will be perceived. The bilingualism of Latinos is often disparaged in U.S. society, a reality rooted in racism and prejudice that has severe consequences for Latinos' use of Spanish. As the Latino population increases, a smaller percentage of Latinos are speaking Spanish. In 2006, 78% of Latinos spoke Spanish at home yet by 2015, that number had dropped to 73% (Krogstad & Lopez, 2017).

In contrast to the negative reception that native Mexican-born Spanish speakers get when attempting English, Whites who add Spanish as a second language are often met with positive affirmation and complimented for their effort, even if their Spanish is not fluent. Erin's awareness of how others perceive and receive a second language learner's communication attempts are, for her, tangible leadership decisions: "I want to make sure that this asset-based lens of adding a language is something that's reflected at our campus because I've seen both sides." For Erin, "both sides" equates to programs designed with the English learner in mind versus the Spanish learner in mind: "We should view language acquisition as a process and an asset where both languages have a place in the child's life and learning occurs in a culturally respectful and responsive way versus the goal being transition to English as quickly as possible."

Another aspect of engaging in critical reflection for Erin has been the act of questioning the process and implications of how students are identified and qualify for language services and participation in additional special programming. The identification process for bilingual and ESL programming in Texas is precipitated by a home language survey to determine whether a language other than English is spoken in the home.

Language assessments are then used to identify whether a child will qualify for language

services. The degree to which students will qualify for additional services like special

education, dyslexia programming, gifted and talented programming, as well as how

decisions are made regarding English learners' exit or reclassification from dual language

programming language are often incongruous with the intent of dual language

programming. Erin reflected:

> It's like all of those kind of policy pieces that are implemented at the campus or
>
> the district level don't always mesh with the true purpose of dual language
>
> programming or what our campus goals are. I've had students who desperately
>
> needed special education services but didn't get them because they were bilingual,
>
> and the assessors didn't think they would qualify for special education services
>
> because of a language deficiency.

  Another example that Erin cited to illustrate the difficulty of emergent bilingual students

qualifying for special services was a bilingual student in need of assessment to determine

qualification for dyslexia services. The evaluator independently decided to assess the

student in English because the student's language scores from pre-K indicated Spanish

dominance, but the evaluator determined that the student, by then in the third grade,

should be dominant in English by that time, and so the decision was made to assess her

for dyslexia services in English. The campus was not consulted, and Erin had to intervene

to correct the error by escalating the matter up to the district level. Erin wondered how

the results could be valid without a Spanish assessment since Spanish was the language in

which the student's interventions have been provided. Erin reflected:

There's all these different players in a student's education that don't necessarily

share the same perspective. There's this kind of push and pull that takes place in

education that needs to come more from a place of valuing what the student

brings and allowing kids to have their home language, experiences, culture, etc.,

reflected and considered.

Erin's critical reflection contributed to a vigilant stance rooted in advocacy and a

commitment to a bilingual perspective that equipped her to make decisions for students

and services that questioned biases and incorporated evaluating language and instruction

through an asset-based lens. It's also led to some difficult conversations: "I've had

several conversations recently with staff to make sure that we're getting kids the right

programming and services … when staff members don't share those same beliefs, I have

to make them understand what our commitments are at this campus."

Shared Leadership

Erin's desire to include key staff in the decision-making, planning, and execution

was evident throughout the data. Erin nurtured shared leadership on her campus to create

a cohesive campus culture focused on goals, policies, and practices that promoted

bilingualism and biliteracy:

It's been helpful to have this leadership team that can speak about research,

philosophy, beliefs, and practice concretely … we share the same philosophy, and

they communicate probably more eloquently than I do so it's not just me up there

saying what we've got to do … it's colleagues that are leading the work.

At Hector P. Garcia, a biliteracy committee and instructional leadership team composed of two instructional coaches, the assistant principal, and teacher leaders is responsible for driving the work:

> The leadership team makes sure that biliteracy is always a part of the conversations and the decisions we make about schedules, staffing, professional development, feedback, and curriculum resources. All those things are shaped by the beliefs about what we want our students' experiences to be in our dual language program.

These examples illustrate the collaborative nature of effective dual language program administration, and Erin's willingness to solicit feedback and guidance to shape dual language program implementation. Erin noted: "Shared leadership makes the work easier because it's not one person having to push the program forward when there's a strong commitment to the work from multiple layers." Shared leadership was evident as the campus engaged in a redesign of its bilingual program model five years ago. Staff at Hector P. Garcia took an active role in negotiating district agreed upon pillars that would be in place across the district's identified dual language campuses. Staff at Hector P. Garcia also collaborated to research, brainstorm, and write a biliteracy handbook to articulate their 50/50 model and the instructional design of the content and language allocation plan.

Erin described the tasks the leadership team shared including routine functions like daily bilingual morning announcements and weekly assemblies. One aspect of communication that required a team approach was communication to parents in Spanish. For many on the campus, Spanish is a second language. Erin commented that a lot of

effort went into making sure that the Spanish used to communicate was of equal quality as communication in English: "Quality control for communication and our public facing is important for our commitment to dual language. If we want our kids to be highly literate, we've got to model that as well." Other ongoing tasks associated with the leadership team are working to reimagine the traditional report card to better reflect progress made in dual language learning. For many districts, traditional report cards are printed off a common, district-wide template grounded in a monolingual, monoliteracy perspective. Districts engaged in dual language programming often create a supplemental progress report to provide communication to parents about students' development in bilingualism and biliteracy skills.

The leadership team additionally works collaboratively to ensure a dual language lens is prominent in the areas of curriculum and instruction. The literacy coach and a handful of teachers collaborated during the summer to reexamine the texts that have been traditionally used to teach literacy skills. Erin described:

> In kindergarten, we would teach problem and solution and plot with fairy tales, or we could teach these skills with other books that might provide more relevant connections to students' lives. So, the team met and rewrote the curriculum so that there would be texts that reflect students' experiences.

The leadership team's collaboration to create culturally and linguistically responsive curricula is an example of connecting the curriculum to the students so that they could see themselves reflected in the books that they read.

Leader 3: Roberto

Roberto Ramos is the principal of Quannah Parker Elementary School located in a large suburban district in central Texas. This year was Roberto's seventeenth year in education. The oldest of three brothers, Roberto grew up on the South Side of San Antonio, in a predominantly Latino, working-class area of town where the motto is "Southside Pride." Roberto's parents migrated from Mexico City to San Antonio in the 1970s. Roberto grew up speaking Spanish with his family and in the neighborhood.

Roberto's language story is very representative of what many emergent bilingual students face in U.S. schools, despite his attending a private parochial school:

> I lived in the barrio on the South Side and attended a public school for my Kinder
> year. It was a rough setting. I got picked on and there were some scrimmages in
> kindergarten. My parents didn't think it was the best environment, so they pulled
> me out…As their firstborn, I think they were very cautious about exposing me to
> "the right kind of school" as they would put it. My parents had a very minimal
> education up to elementary. But they realized it was important, at least in this
> country, to get a good education. And they moved on that.

This quote is significant in how it represents the immigrant experience where parents work very hard and make sacrifices to give their kids a better chance. For Roberto's parents, placing Roberto in a private parochial school seemed a better alternative to the neighborhood school. For Roberto, it was not without its challenges:

> I really didn't start speaking English until I went to kindergarten. It wasn't until
> first grade that I started picking up English. I was retained in first grade for not
> having the language acquisition. Many of those kids were second, third generation

having attended that school. They were Latino but they were not Spanish

speakers. So, it was difficult for me because I had to acquiesce and acculturate

into that code … and a lot of those kids already had a good vocabulary when it

came to English, whereas I didn't. I struggled. The teachers of that time … they

would teach and do very little reviewing, so you either got it or you didn't. I

needed a lot of remedial help, and it was difficult to receive.

This quote illustrates how Roberto, from a young age, navigated culture, language, and

class through his experiences with schooling. As the son of immigrants, Roberto

experienced life in a country that was new to his parents while simultaneously

experiencing dissonant cultures between the barrio he lived in and the more privileged

culture of the private, Catholic school he attended across town. In addition to the

complexity of acculturating to these different environments is the added challenge

Roberto had of being a second language learner without access to bilingual education,

enrolled in a school that provided scant linguistic accommodations, a perfect example of

the "sink or swim" model. These experiences, as we will see more as this case is

described, enabled Roberto to truly identify with the students he encountered.

Roberto had not determined that he would be a teacher when he enrolled in

college, yet when it was suggested to him as a career option, he changed gears and

enrolled in a teaching transition program through a local university in San Antonio that

offered evening classes in education geared toward second career professionals. Roberto

started his career as a kindergarten dual language teacher through a dual language pilot

program in a large district in San Antonio. After teaching kindergarten for four years,

Roberto relocated to central Texas to attend a state university and get a Master's in

Educational Administration. Roberto completed an internship as an assistant principal in a large urban district before relocating to a suburban district where he taught third grade, and served as an interventionist, before being promoted to assistant principal, and finally principal.

The Context

Roberto has been a campus principal for four years at Quannah Parker Elementary in Piedras ISD. Quannah Parker is located in a suburban community north of a large metropolitan area that consists of seven apartment complexes, duplexes, mobile homes, several industrial parks, and housing primarily inhabited by working class families. Most of the residential real estate in the neighborhoods surrounding the school is rental occupied.

In the 2020-21 school year, Quannah Parker Elementary had 397 students enrolled in grades Pre-K–5. State data records indicated that 74.8% of students at Quannah Parker Elementary were considered at risk of dropping out of school while 81% of students were identified as economically disadvantaged. At Quannah Parker, 55% of students were enrolled in bilingual and English language learning programs on the campus while 48% of students on the campus were identified as emergent bilingual students. Campus demographics indicated 76% of the student population was Latino, 13% were White, 8% were African American, and 0.5% were Asian. At Quannah Parker Elementary, 39% of teachers were Hispanic, 50% were White, 5% were African American, and 2.6% were Asian.

Student achievement data from the 2018–19 school year indicated that overall, the school was rated a C for student achievement but a D in school progress (how well

students performed over time and compared to students in similar schools). The campus

made a C in the closing the gaps domain (how well the school increased achievement for

special populations of students like special education students and emergent bilingual

students). The table below indicates that students enrolled in bilingual education

programming at Quannah Parker Elementary performed comparably in mathematics but

lower in reading than their campus-based non-bilingual peers on state assessments.

Table 5

Comparative Ratings for Quannah Parker State Assessment Performance 2018–2019

	State	District	Campus	Campus Dual Language One-Way
	%	%	%	%
All Grades Reading				
Approaches	75	85	64	61
Meets	48	65	30	22
Masters	21	37	11	3
All Grades Math				
Approaches	82	87	69	68
Meets	52	66	30	30
Masters	26	43	14	12

Quannah Parker Elementary is in year four of implementing a two-way dual

language immersion program. Previously, the campus had used a dual language

instructional design espoused by Gómez and Gómez, as is the case with the other three

campuses in this research study. However, Piedras ISD engaged in a process four years

ago, moving away from the 50/50 model popularized by Gómez and Gómez in favor of a 90/10 model in order to promote higher levels of bilingualism for students served. Within this dual language instructional design, students start in pre-K with 90% of instruction conducted in Spanish and 10% of literacy-based instruction provided in English through a reading workshop with an emphasis on vocabulary routines. This model shifts to 80% Spanish and 20% English in kindergarten, 70% Spanish to 30% English in first grade, and 60% Spanish to 40% English in second grade. From third to fifth grade, instruction is delivered with a 50/50 ratio of Spanish to English with language arts taught in both languages, Science instruction provided in Spanish; and English instruction provided for math and social studies.

The Case

To better understand how language and language policy was perceived and enacted by Roberto, it is important to consider Roberto's experiences, values, and beliefs in order to analyze the case. Roberto's experiences with schooling as a second language learner, as the son of immigrant, Spanish speaking parents, as a bilingual teacher, and as a bilingual administrator, all provide a unique context to consider this case. The following themes that emerged from the data are supported by our semi-structured interviews and my post-interview observations. The two dominant themes that emerged from coding the data on Roberto are: "Identification with students" and "Funds of knowledge."

Identification with Students

Roberto's personal experiences with language and language policy are characteristic of what many emergent bilingual students confront as second language

learners navigating language and culture without the benefit of bilingual education. Roberto struggled in school up until high school when things finally became easier for him because of the language fluency he had gained. Moving back and forth from the working class, predominantly Spanish speaking community of the South Side to attend school in a more affluent, English-only parochial school setting was a subtractive experience that shaped Roberto's mindset about what schooling should be like for emergent bilingual students, particularly during his early career years as a bilingual teacher:

> I saw myself in the students and I started reflecting about how I came on to the scene, as a student, as a language learner and I started thinking about what things can I do to facilitate that transition for our students who are coming into, not only the education system, but also as primarily Spanish speakers and being introduced to the world of English and knowing how to navigate between both worlds.

The above quote illustrates Roberto's identification with his students based on a common, shared experience being an emergent bilingual navigating school. Roberto's experiences, born out of his struggle to acquire English fluency in an all-English setting with few linguistic accommodations provided while simultaneously learning content area studies, combined with the complexity of navigating a culture clash between the culture of the barrio and the more privileged culture of the private, Catholic school he attended contributed to a level of empathy and understanding of students' learning needs. Roberto commented:

> I wasn't introduced to bilingual education throughout my elementary years, so it was very much sink or swim … it was very difficult. Elementary it's kind of a blur

because I did a lot of coding, a lot of Spanglish, you know going back and forth.

Middle school was tough as well. It wasn't until I went to high school that that

light bulb started going off and I started making more of that transition between

both languages. And that was a learning experience that I think shaped my

mentality of how school should be for second language learners, for English

language learners.

Roberto's experiences are, as we have seen in the literature review in Chapter 2 of this

study, unfortunately common occurrences for many of the 4.5 million emergent bilingual

students enrolled in U.S. schools. The lack of a cohesive, proactive, national bilingual

education policy results in ill-conceived interventions that are often more deleterious than

helpful, resulting in retention of struggling students (as Roberto was retained in first

grade), the provision of low-level remediation classes in lieu of accelerating content and

language, and limited access to linguistic scaffolds and native language support.

Roberto's empathy for and identification with emergent bilingual students

ultimately led him to choose a path as a school principal:

Throughout my years of as a bilingual educator, I kept seeing myself in my

students and the families … having those relationships, establishing that rapport

with colleagues in the community, I realized that I felt called to the next step…

and for me, the next step was to be an administrator and have my own campus.

Roberto conceived of the role of principal as an architect of culture that was essential to

collaboratively prioritizing student needs and each other:

I've always thought that before we can tackle any of the academics, we really

need to establish a sense of family, a sense of belonging, not only for our students,

of course, but also for our staff, the adults in the building, to create a solid understanding of our values and our mission.

By developing a strong school culture and prioritizing a sense of family, Roberto used his leadership position to keep a focus on the students, the community, and a growth mindset:

I think I've been able to implement, little by little, year after year, some of those core values and those school-wide goals that revolve around community … that revolve around a strong culture with a positive mindset and not defaulting into a subtractive mindset of deficiency, that just because our students are coming in with only one language, and it's not English, that there's deficiency in them.

This quote illustrates Roberto's conception of language as a resource valuable to maintaining cultural heritage and identity.

Funds of Knowledge

Central to Roberto's conception of school culture is a sense of inclusiveness for working class families and a commitment to an asset-based approach to serving students and the community:

Some parents may not have the education that some of our other parents have … they may not have adequate schooling, but that doesn't mean that they don't have their skill set to contribute or that they can't bring something to the table. And that's something that I've long been aware of, and over the years I've refined my thinking and have gotten better about reflecting, noticing, and observing what the community has to offer.

The above quote represents Roberto's esteem for the social and cultural capital of the families he served, based on his identification with working class Latino families, and his commitment to using his role and his capacity to overtly counter deficit perspectives and depictions of low-income families. The funds of knowledge framework (Moll et al., 1992) presented an approach that documented the various bodies of knowledge that form the basis of working-class Latino families' activities and resources. Roberto's personal experiences growing up in a working-class Latino family informed his practice and the enactment of his role as a principal: "The community that I lead is very similar to the one I grew up in as a child." Roberto conceptualized families' contributions as assets and used power, influence, and decision-making to leverage resources and advocate for students. Roberto stated: "If we can get students to understand the importance of speaking two languages and being bilingual, it's a huge benefit to their well-being, a huge benefit for their future."

A funds of knowledge approach refutes a deficit model in which poor and culturally diverse families are assumed to be incapable of offering enriching learning experiences at home for their children. Roberto rejected the deficit-based narrative about the need for English to be prioritized at the expense of Spanish when students are struggling learners:

> We find ourselves cutting corners … some buy into the false narrative that for kids to be better students with better test scores, they should exit bilingual programs early and test in English so they will be better prepared in middle and high school. That's not the case, and research has proven that time and time again.

Roberto additionally troubled the deficit-based, assimilationist-oriented narrative that regarded language diversity as a threat:

> I chop that up to ignorance … we can be bilingual and patriotic, we can still be very much American without giving the vibes that that we don't care about our country, because we know two different languages, or that we're somehow betraying our constitution or our American citizenship by knowing two different languages … that's far from the truth…

Roberto viewed bilingualism as a valuable resource important for maintaining cultural heritage and identity, as well as a skill for thriving in an increasingly global environment. Roberto commented that when he traveled to Germany, students were studying Spanish, French, and Chinese "because they saw the value of learning their next-door neighbor's language, whereas here, we don't see the value of learning the language and customs of our neighbors to the South. Our conception of culture is limited, and usually stops at food and holidays." This quote critiques approaches that trivialize multicultural education with superficial celebrations of holidays and food. For Roberto, a value for bilingualism and biliteracy, along with a conception of family contributions as assets, were important levers in a child's education.

Leader 4: Valentina

Valentina Velasco was in her sixth year of serving as principal of Lydia Lopez Elementary, a wall-to-wall dual language campus in Lagos ISD, located in a large city in central Texas. The campus provides dual language programming in English and Spanish as well as English and Mandarin for grades PK-5. Valentina served as a bilingual teacher before working as a counselor for seven years, serving as assistant principal, and later

principal. Valentina has a master's in counseling and is currently enrolled in a doctoral program at a state university while taking coursework to become a superintendent.

Valentina grew up on the East side, in a working-class community that was generationally and historically Latino. She attended neighborhood public schools. Today, long time Black and Brown residents of the East Side have been aggressively displaced because of rising property taxes associated with gentrification. Modest single-family, post war homes have been bulldozed to create expansive, modern, boxy homes that seem out of character for the neighborhood. Valentina started her career as a bilingual teacher "but it was subtractive … we worked to get students into English as quickly as possible. I knew nothing about dual language until we piloted a dual language program at a school I worked at when I first came to Lagos ISD." Valentina had positive experiences as a dual language teacher: "I definitely fell in love with it, and when I decided to go into administration, as a principal, I knew I would promote a dual language program."

Valentina's personal language story is one of cultural pride in her heritage as well as the painful experience of her family's generational language loss:

Well, my first language is English, and my parents did speak Spanish in the household. You could say they were probably raised more bilingual in a Spanish/ English household but their parents, my grandparents, were total Spanish speakers. But you know with generations that's kind of how it works right, a lot of times. So, my first language is English, but Spanish was definitely around me.

Valentina took inspiration from her family and community: "The neighborhood I grew up in was so culturally Hispanic and rich. I really loved it and embraced it. I was very proud of my culture, and I think it's because my community nurtured that."

Valentina made a conscious effort to learn Spanish, in high school, and in her community, and had become fluent by the time she embarked on a career. Valentina pointed out that the work that she does as a school leader of a dual language campus is directly related to the generational language loss that impacted her family:

> Now, one thing that is personal to me, through listening to the stories, I've learned more about dual language. And hearing other families' stories I've learned more about my own family story in that my grandparents dropped out of elementary school because of the disciplinary perspective and approach to them speaking Spanish. You know, when I think about that you know I see it as they did not get the opportunities that I got. They struggled through that. They dropped out of elementary and ended up working blue collar jobs and you didn't have the opportunity for higher education. And I like to tell that story. I feel like I've got a responsibility to do this work, especially since it impacted my own family generationally.

This quote addresses the impact of generational loss hastened by harsh policies of subtractive schooling practices designed to divest Mexican students of their language and culture (Valenzuela, 1999). The traditional understanding of language use and loss in the United States from seminal research is that a family's native language is lost by the third generation (Fishman, 1966; Veltman, 1983). This view does not fully account for the abuse inflicted on Mexican-born students to eradicate their use of Spanish in public schools. Oral histories featuring former Latino students on the East Side reflecting on their educational experiences during the time of Valentina's grandparents confirmed the abuse inflicted in Lagos ISD East Side public schools. Gilbert Rivera, (2016)

remembering elementary school, described being beaten for speaking Spanish: "I came home literally with my butt purple with blood welts. That's literally how hard they would beat you." (Rivera, 2016). Other punishments for speaking Spanish included retention of grade levels and being assigned labels like "mentally retarded" (Rivera, 2016). Dropping out of school was a way that many Mexican origin students sought to evade the systemic abuse inflicted through harsh and subtractive assimilationist practices.

When Valentina became principal at Lydia Lopez Elementary, student performance was one point away from the campus being labeled low performing by the State. For the first year, Valentina worked hard with staff to raise the scores under immense pressure, even going so far as to teach fourth grade writing herself, while planning ahead for starting dual language. Scores significantly improved and Valentina started the dual language program at Lydia Lopez Elementary at pre-kindergarten and Kindergarten in her second year of being principal. At the time of this study, Lydia Lopez Elementary was the only school in Lagos ISD that offered dual language programming in three languages. The dual language model at Lydia Lopez Elementary started out as a 50/50 model from PK on, but eventually altered the framework to utilize an 80/20 allocation at pre-Kindergarten, kindergarten and First grade and a 50/50 allocation from second to fifth grade, to provide more Spanish development at the early grades.

The Context

Lydia Lopez Elementary in Lagos ISD is a small school of 257 students located in a large, urban area in a neighborhood called Northland. Northland is a quiet, working-class neighborhood with modest, single-family homes constructed in the 50s and 60s. The neighborhood once anchored a large shopping mall that had fallen into disuse in recent

years and has recently been redeveloped as a community college site and mixed use residential/retail. Today Northland is being gentrified at a fast rate as it is a sought-after neighborhood prized for its proximity to downtown.

In the 2018-19 school year, Lydia Lopez Elementary was rated an A overall by the state's accountability system. Lydia Lopez Elementary received a B in student achievement for students' academic performance, a B in student progress (how well students perform over time compared to students in similar schools), and an A in closing the gaps (how well schools boost academic performance for student groups with special needs). In 2018-19, Lydia Lopez Elementary received several distinctions for student performance within the state's accountability system including Academic Achievement in ELA/Reading, Top 25 Percent: Comparative Academic Growth, Top 25 Percent: Comparative Closing the Gaps, and Postsecondary Readiness. The table below indicates that students enrolled in dual language programming at Lydia Lopez Elementary performed slightly below non- bilingual peers in reading and math on state assessments.

Table 6

Comparative Ratings for Lydia Lopez State Assessment Performance 2018–2019

	State	District	Campus	Campus Dual Language One-Way
	%	%	%	%
All Grades Reading				
Approaches	75	77	95	93
Meets	48	53	60	51
Masters	21	26	25	17
All Grades Math				

Approaches	82	81	93	90
Meets	52	54	63	59
Masters	26	28	30	27

Student enrollment at Lydia Lopez Elementary included 53% of students categorized as economically disadvantaged, and 59% of students categorized as At-Risk. Students identified as English learners accounted for 49% of the population while 72% of the campus population was enrolled in Bilingual Education or ESL programming. Campus demographics indicated 5% of students were African American, 64% were Hispanic, 22% White, and seven percent were Asian. At Lydia Lopez Elementary, 72% of teachers were Hispanic, 23% were White, 0% were African American, and 5% were Asian.

The Case

Valentina's perspective on language and dual language policy has been shaped by personal and professional experiences. To understand how Valentina perceived and enacted language policy, we must contextualize her values and beliefs about language as well as her experiences as a policy actor. Valentina's values are grounded in her experiences as a third-generation Latina who worked to add her heritage language that was minimized due to generational language loss, and her pride in her family and her culture. The themes that arose from coding the interview data on Valentina are: "Shifting philosophies" and "Commitment to equity."

Shifting Philosophies

During interviews with Valentina, the theme of shifting philosophies emerged from the data. The data indicated that Valentina worked to shift Latino, Spanish-speaking parents' philosophies in terms of their constructs about the value of Spanish as well as her teachers' philosophies about the merits of dual language pedagogy. Before exploring how Valentina helped shift the philosophies of others, it's important to consider how her own philosophy shifted. Valentina reflected on her family's language loss as a result of subtractive schooling practices, as well as her own early career as a bilingual teacher in an early exit program: "At that time, my philosophy was that we had to get the kids learning English and leave that Spanish behind! We had to transition, right?" Valentina explained her paradigm shift:

Through the work that I've done in the last 12 years I know differently. I now know that an additive approach is going to be far better for them in the long run, from an academic standpoint but also from the standpoint of pride and culture. Learning two languages has cognitive, linguistic, and social emotional benefits.

Valentina described an interesting phenomenon in which Anglo parents clamored for their kids to be served by dual language programming, applied for transfers, and lobbied the school and the district to be granted access to dual language programming. In contrast, the legacy of subtractive schooling and the narrative that English was of greater value for success in school contributed to situations in which Valentina worked with Latino families on shifting philosophies and reassuring them about language: "I spend extra time, a lot of time talking about how dual language is an additive program, and unpacking the cognitive, linguistic, and social emotional benefits." Valentina assured

Latino, Spanish-speaking families that the bilingual model was strong and would build a solid foundation for language learning in the early grades, so that as kids moved up to the intermediate grades, they would be successful in Spanish and English: "I definitely feel like a dual language program is the best programming for English learner students. It's additive rather than subtractive at the baseline." Valentina incorporated the prevalence of English in daily life to reassure Latino parents that English would be acquired: "Especially because of where we live. We live in the United States of America. English is around everywhere. Even if you are recently arrived, you are going to pick up on English."

This quote expressed Valentina's understanding that Spanish in the U.S. is a minority language in a majority culture, a reality that is important in considering dual language program models and frameworks. Since Spanish is a minority language in the context of U.S. schooling, to ensure bilingualism and biliteracy, structural and instructional decisions are made that support raising the status of Spanish within the majority environment. To elevate the status of Spanish, Valentina made a structural change to the framework by shifting to an 80/20 model to ensure ample exposure to Spanish in the early grades. To achieve the outcomes of biliteracy and bilingualism, Valentina was more concerned about developing Spanish since English is the majority language spoken by the majority culture.

Valentina credited the presence of the Mandarin strand of the program with engaging interest and openness to learning more languages among students and families at the school which also worked to shift subtractive philosophies:

Just by the nature of having three languages in the building and kids interacting

with multiple languages … the kids in the Spanish/English program see the

kiddos and other classes speaking Mandarin through our community events or

even just sharing time together at recess or at the lunch table…they hear other

languages, right? So, the kids in the Mandarin program, they hear Spanish and

vice versa. We've had emergent bilingual Spanish speaking students that have

come into the Mandarin strand. It's one of the coolest things that has come out of

this experience. They could be trilingual one day.

The quote above captures the additive nature of dual language programming and the

assets provided to students who have the opportunity to engage in language learning in a

multicultural setting.

Another area where Valentina has worked to shift philosophies is in the area of

developing teachers to have an additive mindset for implementation of dual language

policy. Valentina explained:

A dual language philosophy is embedded in every practice we have at Lydia

Lopez … I would say that where I was challenged the most, initially, was with

teachers. Some of the teachers I did not hire … they were already here. And Lydia

Lopez had always administered subtractive, early exit programs. I had to work to

provide a lot of professional development, and a lot on providing the research and

what it shows to shift teachers' philosophies.

This quote illustrates the difficulty in changing fixed mindsets and subtractive practices.

Leading the charge was Valentina, who, along with her family, had experienced

generational language loss through subtractive schooling practices: "Because it impacted

my family generationally, right? So, I'm flipping the switch. Doing the work is exciting.

I'm passionate about it, as a leader. Both personally and professionally."

Valentina noted that by working enthusiastically with teachers to unpack additive philosophies underlying dual language programming and providing follow-up professional development, many teacher mindsets shifted. Valentina clarified the expectations she had of teaching staff:

Well, let's start with let's start with the basics. They have to be believers. I need them to believe that kids really can achieve in two languages, even when it seems like we're up against a wall. Even with a kid that is just not wanting it, you know … What can teachers do to get creative and how are they going to inspire kids to want to learn a second language? I mean you got kids that are like that; the parents want it more than they do, and sometimes it's because they're six years old, or seven, and they don't know what they want. You get those kids that refuse, and so I expect my teachers to do everything they possibly can to help turn that around in a creative, fun, and inviting way.

Not all the staff that Valentina inherited were willing to shift their philosophies. Valentina reflected: "I had some teachers leave after the first year. It (dual language) wasn't what they believed in. And I'd say, that's ok. We have different philosophies. I want you to go find a school that meets your philosophy that will be a better fit for you." To compensate for staff lost through attrition and set the school up for success, Valentina ensured prospective staff had additive mindsets for dual language through questions she posed during the interview process:

I say to teachers during the interview, tell me your philosophy on dual language.

Tell me your philosophy on social emotional learning. Because those are our two

initiatives at Lopez Elementary … you cannot be here and work here if you don't

believe in that, and so it's been nice to be able to build staff that are such believers

and passionate about it. And what's great is that it's come to the point now where

we've built a reputation for what it is that we do. And the success that we've had

with it, I get applicants that tell me our school is their dream school.

The above quote illustrates how Valentina worked to preserve the mindsets and

philosophies that had been established in order to ensure successful dual language

implementation. By providing clear expectations about the practices and mindsets

required for implementing dual language through professional development, and leaving

the door open for staff to depart if they could not meet expectations, Valentina articulated

and developed the philosophical underpinnings for dual language education among staff.

Commitment to Equity

Leadership that fosters linguistic and cultural equity is essential to quality,

successful dual language programming. Examining dual language programming through

a lens of equity entails considering policies and practices at the school and classroom

level in terms of a myriad of issues including language status, alignment of programming

goals, culturally and linguistically responsive curricula and assessments, and access for

emergent bilingual students (Howard et al., 2018). To ensure language and cultural status,

students in both language groups must be positioned as equals, and the status of Spanish

must be elevated to compensate for the dominance of English. The use of quality

multicultural curricula and assessments in both languages must be apportioned and

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planned to accurately reflect and develop students' full linguistic repertoires. Lastly, to ensure equitable practices, emergent bilingual students must have access to dual language programming.

In addition to working to shift philosophies to nurture the additive mindsets and clarify essential philosophical orientations that ensure successful dual language program implementation, Valentina's data pointed to a commitment to equity. Through her leadership of dual language programming Valentina sought to reverse structural inequities as she worked to equalize language status, position students as equals, and center the needs of emergent bilingual students. Valentina's equity concerns centered on English learners' access to dual language programming. Valentina explained:

> Dual language is the best programming for English language learners. When it is not offered to them, it is an equity issue, a denial of opportunity, and that drives me nuts. It really bothers me that we don't have more policy that supports dual language programming for our emergent bilingual students.

Valentina described how her school district provided a variety of bilingual programs including dual language immersion one-way, dual language immersion two-way, and early-exit bilingual programming. Which program an emergent bilingual student had access to depended on the student's school attendance zone. Valentina objected to what amounted to a zip code lottery that determined emergent bilingual students' access to dual language programming:

> It's not fair that if I'm an English learner, and I happen to be zoned for Lydia Lopez I get access to a dual language program in English and Mandarin or Spanish, but if I live in a different neighborhood, I don't get to continue learning

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my native language and growing that, and I potentially lose my native language

just because of where I live ...

Valentina's comment reflects how generational language loss correlates with access to programming. When students only have access to early exit programming, the majority of their learning would be conducted in English by third grade. She went on to describe how the painful realities of gentrification and economic status also collide to impact emergent bilinguals' opportunities. Valentina explained:

I've had emergent bilingual kiddos that were zoned to Lydia Lopez since pre-kindergarten who are now in, let's say, second grade, and because the neighborhood is gentrifying so rapidly … affordability is not sustainable, and the family will have to move. They move further out to areas that are a little bit more affordable and their new school doesn't offer dual language. Then that's it… those students will not have the ability to grow their academic Spanish through fifth grade, and then on to middle school ...

While Valentina lobbied the parents to continue to keep their kids at Lydia Lopez through a transfer, working, low-income parents could not provide the transportation because of cost and/or conflicts with work schedules. School district policy outlined that transfer students in dual language programming would not be eligible for transportation provided by the district.

For Valentina, this was a huge equity issue with policy implications with an extra helping of irony. In 2019, the state legislature provided additional funding for non-English learners served through dual language immersion programs. The funding was a fraction of what was provided for students identified as English learners but was meant to

subsidize the costs of providing two-way dual language immersion programming. Valentina commented: "I kind of have felt a little weird about that ... now we get money for non-ELs in dual language programming, but yet I still have ELs that aren't afforded the opportunity for dual language, because of where they live." Non-EL students, predominantly Anglo, are able to leverage transfer policies and the parents, predominantly upper middle class, are able to provide transportation.

The attrition of English language learners associated with gentrification and rising housing costs coincides with an increasing enrollment of Spanish language learners. This presents an equity dilemma for Valentina. Valentina explained: "I have to align our dual language application policies with what the district says, but my design is that I'm recruiting for ELs first and after I fill those spots, then we open it up to monolingual English speakers." At the time of this research, Valentina was in the beginning stages of forming an equity committee to closely monitor demographic shifts and intentionally recruit ELs to ensure a 50/50 balance between the two language groups. Valentina explained the need to prioritize recruitment:

> Five years ago, when I came here, we were 90% ELs. Now, five years later we're at 50% ELs because of affordability, but also because we're gaining so many SLLs. They're so interested in this program they drive from all over the city, even outside of the city to come, every day. So, I really have to work on that balance as the years go by, and I expect it's going to continue to be a challenge.

This quote illustrates the challenge of maintaining the diversity of the different language groups necessary to sustain the program amid the gentrification of dual language

programming, which poses a significant threat to English learners' access to additive programming (Dorner et al., 2021).

In addition to the linguistic and cultural diversity at Lydia Lopez, there was significant socioeconomic diversity with 50% of students identified as economically disadvantaged and qualifying for free and reduced lunch. The remaining 50% of students are middle to upper middle class. Valentina explained the need to be very transparent with prospective parents about the socioeconomic diversity of the school during recruitment tours that she conducts in English and in Spanish in the fall semester. During these tours, Valentina talks to parents about how the school receives federal funds in the form of Title I and Title III grants and goes into detail about how the funds are spent. In her talk with prospective parents, Valentina additionally highlights the linguistic and cultural diversity of the campus:

> If you're at Lydia Lopez you're at Lydia Lopez because you want your child to be in a classroom that is immensely diverse by culture, language, and economic background. And what does that mean? What does it mean that your child is getting this experience? We talk about what Title funds are and how they work. Are we going to lose them? With the shift in demographics every year we're at a possibility of losing Title 1 funding, so I talk about it every year. I address our equity issues like gentrification. I'm very bold about it with them.

The previous are consistent with findings in research regarding the nuances of integrating students from divergent sociocultural and linguistic backgrounds amid complex contexts of race, power, and equity (Palmer, 2010; Palmer, Cervantes-Soon, & Heiman, 2017). Valentina exhibited a genuine sense of care and understanding of

community needs and sought to promote community cohesion and equity between the two language populations while striving to develop the three pillars of dual language programming: bilingualism and biliteracy, high academic achievement in both languages, and sociocultural competence. To develop sociocultural competence, each month, a different culture was celebrated on the campus. Valentina explained:

> The teacher and the students do research on that culture, and they find a civic leader or civic leaders to collaborate with on a research project. The students create presentations, and these are displayed around the school. We do this monthly to promote cultural proficiency. We honor, celebrate, and want to learn more than one language.

The quote above illustrates how Valentina prioritized the development of sociocultural competence through project-based learning that engaged community members. Research suggests that cross disciplinary, project-based learning approaches are effective in developing language and literacy (National Academies, 2017). By creating an expectation that teachers and students collaborate with external community members with cultural expertise, Valentina sought to elevate the cultural studies beyond the level of a superficial, "fun, facts, and food" approach. The projects brought parents and community members together and strengthened relationships within the school community.

An additional aspect of promoting sociocultural competence and supporting equity was the school's work as in social emotional learning. At the time of this study, Lydia Lopez was an SEL model campus. Valentina explained how SEL programming significantly impacts the effectiveness of dual language programming:

You have to create a safe learning environment for kids to be able to learn, thrive

and take risks, because that's what they're doing, they're learning how to treat

each other ... they're taking risks with language that even adults don't want to do.

And it's because of the environment that we create and the way we teach students

to be multiculturally aware and respectful.

The daily component of social emotional learning, reinforced through school assemblies and cultural presentations that engaged the greater community had a unifying aspect for the campus. When the COVID-19 epidemic forced school closures in spring of 2020 and the campus shut down, Valentina learned that there were about 30 families experiencing food insecurity because of financial struggles from business shutdowns. Valentina could not use campus funds to help, and Parent/Teacher association (PTA) funds were additionally not able to be used because of regulations about how PTA monies are spent. In the end, a group of parents came together and created a Lydia Lopez Relief fund through go fund me to raise money for families in need. The school counselor worked confidentially with the families to connect them to the resources. Over $20,000 was raised to fund grocery store gift cards to feed 30 families for three to four months. Valentina explained: "That's really the spirit of being able to dig in and be transparent with all your families ... acknowledging the needs and planning the support and making it all come together. It wasn't my work. It was just being transparent and talking about what was going on." Valentina's commitment to equity was influenced by her own personal experiences with generational language loss and expressed through her transparency with families about the diverse needs within the community. She discussed equity issues openly and honestly. She created opportunities and structures to develop students' and

families' sociocultural competence while leveraging the school's social emotional

learning program to complement sociocultural integration.

Conclusion of Individual Case Analysis

In this section, I presented each case independently, included a detailed

description of each participant, their language story, and a summary of each school's

achievement data and demographics to provide greater context for each case. I then

presented the themes that emerged from the data for each case based on interviews,

language policy artifacts, and post-interview reflections and entries from a reflexive

researcher journal. I used the participants' own words to provide an authentic portrayal of

their identity as leaders engaged in language policy. The following table illustrates a

summary of the themes that arose for each participant during individual case analysis.

Table 7

Themes Among Individual Cases

Leader	Example Themes
Adelita	Parents as partners; Culturally and linguistically responsive leadership
Erin	Critical self- reflection; Shared leadership
Roberto	Identification with students; Funds of knowledge
Valentina	Shifting philosophies; Commitment to equity

Cross-Case Analysis

I now present the themes that arose through multi-case study from my cross-case

analysis of the data. This section focuses on comparative analysis of themes and

categories identified among the four cases: Adelita, Erin, Roberto, and Valentina.

What is evident from the four cases in this study is that the principals experienced and enacted language policies in a variety of ways through pedagogies, curriculum, and relationships. The differences and nuanced similarities among the four cases reflect the context-dependent and multi-dimensional nature of language policy implementation. There were three themes revealed through the cross-case analysis:

- advocacy

- pedagogical practices for bilingualism and biliteracy

- approach to language policy

Additionally, three subthemes emerged:

- adaptation

- interpreting language policy

- negotiating language policy and high stakes testing

Advocacy

All four principals in this study demonstrated high levels of advocacy around issues of language policy as they reflected on their personal and professional experiences as language learners, bilingual teachers, school leaders, and dual language practitioners. Advocacy is the act of promoting the interests of a cause, a proposal, a policy, or a group of people (Merriam-Webster. n.d.). Roberto expressed how his personal experiences contributed to advocacy: "I know what I experienced as a student, and I know what I have learned as an adult ... how can I merge these two worlds? And now that I know better, I'm going to do better." This study revealed that principals advocated teachers contest subtractive philosophies that marginalized EL students, advocated central office provide culturally and linguistically responsive curriculum, instructional materials, and

professional development, and advocated the effectiveness of dual language programming to ELs' families.

Principals used advocacy in working with teachers in order to push back against subtractive philosophies and methodologies that marginalized ELs educational outcomes. Adelita counseled teachers to reflect on the gap between actions and the additive mindset needed for program implementation: "When I hear a teacher making a comment or something or speaking to a parent about something that sounds off ... I'll bring them into my office and say, just explain to me how what you said is aligned to our philosophy and our framework." Erin pushed back on teacher interpretations of discipline problems that marginalized students: "When a teacher told me a kid was being defiant, I said, really? Does he really understand what you're asking him to do? You're the music teacher and he's five and his first language is Spanish." Valentina leveraged research-informed professional development to equip teachers with the growth mindset necessary to implement additive dual language programming: "Some of the teachers I didn't hire. They were already here ... and so I had to work a lot on professional development, and a lot of providing the research, what it shows, to shift their philosophies."

Principals advocated the benefits of dual language programming to reluctant parents of ELs. Parent engagement was a vehicle for advocacy and occurred through school events that spotlighted cultural programs, family nights, dual language showcases, and individual conversations with parents. Participants described advocacy in the form of crucial conversations with the parents of English learners about the effectiveness of dual language programming to reassure parents of ELs that a dual language program would develop English, as well as Spanish fluency. Adelita remarked: "I'll sit with parents and

explain the framework and make sure they're understanding that it takes 4-7 years to learn a language and it's important that they support us by supporting the Spanish at home." Valentina reassured parents: "We work with families of English language learners sometimes, having to convince them dual language is the best program for a child. We say, it's ok. Your child is going to learn English. English is everywhere!"

Additionally, Principals in this study sought to ensure that parents and families understood students' rights to equitable educational opportunities that were responsive to ELs linguistic, cultural, and academic needs. Roberto commented: "Our parents who have had several students come through our door help a lot. They know we buy into this program and that we are really here to grow students that are biliterate, bicultural, and not the other way around." Erin engaged parents to be open about their needs: "At parent coffees we ask parents to speak to the benefits for their children, and make it interactive so it's not giving parents a PowerPoint about the goals of the program but asking them, what are you noticing? Why is this important for your child?"

Principals in this study advocated for the district central office to support professional development on dual language education including the philosophies, pedagogies, and methodologies necessary to promote bilingualism, biliteracy, and sociocultural competence. Several principals in the study lamented the variance of dual language implementation across their district's and pushed for central office to provide more training to other dual language administrators. Adelita explained this need:

> With all the goals that we have as a district, you have to start with training the
> principals and administrators and the instructional coaches. It needs to start at the

top … every principal needs to be trained as to what our vision is, what our goals

are, and how we're going to get there with dual language.

Roberto pushed central office to consider research-informed practices specific to dual

language program implementation to counter monoglossic district mandates:

It's taken some coaching on some of our parts and some reaching out to some area

experts in universities to come and speak to our people here at the district,

specifically focused on why sweeping decisions that are made across the district

don't always, despite best intentions, meet the needs of our bilingual students.

Administrators in this study advocated for EL through conversations and

collaboration with central office administrators. Principals in this study took a

collaborative approach to work with central office administration to advocate for

increased support at the campus level, increased responsive curricula and assessments,

and increased staffing for special programming including dyslexia, special education,

gifted and talented services. In one example, Erin collaborated with the bilingual director

at the central office to advocate for a student who had been screened for dyslexia in

English despite her language of instruction being in English and Spanish. Erin noted: "I

try to make sure that we're getting kids the right programming. External staff members

who don't share those beliefs need to understand the commitments to bilingualism and

biliteracy at our campus." In this instance, Erin leveraged the central office to help with

the immediate situation but also hoped that the bilingual director could communicate with

the 504/Special Education department and initiate an ongoing conversation. Erin

advocated that that responsive, bilingual, assessments and screeners be used with

bilingual children so that the situation would not be repeated.

The principals in this study consistently advocated central office for additional human capital to support dual language implementation. HR staffed teacher allocations based on the number of students, not accounting for language program participation. This presented a problem for schools that had students who were not served by dual language programming, or who were served instead by ESL programming. Erin explained: "You have to look at the actual makeup of the program to ensure the staffing compliments that." Several principals lamented the lack of bilingually certified special education teachers. Roberto commented:

> Out of the 12 bilingual campuses in the district, we have only two individuals that have dual certification in bilingual and special education. We have students who are not being served. As an organization we've not always valued the need for certain allocations based on students' needs.

Lastly, principals in this study advocated central office bilingual and curriculum departments for improved curriculum resources that were aligned to each campus' content and language allocation plan and incorporated bilingual and biliteracy pedagogies. Erin remarked "The resources we have at the district level are usually written from the English perspective, though that is shifting. I speak up at meetings when they give us resources in English. I ask, Where's the Spanish for this...we teach science in Spanish!" Roberto advocated for funding: "I have learned to collaborate with other people, other professionals on my campus and in my district, to be able to advocate for funding, whether through a special grant, or through our regular school budget … to make it a point and purchase culturally responsive materials." Valentina noted how a monolingual perspective mismatched with assessment needs on a dual language campus:

The district wanted a district wide screener. They said, you're supposed to test

kids in their first native language. I was like, okay, but I also need to know how

my monolingual English speakers are doing in Spanish. We ended up doing extra

testing ... their template didn't fit a dual language school.

Pedagogical Practices for Bilingualism and Biliteracy

Dual language immersion programs are designed to develop bilingualism and

biliteracy, sociocultural competence, and high levels of academic achievement (Howard

et al., 2018). For dual language programs to be successful, they must be grounded in

theories and pedagogies predicated on development of bilingualism and biliteracy in the

areas of reading, writing, and oral language. Principals in this study, to varying degrees,

supported school-wide pedagogical practices to develop children's developing

bilingual/biliteracy competencies. The chart below illustrates the instructional practices

the four principals described on their campus in support of bilingualism and biliteracy.

Table 8

Instructional Practices for Bilingualism and Biliteracy at the Four Campuses

Bilingual/Biliteracy Instructional Practice	Adelita	Erin	Roberto	Valentina
Content and language allocation plan/framework	✓	✓	✓	✓
Culturally relevant instructional materials in English, and Spanish	✓	✓	✓	✓
Family and community engagement activities to develop home and school connections	✓	✓	✓	✓
Dual language lesson planning template: I will/We will objectives, key vocabulary, sentence stems, planned questions aligned to Bloom's Taxonomy	✓			
Announcements in Spanish to elevate Spanish language; Communication (public facing, weekly newsletters, announcements) edited for grammar, use of academic Spanish		✓		
Emphasis on literacy routines, vocabulary instruction, mentor texts in both languages			✓	
Project-based learning; monthly cultural celebrations involving research, collaboration with community members, and presentations				✓

Bilingual/Biliteracy Instructional Practice	Adelita	Erin	Roberto	Valentina
Both languages displayed schoolwide in hallways, libraries, classrooms ✓		✓	✓	✓
Separation of the languages, marking the language (English is blue, Spanish is red), Language of the day, Bilingual pairs, Total physical response (TPR), emphasis of common vocabulary across grade levels, sheltered instruction practices, sentence frames, visuals, anchor charts				
Departmentalized teachers				✓
Bilingual/Biliteracy pedagogies incorporated with social emotional learning		✓		✓
Professional development on John Seidlitz' 7 Steps to a Language Rich, Interactive Classroom (sheltering instruction),	✓	✓	✓	
Fundamental 5, John Hattie Visible Learning (2009), Jim Knight Impact Cycle (for instructional coaches)	✓			
Teaching for Biliteracy and Developing Bilingual Unit Frameworks (Urow & Beeman, 2013)		✓		✓
Literacy Squared (Escamilla, 2015); Dictado (Escamila, 2015)				✓

In this section, I describe the shared practices and pedagogies within dual language implementation among the four campuses. First, all leaders described having a content and language allocation plan that articulated the ratio of the use of English and Spanish within the core content areas. A content and language allocation plan is a strategic assignment of the content and language percentage for each grade level, typically presented in the form of a table that uses color coding and number of minutes to illustrate the percentages of language instruction for each content area. Because dual language program models depend on a graduated allocation of language use in the early grades to arrive at a 50% English and 50% Spanish allocation from third to fifth grades, articulation of the ratios of languages to content area instruction is essential for alignment and implementation between and across grade levels (Howard et al., 2018). Roberto described the process for and importance of the content and language allocation plan for successful dual language implementation:

> Any bilingual program or DL program is going to be as effective as you prioritize it to be. You need to have a core of people partner with you in looking at the master schedule and prioritizing the minutes that you're going to allocate to your model, whatever your model is, whether it's a 50/50, whether it's a 90/10... allocating and prioritizing those minutes and coming up with a list of non-negotiables. When you're intentional about the master schedule from the get-go you're able to stay on track. We will divert from time to time, but we can always come back and look at our plan to see if we are sticking with it or have we strayed away from these minutes...sometimes we prioritize one subject a little more than another because of testing purposes or other issues ...

Roberto's quote illustrates the centrality of the content and language allocation plan in terms of the development of the master schedule and to develop students' bilingualism and biliteracy over time.

Principals in this study also prioritized the use of culturally relevant instructional materials and curricula. Since dual language programming strives to develop students' sociocultural competence, culturally responsive curricula and materials are needed to develop students' sociocultural knowledge and identities in a non-stereotyped manner (Howard et al., 2018). Access to curriculum and materials in both languages is necessary for students to develop linguistic and cultural proficiency in both languages. The principals in this study described practices to prioritize curriculum and allocate instructional resources that reflected the linguistic and cultural diversity of their respective student populations: Adelita noted:

> I form committees of bilingual and monolingual teachers to buy resources that are going to support the population that we have on our campus which is not only our Spanish speaking students, but we have a variety of populations on our campus. I make sure that we are finding resources ... You know we've bought a lot of Farsi books, whatever we can find on the market in their language to make sure that parents have that resource so that they can come check out books and read to their kids too.

Erin engaged teachers in planning to align curriculum with culturally responsive texts:

> In Kindergarten, we would teach problem and solution and plot with fairy tales, or we could teach these skills with other books that might provide more relevant

connections to students' lives. So, the team met and rewrote the curriculum so

that there would be texts that reflect students' experiences.

Roberto saw the provision of culturally responsive materials as an important aspect of his

work as a leader:

I see it as a responsibility, as an administrator of a bilingual campus, to again

offer opportunities for our students to expose them to material that is going to be

culturally responsive to them...reading stories, books, articles, materials, and

resources that students will be able to identify with. Whether it's a student of

African American background, whether it's a student of Hispanic, you know

Latino or Mexican American background, whether it's a student of Indian

American background or Islamic background ... If I find the opportunity, I believe

I have the opportunity to expose them to those types of stories that they're going

to be able to identify with that have characters that speak to their culture or that

speak to a celebration in their culture.

Principals in this study also described efforts to engage all staff in promoting

culturally responsive school-wide practices that supported bilingualism and biliteracy.

Adelita explained:

I think it's very important that we just respect, value, and celebrate students'

native language at all times ... within the classroom, our campus hallways, library

books, classroom libraries... It's really important that we are promoting and

developing bilingualism and biliteracy in our English language learners.

Erin indicated the importance of having school-wide expectations for the program

implementation, developed through thoughtful, collaborative planning: "We have really

clear expectations for our biliteracy program. It's really easy to walk in and look at the classroom environment, the schedule, the language allocation, the type of student work, the type of student interactions, and engagement." Valentina promoted school-wide project-based research about different cultures:

> Every month we celebrate a different culture. We use the district calendar for that. For example, we just finished Chinese New Year. Whatever culture we're celebrating that month, the teacher and the students do research on that culture, and they find a civic leader or civic leaders to collaborate with on a research project. The students create presentations, and these are displayed around the school. We do this monthly to promote cultural proficiency. We honor, celebrate, and want to learn more than one language.

Roberto emphasized the importance of a school-wide culture that values bilingualism and biliteracy:

> I think I've been able to implement, little by little, year after year, some of those core values and school-wide goals that revolve around community, a strong culture, a positive mindset, and not defaulting into a subtractive mindset of deficiency that, you know, just because our students are coming in with only one language, and it's not English, that there's deficiency in them.

The above examples illustrate the principals' efforts to develop a distinctive, school-wide campus identity as a bilingual campus order to implement culturally relevant learning experiences reflective of students' cultures and backgrounds.

An important feature of dual language programming is the incorporation of family and community engagement in the form of home/school collaboration activities (Howard

et al., 2018). The principals in this study engaged in a variety of activities to solicit engagement and involve dual language families in school activities to create a sense of belonging for students and their families and communicate bilingualism was a valued asset. Types of school-based, family engagement activities included parent nights in which parents visited teachers' classrooms to examine student work and learn about bilingual programming and instructional strategies. Family literacy nights focused on literacy activities and typically showcased speakers and provided childcare. All principals had monthly Coffee with the Principal events to provide parent updates, answer questions, and communicate important information about bilingual programming. Cultural presentations and holiday celebrations were described by principals as popular school events where families enjoyed cultural programs related to Día de los Muertos, Chinese New Year, or Cinco de Mayo celebrations. Several campuses noted that parents collaborated with the school to sponsor Ballet Folklórico dance groups for students. Several campus leaders described having parents from both language groups to serve on bilingual advisory committees.

The majority of principals in this study consistently described biliteracy pedagogies supported by research incorporated as daily features of instructional pedagogies within lesson planning and instructional delivery. These practices were specific to dual language immersion contexts and designed to elicit outcomes related to the development of bilingualism and biliteracy including facilitating cross-linguistic connections, facilitating cross-language transfer, developing oral language, and developing sociocultural competence. The table below details pedagogies specific to bilingualism and biliteracy described on three campuses:

Table 9

Dual Language Pedagogies Described at the Four Campuses

Strategic separation of the languages	Teachers may employ the strategic separation of the languages of instruction to develop students' proficiency in each language during content instruction and to avoid flip-flopping or simultaneous translation. A recent shift in pedagogy within biliteracy instruction has moved toward integrating the languages of instruction to facilitate cross-linguistic transfer and explicitly teach cross-language connections. (Beeman & Urow, 2013; Escamilla et al., 2014; Thomas & Collier, 2012).
Bridging the languages	The Bridge occurs in dual language instruction when teachers bring the two languages together, guide students to engage in contrastive analysis of the two languages while transferring the academic content they have learned in one language to the other language (Beeman & Urow, 2013).
Dictado	A dictation task that may be used in Spanish and/ or in English to teach elements of word study such as mechanics, spelling, punctuation, fluency, word order, organization of ideas, or conventions in order to promote cross-linguistic connections (Escamilla, 2014).
Bilingual Pairs	A form of heterogeneous grouping that pairs two students from distinct language groups to collaborate to help develop each other's linguistic and academic proficiency during content area instruction (Gómez et al., 2005).
Language of the Day	A dual language pedagogy in which an alternating language of the day is designated throughout the campus with signs that specify the language to be used campus wide for that day by students and staff during non-content based instructional activities like the pledge of allegiance, daily calendar activities, or lunch breaks to validate both languages and promote conversational and academic fluency (Gómez et al., 2005).
Total Physical Response (TPR)	Total physical response (TPR) is a language teaching method to develop receptive comprehension in which instructors give commands to students in the target language with body movements, and students respond with whole-body actions. The students make connections to words, phrases, and sentences as they learn new vocabulary in the target language (Asher, 1969).
Paired Literacy	Paired literacy is a method of biliteracy instruction in which students learn to read, write, speak, listen, process, create, and analyze in two languages simultaneously beginning in kindergarten or first grade (Slavin & Cheung, 2005; Hopewell & Escamilla, 2014).
Sheltered Instruction	An instructional approach used to make academic instruction in English (or another language) understandable to students. In the sheltered classroom, teachers use physical activities, visual aids, and the environment to teach vocabulary for concept development in mathematics, science, social studies, and other subjects (Echevarría, Vogt, & Short, 2017).

The principals in this study developed their knowledge of pedagogies of

bilingualism and biliteracy through extensive professional development and review of

research. Principals' enactment of these pedagogies required leadership, planning, and supervision to prioritize the structural and theoretical considerations necessary for implementation. One principal in this study was an outlier when it came to prioritizing biliteracy-specific pedagogies because of adaptations that she made to accommodate the many initiatives that came from the district level. In the next section, I explore the final theme, principals' approach to language policy.

Approach to Language Policy

Since language policies have the potential to impact teaching methodologies, it is necessary to examine principals' approach to language policy implementation. In this study, principals' varied approaches to language policy related to their interpretations of language policy and their need to make policy adaptations because of campus-specific implementation concerns. Additionally, principals' made accommodations in their approaches to language policy when it came to negotiating the conflict that arose preparation practices for high stakes testing conflicted with pedagogical practices for bilingualism and biliteracy.

Adaptation

Each principal made adaptations to policy implementation for a variety of reasons including accommodating central office directives, consolidating multiple initiatives, and changing the program model to improve services to students. All principals in this study led their campus through changes to dual language implementation in the form of adaptation of program models. Originally, each campus in this study practiced the Gómez and Gómez (2005) model of dual language immersion. This model employed a 50/50 design separated language groups for language arts instruction through second grade

according to their language dominance. This off-the-shelf model was widely popular in the region in the last few decades but has fallen out of favor because of new research that suggests that paired literacy activities are better suited for simultaneous bilinguals. Erin explained:

> We participated in a design process for rethinking our dual language program as a district about five years ago and have stayed consistent. We began rethinking the instructional delivery … With Gómez and Gómez we had a set checklist of practices and we wanted to have conversations about *what are the practices that we want to see in place at our campus*?" Now we are in the process of moving to a 90/10 model. We know there's a lot of access to English. Our kids are primarily simultaneous bilinguals. We want to build our students' Spanish foundation.

Roberto noted the district involvement and research approach that accompanied their dual language redesign:

> We did subscribe to the Gómez and Gómez model…we stopped doing that probably about three years ago. We went through a district process, examined research, and decided to implement a 90/10 model. All bilingual campuses here start prekindergarten with 90% of their instruction in Spanish, and then 10%, which usually is literacy based, in English, through a reading workshop. It's heavy on vocabulary ... heavy on literacy base routines and then, as they move up the ladder, you know into kindergarten, it becomes 80/20, and in first grade 70/30 etc.

Valentina discussed how program adaptation was driven by teachers:

We shifted to an 80/20 model. It was very organic and originated from

conversations with pre-kindergarten and kindergarten teachers about the language

of instruction for math. So, we tried it and what we found was that it helped build

that foundation in both languages. And when we got to first grade, we were able

to move forward with math in English only, but that was something that we did on

our own, based on what my teachers were telling me. And I like to give my

teachers the autonomy to try something, and we continue to meet and discuss

whether it's working or not...

Adelita shared how her district's switch to a 50/50 model came about to increase

students' English proficiency:

We moved more into an 80/20 model and included an English development

language block in our curriculum, but that's still felt like the students were not

learning the language. So, then we moved into a 50/50 program which I think

seems a lot more adequate.

The principals' reflections illustrate how changes to dual language programming evolved

out of concerns for student needs, particularly in the area of literacy outcomes. Teacher

feedback was a factor in making programmatic changes, along with collaboration with

the central office.

As previously discussed, monolingual pedagogies dominate instructional

practices often at the expense of biliteracy and bilingual pedagogies. Adelita made some

compromises regarding the implementation of biliteracy-specific pedagogies on her

campus because of adaptations that she made to accommodate the many initiatives that

came from the district level. Adelita simultaneously integrated five initiatives on her

campus that involved professional development on instructional strategies and data analysis and observation processes including John Seidlitz' Seven Steps to a Language Rich, Interactive Classroom, the Jim Knight Impact Cycle, the Fundamental Five, and John Hattie's Visible Learning, and the E-3 Alliance Instructional Playlist. She explained:

> I'm pretty outspoken when I don't see it's going to be a need campus wide, I mean we'll follow what the district is telling us, but I'm going to mold it to make it work out in a way to where it's not going to be overwhelming with teachers. We have, for example, our Seven Steps, and then we have our Fundamental Five. We also had a school playlist that we did with the E3 Alliance, so it was kind of the same strategies, so I put it together for the teachers, just to align it... for example "turn and talk" is the same thing as "accountable talks" with our sentence stems...they're the same things. So, we launched it that way with teachers and, but we did it little by little, we just chunked everything ... there isn't anything thrown at teachers, even if it's coming from the district. most of the strategies that we're using with our dual language students, we're using with our monolingual students too.

Adelita made adaptations in order to streamline these initiatives to facilitate implementation. Noteworthy is how Adelita prioritized teacher needs as a motivating factor to consolidate initiatives. In another comment, Adelita remarked that she had not had bilingual teacher turnover in six years, which is almost unheard within the context of human resources and the retention of bilingual teachers. However, the homogenization of practices to streamline instructional pedagogies for all language groups on the campus is

problematic because it blurs the lines between dual language-specific and monolingual specific practices which are distinct.

Interpreting language policy

Principals' approach to language policy depended on their interpretations of policy. To interpret is to conceive in the light of individual belief, judgment, or circumstance (Merriam-Webster, n.d.). The principals in this study had a deep understanding of language policy. State-defined language policies provided a baseline for services with different programmatic options. Principals acknowledged that a policy's programmatic intent and policy implementation were two different things. Adelita shared that the value districts place on the program determines the implementation:

> The state defines language policy and provides program options, but then the districts determine program option they are going to implement, and it goes back to the district as to what value they're putting on the bilingual program and how much value district leaders are willing to put into it.

Erin noted the interpretive nature of policy implementation:

> The intention of language policy is to provide support, but in can see that interpretation and practice is maybe misinterpreted. There's a policy around bilingual education as a right, but in practice, it isn't always done. The lens that one takes when reviewing the policy could shape what is done in practice.

Roberto commented on the misalignment that ensues with divergent policy interpretations resulting from ill-informed principals:

> All 12 campuses ... we're not aligned when it comes to our dual language programming because not at all administrators have the understanding and the

knowledge about the importance of dual language and what a quality dual

language program should look like and the different components of it.

The quotes above illustrate principals' perspectives about how program implementation

correlates to interpretations of the policy actors. Principals in this study cited several

orientations and understandings necessary for leaders to effectively lead dual language

programing including understanding language policies, program implementation, the

nuances of biliteracy development, and the need to allocate resources for staffing,

professional learning, instruction materials, and bilingual assessments.

Negotiating Language Policy and High Stakes Testing.

The principals in this study described the nuances of implementing dual language

policy within the context of district practices and expectations that accompanied state-

mandated standardized testing. In Texas, standardized tests are given in English and

Spanish through 6th grade. The tests are linguistically complex and difficult for students

at the beginning and intermediate stages of language proficiency. The Language

Proficiency Assessment Committee determines the language in which that English

learner students will test. This decision has implications for the language of instruction

and what language students are provided interventions in if they are struggling in math

and/or reading. Adelita noted the problematic nature of race categories as they relate to

standardized testing:

Our campus got into trouble because we did not meet state accountability

thresholds for closing the gap with our White and Asian students. Well, we had a

large group of refugee students from the Middle East who identified as Asian or

White on their enrollment paperwork. They were English learners, and they were

newcomers. Of course they are going to struggle on a test like that. Unfortunately, we don't have a bilingual program for them. It's challenging and frustrating.

Roberto reflected on the implications of the language of testing on instruction:

> The fact is that many administrators will rush to overgeneralize all their dual language students and say we got to test them all in English. I've had some battles with some colleagues about that topic. I'm not an advocate for testing all kids in English only. I'm an enemy of that because to me that's just ignorance on the part of the administrator not really knowing what a dual language program entails. And being fearful of the results and just saying we're going to make a blanket decision and say they're all going to just test in English. That makes no sense when we've been teaching our students in both languages. And it wasn't taken into consideration, which language they were struggling in, which language they were stronger in. And then their intervention was being given often and the opposite language that they were going to end up testing in, so why do we do that?

Erin commented on the monolingual-oriented nature of the district's standardized testing prep practices:

> The district does have this model for reviewing or re teaching for the STAAR test. It's interesting how to navigate that ... we take the structure of the interventions and their resources...and then adapt it to ensure that we're not cutting out instruction in the other language for students in preparation for STAAR, but being strategic about small groups, instructional time, and staff supporting kids.

Valentina described the resolve needed to continue dual language practices when confronted with standardized testing preparation frenzy:

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I always like to say that I'm not one of those principals that's all about STAAR …

Are we going to prepare for it? Absolutely. We don't want kids not to be prepared

for it but we're not going to drill and kill, you know, and we're not going to give

up the language, just because we're worried about STAAR.

Progress in a dual language program must be measured towards standards through

assessment and instruction in both languages. Biliteracy means literacy in two languages.

Students are taught in both languages and should be assessed in both languages.

Valentina wrestled with testing and made a bold decision that had campus-wide

implications:

A lot of schools, even dual language schools, just decide to test everyone in

English. When we first had our first cohort of kids come up to third grade, we

talked about it at length, and I just told you know I told my teachers … I feel like

these kids need to take their reading STAAR test in Spanish, I mean most of the

language art minutes, since they were in pre-kindergarten, are in Spanish. How

can we deviate from that? How can we call ourselves a dual language school

trying to get kids to reach grade level in both languages, so that we know that

they're bilingual and they're literate, if we deviate from that? We can't …

Valentina determined that all third grade students, regardless of what their first language

was, would take their reading test in Spanish and their math test in English. She

explained:

It was scary … I felt like I had to kind of really press on my teachers, I even had

to have meetings with parents … it's going to be okay … it's okay they're going to

get there. You know, we hold them to that expectation, they will get there. They

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did so amazing, all of them … And that year's scores is what got us recognition as a National Blue Ribbon school. The fact that we can reach that is data to me that shows that dual language can work. Kids can do it, and they can achieve at high levels if we provide that for them.

The quote above illustrates that principals with expertise about language policy and practices helped them to advocate that dual language education improves language acquisition and test performance over time. Valentina maintained her stance about language policy implementation despite significant district pressures about standardized testing in a way that illustrated how dual language programming, if implemented correctly, can produce high levels of academic achievement.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I highlighted the main themes of my data analysis of four campus principals navigating language policy in four elementary schools with established dual language immersion programs. First, I highlighted the themes from each individual case analysis. Next, I provided a cross-case analysis of the data to contrast themes across cases. In Chapter V, I present a discussion and implications of the research study along with recommendations for future research.

V. DISCUSSION

In this chapter, I provide a summary of the study and discuss insights and implications of the study findings, as they relate to the research questions, theoretical framework, and literature review. I also address theoretical insights and implications, policy insights and implications, and practical insights and implications. Specifically, I discuss implications for policy makers, principal preparation programs, school district leaders, and school principals. Additionally, I address the limitations of and potential improvements to the study and provide recommendations for future research as it relates to the findings. The chapter concludes with personal reflections on culturally and linguistically responsive leadership for dual language education policy enactment.

Summary of the Study

This study was inspired by my interest in bilingual education and my deep respect for the work that school principals do to lead culturally and linguistically responsive schools while juggling school improvement initiatives, accountability and assessment mandates, and educational policy implementation. As a district leader and former bilingual teacher with 23 years in education, I've seen principals make or break bilingual program implementation. I created this study to better understand how principals execute the pluralistic ideals of dual language education within our monoglossic, standardized, educational system.

I designed a conceptual framework that situated this study at the intersection of language policy research, research on culturally and linguistically responsive leadership, and research about bilingual and biliteracy pedagogies. I sought to provide practitioners with examples of how culturally and linguistically responsive language policy leadership

is enacted in multiple contexts among principals in established dual language immersion programs. Several perspectives shaped this study's conceptual framework for language policy leadership. First, principals, as decision makers, are de-facto language policy arbiters (Johnson & Johnson, 2015). Conceptualizing principals as language policy arbiters helped guide my research and data analysis because I sought to understand how they exerted their influence and what factored into their policy decision-making. Secondly, culturally and linguistically responsive leadership is essential to developing and sustaining quality bilingual programming (Khalifa et al., 2016; Lucas & Villegas, 2011). Conducting research and data analysis through the lens of a culturally responsive leadership framework helped me to keep the focus of this study accountable to the needs of minoritized and traditionally underserved students. Lastly, an understanding of holistic bilingualism is necessary for leaders to develop biliteracy because a bilingual learner's two languages should be considered holistically rather than separately (Grosjean, 2008). When bilingual practices emerge from monolingual ideologies, the needs of linguistically diverse students are compromised, thus perpetuating inequities. Applying the concept of holistic bilingualism to the research and data analysis process helped me to identify the ways that prioritizing bilingual and biliterate-specific pedagogies distinguished quality implementation of dual language programming.

As I embarked on the study, a majority of the literature I found was theoretical in nature and lacked authentic examples of what language policy implementation looked like for practitioners (Callahan et al., 2010; Carpenter & Diem, 2015; Gándara, 2015; de Jong, 2013). The literature predominantly highlighted teacher implementation of language policy as opposed to principals (Dabach, 2015; Fitzsimmons-Doolan et al.,

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2017; Lucas & Villegas, 2011). There was ample research on culturally responsive leadership, yet less of an emphasis on linguistically responsive leadership (Gay, 2002; Khalifa, et al., 2016; Nieto, 2017). Unfortunately, the bulk of the research characterized subtractive policy implementation, illustrating the high price students paid in terms of poor student performance and alienation from school. The literature review conducted for this research study pointed to ways that a sociocultural and policy narrative, characterized by assimilationist and deficit-oriented discourses, contributed to subtractive schooling practices and shoddy programming that have significantly limited educational access and achievement for students of color, particularly English learners (Callahan et al., 2010; Dabach, 2015; Gándara, 2015; Menken & Kleyn, 2010; Menken & Solorza, 2014; Thompson, 2017; Valenzuela, 1999). The research uncovered through my literature review motivated me to design a study to try to understand the leader orientations and practices that emerged within an effective, additive-based policy implementation.

I designed this study to understand the intersection between leadership practices and the specific language orientations, leader behaviors, and actions that come into play within language policy enactment. My research question was designed to understand the essential question of this inquiry: What is the lived experience of campus principals navigating language policy in four elementary schools with established dual language immersion programs? This study addressed three sub questions:

1. What are the principals' beliefs and understandings about language and language policy?

2. How do the principals enact language policy?

3. What informs the principals' decision making and leadership actions in enacting language policy?

I chose a descriptive multi-case study as the research design for this study (Merriam, 1998; Stake, 1995) because of the highly contextualized, multi-dimensional nature of language policy implementation. While the study did not yield generalizable results, it did provide a micro lens of the experiences and practices of experienced school principals implementing dual language programming. The research questions were layered and both ontological and epistemological in nature to allow for the identification of nuances and themes to emerge within and across cases. The study took place within three different school districts in Texas on four campuses. Principals were identified through purposive sampling and included school leaders who had a minimum of three years of principal experience in culturally and linguistically diverse settings where at least 25% of the students were identified as English learners served by dual language programming.

Data collection occurred over a two-week period. During this time, I conducted eight semi-structured interviews (two for each participant). I kept reflections throughout the data collection process in a reflexive researcher journal. I collected language policy artifacts from each participant consisting of each school's content and language allocation plan. I conducted three stages of coding and analysis of each participant's data. Each case was analyzed separately to yield themes unique to each individual participant. I then conducted a comparative cross-case analysis (Merriam, 1998; Stake, 1995) to identify additional themes that illustrated the differences and nuanced similarities among the four cases. Themes that connected the participants included advocacy for students and

families, pedagogical practices for bilingualism and biliteracy, and the principals'
approach to language policy, though there were nuances, variances, and diversity with
regards to implementation. It is my hope that the findings gleaned through this study
reflect an inspiring, practitioner-based account of the effort and commitment involved in
policy leadership so that linguistically diverse students will be better served in public
schools.

Overarching Themes

As the principals in this study reflected on their personal identities and
professional experiences as language learners, bilingual teachers, school leaders, and dual
language practitioners, overarching themes became apparent that characterized each
principal's individual leadership orientation as well as cross-case themes that connected
principals' approaches to language policy. Individually, the four principals in this study
experienced and enacted language policies in a variety of ways based on experiences,
relationships, beliefs, values, and self-reflection. Collectively, principals leveraged
advocacy, and to varying degrees, school-wide pedagogical practices for bilingualism and
biliteracy to enact language policy. The principals' approach to language policy was
characterized by how they interpreted and adapted language policy and how they
negotiated language policy and high stakes testing. The table below illustrates the
individual and collective themes that emerged from the study.

Table 10

Themes by Individual and Cross-Case Analysis of the Case Study

Case 1: Adelita	Case 2: Erin	Case 3: Roberto	Case 4: Valentina
Parents as partners	Critical self-reflection	Identification with students	Shifting philosophies
Culturally and linguistically responsive leadership	Shared leadership	Funds of knowledge	Commitment to equity

<table>
<tr><td colspan="4" align="center">Cross-case themes</td></tr>
</table>

- Advocacy
- Pedagogical Practices for Bilingualism and Biliteracy
- Approach to language policy
  - Adaptation
  - Interpreting language policy
  - Negotiating language policy and high stakes testing

Discussion of Findings

In this section, I present the findings and conclusions from my study as they relate to the research questions, theoretical framework, and literature review.

Principals' Lived Experiences Enacting Language Policy

In this study, language policy was conceived of as socially constructed and inclusive of multiple aspects including power, planning, practices, culture, beliefs, and agency (Johnson & Johnson, 2015; McCarty, 2011; Spolsky, 2004; Ricento & Hornberger, 1996). This interpretation of language policy, along with the ways that principals carried out their roles as leaders, is essential to depicting their lived experiences. The principals in this study brought additive language policy to life through knowledge of policy, systems-oriented structures and processes, and their agency as leaders. The principals in this study, as the instructional leaders on their campuses, used

their deep knowledge of language policy to articulate their campuses' individual language programming through the provision of guiding content and language allocation plans which they used to structure the master schedule. They allocated resources including staffing, curricula, and instructional materials, to ensure enactment of culturally and linguistically responsive instructional practices and assessments. They supported teachers' capacity to enact culturally and linguistically responsive instruction through professional development and professional learning communities. They engaged in observation and feedback cycles to enhance teachers' instructional delivery and planning. They relied on data analysis and research-informed practices to improve student achievement and boost engagement. The principals cultivated relationships with families to build home/school connections and create a sense of belonging and collaboration. Lastly, they relied on a deep abiding advocacy to stand up for additive programming and practices to improve social and academic outcomes for emergent bilingual students. A key takeaway from this study is that leaders who are deeply knowledgeable about bilingual and biliteracy policies and pedagogies are more effective in programmatic leadership, advocacy, and capacity to implement equitable practices. Principals in this study engaged in policy making through enforcement, negotiation, contesting, and adapting policies (McCarty, 2011).

Principals' Beliefs and Understandings About Language and Language Policy

All the leaders researched in this case study had experiences that contributed to deep understanding of English learners' needs. Adelita and Roberto were English learners themselves and did not speak English when they enrolled in school. For Valentina and Erin, the addition of Spanish language was an additive choice. For Valentina, it was a

way to defy her family's generational language loss. For Erin, it was a way to better serve students. All of the principals in this study conceived of language as a resource and a right (Ruiz, 1984). A language-as-a-right orientation suggests that an individual has a basic human right to his/her first language (Ruiz, 1984). The language as a right orientation was illustrated in this study by Valentina's framing of monolingual English learner students' access to dual language programming as an equity issue since all English learners had access to additive dual language programming, representing a denial of opportunity. A language-as-a-resource orientation presumes that an individual's first language is a resource that should be developed for the benefit of the individual as well as society. For Adelita, native language was a resource that connected family, and she consistently advocated for students to hold on to their Spanish so that they could communicate with their grandparents back home. Loss of Spanish meant loss of family connection. For Roberto, bilingualism was a valuable resource important for maintaining cultural heritage and identity, as well as a skill for thriving in an increasingly global environment.

Principal knowledge around bilingualism and language learning correlated with additive orientations about bilingualism and bilingual education (Ascenzi-Moreno et al., 2015; Hunt, 2011; Menken & Solorza, 2015; Morita-Mullaney, 2019; Rodriguez & Alanís, 2011). Principals' approach to language policy depended on their interpretations of policy. To interpret is to conceive in the light of individual belief, judgment, or circumstance (Merriam-Webster, n.d.). The principals in this study had a deep understanding of language policy yet acknowledged that a policy's programmatic intent and policy implementation were two different things. State-defined language policies

provided a baseline for services with different programmatic options. However, quality programs are dependent upon the degree to which a leader and a school district value dual language education. Johnson and Johnson (2015) noted that articulated policies are open to diverse interpretations, by the creator as well as those who are expected to put it into practice. Practitioners of policy are influenced by language ideologies, beliefs about research, and personal positions on language education (Johnson & Johnson, 2015). Beliefs are particularly relevant to language policy implementation since educators' own ideologies about language influence bilingual policy implementation at the local level regardless of what program model is in place (Fitzimmons-Doolan et al., 2017).

All the leaders in this case study served as bilingual teachers and experienced first-hand how subtractive language policies and practices marginalized English learners. Quality programs are dependent upon the degree to which a leader and a school district value the program articulated by the policy. Understanding the language policies, the complexities of program implementation, the nuances of biliteracy development, and the need to allocate resources for staffing, professional learning, instruction materials, and bilingual assessments were all cited by the administrators in this study as essential functions of school leaders. Principals in this study advocated for dual language programming because it was additive in nature as opposed to subtractive. In doing so, they used their knowledge of policy to contest subtractive, monolingual-oriented practices that undermined dual language implementation. Findings from this study indicate that effective policy actors use personal identity, experiences, knowledge of culturally responsive pedagogies, and beliefs that students' native language is a resource and a right to appropriate language policy in ways that benefit language learners.

Principals' Enactment of Language Policy

Menken and Solorza (2014) illustrated how school principals wield the power to implement language policies that either expand or suppress emergent bilinguals' language. The principals in this study were able to contest restrictive language practices and carve out what Hornberger (2010) described as an "ideological and implementational space for multilingualism" (p. 562). They understood the diversity of the EL population and the factors that contributed to their success. They marshaled resources for the implementation of dual language programming including staffing, culturally responsive curriculum, instructional materials, and assessments. The principals in this study adapted and negotiated language policy through advocacy while contesting subtractive, monoglossic practices that imperiled bilingualism and biliteracy.

Adaptation of Language Policy

The principals in this study led their campuses through changes to dual language implementation in the form of adaptation of program models. Principals illustrated how changes to dual language programming evolved out of concerns for student needs, as well as a desire to fulfill the goals of dual language programming particularly in literacy outcomes. Dual language programs seek to develop high levels of bilingualism, biliteracy, academic achievement, and sociocultural competence (Howard et al., 2018). Three schools had shifted from a 50/50 to a 90/10 or 80/20 model out of concern for students' language and literacy outcomes in Spanish. One school had shifted from a 90/10 model to an 80/20 model before settling on a 50/50 model to elevate student proficiency in English. In making programmatic adaptations, principals used research to

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inform their decision-making and teacher feedback. Additionally, principals in this study collaborated with district central office administration in making programmatic changes.

Howard et al., 2018, recommended that dual language programmatic changes be embraced with deep study of research and the documentation of evidence of a program's current level of implementation for the guiding principles of dual language, including an inventory of the current strengths and areas in need of improvement. Dual language leaders should take care to consider the discourse employed to consider programmatic changes. Beyond consideration for the number of minutes allocated for English and Spanish to develop students' academic language proficiency, leaders must consider the long-term goals of the programming, as well as the predominance of English in our society in order to ensure ample exposure to Spanish to achieve the outcomes of biliteracy and bilingualism,

Advocacy

The principals in this study described the nuances of negotiating language policy through advocacy to parents about the effectiveness of dual language programming for English learners and advocacy to central office administrators for appropriate staffing and professional development. A long-standing history of advocacy and activism to build sustainable culturally and linguistically responsive bilingual programs for Latino students in public schools has been prevalent since the 1960s and 1970s (Palmer, 2021). As previously discussed, monolingual pedagogies dominate instructional practices often at the expense of biliteracy and bilingual pedagogies. Lucas and Villegas (2011) illustrated that educators must develop a value for diversity and a desire for advocacy in order to be culturally and linguistically responsive in their work. Wiemelt and Welton (2015)

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outlined three core ideas central to successful school-wide implementation of bilingual leadership: valuing biculturalism and bilingualism, centering the knowledge of students and families, and caring for students.

Principals in this study advocated for language policy in their attempts to reassure parents of English learners that dual language programming would bring about fluency in English. Principals in this study described Spanish-speaking parents who expressed reservations about the ability of dual language programming to bring about effective language and literacy outcomes in English, a tool they deemed important to the success of their children. The legacy of subtractive schooling and the narrative that English was of greater value for success in school contributed to situations in which Latino parents were skeptical about whether dual language programming would result in their students' academic success in English, a language they needed for success in school and beyond. Principals worked to reassure the parents of English learners about the effectiveness of dual language programming in developing English and Spanish, and to reassure parents of ELs that a dual language program would develop English, as well as Spanish fluency. Several principals used personal experiences as a language learner to reassure parents about their students' language acquisition by communicating that language acquisition research for English language learners that indicates it takes 3-5 years to develop oral proficiency and 4-7 years to develop academic English proficiency (Hakuta, Butler, & Witt, 2000). Principals assured Latino, Spanish-speaking families that the dual language programming would build a solid foundation for language learning in the early grades, so that as kids moved up to the intermediate grades, they would be successful in Spanish and English (Howard et al., 2018, Lindholm-Leary, 2001). Roberto valued the social and

cultural capital of the families he served by validating parents' the various funds of knowledge that form the basis of working-class Latino families' activities and resources (Moll et al., 1992). Erin engaged families to reflect on and contribute their own constructions of language and learning by asking parents what they noticed, what they wondered, and what they valued and deemed important.

Principals in this study exercised advocacy and diplomacy in taking a collaborative approach to work with central office administration to advocate for increased support at the campus level, more responsive curricula and assessments, increased staffing for special programming including dyslexia, special education, gifted and talented services, and increased professional development for administrators to understand the theoretical underpinnings of dual language education and consistently advocated central office for additional human capital to support dual language implementation. In these situations, bilingual directors at the central office served as interlocutors to communicate with the human resources department about the complexities and nuances of staffing for dual language and ESL programs. Principals lobbied central office for dually certified teachers to serve bilingual students who additionally needed special education or dyslexia services. They used advocacy and relationships to describe the nuances of specific commitments of bilingualism and biliteracy to lay people at central office who were ill-informed about bilingual, biliterate pedagogies.

Contesting Subtractive Practices

The principals in this study contested subtractive practices in the form of teacher expectations that ran counter to the goals of bilingualism and biliteracy. Principals used

advocacy to push back against subtractive philosophies and methodologies that marginalized ELs educational outcomes. Adelita counseled teachers to reflect on the gap between actions and the additive mindset needed for program implementation. Erin pushed back on teacher interpretations of discipline problems that marginalized students. Valentina provided research-informed professional development to equip teachers with the growth mindset necessary to implement additive dual language programming to shift the philosophies of the teachers she inherited who had only practiced early-exit programming.

The principals challenged monolingual-oriented practices to central office bilingual and curriculum departments through advocacy for improved curriculum and assessment resources that were aligned to each campus' content and language allocation plan and incorporated bilingual and biliteracy-specific pedagogies. In one example, a principal described to central office staff how a monolingual perspective mismatched with assessment needs on a dual language campus and pushed for the district to offer reading screeners in English and Spanish. Another principal pushed the central office to consider research-informed practices specific to dual language program implementation to counter monoglossic district mandates by inviting university researchers to present to central office. Pressure from central office can lead to adoption of monolingual-oriented district initiatives that are not always pedagogically sound for developing bilingualism and biliteracy. Palmer (2021) cautioned that monoglossic curricular mandates including curricular mandates and high stakes testing can undermine dual language program equity and effectiveness. Palmer noted:

Monoglossic refers to Bakhtin's conception of the 'centripetal forces' pushing

toward uniformity, domination, and standardization in our language and semiotic

practices, standing in sharp contrast to the *heteroglossic* forces of language

variation, the "creative, style-shaping" constant evolution of the word. (Bakhtin,

1998, p. 294)

The principals additionally contested subtractive district initiatives and practices

in the form of monolingual-influenced expectations for test-preparation practices that

accompanied state-mandated standardized testing. Bernstein (2021) noted that all schools

face policy pressures and central office mandates, yet dual language programs face

English-only pressures in the form of "explicit restrictions to implicit nudges exerted

through tools such as state assessments and curricula" (p. 388). Principals reminded

central office staff that the language of instruction for certain content areas was in

Spanish when presented with English test prep materials. Dual language principals made

adaptations of their district's standardized test prep practices to ensure instruction in both

languages was not thrown out to do standardized test prep. One principal summarized this

artfully: "We're not going to give up the language, just because we're worried about the

test." Emphasis on high stakes testing has resulted in widespread teaching to the test

involving rote memorization and drills, which is the pedagogical antithesis of the kind of

engaging, collaborative, and language rich activities associated with biliteracy

pedagogies within dual language immersion programming.

Principals' Decision Making and Leadership Actions in Enacting Language Policy

Principals' enactment of language policy can best be understood in this study

through analyzing their approaches to leadership, decision-making, and supervision as

they implemented dual language programming. Principals play a central role in language policy appropriation at the campus and classroom level (Ascenzi-Moreno et al., 2015; Brooks et al., 2010; Colón & Heineke, 2015; DeMatthews & Izquierdo, 2016, 2018; Hunt; 2011; Menken & Solorza, 2013, 2015; Morita-Mullaney, 2019; Scanlan & Lopez, 2012, 2015; Reyes, 2006; Rodriguez & Alanís, 2011; Theoharis & O'Toole, 2011; Wiemelt & Welton, 2015). To improve emergent bilinguals' educational experiences and outcomes principals must implement sound policies and culturally and linguistically responsive practices informed by research about pedagogies, curricula, materials, and assessments that are grounded in bilingualism and biliteracy. In this study, leadership decisions and actions were informed by principals' knowledge of bilingual-specific pedagogies, their desire to increase English learners' academic achievement, engagement in shared leadership, and use of an equity/social justice discourse.

Knowledge of Pedagogical Practices for Bilingualism and Biliteracy

While all principals in this study described common practices that supported bilingual and biliteracy practices including the use of a content and language allocation plan, and the use of culturally relevant instructional materials and curricula, and the incorporation of family and community engagement activities, not all principals consistently described the use of biliteracy-specific instructional pedagogies commonly associated with dual language instruction. Monolingual-oriented prescriptions for language learning are insufficient to develop bilingualism and biliteracy (Hopewell & Escamilla, 2014). Yet monolingual pedagogies are so pervasive within schooling that they often overshadow biliteracy and bilingual pedagogies, resulting in instructional and theoretical approaches designed for English literacy development but not biliteracy

(Medina & Herrera, 2019). Effective biliteracy pedagogies supported by research should be incorporated as daily features of instruction within lesson planning and instructional delivery. Biliteracy-specific pedagogies include facilitating cross-linguistic connections, facilitating cross-language transfer, developing oral language, and developing sociocultural competence. One principal in this study was an outlier when it came to prioritizing biliteracy-specific pedagogies because of adaptations that she made to accommodate and streamline the many initiatives that came from the district level. This principal cited teacher needs as a motivating factor to consolidate initiatives, specifically, a desire to not overwhelm teachers with a plethora of initiatives. However, the homogenization of practices to streamline instructional pedagogies for all language groups on the campus is problematic because it blurs the lines between dual language-specific and monolingual specific practices which are distinct.

Bilingualism and biliteracy should be developed through their own pedagogies, curriculum, materials, and assessments; distinct from monoliteracy pedagogies, curriculum, materials, and assessments (Hopewell & Escamilla, 2014). A biliteracy/bilingual program should emphasize pedagogies that focus on paired literacy activities to develop biliterate skills of emergent bilingual students in both of their languages (Butvilofsky et al., 2017). Biliteracy pedagogies should employ direct and explicit teaching methodologies to develop students' metalinguistic awareness and ability to transfer linguistic skills and dispositions, including cross-language awareness, application of phonological awareness, cognate vocabulary, syntax, and morphology (Hopewell & Escamilla, 2014).

Desire to Increase English Learners' Academic Achievement

The goals of dual language programming are to develop high levels of bilingualism, biliteracy, academic achievement, and sociocultural competence (Howard, 2018). Three of the four campuses had very high levels of student achievement as measured by state accountability metrics. Research suggests that providing quality, additive dual language programming positively impacts student achievement. Alvear (2019) examined the achievement of Spanish-dominant English learners and found that students served by additive two-way dual language programming had higher rates of performance in English than students served by traditional early exit programming. Students with higher levels of bilingualism had more positive cognitive and behavioral outcomes relative to non-bilinguals (Bialystok, 2001; Calderón & Minaya-Rowe 2003; Poarch & Bialystok, 2015). The academic benefits of full bilingualism include increased vocabulary and comprehension (Andreou & Karapetsas, 2004). In this study, principals' leadership decisions and actions were influenced by a desire to increase student performance for emergent bilingual students. To do so, principals marshaled resources to provide culturally and linguistically responsive curricula and assessments. Principals provided extensive professional learning to support teachers' capacity to deliver high quality, bilingual/biliteracy focused instruction derived from culturally and linguistically responsive pedagogies. Principals engaged in observation and feedback cycles to support teachers' instructional delivery and planning. Finally, principals relied on data analysis and research-informed practices to improve student achievement and boost engagement.

Shared leadership

The principals in this study described shared leadership structures that were more collaborative than hierarchical in nature. Several principals in this study described formal distributed leadership arrangements. Several principals described campus-based biliteracy committees which consisted of bilingual instructional coaches and teacher leaders. These committees were responsible for planning and curriculum enhancements as well as making recommendations about programming implementation. All principals described collaborating with the central office to enhance program implementation. Ascenzi-Moreno and Flores (2012) found that shared decision-making among the leaders, teachers, parents, and students at the school contributed to the emergence of a more flexible and responsive language policy accountable to the academic and social needs of students. Hunt (2011) examined how bilingual programs survived external pressures and discovered that a school-wide commitment to bilingual education, shared decision-making and collaboration, and flexibility were key elements in programmatic success. Within this study, shared leadership structures, whether formal or informal, helped to transfer some of the burden of decision-making off principals to teacher leaders in a way that increased teachers' engagement and ownership of campus-wide policy implementation, deepening teachers' knowledge and leadership capacity in the process. These teachers already had critical subject matter expertise about bilingualism and biliteracy that was of high value to principals in making leadership decisions and taking actions related to dual language programming.

Equity/Social Justice Discourse

Culturally responsive leadership includes linguistically responsive orientations that connect learning to language, culture, and sociopolitical contexts (Gay, 2002; Khalifa et al., 2016; Lucas & Villegas, 2011; Nieto, 2017). School leaders in this research study promoted equity through implementing policy as an integrated component of the core curriculum and engaging in a discourse of equity and social justice. To promote equity, dual language policy implementation must be situated within whole-school contexts and integrated into curriculum instruction, not delivered as a separate program (Scanlan & López, 2012). Equity minded leaders take care to center student needs in order to respond effectively to the educational, social, and cultural needs of the students. Marcus (2021) defined equity in the context of dual language programming as the provision of necessary resources to allow students to reach high levels of academic achievement.

Language policy researchers have celebrated the expansion of dual language education but have expressed alarm that the focus on equity for linguistically minoritized children may be lost as programs also serving dominant groups experience gentrification. Researchers caution that a shift in focus to prioritize dual language benefits in terms of individual gains frames dual language more for what it does for monolingual English children in providing them perceived advantages than it does for creating social change (Cervantes-Soon, 2014; Delavan et al., 2021; Valdés, 1997). Within this discourse, dual language outcomes are contextualized for the benefit of the individual instead of for the benefit of societal or community transformation (Dorner, 2015).

Principals in this study used an equity/social justice discourse to center the needs of English learner students and advocate for them. Principals in this study cited access to

high quality curriculum and instruction, bilingually certified specialized staff, and adequate instructional materials in English and Spanish as equity issues in need of attention. Each leader in this study possessed a high level of sociocultural competence which he/she deployed to create students' sense of belonging. Roberto used a funds of knowledge approach to move beyond a focus on holiday celebrations and food by creating authentic exchanges with parents. Adelita illustrated an equity-based discourse of caring when she described forming partnerships with parents and serving them by providing ESL classes, presentations in Spanish of interest to them, and offering childcare. Valentina used an equity/social justice discourse to frame English learner's lack of access to dual language programming as a result of gentrification, particularly in light of recent legislation that allocated funding for monolingual English-speaking students to participate in dual language programming. Principals in this study used an equity discourse to connect student needs to language, culture, and sociopolitical contexts (Gay, 2002; Lucas & Villegas, 2011; Nieto, 2017).

Implications

The findings of this study have implications for practice, implications for policy, and suggestions for future research.

Implications for Practice

This study yielded several implications for practice for principals as well as district leaders. First, prioritizing the needs of linguistically diverse students to bring about change and students' academic success, requires a culture shift at the campus and district level. Through my 24 years of experience as a public-school administrator, a district leader, and bilingual teacher, I have experienced confusion resulting from

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misalignment when monolingual-oriented mandates and reforms in the form of state accountability measures, district improvement initiatives, staffing allocations, and professional learning initiatives do not align with the theoretical, practical, and socio-cultural components of dual language program implementation. This misalignment results in teachers and administrators making policy implementation decisions at the local level (Fitzimmons-Doolan et al., 2017) and puts English learners served by dual language programs in a linguistic bind (Menken & Kleyn, 2010) when teachers and administrators are not able to implement the appropriate curricular, pedagogical, and linguistic components necessary to develop the full measure of their students' bilingualism and biliteracy.

District level administration must take shared responsibility by educating district level, decision-making staff on the theoretical underpinnings, biliteracy specific pedagogies, and sociocultural components of dual language educational programming informed by research. Conceptualizing linguistically diverse students' language as an asset rather than as a liability is a keystone of the conceptual framework that should guide a district level, research-informed transformation that commits to district-level support of campus-level effective dual language implementation. District level administration should outline their commitments, goals, and processes for supporting dual language implementation in the form of a handbook that outlines district support of best practices including prioritizing relationships with linguistically diverse families, an outline of district-supported, research-based bilingual/biliterate specific pedagogies. Additionally, district outlined support for dual language education implementation should also include a commitment to an enriching, acceleration of language acquisition with outlined

pedagogies and practices that de-emphasize high stakes testing drill and kill approaches and remedial "catch up" programming that has proven to not be effective for English learners.

The principals in this study had a deep knowledge of the dual language programming and pedagogies because of their experience as former bilingual teachers and their personal journeys as language learners. However, when this specialized knowledge is lacking, school district administration, including leaders at central office and campus principals, must take responsibility for understanding, supporting, and facilitating the theoretical, practical, and socio-cultural components of dual language program implementation essential to program implementation. This includes support in the form of professional development to understand and proactively plan for dual language policy implementation and the staffing necessary to sustain it. Professional development and planning at the district level should be informed by research about pedagogies, curricula, materials, and assessments that are grounded in bilingualism and biliteracy. Central office leaders and campus principals must understand and support the theoretical underpinnings of language policy and implementation to support the coordination of instruction across languages, the integration of content-area instruction and language instruction, the provision of assessments to measure literacy acquisition in both languages, as well as the integration of special programming services including special education, dyslexia, and gifted and talented services. Having well-articulated, well-supported bilingual programs at the district and campus levels is necessary to ensure student success, equity, and access to dual language programming.

The development of curricula that supports culturally responsive practices, promotes socio-cultural competence, and facilitates cross-linguistic transfer should be bilingual and biliterate-specific. To ensure successful dual-language programmatic implementation, central office curriculum departments must exercise leadership and responsibility in the form of additional staffing and professional development to ensure that the burden of producing bilingual/biliterate specific curricula does not fall to teachers alone. Amanti (2019) chronicled the unique, often invisible, work of linguistic labor and curriculum adaptations dual language teachers exert as they navigate the structure, context, and realities of teaching in dual language programs. Dual language teachers spend additional time translating and producing curriculum materials in languages other than English and need additional time to incorporate culturally and linguistically responsive resources and skills that existing monolingual-oriented curricula may not provide. While it is a common practice for bilingual teachers to receive a stipend to compensate for their expertise, the invisible work of translating and producing non-existing curriculum materials in the target language could contribute to issues with dual language recruitment and retention (Amanti, 2019).

Implications for Policy

A significant implication for policy resulting from this study is the consideration for equity regarding English learners' access to dual language programming. Dual language two-way immersion programs are increasingly sought after among White, non-Latino/a, middle class parents in the U.S. (Valdez et al., 2016). The attrition of English language learners within bilingual education programming associated with gentrification and rising housing costs presents an equity dilemma. Recent research on two-way dual

language education has focused on the harm caused by the gentrification of two-way dual language programming (Dorner et al., 2021). Middle-income English-speaking parents in gentrifying communities flock to dual language programming to leverage multilingual advantages for their children just as low-income Spanish speaking families lose access to dual language programming as a result of gentrification, affordability, and competition for enrollment in dual language programming (Dorner et al., 2021; Gándara, 2021). Voices of immigrant parents can be minimized in scenarios wherein White parents exert race and privilege over the program (Chaparro, 2021). School districts must ensure that enrollment practices do not privilege U.S. born, English dominant families at the expense of English learners (Dorner, 2012). Furthermore, school districts and campuses must ensure that curriculum, specifically the development of academic Spanish, is not watered down to address Anglo parents' concerns about their children's achievement and test scores (Delavan et al., 2021). In an ethnographic study on how school leaders make sense of and respond to gentrification, Heiman and Murakami (2019) cautioned that gentrification processes affected school administrators at the ontological and epistemological levels and advocated for administrators to work to develop critical consciousness to prioritize the needs of English learners first and foremost. To ensure equity and fulfill the promise of dual language education, school districts should take steps to prioritize English learners' access to additive dual language programming within complex contexts of race, power, and equity (Palmer, 2010; Palmer et al., 2017).

Additionally, bilingual education policy should more clearly articulate that special education services, dyslexia services, and gifted and talented support be provided in both languages so that all students have access to language programming services. This

measure would ensure equity and social justice with regard to dual language programming enrollment. This recommendation has implications for both policy and practice. Too often, classifications such as "student with disabilities" and "at-risk" are used to deliver special program interventions as separate categories with different personnel responsible for executing educational interventions in the areas of special education, dyslexia, and gifted support services, with limited interaction between and among programs (Gonzalez et al., 2021). There is tension between the intersection of services provided to special needs students and bilingual dual language programming that results in students served by dyslexia and special education programming being steered away, in local context contexts, from dual language services because of language barriers and staffing constraints. This has implications for legal and equity issues in that it denies bilingual students served by special education services equity and access to additive language programming.

A final policy implication is the need for alternative and university-based principal preparation programs to more effectively equip leaders to serve linguistically diverse populations. Principal preparation programs do not adequately prepare leaders to meet the needs of bilingual students, implement language policy, or create more culturally and linguistically responsive schools (DeMatthews & Izquierdo, 2018; Menken & Solorza, 2013; Padron & Waxman, 2016; Reyes, 2006). In a typical principal preparation program, leadership of special programming is a small unit of study that lumps special education, bilingual, ESL, and 504 programming together and tends to focus on the compliance and fiscal requirements associated with program leadership. Research suggests that principals who are not informed about the nuances of instructional

leadership relative to special programming services over-depend on specialized bilingual or ESL teachers to provide leadership needed for students due to their lack of training and knowledge (Padron & Waxman, 2016, Torres, 2006). Menken & Solorza (2013) studied the elimination of bilingual education and found that leaders who shifted from bilingual to "English only" programming, had received no formal preservice preparation to work with bilingual learners. Principal preparation is in need of significant reculturation (Reyes, 2006) to center leadership of linguistically diverse students as a moral and equity issue in order to create and sustain learning communities that are culturally and linguistically responsive. An equity discourse must be woven throughout principal preparation programming to support principals' advocacy, leadership in order to improve the academic, linguistic, and sociocultural success of students. Lastly, support must be provided to prospective principals about how to support teachers to shift deficit-based orientations within themselves as well as teachers in order to ensure a culturally and linguistically responsive campuses. When teachers are not ideologically in accord with practices and pedagogies that center linguistic diversity as an asset, their opposition can constrain program implementation and be very challenging for novice principals to manage.

Implications for Future Research

This study sought to highlight the lived experiences and voices of principals who engaged in effective leadership through additive dual language programming. The literature review of this study demonstrated complexities and paradigms within dual language policy enactment. The research reviewed displayed some consistent findings on the effectiveness of dual language programming. There is a growing body of literature

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concerned with the effective leadership and policy enactment of dual language programming. Additional research is needed on the preparation of effective leaders for dual language programming, particularly considering the complexities of navigating policy enactment within the context of monoglossic, monolingual-oriented educational mandates. As a final point, educational policies at state and national levels must be influenced by the research findings. A nationally sponsored meta-analysis of research on effective dual language education with considerations for programmatic leadership would help guide state and local policy implementation as well as principal preparation programming to the benefit of linguistically diverse students.

Conclusion

My intent in conducting this study was to highlight the lived experiences and voices of principals who engaged in effective leadership through additive dual language programming. These leaders shared key insights about how they navigated language policy through their knowledge of systems, structures, processes, and their agency as leaders. A key takeaway from this study is that leaders who are deeply knowledgeable about bilingual and biliteracy policies and pedagogies are more effective in programmatic leadership, advocacy, and capacity to implement equitable practices. These leaders possessed a deep, abiding advocacy to stand up for additive programming and practices to improve social and academic outcomes for emergent bilingual students.

APPENDIX SECTION

APPENDIX A: RECRUITMENT PHONE SCRIPT

This telephone communication is an approved request for participation in research that has been approved by the Texas State Institutional Review Board (IRB).

Hello, my name is Meredith Roddy. I am a researcher at Texas State University. I am conducting a research study about elementary school principals' perceptions and experiences implementing language policy. I'm interested in learning about principal perspectives about their experiences with dual language program implementation. I am interested in your campus because you have a large population of students who are English learners participating in a dual language program. Additionally, I know that you have worked with this program for a period of years and will have had a variety of experiences with implementation that could contribute to research in the field about language policy implementation.

This research study will not require me to visit your campus. The study consists of 2 interviews administered virtually through Zoom. There will be two individual, one-on-one interviews. Each of these interviews will take about 30-40 minutes. You will also be asked to share relevant language policy documents from your school, if available.

I am reaching out to ask if you would be willing participate in the study. Your total time commitment would be about 2 hours. Participants who complete the three rounds of interviews will receive Visa gift cards in the amount of $30 as a token of appreciation for your time and commitment to the field.

If you would be interested in participating in this interview, we can set up a time now or you can let me know when a good time would be to schedule it. If you have questions, I can be reached at 512-554-7752 or my email mmr181@txstate.edu.

This project #7669 was approved by the Texas State IRB on February 11, 2021. Pertinent questions or concerns about the research, research participants' rights, and/or research-related injuries to participants should be directed to the IRB chair, Dr. Denise Gobert 512-716-2652 – (dgobert@txstate.edu) or to Monica Gonzales, IRB Specialist at 512-245-2334 - (meg201@txstate.edu)

Meredith Roddy

TEXAS ★ STATE ®

APPENDIX B: RECRUITMENT EMAIL SCRIPT

This email message is an approved request for participation in research that has been approved by the Texas State Institutional Review Board (IRB).

Hello, my name is Meredith Roddy. I am a researcher at Texas State University. I am conducting a research study about elementary school principals' perceptions and experiences implementing language policy. I'm interested in learning about principal perspectives about their experiences with dual language program implementation. I am interested in your campus because you have a large population of students who are English learners participating in a dual language program. Additionally, I know that you have worked with this program for a period of years and will have had a variety of experiences with implementation that could contribute to research in the field about language policy implementation.

This research study will not require me to visit your campus. The study consists of 3 interviews administered virtually through Zoom. There will be two individual, one-on-one interviews. Each of these interviews will take about 30-40 minutes. A final interview lasting 45-50 minutes will be a focus group interview with other participants in the study who will be principals of dual language schools. You would also be asked to complete a pre-interview questionnaire and possibly a reflective journal entry, as well as share other relevant language policy documents from your school, if available.

I am reaching out to ask if you would be willing participate in the study. Your total time commitment would be about 3-4 hours. Participants who complete the three rounds of interviews will receive a choice of a Starbucks or Amazon gift cards in the amount of $30 as a token of appreciation for your time and commitment to the field.

If you would be interested in participating in this interview, we can set up a time now or you can let me know when a good time would be to schedule it. If you have questions, I can be reached at 512-554-7752 or my email mmr181@txstate.edu.

This project #7669 was approved by the Texas State IRB on February 11, 2021. Pertinent questions or concerns about the research, research participants' rights, and/or research-related injuries to participants should be directed to the IRB chair, Dr. Denise Gobert 512-716-2652 – (dgobert@txstate.edu) or to Monica Gonzales, IRB Specialist at 512-245-2334 - (meg201@txstate.edu)
Meredith Roddy

TEXAS ★ STATE ®

APPENDIX C: INFORMED CONSENT

Study Title: Liderazgo: Principals Enacting Language Policy	
Principal Investigator: Meredith Roddy	
Email: mmr181@txstate.edu **Phone: 512-554-7752** **Co-Investigator/Faculty Advisor: Melissa A. Martinez, Ph.D.** **Email: mm224@txstate.edu** **Phone: 512-245-4587**	

This consent form will give you the information you will need to understand why this research study is being done and why you are being invited to participate. It will also describe what you will need to do to participate as well as any known risks, inconveniences or discomforts that you may have while participating. We encourage you to ask questions at any time. If you decide to participate, you will be asked to sign this form and it will be a record of your agreement to participate. You will be given a copy of this form to keep.

PURPOSE AND BACKGROUND
You are invited to participate in a research study to learn more about how elementary principals experience, understand and enact language policy. The information gathered will be used to describe how leaders' beliefs and leadership practices influence policy and programming implementation for bilingual learners in dual language programs. You are being asked to participate because your elementary campus has a large number of students identified as English learners engaged in a dual language program. Approximately 4-6 participants will be selected for this study.

PROCEDURES
If you agree to be in this study, you will participate in the following:
- Two 45-minute to 1-hour virtual interviews conducted remotely via Zoom focused on how principals experience language policy.
- Optional: Participants have the option to share language policy artifacts/documents with the researcher including but not limited to language policy and planning documents.

During the interviews, you will be asked to respond to questions with descriptive answers. The interviews and focus group will be conducted virtually through Zoom and audio recorded. The researcher may take notes as well.

RISKS/DISCOMFORTS

In the event that some of the questions asked of you while participating in the study make you uncomfortable or upset, you are always free to decline to answer or to stop your participation at any time. Should you feel discomfort after participating and you are a Texas State University student, you may contact the University Health Services for counseling services at list 512-245-2161. They are located at 298 Student Center Dr., San Marcos, TX 78666.

BENEFITS/ALTERNATIVES

Benefits to participating in this study include the opportunity to reflect on program implementation and leadership practices that are essential to meeting the needs of linguistically diverse students. Additionally, participants will be contributing to the field of language policy and planning and educational leadership by helping researchers identify leadership practices that support bilingual learners. Finally, collaboration with other leaders through the focus group provides an opportunity for leaders to expand their professional networks, apply new practices, and share resources and strategies with other dual language principals. I will provide an executive summary of findings, free of identifying information, to each principal upon request at the conclusion of this study.

EXTENT OF CONFIDENTIALITY

Reasonable efforts will be made to keep the personal information in your research record private and confidential. Any identifiable information obtained in connection with this study will remain confidential and will be disclosed only with your permission or as required by law. The dissertation advisor/professor and the investigator may access the data. Additionally, your name or school name will not be used in any written reports or publications which result from this research, pseudonyms will be used throughout all transcriptions and written texts to prevent linkage between interview responses and/or data collected to a particular participant or campus/school district.

Data will be kept for three years (per federal regulations) after the study is completed and then destroyed.

PAYMENT/COMPENSATION

Participants who complete at least both individual interviews will receive a $30 gift card from Amazon or Starbucks to compensate for their time.

PARTICIPATION IS VOLUNTARY

You do not have to be in this study if you do not want to. You may also refuse to answer any questions you do not want to answer. If you volunteer to be in this study, you may withdraw from it at any time without consequences of any kind or loss of benefits to which you are otherwise entitled.

QUESTIONS
If you have any questions or concerns about your participation in this study, you may contact the Principal Investigator, Meredith Roddy, at 512-554-7752, or at mmr181@txstate.edu.

This project was approved by the Texas State IRB on 2/11/21. Pertinent questions or concerns about the research, research participants' rights, and/or research-related injuries to participants should be directed to the IRB Chair, Dr. Denise Gobert 512-245-8351 (dgobert@txstate.edu) or to Monica Gonzales, IRB Regulatory Manager 512-245-2334 (meg201@txstate.edu).

DOCUMENTATION OF CONSENT
I have read this form and decided that I will participate in the project described above. Its general purposes, the particulars of involvement and possible risks have been explained to my satisfaction. I understand I can withdraw at any time. Your participation in this research project may be recorded using audio recording devices. Recordings will assist with accurately documenting your responses. You have the right to refuse the audio recording. Please select one of the following options:

I consent to audio recording:
Yes _____ No _____

Printed Name of Study Participant		**Signature** of Study Participant		Date

Signature of Person Obtaining Consent		Date

First Individual Interview Protocol
Interview Protocol: Liderazgo: Principals Enacting Language Policy.
Time of interview:
Date:
Place:
Interviewer:
Interviewee:
Position of interviewee:

This project seeks to describe the lived experiences of principals as they appropriate and enact language policy.

Questions:
1. Tell me about yourself and your background.
    a. Why did you go into education?
    b. How did your experiences lead you to your current role?
    c. Why did you become a principal?
2. What are your personal experiences with language learning?
    a. How did you learn your first/second language?
    b. (If interviewee is a bilingual) What were your early experiences with schooling like as a language learner?
3. What has been your experience with emergent bilingual students?
    a. How have your experiences shaped your leadership practices?
    b. How do you perceive bilingual students and their learning in the context of school?
    c. Can you think of any critical experiences or moments that made you question the educational policies or practices around teaching emergent bilingual students?
4. What is your personal philosophy of teaching emergent bilingual students?
    a. How has your philosophy shaped your professional practice?
5. What is your understanding of State and Federal bilingual policies?
    a. How would you characterize those policies in terms of providing support to emergent bilingual students?
6. Describe the dual language program at your school.
7. How does the dual language program affect your day-to-day activities?
8. How have your personal and/or educational experiences prepared you to lead a dual language program?
    a. In what ways did your school district, principal preparation program, or master's degree program prepare you to implement language policy in a linguistically diverse community?
9. Describe what it means to be a culturally and linguistically responsive leader.
    a. What does this look like in a typical day for you?
    b. Is there a particular experience that you have had that illustrates this?
10. Is there anything else that you'd like to add that we have not talked about?

Second Individual Interview Protocol
Interview Protocol: Liderazgo: Principals Enacting Language Policy
Time of interview:
Date:
Place:
Interviewer:
Interviewee:
Position of interviewee:

This project seeks to describe the lived experiences of principals as they appropriate and enact language policy.

Questions:
1. Can you describe effective practices that contribute to the development of bilingualism and biliteracy?
2. What key processes and activities at the school level characterize the implementation of dual language programming?
3. How are decisions that affect your program made?
   a. How do you involve parents and teachers in decision-making?
4. Are there any changes or reforms that you have instituted to improve services or instruction for your emergent bilingual students? Give examples.
5. Can you give me an example of a time when made a big decision about the implementation of dual language programming on your campus?
   a. Why did you take this action?
   b. What informed your decision making?
6. How do you provide support to your dual language program staff?
7. How do you evaluate the effectiveness of your dual language program?
8. Describe how you made decisions about curriculum, instruction, and assessment in your dual language program.
   a. What are special considerations for curriculum, instruction, and assessment within a dual language program?
9. How is supervision different in a dual language program?
10. Describe your expectations for your dual language staff.
11. How do families of students participating in dual language education play a part in the program goals?
12. How do you advocate for your program?
13. Is there anything else you'd like to add regarding your experiences in navigating language policy?

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