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FLORIDA INTERNATIONAL UNIVERSITY

Miami, Florida

TEACHERS' BELIEFS TOWARDS LEARNERS' HERITAGE LANGUAGES INSIDE SCHOOLS IN A MULTILINGUAL SETTING

A dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment of

the requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

in

CURRICULUM AND INSTRUCTION

by

Ivian Lara Destro Boruchowski

To: Dean Michael R. Heithaus College of Arts, Sciences and Education

This dissertation, written by Ivian Lara Destro Boruchowski, and entitled Teachers' Beliefs towards Learners' Heritage Languages inside Schools in a Multilingual Setting, having been approved in respect to style and intellectual content, is referred to you for judgment.

We have read this dissertation and recommend that it be approved.

Phillip Carter

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Date of Defense: March 29, 2023

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Dean Michael R. Heithaus College of Arts, Sciences and Education

Andres G. Gil Vice President for Research and Economic Development and Dean of the University Graduate School

Florida International University, 2023

TEACHERS' BELIEFS TOWARDS LEARNERS' HERITAGE LANGUAGES INSIDE SCHOOLS IN A MULTILINGUAL SETTING

ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

by

Ivian Lara Destro Boruchowski Florida International University, 2023 Miami, Florida Professor Eric Dwyer, Major Professor

This study adds to the conversation about the increasing language diversity in U.S. schools (Paris & Alim, 2014). In the South Florida district discussed here, ELLs represent 16.9% of the total student enrollment (Miami Dade, 2020), and there is a popular narrative about the value of bilingualism in this community. Despite that, Valencia and Lynch (2019), Mackinney (2016), and Lanier (2014) indicated: even though the bilingual political and economic value in South Florida is noticeable, HLs are relegated to a secondary place and with no prestige inside local school settings.

As Garcia and Wei (2014) observed: "language practices cannot be developed except through the students' existing knowledge" (p. 80), so it seemed crucial to understand and discuss teachers' beliefs towards emergent bilinguals' HL in this multilingual context. To explore these perceptions, I studied teachers' beliefs towards learners' heritage languages as one more component toward understanding teachers' thought processes and classroom choices in multilingual settings. Therefore, I conducted

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mixed-method research, using quantitative and qualitative data collection techniques to garner a deep reflection of the beliefs and ideologies of local teachers regarding students' HLs.

The data analysis indicated that teachers valued bilingualism in general and understood, in theory, the advantages of students' developing HL literacy simultaneously with English. However, HLs were primarily not used or valued inside classrooms for instructional purposes. Despite serving a multilingual community of students and being multilingual, teachers held what I named an ideological tolerance tendency towards HL inside schools. They believed they should exclusively use English during "academic time," and many educators were unsure or indicated that they believed they were helping learners when creating an English-only classroom.

Another concerning result was that some teachers relied on Spanish circumstantial translation to equate all students' ESOL lesson adaptations. This limited use of circumstantial Spanish implies that, during academic time, students classified as ESOL are left to "sink or swim" without planned scaffolding. Despite teachers believing they attempted to help and make learners feel comfortable learning, their effort was inconsistent with learners' diverse languages and cultures. Nevertheless, when learners' multilingual repertoires are not used or ignored during instruction, schools will continue to be sites of social and cultural reproduction of a monolingual mindset (Ellis, Gogolin & Clyne, 2010).

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The difficulty of writing an acknowledgment is the fear of failing to mention someone. Pursuing a Ph.D. and finishing this dissertation was a task that involved many people's kindness and patience, and it is impossible to include all that contributed.

First and foremost, this could only happen with the unconditional support and academic expertise of Dr. Eric Dwyer. To account for all his contributions to my intellectual development over these years, I need more 200 pages. I will say thank you; without your guidance, I would not achieve this endeavor.

I owe a debt of gratitude to Dr. James Burns, Dr. Phillip Carter, Dr. Ryan Pontier, and Dr. Jacqueline Lynch. Their invaluable critical lenses and insightful conversations challenged me to question my assumptions and ideas. You all contributed to enlarging and calibrating my commitment to social justice.

I thank my beloved husband and children for your patience, understanding, and support in achieving this dream. Being a mother and a spouse, in many ways, challenged my preconceived notions about education. Because you are part of my life, I became wiser and more committed to understanding what equity means inside schools. I dedicate this dissertation to my mother, an educator who helped me understand that learning is about carving a path with kindness, comprehension, and respect for the humanity in each of us.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ЕВ	Emergent Bilingual
ELs, ELLs	English Language Learners
ESOL	English to Speakers of Other Languages
FLL	Foreign Language Learner
HL	Heritage Language
HLL	Heritage Language Learner
IRB	Institutional Review Board
K-2nd	Kindergarten to second grade
LEP	Limited English Proficiency
LPP	Language Policy and Planning
MDCPS	Miami Dade County Public Schools
MLLs	
RRC	Research Review Committee
SE	Standard English
TESOL	Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages
VPK	Voluntary Pre-Kindergarten

PREFACE

Da minha aldeia vejo quanto da terra se pode ver do Universo... Por isso a minha aldeia é tão grande como outra terra qualquer, Porque eu sou do tamanho do que vejo E não do tamanho da minha altura...

Fernando Pessoa (2006)

From my village I see as much in the Universe as can be seen from earth... And so my village is as large as any town, For I am the size of what I see Not the size of my height... Fernando Pessoa (2007), translation by Richard Zenith

I started my Master's degree in 2010 with the explicit purpose of understanding the role of heritage languages (HLs) in the U.S. Today, I perceive how the intellectual and educational goals of examining HLs also relate to two endeavors:

- On one hand, one of my roles as a Latina mother is to comprehend the value of all the complexity of heritages and experiences I brought with me when I arrived as an immigrant in Florida in 2008.
- On the other is understanding how this situated perspective enriches and limits my scholarship.

Overall, I have juggled different full plates in my hands these years: As a mom and a Latina immigrant, I am responsible for two sons and for learning how to navigate the U.S. public education system. I also felt challenged to develop my English academic skills and understand how my repertoire and my positioning serve my South Florida community. I started inquiring about the intersection among curriculum, heritage languages, and literacy in multilingual settings on this path. I also have been attentive to William Pinar's (2019) definition of curriculum as a "complicated conversation" (p. 1), which means designing a curriculum involving the subjectivities of learners and teachers in the experience of education. I translate Pinar's proposition of a curriculum as validating and incorporating languages, heritages, genders, and socially and culturally situated positions of learners' and teachers' subjectivities in the process of education. Sewing these powerful elements together to develop a curriculum relates to social justice and a more democratic society because it does not frame learners' languages and cultures through a deficit perspective.

In my experience, the reality of living in a multilingual community like Miami mismatches the potential of living in a place embracing bilingualism. This district, which created Coral Way—the first bilingual dual language program in the 20th century in this country, a model described in many chapters of academic books (Coady, 2020)—has puzzled me: Why has it been so challenging to find a school with a curriculum which establishes a "complicated conversation" with my sons' capabilities and heritage? If we look superficially, we can say that the teaching of Portuguese as a heritage language in South Florida is accessible: We have in South Florida

- Two dual language bilingual schools (a Charter and a Magnet)
- Two HL community-based schools (both non-profit)
- Two aftercare classes, one in a public school and the other in a charter
- One middle school offering Portuguese as an elective
- Two public high schools also offering Portuguese as electives

• Two private high schools offering Portuguese as electives.

This situation can lead one to assume that families have numerous opportunities to maintain and develop their HL. However, in my experience, HL maintenance has been primarily a family effort. I have heard from families of many language backgrounds their struggle to help their children develop literacy in their HL. This situation usually relates to commitments such as a school curriculum driven by a monolingual discourse tied to standardized tests, monolingual afterschool programs, homework, school personnel prejudice towards literacy in an HL in the early school years, and administrator and teacher silence towards the value of developing literacy in an HL (These issues will be further addressed within the dissertation's theoretical framework). Part of the problem may be the district orientation to the imagined multilingual student population. When navigating through the district's Bilingual Department website, I noticed most of its programs assume a foreign/world language paradigm, which implies not recognizing that most learners in South Florida are not English monolinguals, and it is framing their heritage languages and culture skills as foreign. Noteworthy, in my experience, it has taken tremendous family effort to help my sons learn to read and write in Portuguese as heritage language learners:

- I privately purchased many books every time I traveled abroad.
- I taught literacy classes to my sons and my neighbors' sons and daughters for over four years in my apartment building.
- I volunteered in my son's school to teach heritage language learners about our language and culture from the community.

- I taught, designed, and trained teachers to implement afterschool programs to help the Portuguese-speaking families in this community.
- In 2014, I approached the Brazilian Consulate in Miami and asked for their help in publishing and freely distributing a manual for Portuguese speakers' families worldwide (Boruchowski & Lico, 2016).
- In 2015, I approached leaders of the Latin American Caribbean Center at FIU, and we joined efforts with Brazilian Consulate to create an annual conference dedicated to teachers and bringing together K-12 initiatives that serve Portuguese heritage language learners (HLLs) in the U.S.
- I became involved in developing the curriculum for Dual Language Immersion programs in Utah.
- I participated in many meetings with the Brazilian Consulate, with community leaders, schools, teachers, parents, and district leaders to discuss how to help families maintain and develop their heritage languages.

Despite these efforts, to allow my sons to grow up biliterate in their HL, I had to move to a different neighborhood to have a better chance to enroll my children in one of the two Portuguese bilingual programs in the district. As a scholar that understands the value of bilingualism, I became puzzled by this conflicting narrative of living in a community that purportedly values bilingualism but still entails making numerous efforts to offer my sons the opportunity to develop their biliteracy skills further in their HL.

Meanwhile, one of my offspring showed a different path of learning. When he was four years old, we discovered that he had special needs. At that moment, family, teachers, occupational therapists, speech pathologists, and behavior therapists regularly

advised me to *stop* speaking and reading to my child in our HL at home and focus only on English. They had serious doubts about their capability to grow up bilingual and biliterate. I had to be brave and persistent, using my critical thinking skills and my privileged positioning: I had the time and resources to study academic English, go to university, and start a Master's degree to access a library where I could read challenging articles reporting detailed results about the nonexistent relationship between the autism spectrum disorder and bilingualism (Bialystok, 2008; Espinosa, 2008). I read all these articles to strengthen my arguments and convince teachers and specialists that my son should be raised bilingual and biliterate because there was no relation between bilingualism and his non-typical learning development. Today he is an honor student of his HL in a bilingual program.

Interestingly, over the years, I heard school teachers expressing concern about my sons' lack of vocabulary in English (if compared with a monolingual native speaker) because they ignored their vocabulary and literacy skills in their HL. I have lost count of how many parents shared with me how their sons' and daughters' teachers, usually in the kindergarten to 2nd grade years, expressed concern about their children's literacy development in English and explicitly or implicitly advised their family to concentrate exclusively on the English language.

During my Master's years, I explored challenges of heritage language communitybased schools helping immigrant and refugee families maintain and develop their languages and culture in the U.S. (Boruchowski, 2014). This journey continues as I am now pursuing my Ph.D. However, at this time, I come from a more critical positioning to question: Why is the heritage language discussion focused mainly "outside" mainstream

schooling and dominantly discussed as a private and a family matter? How are the heritage language literacy skills of so many emergent bilinguals in this multilingual community valued, perceived, and integrated into their early mainstream schooling experiences? How do teachers perceive biliteracy in our community's heritage languages?

Many academic discussions I have participated in frame emergent bilinguals through a monocle:

- in a field, they are heritage language learners,
- in another, they are English language learners,
- in another, they are foreign language learners, and
- even in other venues, they are bilingual learners pursuing two monolingual disconnected abilities.

Many discussions position these learners through a "deficit" paradigm and relate the maintenance and development of their heritage languages as outside school (this will be further explored). Trying to find some answers, I have been studying language policies and the history of U.S. education. This dissertation fits in the process of better comprehending relationships among language ideology, language policies, and perceptions of heritage language learners' literacy skills in mainstream schools.

The process of studying, reflecting, and writing this dissertation will (hopefully) help me foresee how we can trace an education that will validate and speak complicated conversations with learners' heritages. The story accounted for, as well as the questions raised here, have the purpose of justifying why I see as fundamental the discussion of how heritage language literacy skills are perceived, valued, and integrated into emergent bilinguals' mainstream schooling experiences.

It is fair to clarify that I am positioning myself in this journey as a scholar tied to critical pedagogy, a sense of social justice, and a repertoire based on studies of second language acquisition, multilingualism, biliteracy, and language policy as social practices. In my academic path and my experiences as an educator, the more I reflect on critical pedagogy and critical literacy, the more I perceive how the idea of democracy is at the core of the discussion of validating and incorporating heritage language learners' repertoire in their literacy path. In my reflections, an idea of a democratic society relates to everyone having a voice; there is no silencing. It also refers to recognizing and embracing plurality; there is no erasure, explicit or implicit. And it fundamentally relates to equality; there is no reproduction of privileges—one culture, one class, one gender, one language.

GLOSSARY

Biliteracy

Biliteracy is a dynamic, flexible process in which children develop and transact with two written languages. This process is distinct from monolingual literacy (Gort, 2009; Hornberger, 1989).

Emergent Bilingual (EB)

The term refers to children living in a multilingual setting and developing skills across different languages (e.g., Spanish/English, Haitian Creole/English, Portuguese/English, and Chinese/English). Flores and Lewis (2016) discussed how in contemporary

sociolinguistics the concept of emergence has been used to move beyond normative assumptions about language. Emergence is how complex systems, such as language, develop into a new state of organization, and for these researchers "adopting an emergentist perspective requires us to reconceptualize language and identity" (p.109). In this way, rather than minority language learners been seen through a deficit perspective (they do not have EN proficiency), they are positioned as bringing a repertoire that will merge and emerge in their path to continua of biliteracy.

English Language Learner (ELL)

Takanishi and Le Menestrel (2017) edited a consensus report elaborated by the National Academy of Sciences. In this document, children speaking another language than English at home are called dual language learners from birth to early childhood education. However, after entering the mainstream educational system, they are addressed as English Language Learners (ELLs) by the committee and federal, state, and district policies.

Heritage Language (HL)

In this study, this term refers to emergent bilinguals' home language while emphasizing the sociological context of these learners as simultaneous or sequential bilinguals that acquire a language in an immigrant or minority context (Flores et al., 2017).

Language Policy and Planning (LPP)

This study relies on the notion that the field of LPP discuss the efforts to influence the language behavior of others (Cooper, 1989). Noteworthy, this study further this construct based on Spolsky's (2007) idea that LPP involves three components: language practices, language beliefs or ideologies, and language intervention, planning or management.

Languaging

Refers to EB's language practices as diverse, fluid, and fundamentally related to their history, place, and subjectivity as bilingual enunciators (Garcia & Wei, 2014).

Monolingual Habitus and Mindset

Gogolin's (1997) notion of the *monolingual habitus* draws on Bourdieu's (1991) notions of field, habitus, and symbolic power. This notion led Ellis, Gogolin, and Clyne (2010) to discuss the *monolingual mindset* as a robust language ideology enacted on educational policies and curriculum design in U.S. education that presents English, and Standard English (SE) in particular, as the only languages valued inside schools.

Multilingual Literacies

The term Multilingual Literacies highlights how, in multilingual contexts, different languages, language varieties, and scripts add other dimensions to the diversity and complexity of literacies, capturing the multiplicity and complexity of individuals group repertoires in their multiple paths to literacies (García, Bartlett & Kleifgen, J., 2007; Martin-Jones & Jones, 2001).

Translanguaging

Translanguaging (Garcia & Wei, 2014) challenges the traditional understandings of bilingualism, which perceives languages as separated repertoires in users' minds. It is one representation of the translingual approach (Horner et al., 2011) that sees languages and language practices from the perspective of its users and their social reality, noticing how *languaging* (as a verb) is diverse, fluid, and fundamentally related to the history, place, and subjectivity of the enunciator.

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Why has it been so challenging to find a school with a curriculum that establishes a "complicated conversation" (Pinar, 2019, p. 1) with my sons' and students' subjectivities and heritages? In a previous study (Boruchowski, 2014), I noticed heritage language (HL) maintenance and biliteracy development were a result not of efforts by school officials but principally those of community leaders and families. With this fundamental observation serving as a research springboard, while this research discuss bilingualism and biliteracy in general, this dissertation serves as an effort to understand specifically the value of HL inside schools.

Takanashi and Le Menestrel's (2017) consensus report by the National Academy of Sciences recognized emergent bilinguals (EBs),¹ noting that their oral and literacy skills in their HL support their development in their school language. Indeed, the researchers indicated biliteracy as an ideal situation for these learners (see the consensus report by the National Academy of Sciences edited by Takanashi and Le Menestrel, 2017)². Considering this, I wondered: In a multilingual community, do teachers even consider learners' HL abilities? What are the ideologies sustaining teachers' beliefs towards HL use inside classrooms? In my experience, teachers explicitly suggested waiting for the learner to consolidate their literacy in English, and only after that should

¹ In this study, both learners designated as English Language Learners (ELLs) and Heritage Language Learners (HLLs) will be referred to as Emergent Bilinguals (EBs).

² In the next chapter, dedicated to the theoretical framework sustaining this dissertation, I will discuss how this report framed emergent bilinguals using a monolingual paradigm.

they start paying attention to the HL at home (a piece of advice opposed to the consensus report and current research). This scenario helped me recognize the need to understand how HL literacy skills have been framed inside schools of this multilingual community, and what paradigms—monolingual or plurilingual—influence the school's curriculum and teachers' attitudes.

Researchers of the Miami bilingual landscape (e.g., Valencia & Lynch, 2019; Mackinney, 2016; Lanier, 2014) have commented on limited options for the district's heritage language learners' biliteracy development. Previous studies dedicated to community, students, and parents' perceptions of HL maintenance (Lanier, 2014; Ramos, 2007; Portes & Schauffler, 1996; Fradd & Boswell, 1996; Taylor & Lambert, 1996; Huddy *et al.*,1984) confirmed that South Florida minority groups value their HL maintenance. Interestingly, two studies (Mackinney, 2016; Ramos, 2007) commented on parents' efforts (such as looking for materials and reading in their HL at home) to maintain and develop their home language. However, despite Miami provide the perception of the wide use of bilingualism in the city's streets, Valencia and Lynch (2019), Mackinney (2016), and Lanier (2014) indicated the same conclusion: even though Spanish's political and economic value in South Florida is noticeable, this HL is relegated to a secondary place and with no prestige inside local school settings.

Context

In 2018-2019, the Florida public school system accounted for 10.1% of students as English language learners (Florida Department of Education, n.d). In the district discussed here, English language learners (ELLs) represent 16.9% of the district's total

enrollment, with schools ranging from barely any representation—0.2% enrollment—to the entirety of a school, or 100% enrollment (Miami Dade, 2020). However, further data present the district as even more diverse and multilingual. For example, the American Community Survey (United States Census Bureau, 2019) showed that 74.9% of the population above five years old speaks a language other than English in Miami-Dade County. Therefore, beyond learners classified as ELLs by the district's ESOL parameters, I wondered how these, and other emergent bilinguals' HL literacy skills had been perceived and integrated into schools' early years' experiences.

Consequently, an essential distinction in this research project is between the notions of HL learners and students classified as ESOL. Students classified as ESOL have the right to language accommodations, and their teachers know their home language background. At the same time, all HL may not be visible inside schools, because not all EB were qualified to ESOL accommodations, some were considered "English proficient" when entry the public school system.

Historically, in South Florida, Spanish is the HL most studied by scholars. It is also, after English, the language with the most remarkable economic and political status in the region. Researchers (see Carter & Lynch, 2015, for a compilation) have argued that numerous complex factors exist in the sociolinguistic landscape in Miami. Callesano and Carter (2022) commented on the popular narrative that in this city, due to the high number of Spanish speakers, the entrenched economic, social, and cultural capital dispute between monolinguals and bilinguals favors these last ones. However, they showed that the reality is more complicated: young Miamians' perceptions of Spanish and English demonstrated nonconscious preferences for English over Spanish, even when they were

born in Latin America, and the longer they lived in the U.S., the stronger their automatic preference for English became. This preference attested to what several studies (Porcel, 2006; Portes & Schauffler, 1996; MacDonald, 1990) have shown before: second and third-generation immigrants (from diverse HLs) prefer using English. Noteworthy, Carter and Casellano (2018) studied the perceptions of Spanish dialects, noticing that there is competition among English with HLs and that the immense variation of the Spanish language in Miami creates competition within Spanish too. Scholars (García & Otheguy, 1989; Zurer Pearson & McGee, 1993) suggested that the constant influx of immigrants from Latin America sustains bilingualism in Miami. As previously noted, researchers (Valencia & Lynch, 2019; Mackinney, 2016; Lanier, 2014) concluded, despite HLs' political and economic value in South Florida, that these languages do not have prestige inside school settings—conclusions that sustain the need to understand how teachers inside school have preceived HL literacy skills.

Problem Statement

Pinar's (2019) definition of curriculum as a "complicated conversation" (p. 1) appears applicable as a curriculum validating and incorporating languages, heritages, genders, and socially and culturally situated positions of learners' and teachers' subjectivities in the process of education. In addition, as Garcia and Wei (2014) observed: "language practices cannot be developed except through the students' existing knowledge" (p. 80). Consequently, it seems crucial to understand and discuss teachers' beliefs towards emergent bilinguals' HL literacy skills in this multilingual context. Interestingly, Harper et al. (2007) observed that, in Florida, mainstream teachers and even reading coaches mistakenly see as errors what biliteracy researchers usually see as the cross-linguistic and developmental nature of reading. Other research conducted with Florida teachers (Coady, Harper, and de Jong, 2011) concluded that teachers rated themselves least effective when using students' home languages as a resource for teaching. Noteworthy, Dwyer and O'Gorman-Fazzolari (2023) observed 40 classes across 12 schools (from kindergarten to 8th grade) in Miami-Dade County, where they noticed teachers used some ESOL techniques, but classroom practices dedicated to non-ESOL learners were dominant. In sum, despite most students and teachers coming from a multicultural background, researchers observed exclusion of EBs' culture in the classroom. De Angelis's (2011) research in Europe concluded that parents afford teachers and administrators great power regarding language, which extends outside the classroom when they advise parents about language use and encourage or discourage parents from preserving an HL. Indeed, these studies indicate the need to explore teachers' beliefs towards emergent bilinguals' heritage languages as one more component toward understanding teachers' thought processes and classroom choices in multilingual settings. Considering this scenario, I posed the following research questions for this study:

- In Miami-Dade County, considering K-2nd grade teachers, what are teachers' language ideologies regarding the notion of biliteracy and heritage languages?
- 2. What are teachers' beliefs regarding using their students' heritage languages and how are these enacted inside classrooms?
- 3. Is there any relationship between teachers' demographics and teachers' language ideologies?

To address these questions, I conducted a mixed method research approach, using quantitative and qualitative data collection techniques to garner a deep reflection of beliefs and ideologies of local teachers.

Significance of the Study

Immigrant-origin children are the fastest growing segment of the school-age population in the U.S. (Paris & Lim, 2017) and it seems even more imperative to problematize the parameters that dominates curriculum in the U.S. education. The relevance of this study relates to the idea that EBs bring to schools their HL repertoire, which research (Valencia & Lynch, 2019; Mackinney, 2016; Lanier, 2014; Harper et al., 2007; Coady, Harper, and de Jong, 2011; Dwyer, and O'Gorman-Fazzolari, 2023) indicated has not been used or valued. This leads to the necessity of understanding and discussing teachers' beliefs towards learners' HL and how these are enacted in the early school years. Researching teachers' beliefs fundamentally relates to the interdisciplinary field of sociolinguistic, and its discussion of Language Policy and Planning (LPP). In this study, I rely on Spolsky's (2007) model that divided LPP in three interrelated but independently described components: language practices (observable behaviors), beliefs (different values), and management (efforts to impose language practices).

The relevance of this research will relate to the necessity of understanding and discussing pedagogical practices dedicated to EBs in a multilingual community. The broader implication is to contribute to further recommendations for curriculum design, teachers' education courses, and district-supported professional development.

Assumptions

In this introduction, I presented why I see it as a fundamental discussion for this community's better understanding regarding how in emergent bilinguals' HL skills are perceived in early school years. It is fair to make clear my assumptions and expectations:

- As noticed by Spolsky (2007), language is a social phenomenon, and inside schools, there are diverse complex factors trying to regulate its language use: teachers and students' language practices and beliefs, state and district policies, language policies enacted by curriculum and textbooks, as well administration, community, teachers, and parents' ideologies about languages.
- Learners usually referred to as ELLs here are considered Emergent Bilinguals (EB) because I assume that these learners usually start developing emergent literacy skills in their HL at home and at HL community-based schools before starting mainstream schooling in English.
- This study assumes that EB arrive at school with some pre and literacy skills in their HL. However, these skills may be different from the abilities expected by teachers in the school language.
- This study will not consider HL literacy as an isolated skill but as a part of the literacy repertoire of the EB.
- It is expected that teachers and district leadership embrace, in general, a current positive attitude about bilingualism.
- This study also understands that programs dedicated to most EB should have curriculum orientations different from typical (monolingual) literacy.

• Programs pursuing biliteracy (for HLLs) require a different curriculum design from programs developing foreign/world language reading and writing skills.

Limitations

One limitation of this study relates to its population. Firstly, this study focuses on a setting with particular characteristics:

- Most of the population of this setting is multilingual.
- Most teachers in its schools are multilingual.
- Most learners start their schooling experience by bringing an HL.

In this dissertation, these learners are exposed to HL in their homes and communities, and these experiences encompass pre or literacy skills that they bring to schools. Another necessary clarification is that this study will not focus on learners' bilingual practices (e.g., translanguaging) but will dedicate to a primary concern: capturing teachers' beliefs toward emergent bilinguals' literacy skills in their HL inside schools in their early elementary years.

It is also essential to clarify that my study focuses on the HL of immigrant language minorities and does not include the complex discussion on research on Native American and African languages. While I collected data on the district's immigrant and refugee heritage languages, I recognize that the conclusions and implications of this research will also apply to other minorities' languages historically erased and not recognized in the mainstream school curriculum.

CHAPTER 2

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

New language practices can only emerge in interrelationship with old ones, without competing or threatening an already established sense of being that languaging constitutes...Learners need a secure sense of self that allows them to appropriate new language practices as they engage in a continuous becoming. (García & Wei, 2014, p. 79).

Emergent bilinguals' (EB) schooling experiences cross invisible borders of dominant and HL literacies every day, and it seems crucial to understand and discuss teachers' beliefs toward EB's HL literacy skills in a highly diverse district. In the district discussed here, ELLs represent 16.9% of the district's entire enrollment with schools ranging from barely any representation—0.2% EB enrollment—to the entirety of a school, or 100% enrollment (Miami Dade, 2020).

This dissertation aims to provide understanding regarding the complexities of language policy and planning (LPP) in the early school years in a multilingual setting. Precisely, it is an attempt to capture and discuss teachers' beliefs and enacted language policy toward learners' HL literacy skills in the early school years. Many studies on teachers' beliefs, perceptions, and attitudes have shown how those constructs play an important role in how teachers understand their purpose of teaching and the choices they make (Macnab & Payne, 2003; Richardson, 1996).

The purpose of this chapter is to present this study's theoretical framework and to synthetize relevant literature. The first section is dedicated to presenting the following constructs: language policy and planning, language ideology, emergent bilinguals, heritage languages, teachers' beliefs, bilingualism, and biliteracy. The end of this

subsection will also provide a summary of research related to the perception of HL maintenance in South Florida. The second section of this chapter describes how, in this study, socio-cultural perspective frames notions such as education, language, and literacy. The third section presents how thinking tools derived from Bourdieu's (1995, 1998) and Foucault's (2012) theories interlace notions of monolingual habitus (Gogolin, 1997), language governmentality (Urla, 2019), and linguicism (Skutnabb-Kangas, 2017). The purpose of these thinking tools is to guide a review of the history of bilingual education in the U.S. and discuss how the school curriculum has historically created a normalization of a monolingual paradigm of literacy and its consequent deficit perspective of emergent bilinguals in multilingual settings. All concepts presented here will compile the lenses used to analyze data and discuss teachers' beliefs towards HL literacy skills in the early school years.

Review of Literature

The scholarship selected to compile this study were retrieved from studies that, in some way, anchored onto holistic approaches of bilingualism because considering HL literacy as a separated and isolated repertoire entails diminishing emergent bilinguals' capabilities and possibilities of literacy development at school. Despite framing learners' literacy skills in all languages as interconnected, I acknowledge this dissertation relies on some notions linked to academic ideas, such as heritage language (HL), that see languages tied to nation-states and perceived as separated repertoires. Another construct that this research takes a complex approach is language ideology. Makoni and Pennycook's (2007) proposed that we need to depart from seeing the ideology of

languages as countable, discrete categories leading to an essentialist notion of identities. Current discussions (Garcia, 2009) points to the complex reality of the discordance between state language planning policies, which see languages monolithically, and the multitude of languages and multilingual individuals within any given nation-state or any language users inside schools. The purpose of this research is to pinpoint these discourses and critically discuss when teachers enact or resist them through their agency.

Language Policy and Planning

The overarching discussion in this project relates to language policy and planning (LPP). More specifically, how schools' practices of literacy in multilingual settings value and use learners' HL. Consequently, I foresee the discussion of why language choices were made inside classrooms and the implications for the learner. Accounting for Cooper's definition of LPP as "deliberate efforts to influence the behavior of others with respect to the acquisition, structure, or functional allocation of their language codes" (Cooper, 1989, p. 45), this research also relies on Spolsky's (2007) idea that LPP involves three components: language practices, language beliefs or ideologies, and language intervention, planning or management. In this sense, LPP research, as a subdivision of sociolinguistics, has continuously sought to improve understanding of the impact of policy decision-making on language use, acquisition, status, and prestige in everyday social life. This inquiry seeks to discuss, specifically, teachers' beliefs about learners' HLs, if they are valued and used in the classroom, and if teachers and students enact their agency to counter deficit hegemonic discourses. As Glasgow and Bouchard (2018) commented, teachers and students are perceived as language policy agents acting in

multiple levels of adherence and resistance to top-down established policies and drawing from different types of ideologies. Consequently, it was expected that researching teachers' beliefs and observing the classroom reality would lead to the emergence of contradictions and points of friction as important areas for critical inquiry.

As Hornberger (2015) explained, in the last decades, the field of LPP expanded its scope from government, its policies, and official documents to include research on the school ecosystem:

largely through the contributions of ethnographic research in such sites, there is growing recognition that language planning and policymaking happen as much at the micro-level of the workplace or classroom as at the macro-level of government (Martin-Jones, this volume; Hult, 2010; Ricento & Hornberger, 1996). There is also the acknowledgment of the tensions in language policies and practices, especially in postcolonial contexts undergoing simultaneous and contradictory processes of decolonization and globalization (Lin & Martin, 2005) (p. 18).

The field of LPP has also incorporated a more interactive and dialogic approach, seeking to consider subjects' research agendas and their respect and understanding for diverse and often contradictory language use and teaching practices. As a researcher, I acknowledge that there is no interest-free research because all researchers come from a positioned perspective tied with their history, which defines, epistemologically, not only lenses for analyzing data but also lenses for selecting a theoretical framework, data collection approaches, and analysis procedures. With such in mind, I offer this chapter as an attempt to clarify how studying LPP involves the perceived function of education in multilingual settings.

Language ideology

Ideology here is perceived as a "regime of value" (Gal & Irvine, 2019, p. 13) neither true nor false, but local and historic framings representing the moral and political interests of social groups. In this theoretical framework, I rely on how Heller (2007) discussed language ideology both as a construct and an area of inquiry that investigates how discourses attribute value to linguistic forms and practices and its effect on building social differences. Research on language policy has the potential to help us understand how systems of value operate inside schools and how ordinary teaching practices have inconsistencies and contradictions. As Gal and Irvine (2019) noticed, ideologies are not static, nor are they doctrines. They do not exist in a separate realm from people as people enact creative interpretations.

Emergent Bilinguals

Researchers (Bauer & Gort, 2012; Garcia & Kleifgen, 2018) have used the term *emergent bilinguals* to refer to children living in a multilingual setting and developing skills across different languages (e.g., Spanish/English, Haitian Creole/English, Portuguese/English, and Chinese/English). In this dissertation, I refer to EB all learners that are exposed to HL in their homes and communities, and these experiences encompass pre or literacy skills that they bring to schools. Garcia and Kleifgen (2018) summarize the concept of emergent bilingualism in the following fashion:

English learners are, in fact, emergent bilinguals. That is, through school and through acquiring English, these students become bilingual, able to continue to function with their home language practices, as well as in English – the new language practices that they acquire in school. The home language is a significant educational resource for these students as they develop their English for academic

purposes. When officials and educators ignore the bilingualism that these students can and must develop through schooling in the United States, they perpetuate inequalities in the education of these students (p. 3).

The term EB ties to translingual scholarship that question boundaries between languages are artificial. Despite acknowledging and leaning my discussion towards this framework, I also feel the necessity to use the term HL to address learners' home languages because it ties with my previous frameworks while I question my own limitations as a scholar.

Heritage Languages

At this moment, it is essential to highlight that I am using the term *heritage language* (HL) to refer to emergent bilinguals' home language. It is valid to note that studies dedicated to HL emphasize the home language from the minority family-learner perspective and not from the perspective of broader institutions such as schools or federal and state policies. Here, the notion of heritage languages emphasizes the sociological context of simultaneous or sequential bilinguals that acquire a language in an immigrant or minority context (Flores et al., 2017). A HL is used with restrictions, such as in a community and a family setting. The HL coexists with other languages broadly used in society, media, and institutions, and usually, unusual exposition patterns characterize an HL acquisition in the U.S. (O'Grady, Kwak, Lee & Lee, 2011).

Recognizing that language users and their identities are plural and flexible, I acknowledge that using the term *heritage language* links this dissertation to academic notions that are questionable, such as native speakers tied to nation-states. Despite understanding this limitation, I decided to maintain this term because it helped me to

identify the "monolingual habitus" inside the U.S. schools. Urla (2019) summarized how in the last two decades, in language scholarship, "academics have been questioning the idea of the nation-state as a political and economic unit and nationalism as a structure of feeling" (p. 262). She also highlighted how these notions still are used as frameworks for thinking about and valuing languages inside schools. As an example, despite the increasing number of linguistically diverse learners, the majority of schools' curriculum establishes distinct values for learners' languages repertoire: pre-literacy skills in English may be recognized as more valid than in other languages such as Spanish or Haitian Creole.

Consequently, when referring specifically to learners' home language development and their literacy practices, I will use HL because it still represents immigrants' conditions inside schools. Noteworthy, that I see HL practices from the perspective of its users and their social reality. Consequently, it is diverse, fluid, and fundamentally related to the history and subjectivity of the enunciator linked to a multitude of places and heritages.

Teachers' Beliefs

Gill and Fives (2014), as well as Skott and Aarhus (2014), agreed that it is challenging to find consistency across definitions of teachers' beliefs. However, these researchers and others (Pajares, 1992; Fives & Buehl, 2014) have considered teachers' beliefs as frames guiding teachers' experiences, decisions, and actions. Pajares (1992) indicated that the most salient characteristic of beliefs in educational research is that (a) the nature of beliefs makes them a filter to new phenomena and thought processes;

(b) epistemological beliefs play a crucial role in knowledge interpretation and cognitive monitoring, and (c) beliefs strongly influence perception and behavior.

Despite such evidence, Skott and Aarhus (2014) discussed how researchers need to be careful not to make simplistic deterministic links between teachers' beliefs and teachers' actions due to the complexity of educational phenomena. Other factors can influence teachers, such as dominant school culture, time constraints, curricular materials, and assessment practices. Furthermore, research findings do not always show connections between student outcomes and teachers' educational beliefs. Despite these challenges, many researchers (Gay, 2014; Gill & Fives, 2014; Hoffman & Seidel, 2014; Schraw & Olafson, 2014; Skott & Aarhus, 2014) considered whether studying teachers' beliefs can contribute to the understanding of teachers' thinking and meaning making when they relate to the contents, to the students, and themselves as teachers.

Considering this scenario, Gay's (2014) literature review of studies dedicated to teachers' beliefs about cultural diversity is noteworthy. Gay concluded that the most currently available research data derived from pre-service teachers (for a literature review on this topic, see Wall, 2018) and from small-scale qualitative case studies. Interestingly, very few prospective teachers of color have been studied, and there is an absence of research studies of teachers' perceptions of themselves as culturally diverse.

Gay (2014) highlighted consistencies across time as a feature of research on teachers' beliefs about cultural diversity. Many teachers come to their preparation programs to view student diversity as a problem rather than a resource and tend to see students individualistic. As an example, teachers focused on personality factors like motivation and ignored contextual factors like ethnicity. Noteworthy is that most teachers

did not believe in the existence of culture. Furthermore, the researcher highlighted previous studies portraying a typical "white talk" among teachers, meaning they denied the salience of racism and did not consider themselves responsible for perpetuating racism and inequities.

Related to teachers' beliefs about ELLs, Lucas, Villegas, and Martin's (2014) literature review concluded that most teachers do not feel prepared to teach these learners or address challenges involved in teaching them. Instead, the researchers found that teachers expressed that they prefer not having ELLs in their classes, many holding deficit views of ELLs and misconceptions about language learning. Interestingly, their literature review highlighted some studies suggesting that while many teachers value linguistic diversity in general, those beliefs do not necessarily carry over into their practice. Lucas, Villegas, and Martin (2014) also summarized some variables influencing teacher's beliefs towards ELLs, such as teachers' experiences with diversity inside and outside school; teachers' participation in some pre-service or in-service preparation for teaching ELLs; the general school context, such as how administrators perceived these learners, and the effect of states restrictive language policies (for example, English-only propositions).

Bilingualism

Bilingualism is a phenomenon studied from a multidisciplinary perspective. Historically, Heller (2007) noticed that research on bilingualism started focusing on describing linguistic systems. Therefore, research predominantly presented languages as a bounded system associated with whole and bounded communities. As noticed before, scholars (Heller, 2007; Pennycook, 2010; Garcia and Wei, 2014) questioned how the idea

of language as a bounded system relates to assumptions of territories and discourses of nation and states since the nineteenth century.

Valdes, Poza, and Brooks (2017) named two competing paradigms of language and how languages are acquired in second language educational scholarship and practices. These two competing paradigms are intrinsically related to discussions of nation-states, power, and identity. According to the authors, the first paradigm, which Horner et al. (2011) called the "traditional approach" (p. 306), is predominant in current educational policy, program design, and teaching and learning experiences aimed at directing students into a one size fit all, homogenous, idealist, and uniform idea of language practice (based on monolingual native speaker standards). In bilingual programs, this approach led to what Heller (2006) coined "parallel monolingualism" (p. 271) and Cummins (2008) called "two solitudes" (p. 104) when explaining their strict language separation policies.³ This approach has been predominant in foreign/world language teaching and bilingual/dual language programs when learners cannot use their entire language repertoire in the classroom. This paradigm is commonly sustained by policy and curriculum orientations favoring strict language separation because it looks for the maximum target language time allocation in classrooms.

The second paradigm takes a holistic and situated perspective of language. The translingual approach (Horner et al., 2011) sees languages and language practices from the perspective of its users and their social reality, noticing how *languaging* (as a verb) is diverse, fluid, and fundamentally related to the history, place, and subjectivity of the

³ Even in bilingual educational programs, it is common for teachers to ask students to use only one language. Such as, *This is the Portuguese class, so between 9:40 and 10:25, we only speak Portuguese. Between 10:35 and 11:05, you can only speak English.*

enunciator. Among the notions following this more holistic approach are translingual practice (Canagarajah, 2013), translanguaging (Garcia & Wei, 2014), and flexible bilingualism (Creese & Blackledge, 2010). They all challenge traditional understandings of bilingualism, which perceive languages as separated repertoires in users' minds. At the same time, these notions also frame languaging as an action of bilinguals' using their fluid and holistic repertoire.

Noteworthy, my researcher positionality perceives teachers and leaners through these holistic and dynamic language perspectives. This study's theoretical framework also presents languages and language use through Pennycook's (2010) notion of "language as a social practice" (p. 1)—in other words, not refereeing language as an independent system with pre-existing rules but a social phenomenon: enacted as an outcome from the complex manifestations and practices in particular contexts.

In the last decades, overall conclusions of psycholinguistic research on bilingualism indicated that bilinguals develop greater cognitive flexibility, including better creative and divergent thinking; better ability to reorganize patterns and more flexibility in solving mental problems; and greater metalinguistic awareness (Bialystok, 2011).

Biliteracy

Research on biliteracy has increased in recent decades, and reviews of its literature (Reyes, 2012, Gort, 2019) have reflected on what has been called *biliteracy* over time. García, Bartlett and Kleifgen (2007) reminded us that the most popular position at the end of the 20th century was that literacy in the first language (L1) had to

be developed before the second (L2), and, to avoid negative consequences, children need to develop solid literacy skills in their primary language before starting literacy in a second. This belief sustained implementation of most transitional bilingual programs in the U.S., where children start using their HL initially with a complete transition to reading and writing in English-only after one, two, or three years. However, with the success of immersion bilingual education programs in Canada, scholars questioned the idea that introducing literacy in two languages simultaneously would overload a child's cognitive system.

At this moment, there is enough documented evidence that young children can develop and distinguish between different writing systems (Bauer and Gort, 2012; Reyes, 2012) and that biliteracy does not lead to overload (Bauer & Mkhize, 2012). In fact, Bialystok, Luk, and Kwan (2005) confirmed a bilingual advantage regarding phonemic awareness and decoding when children develop two phonologically related systems like Spanish and English or Portuguese and English.

Concerning older emergent bilinguals, research (Genesee et al., 2005) highlighted those successful bilingual writers employ several effective strategies when using all their language repertoire (e.g., searching for cognates, translating and alternating between languages, using context and prior knowledge developed in one or the other language). These strategies suggest that bilinguals have a unique dual-language reservoir of crosslanguage skills to draw on when engaging in literacy tasks. These skills, aligned with code-switching and paraphrasing, offer instructional possibilities of promoting biliteracy and academic writing.

Departing from the understandings of biliteracy as a skill (decoding and encoding), Martin-Jones and Jones (2000) discussed this phenomenon with socio-cultural lenses. They used the term *multilingual literacies* to highlight how, in multilingual contexts, different languages and language varieties add other dimensions to the diversity and complexity of literacies, capturing the multiplicity and complexity of individuals' repertoires in their multiple paths to literacies. In a description of multilingual classroom ecologies, Creese and Martin (2003) highlighted how an ecological model attempts to link classroom environments with the broader sociopolitical environment:

An ecological approach does more than describe the relationships between situated speakers of different languages and is proactive in pulling apart perceived natural language orders. That is, where a particular language and its structure and use become so naturalized that it is no longer seen as construing a particular ideological line. An ecological approach attempts to make this transparent. 'Unnaturalising' these discourses become necessary to make precise 'what kinds of language practices are valued and considered good, normal, appropriate, or correct' in particular classrooms and schools, and who are likely to be the winners and losers in the ideological orientations' (Heller & Martin-Jones, 2001:2). To take this one step further, Hornberger (2002: 30) argues that 'multilingual language policies are essentially about opening up ideological and implementational space in the environment for as many languages as possible' (Creese & Martin, 2003, p. 164).

Continua of Biliteracy

The most influential notion in the biliteracy literature has been the continua of a

biliteracy model (Hornberger, 1989; later revised by Hornberger & Skilton-Sylvester,

2000). This comprehensive ecological model views biliteracy as a set of

multidimensional abilities that learners will develop over time, depending on their day-to-

day social and educational experiences. It situates multilingualism as a resource and

considers languages as eco-systems interacting with their sociopolitical, economic, and

cultural environment, acknowledging that educational policy and practice regarding

biliteracy tends to privilege one end of the continua:

Traditionally less powerful		Traditionally more powerful
	Context of biliteracy	
micro	← →	macro
oral	← →	literate
bi(multi)lingual	← →	monolingual
	Development of biliteracy	
reception	← →	production
oral	← →	written
L1	← →	L2
	Content of biliteracy	
minority	← →	majority
vernacular	← →	literary
contextualized	← →	decontextualized
	Media of biliteracy	
simultaneous exposure	← →	successive exposure
dissimilar structures	• •	similar structures
divergent scripts	← →	convergent scripts

Figure 1. Power relations in the continua model (Hornberger, 2003, p. 39).

As the figure shows, the model considers these four intersecting nested sets: the context, development, content, and media of biliteracy, and the notion of continuum conveys that all points are interrelated. Hornberger and Skilton-Sylvester (2000) suggested that the more learning contexts allow emergent bilinguals to draw from across the whole of each continuum, the greater chances are for their biliteracy development. This study aligns with the notions of biliteracy foregrounded on the complexity of the continua of a biliteracy model (Hornberger, 2003). These notions will guide a critical review of teachers' beliefs towards emergent bilinguals' literacy development.

Emergent Biliteracy. Aligned with this ecological model, Reyes (2006) described emergent biliteracy as a complex process learners undergo when they are provided with opportunities to use both of their languages in different socio-cultural environments and for different functions of speaking, thinking, writing, and reading. Similarly, Bauer and Gort (2012) reflected upon a growing body of research on bilingual literacy, reaching the understanding that biliteracy is a dynamic, flexible process in which children's transactions with two written languages are distinct from monolingual literacy.

In her literature review, Reyes (2012) summarized the intersection of studies showing that emergent biliteracy development relates to children's socio-cultural contexts and reaffirmed that children could become biliterate and that their biliteracy does not hinder their literacy in English. Yoshida (2008) indicated that exposure to and use of two languages in early childhood supports and, in some cases, accelerates the development of both nonverbal and verbal abilities. In another literature review of biliteracy, Gort (2019) affirmed that when teachers implement a holistic philosophy, using emergent bilinguals' repertoire of language, knowledge, and literacy skills as resources, they facilitate biliteracy development.

Reyes (2012), in her literature review, summarized research-based family literacy practices and classroom practices supporting biliteracy development:

- They enable emergent bilinguals to use all their linguistic resources in both languages to make sense of and develop knowledge.
- They understand that children create different hypotheses about written language and develop metalinguistic awareness about their languages.

• They understand that young emergent bilinguals develop various abilities in their two languages across different tasks (e.g., producing a narrative, looking at a book) in cooperation with their primary caregivers. Noticing that biliteracy development can be bidirectional across generations, which means both children and adults benefit learning from one another's language knowledge at home.

Furthermore, Kwon (2022), researching transnational literacies practices of emergent bilinguals (EB), detailed how children are active agents of their biliteracy development. The researcher examined the need for a cross-border account of these learners' literacy experiences, due to the heterogeneity of the literacy artifacts and practices in EB transnational lives, such as listening to music, following news and sports from different parts of the world, using technology to text, zoom, and maintain relationship with their families around the world, and as many researchers pointed out (Orellana, 2015), serving as family language brokers (translating and teaching languages to others). As she explained:

As language brokers, young immigrant children mediate multilingual interactions in various settings: home, school, hospital, stores, and the community (Kwon & Martinez-Alvares, 2021; Tse, 1996). For example, many immigrant children translate and interpret legal documents, medical bills, and letter for their parents, especially when the parents are not proficiency in English or need translations. Some immigrant children teach languages to their siblings, parents, caregivers, and others. At school, they often are asked to serve as language brokers for their peers and siblings by providing academic help and translating and assisting with school assignments.

Through brokering for and teaching languages to others, immigrant children learn to comprehend, interpret, and translate various genres of texts. They also develop nuanced understandings of different cultures and contexts. Scholars also note that language-brokering practices help children develop social sensibilities, become more aware of other people, and learn to manage emotions (Dorner et al., 2008; Orellana, 2009). (p. 69).

Summary of Research on HLs in South Florida

This subsection summarizes a systematic review of literature, anchored on Mariano et al. (2017) framework of evaluating, identifying, and summarizing a specific theme in the literature: previous studies conducted in Miami regarding perceptions towards HL maintenance. The articles selected to compile this summary were retrieved from search engineers such as ERIC, Google Scholar, and PsycInfo. I searched for the following terms (specifically in the abstract, title, and methodology) in different combinations: teachers' attitude, teachers' perceptions, teachers' beliefs, English Language Learners (ELL), multilingual learner, emergent bilingual, bilingual, heritage language, ESOL, Miami-Dade, South Florida, and Florida.

The studies selected needed, in some way, capture South Florida community perceptions towards HLs. Initially, I found a range of publications between 1960 and 2023, and I started screening abstracts and research methodology (specifically looking for South Florida and Miami as the study's population). I eliminated publications that cited South Florida research in the theoretical framework but did not focus on this population in the methodology section, or focused strictly on linguistic aspects, such as phonology. I read all studies and eliminated the articles that did not specifically refer to perceptions about HL. What follows is the summary of this literature review, divided in three sections: the general community beliefs towards HLs, research on students, parents, and teachers' attitudes towards HLs, and a longitudinal study on effects of bilingualism in Miami.

The General Community's Beliefs Toward HL

Huddy *et al.* (1984) focused on capturing U.S. public attitudes toward bilingual education. The researchers proportionally sampled minorities in the U.S. (including a sample of Hispanics in Miami). Results indicated that most of the national population was not strongly opposed to bilingual education and, in fact, generally favored it. However, in further discussions, the researchers observed that the sample's general understanding of bilingual education was diverse. Interestingly, they concluded that only a tiny minority of people associated bilingual education with cultural and linguistic maintenance; when it was described in this way, public reactions were far less favorable. According to Huddy *et al.*, public support was toward programs that taught language minority students to speak English. Another interesting conclusion was that the degree of public support for bilingual education was minimally tied to personal experiences and more related to symbolic reasons based on feelings toward Hispanics and government assistance to minorities.

In a chapter discussing Spanish in global cities, Valencia and Lynch (2019) cited a previous large-scale survey study of 245 Miami businesses and companies conducted by Fradd and Boswell (1996) in conjunction with the Greater Miami Chamber of Commerce. The survey reported how the community indicated the necessity of Miami-Dade schools to improve access to effective Foreign/World language education to meet the demand for bilingual employees with formal register and literacy skills in both languages. Valencia and Lynch (2019) concluded:

Despite the compelling, empirically supported arguments made by Boswell and Fradd during the 1990s (see also Fradd & Boswell, 1996) and the flurry of mass media attention that their studies received, their call for action went unheeded, given the present dearth of bilingual and dual-language programs across the metropolitan area. The efforts made by both Boswell and Fradd to raise awareness of the economic "necessity" of bilingual ability in Miami were symptomatic of a shift of language ideological paradigm that impacted all of the US during the 1980s and 1990s.⁴ (p. 76)

Taylor and Lambert (1996) examined how ethnic groups in Miami (Cuban, Nicaraguan, and Haitian women) were attached to their heritage culture and language maintenance. Their study also investigated views of the two majority groups (Black and White women) toward minority language and culture maintenance. Some similarities emerged when they made comparisons with a previous study (Lambert & Taylor, 1990). The first one was that all ethnic groups showed a clear preference for retaining the heritage culture and languages. The second similarity was that Whites were those least favorably disposed to minorities' heritage culture and language maintenance. Differences related to data from the previous study were the following:

[that] the established White and Black American groups made it clear that they believed U.S. culture, especially the English language, should be predominant. However, these groups were nevertheless positively disposed toward the retention of heritage cultures and languages. Second, the various ethnic groups, who expressed a more positive orientation to culture and language maintenance, nonetheless expressed an unmistakable desire to acquire U.S. culture and language. What emerged, then, was less of an ideological clash between U.S mainstream groups and various ethnic groups than a difference in emphasis. (p. 733)

⁴ Later in this chapter, I will discuss the history of bilingual education in the U.S. and refer specifically to this period.

Lanier (2014) studied identity and the community's perception of the second generation of Spanish speaking immigrants in Miami, concluding that despite participants overwhelmingly imagining Miami as a Hispanic community,

An area where the Spanish language was not considered prestigious was in the school setting. English, the hegemonic language of the imagined national community, reigned supreme throughout the education system, and therefore significantly impacted students' perception of bilingualism and identity. Once enrolled in school, the prevalent feeling was that Spanish language use diminished at the expense of English. Social divisions and stigmatization regarding ESOL, Spanish use, and recent arrivals occurred in school, further complicating participants' perceptions regarding Spanish and ethnic identity (p. 73).

Historically, in South Florida, Spanish is the HL most studied by scholars. It is also, after English, the language with the most remarkable economic and political status in the region. Researchers (see Carter & Lynch, 2015, for a compilation) have argued that numerous complex factors exist in the sociolinguistic landscape in Miami. Callesano and Carter (2022) commented on the popular narrative that in this city, due to the high number of Spanish speakers, the economic, social, and cultural capital dispute between monolinguals and bilinguals favors these last ones. However, their research indicated that the reality is more complicated: young Miamians' perceptions of Spanish and English demonstrated nonconscious preferences for English over Spanish, even when they were born in Latin America, and the longer they lived in the U.S., the stronger their automatic preference for English became. This preference attested to what several studies (Porcel, 2006; Portes & Schauffler, 1996; MacDonald, 1990) have shown before: second and third-generation immigrants (from diverse HLs) prefer using English. Noteworthy, Carter and Casellano (2018) studied the perceptions of Spanish dialects, noticing that there is

competition among English with HLs and that the immense variation of the Spanish language in Miami creates competition within Spanish too.

Interestingly, scholars (García & Otheguy, 1989; Zurer Pearson & McGee, 1993) suggested that the constant influx of immigrants from Latin America sustains bilingualism in Miami. As previously noted, researchers (Valencia & Lynch, 2019; Mackinney, 2016; Lanier, 2014) concluded, despite HLs' political and cultural capital in South Florida, that these languages do not have prestige inside school settings conclusions that sustain the need to understand how teachers inside schools have perceived learners' HL literacy skills.

Research on Students', Parents', and Teachers' Attitudes

Lambert and Taylor's (1996) study observed differences between middle-class and working-class Cuban-American mothers in Miami. Their study revealed that working-class and middle-class mothers believed their children should learn to speak English and valued Spanish maintenance. However, differences between them showed that most working-class mothers oriented their children toward assimilation to English, while the middle-class mothers encouraged more Spanish use. This research suggests economic factors driving language assimilation in families. Portes and Schauffler's (1996) survey of language use and attitudes among Miami public school students concluded that Haitian Creole EBs demonstrated the highest level of language loss among all groups studied. In fact, in another study conducted by Stepick et al. (2008), Haitian youth from low SES felt pressured to assimilate to African American Englishspeaking norms and deny their Haitian origin—a conclusion suggesting that seeking demographic relationships between teachers and language ideologies could be important.

Ramos (2007) studied parents of children enrolled in a school-wide English-Spanish two-way bilingual program and their attitudes towards the program, concluding that nearly 30% of them selected the opportunity for their children to develop a robust bilingual-bicultural identity as their top reason, and an additional 33.4% valued the academic quality and career-related advantages of the program. Parents' attitudes toward supporting the school's goal of biliteracy accounted for two-thirds of the parents that frequently reading with their children in English and Spanish, and more than 60% of them provided access to Spanish books for their children regularly. Finally, more than 84% of the parents facilitated their children's periodic encounters with Spanish-speaking friends to promote and develop their children's Spanish skills.

I will highlight two other studies that directly relate to the purposes of this research: Mackinney (2016) and Pontier and Ortega (2021), who approached teachers' beliefs towards students' HL languages. Mackinney's (2016) qualitative study observed a dual language program and noticed how students and parents perceived students' oral language abilities through a holistic perspective, while teachers held traditional ideologies that legitimize a monolithically idea of standard language, especially towards students' writing skills. The researcher noticed that students' ideologies of standard written language were shaped by teachers' pedagogical and assessment practices in Spanish language arts because Spanish lessons often focused on grammar, punctuation, and spelling, and teachers' feedback highlighted these aspects. In another qualitative study, Pontier and Ortega (2021) observed teachers' ideologies in two bilingual dual

language programs and how they reproduced a monolingual ideology, which increased their own social capital by conforming to the hegemonic curriculum ideology.

A Longitudinal Study on Effects of Bilingualism in Miami

A group of researchers (Oller & Eilers, 2002), dedicated to understanding the effects of bilingualism, criticized previous research analyzing emergent bilinguals' language abilities in the U.S. This group considered the following as problems:

- 1. The difficulty of isolating socioeconomic status (SES) and how it affected previous studies due to most learners coming from low SES.
- 2. How previous studies did not evaluate children's development in both languages but only in English.
- The failure of the studies to consider how teaching emergent bilinguals in programs designed for monolingual children (through the English Immersion approach) affected bilinguals' literacy development.
- 4. Mistakes scholars made in interpreting the Peabody Picture Vocabulary Test in English as an intelligence test.

Intrigued by these considerations, the group agreed that the socio-educational conditions of South Florida—namely the availability of bilingual programs and the diverse SES of bilingual students—would provide data for an integrated analysis of many variables. The following items highlight their published research conclusions:

• Related to SES, Cobo-Lewis et al. (2002) concluded that SES had a significant effect on patterns of literacy attainment and a substantial effect on oral language development: "The advantages of high SES applied to all the standardized tests,

and both monolingual and bilingual children were of substantial magnitude; on the average scores for high SES children were 7.2 points or nearly half a standard deviation higher than those for low SES children" (p. 87). This first important conclusion showed how previous studies involving emergent bilinguals might have been compromised by the lack of diversity in the SES of the study's population.

- Oller and Eilers (2002) posed that bilingualism's potential benefit is bilingual children's use of phonological translation when developing literacy skills.
- Regarding program design (Two-Way bilingual or English Immersion⁵), the Two-Way clearly showed advantages in children's Spanish development, although emergent bilinguals showed some disadvantages in English compared to monolinguals living in English-speaking communities until 5th grade. However, after that period of schooling, emergent bilinguals showed no significant difference in English performance when participating in the Two-Way model.
- Another intriguing conclusion was that, independent of the program, emergent bilinguals in Miami undergo linguistic assimilation.
- Data from the classrooms' language use analysis and the existence of bilingual programs in the school system led researchers to perceive a solid favor to English when considering program design and language allocation.

This last conclusion can be confirmed when navigating through the district's Department of Bilingual Education and World Languages website. One can learn that the district

⁵ It is valuable to clarify that some English Immersion programs in Miami allocate to Spanish language arts 10% of the daily school period, while the Two-Way programs offer 40% (Miami-Dade Department of Bilingual Education and World Languages, 2020).

offers programs with 30-45 minutes of Spanish language arts⁶ two or three times a week,

but a limited range of bilingual programs (with 40% of the daily time allocated to the

target language). As Eilers, Oller, and Cobo-Lewis's (2002) longitudinal study

highlighted, and as Mackinney (2016) noticed, apart from slight changes, the number of

dual-language programs in the district has remained consistent during its 50 years of

operation. This accountability received a comment by Valencia and Lynch (2019):

Out of 194 primary schools (i.e., kindergarten through eighth-grade level) in Miami-Dade County, only 20 (or 9.7%) offered a bilingual or "international" model of education during the 2017–2018 school year; of those 20 bilingual or "international" schools, 16 had programs in Spanish. In other words, only 8% of primary schools in the Miami-Dade public school system provided education in Spanish that went beyond a separate language-specific block of time, i.e., a traditional subject labeled as "foreign" or "world" language education (Miami-Dade County Public Schools, 2018a). In 2017–2018, at the kindergarten through fifth-grade levels (i.e., ages five-ten), fewer than one out of five children (19.4%) were enrolled in a dual-language program, including either Spanish, French, German, Italian, Chinese, or Portuguese (Miami-Dade County Public Schools, 2018b). This percentage is disproportionate to the overall percentage of public school students whose primary language was not English in that same year: 53.9% claimed to speak mostly Spanish at home, and another 3.6% had Haitian Creole as a primary language, for which there were no dual-language programs in existence. There were an additional 2,165 students who spoke primarily Portuguese; 1,495 Francophone students; and 1.069 primarily Russian-speaking students at the K-12 levels. More than 67,600 Miami-Dade students were enrolled in ESOL (English for Speakers of Other Languages) programs in grades K–12, meaning that about 20% of the public school population through the high-school level lacked functional academic abilities in English (Miami-Dade County Public Schools, 2018b) despite the system's predominantly English-only medium of instruction. (p. 78)

The summary of the previous studies confirmed that minority groups value their HL maintenance. Critical are the two studies (Mackinney, 2016; Ramos, 2007) reporting parents' (from bilingual programs) efforts to offer books and reading in their HL at home

⁶ Implemented in some elementary schools and named Extended Foreign Language programs (EFL).

to maintain and develop their children's home language. All the studies compiled here also attested that despite the perception of the wide use of bilingualism in the city, the value of emergent bilinguals' HL literacy inside schools remains unexplored. This scenario leads to the necessity of capturing and discussing teachers' beliefs towards emergent bilinguals' HL literacy skills.

Socio-Cultural Perspective of Education, Language, and Literacy

This second section briefly presents how a socio-cultural perspective permeates this study's theoretical framework. Firstly, explaining how a socio-cultural perspective on children's development and how critical pedagogy influence researchers' notions of education and curriculum. Secondly, the section discusses the construct of literacy as a socio-cultural practice.

A Socio-Cultural Perspective Framing Children's Development and Education

This study anchors onto Vygotsky's (1978) socio-cognitive theory where children are active participants in their language development, and their capabilities of learning and thinking are not only possible due to natural human dispositions. They necessarily depend on social interaction. Aligned with this perspective, the next segment explores how this study relies on a socio-cultural approach to frame the notions of education, language, and literacy.

Critical Pedagogy

A key concept of this research is how Freire's (2000) critical pedagogy defines education as one place where individuals and society are constructed. When Freire established the distinction between *banking* and *problem-posing* education, he singled out different understandings of learning and who the learner is. In banking education, he suggests, teachers possess the knowledge and establish a relationship of domination: they "deposit" knowledge into the students because they are considered "empty." This understanding frames learners in a deficit perspective because it refers to discourses portraying learners as "have not" while the schooling experience will "give" the student the knowledge, skills, and values aimed in the process of education. In the study proposed here, banking education connects to disregarding learners' preliteracy skills in their HLs, developed at home or community, because these skills neither mirror the expected skills nor equate as the language validated by the school program.

Instead, my study will recognize that learners arrive at school with a cultural identity carrying some knowledge, values, and skills that interact with new ones that should be used as resources for teaching and learning. In the context of this research, the metaphor of banking education relates to U.S. schools' curriculum in multilingual settings using monolingual paradigms. The focus is only developing emergent bilinguals' academic English skills, or foreign language skills, without valuing, embracing, and using language and literacy skills that learners bring as a heritage.

It is worth highlighting that this socio-cultural understanding aligns with a problem-posing education when students are active thinkers, and the curriculum is elaborated as a dialogical conversation between teachers and students' repertoires to

establish a reflexive conversation about knowledge, values, and skills, situating them within power relations in our society.

As observed before, this research also intertwines with Pinar's (2019) proposition of thinking curriculum as a dialogue, a "complicated conversation" (Pinar, 2019, p. 1). Based on Freire's critical pedagogy, Pinar proposed a path to rewriting education as a conversation with learners and teachers' subjectivities: "Expressing one's subjectivity through academic knowledge is how one links the lived curriculum with the planned one, how one demonstrates to students that scholarship can speak to them, how scholarship can enable them to speak" (Pinar, 2019, p. xii).

After describing how a socio-cultural framework guides this study's notions of education and curriculum, this chapter explores how literacy is understood as a sociocultural practice.

Literacy as a Socio-Cultural Practice

Martin-Jones and Jones (2001) state that

in a multilingual setting, the acquisition and use of languages and literacies are inevitably bound up with asymmetrical power relations between ethnolinguistic groups. The power relations in different settings are rooted in specific historical processes, in the development of a post-colonial order, in international labor immigration, in refugees' movement, in minority rights movements, or in global changes of a social and political nature. However, there are broad resonances in how these power relations are played out in local sites in the contemporary world. Tensions arise between parents and local schools about the language and literacy education of their children. The home-school boundary is frequently a site of struggle over linguistic and cultural rights and over differing views or discourses about what counts as language and literacy instruction. (p. 1). (2001). *Multilingual literacies: Reading and writing different worlds*. John Benjamins B. V.: P.A.

As the excerpt discusses, the situatedness of literacy practices, particularly in multilingual settings, relates to how learners' repertoires are validated, legitimized, and integrated within their schooling experiences. This research takes a similar perspective of Murdock and Hamel (2016) and Au (2016) when discussing how teachers usually use the lens of a "white, female, heterosexual, middle-class background" (Murdock and Hamel, 2016, p. 87) as a model of what is considered "normal" to all students and their family's culture, thereby resulting in biases toward language and behaviors of emergent bilingual students.

Many researchers (Ballenger, 1999; Heath, 1983; Purcell-Gates, 1986; Scarborough and Dobrich, 1994) delineated a mismatch between what teachers consider "normal" expectations of literacy skills and family literacy practices. Ballenger (1999) described her cultural predispositions towards literacy, situating her assumptions and expectations as a white middle-class teacher in the U.S. She clarified that beyond phonemic awareness expectation, she also had cultural assumptions about how learners should manage books, behave in book reading activities (being silent and attentive in the reading-aloud), answer when asked during a shared book-reading, and display "appropriated" conversations in reading-aloud. She highlighted how turn-taking and sharing were culturally situated literacy skill expectations, pointing to cultural mismatches related to interacting with adults. She concluded that these expected literacy skills are culturally embedded and can affect teachers' perception about learners.

Street (2000) observed that what teachers considered "normal" is indeed a singular notion of literacy, associated with a single culture and an inventory of skills: an "autonomous view of literacy" (p. 18). He also noted that The New London Group (1996), when amplifying the notion of literacy to multiliteracies, brought attention to

different forms, channels, and modes of literacy. Even though the group used the notion of "multi" at that time, this notion did not situate the term into different cultural practices.

In a multilingual setting, literacy as a social practice needs to be locally situated to honor emergent bilinguals' heritage languages because using an "autonomous view of literacy" (Street, 2000, p. 18) in a multilingual setting mirror "banking education" (Freire, 2000) practices: a teacher with an "autonomous view of literacy" deposits, recognizes, and validates on learners, what he or she pre-conceives as accepted literacy knowledge and skills. Flores and Schissel (2014) named a monoglossic language ideology when a curriculum portrays emergent bilinguals' linguistic and cultural background knowledge as not legitimate or valued inside the curriculum. As an alternative, researchers propose an heteroglossic perspective to frame standards-based curriculum. As noted in the previous chapter, Dwyer and O'Gorman-Fazzolari (2023), while observing classroom practices in Miami, concluded that despite students and teachers coming from a multicultural background, within classrooms, there was an exclusion of culture connected directly to the lives of emergent bilingual students and even their bilingual teachers.

In opposition, this research looks at literacy as social practice because it pursues validating learners' diverse heritage language abilities. After all, this study does not see them through a deficit perspective.

The Normalization of Monolingual Literacy

This third section explores how Bourdieu's (1995, 1998, 2008) and Foucault's (2012) theoretical frameworks helped me understand LPP inside classrooms in this multilingual setting. From Bourdieu (1995), I used the notions of field, habitus, and

dispositions to explain notions of language symbolic power. I adopted Foucault's (2012) notion of disciplinary power to discuss how a hegemonic discourse is at the core of the notion of universal education in the U.S. to promote the assimilation and "normalization" of children with diverse language backgrounds entering the school system. This section also explains linguicism (Skutnabb-Kangas, 2017) and finishes with a history of minority languages in U.S. schools. This discussion aims to notice how heritage languages have a contested value at mainstream schools and how this value, or lack thereof, historically created a normalization of a monolingual literacy paradigm. Later, the section discusses how silencing learners' HL abilities in mainstream school settings has led to establishing a deficit perspective of these learners in multilingual settings.

Using Bourdieu Thinking Tools

Bourdieu (1991, 1991) proposes a sociology of symbolic power that addresses the relation between culture, social structure, and action. Wacquant (2016) considered Bourdieu's framework as thinking tools for noticing how power in its symbolic dimensions acts generatively. Murphy (2022) explains that Bourdieu borrowed from field theory in physics to see society as an assembly of fields and spaces of competition. Each social field is comprised of different social forces, acting with magnetic gravity and as a battlefield. In the field, agents use different exchange rates, depending on the relation between their legitimacy and relevancy. This explains the inequities in access to the capital of that competition in the field.

I perceive school literacy as a field where diverse social forces (agents) battle for the authority to legitimize in schools' curriculum notions such as standard English,

academic language, the science of reading, translanguaging, bilingualism, heritage languages, emergent bilinguals, English Language Learners, and others. In this research, I see the school literacy field has, historically and in current educational policy and programs' design, legitimated a "monoglossic", "monolingual," "homogenous," "idealist," and "uniform" idea of language practice, equated as Standard English (SE). As I will later discuss, this language form became the only capital valued throughout the school system. Using the disciplinary power (Foucault et al., 2004) of a standardized curriculum, the idea of preparing learners to use SE dictates a monoglossic language policies within class practices legitimizing, in this battlefield, only monolingual literacy language practices as valid cultural capital. This power is exercised by interlacing meritocracy and language: *To be successful (in this country, in this classroom, in this school system) you have to speak and write Standard English*. As Horner et. al. (2011) noticed, SE equates a unidirectional and monolingual acquisition of literacy that sustains the notion that validates the learner as prepared for the workplace and continuing studies.

These forces use their power and cultural capital to legitimize a curriculum that historically positions diverse learners, teachers, and researchers as marginal competitors. Despite their agency, these marginalized agents also cultivate monolingual habitus, through dispositions, that maintain these marginal forces as part of the battlefield. As Bourdieu (1991) explained:

Disposition is acquired through a gradual process of inculcation in which early childhood experiences are particularly important. Through a myriad of mundane processes of training and learning, such as those involved in the inculcation of table manners ('sit up straight, 'don't eat with your mouth full', etc.) the individual acquires a set of dispositions which literally mold the body and become second nature (p. 12).

Swartz and Zolberg (2006) elaborated that these dispositions are cultivated in a double sense: in the evaluative sense, they are "refined"; and in the descriptive sense, they are the product of a process of (conscious or unconscious) cultivation. The "monolingual habitus" of SE and its dispositions are exercised inside schools as in-class activities, tests, grades, diplomas, and the idea of "college-ready" language use. Habitus acts as structuring mechanisms, sedimented by field forces and its agents, creating a schema of perceptions, appreciations, and actions within individuals (Wacquant, 2016). As Bourdieu (1991) noticed, the principal mode of domination has shifted from overt coercion and the threat of physical violence to forms of symbolic manipulation. Dominant symbolic systems provide integration for dominant groups, distinctions and hierarchies for raking groups, and legitimation of social ranking by encouraging the dominated to accept the existing hierarchies of social distinction (Bourdieu, 1992).

Some early critics pointed out that the idea of habitus and dispositions set Bourdieu's theory as determinist, which he later rejects. In his later discussions, Bourdieu (1991) explained that habitus and dispositions are not the only determinant of conduct because individuals consciously or unconsciously can conform (or not) with them when using their agency. This research uses Bourdieu's thinking tools in an attempt to reveal structuring forces inside schools; however, it also recognizes that they still leave space for teachers' and students' agency. As Glasgow and Bouchard (2018) commented,

when we talk about the situated and contingent nature of agency in a broader sociological sense, we are specifically referring to the fact that people are not simply acting at the ground level regardless of what happens around or above them: they are also embedded in broader structural and cultural realities, with their constraining and enabling potentials. (p. 9)

In this sense, all school workers conform and reproduce habitus, using their role as gatekeepers to validate what is considered correct and incorrect, or "appropriate" language inside schools. Nevertheless, simultaneously they use their agency to enact and subvert policies when their beliefs align with other disputed forces in the field.

In many writings, Bourdieu (1991) related language and symbolic power, exploring how, through languages and use of languages (registers or standardized varieties), there is a routine endowment of one language and its symbolic legitimacy in social life. As the French sociologist observed, historically, the language of one group of people was legitimized and institutionalized over time by mechanisms of power such as official documents, political debates, and public education. Historically, this language became the most valued in the language market (Bourdieu, 1991) and accepted or taken for granted in many social, cultural, and linguistic domains or contexts. This study relies on Bourdieu's (1991) notions of symbolic power and legitimate language to discuss how emergent bilinguals' literacy skills are valued, integrated, or silenced in their schooling experiences. The notion of symbolic power refers, in this study, to a routinely and invisible form of power exercised through the habitus of endowing legitimacy to the monolingual practices of literacy in the school setting.

Using Foucault's Disciplinary Power

Wiley and Wright (2004) noticed, based on Foucault's (2007, 2005) notion of systematic mechanisms of power exercised by the dominant group, how English became the dominant language historically in the U.S. through its political, economic, and social affair legitimization. It is the language with major socio-cultural and economic status;

thus, via English, the school system validates the learner as prepared for the workplace and continuing studies. Foucault (2007) highlighted how historicism created the relationship of society and nation, selecting and legitimizing as "true" some groups' discourses, interests, and understandings. As Foucault concluded, this historicism had promoted public monolingualism and "is one key reason why civism continues to be consistently favored over pluralism in modern nation-states" (p. 130). Relevant in this theoretical framework discussion is how in *Discipline & Punishment*, Foucault (2012) analyzed the submission of bodies through the control of ideas by an ideology of normativity, which in multilingual settings can devalue and pose as deviant learners' HL literacy skills.

Monolingual Mindset and Linguicism

Hannus and Simola (2010) brought together Bourdieu and Foucault to analyze how schools from socio-culturally different areas face new governance and its power mechanisms in Finland. They argued that Foucault and Bourdieu view power as a network of relations and a structuring force. Another aspect tying Bourdieu and Foucault is that both included language in their analyses of power due to language giving form to symbolic structures (knowledge and communication) constructing reality. Foucault's methodological starting point is to view power as a network of relations with descending genealogy, while Bourdieu outlines how dispositions are generated through habitus and forms of distinctions. In these scholars' perspectives, the philosophers complement each other. Similarly, Bourdieu (1991) and Foucault (2007, 2005) are here associated: [Both] view power as not only repressive but also generative in its effects, predisposing subjects to act freely in accordance with cultural expectations that affect the body itself. Hoy (2005) is of the opinion that Foucault and Bourdieu could be placed in the same framework insofar as Bourdieu could be read as a deepening of Foucault's account of how subjectivity is constructed through power relations. (Hannus and Simola, 2010, p. 4)

In U.S. education, English, and Standard English (SE) in particular, are the most valued inside schools' language market and became the regulator of a wide range of contexts. Consequently, I understand how the monolingual symbolic power of English in the U.S. and the use of SE inside schools relates to Gogolin's (1997) notion of the *monolingual habitus*, which draws on Bourdieu's (1991) work. These perceptions led Ellis, Gogolin, and Clyne (2010) to discuss the *monolingual mindset* as a robust language ideology enacted on educational policies.

In the U.S. educational system, the perception of multilingualism as a "problem" became an ideological discourse tied to its history of immigration and created what Ruiz (1984) named "language as a problem" orientation. This discourse does not see the child's multilingualism as a resource to be developed and nurtured but a "problem" to be erased in the ESOL and Language Arts classes. This hegemonic discourse is at the core of the notion of universal education in the U.S., where the monolingual has been used as a paradigm and a form of disciplinary power (Foucault et al., 2004) in curriculum development to promote assimilation and "normalization" of children with diverse language backgrounds entering the school system.

One example of this monolingual mindset can be seen when official and influential documents reporting issues related to emergent bilinguals do not mention their dual-language abilities or not consider them as bilinguals but only as English language

learners (ELLs) when they enter kindergarten. For example, Takanishi and Le Menestrel (2017) edited a consensus report on educating emergent bilinguals elaborated by the National Academy of Sciences. In this document, HLLs are named dual language learners from birth to early childhood education, but after entering the mainstream educational system, the committee addresses them as English Learners (ELs). The change from *dual language learners* to *ELs* in the report represents how a monolingual hegemonic discourse is at the core of the notion of universal education in the U.S., where the monolingual learner has been used as a paradigm and imposed with a form of disciplinary power (Foucault, 2005) to promote assimilation and "normalization" of children with diverse language background entering the school system.

To further this critique, I recover Skutnabb-Kangas's (2017) term of *linguicism* as "ideologies, structures, and practices which are used to legitimate, effectuate, regulate and reproduce an unequal division of power and resources (both material and immaterial) between groups which are defined based on language" (p. 1). Skutnabb-Kangas used this term to claim that linguistically diverse children's experiences in the education systems worldwide involve linguicism.

Matson (2021) discussed linguistic discrimination and institutional linguicism as crucial issues to consider in education equality. She described how linguicism as an ideology could work either consciously or subconsciously. Consciously, when a teacher explicitly bans the use of a student's HL, and unconsciously when teachers, schools, and policies unquestioned assume that English is always the best language for education, rather than the learners' HL. In the U.S., when educational resources and efforts are all

placed into learning a majority language, such as English, the educational system reflects institutional linguicism (Skutnabb-Kangas 1988).

School Curriculum and the Normalization of Monolingual Literacy

The following session of this theoretical framework explores the historical account of bilingual education in the U.S. as a contested history of erasure of emergent bilinguals' heritage languages literacy skills. For this, the chapter will use what Bullivant (1981) named "the pluralist dilemma" of how to reconcile a pluralist society with the claims of the nation-state. Interestingly, May (2012) noticed how the imaginary construction of a culturally and linguistically homogenous nation-state led language minorities through processes of "minoritizing" and "dialecticizing" of languages and language varieties within a nation-state. Researchers (Wiley and Wright, 2004; Flynn-Nason and Feinberg, 2002; Kloss, 1998) highlighted how, over U.S. history, different groups attempted to maintain their languages establishing bilingual schools and fighting court disputes involving minorities' language rights. This next session reviews the history of the U.S. bilingual programs and questions the assumption that frames monolingualism as the paradigm in the U.S. school system.

History of Bilingual Education in the U.S.

The U.S. has never been a monolingual territory, and this historical account shows its contested multilingualism, with some groups enjoying waves of some linguistic tolerance and others not. At the time of independence, non-English European immigrants made up one-quarter of the population, and, in Pennsylvania, two-fifths of the population spoke

German (Wiley and Wright, 2004; Flynn-Nason and Feinberg, 2002). Considering European languages, Flynn-Nason and Feinberg (2002) summarized some key events enlarging the territory's multilingualism. In 1565, Don Pedro Menendez de Aviles was established in Saint Augustine, Florida, the first Spanish European settlement in the territory of what today we call the U.S. During the 18th and 19th centuries, immigrants and territorial expansion played a significant role in the U.S. language diversity because of treaties, such as adding Louisiana in 1803, Oregon in 1818, Florida in 1819, nearly half of Mexico in 1848, and Alaska in 1867.

Researchers of language policy and bilingual education in the U.S. (Wiley and Wright, 2004; Flynn-Nason and Feinberg, 2002; Kloss, 1998) agreed how during the period of 1839-1880 that many schools in the U.S. used different languages of instruction: Spanish in Arizona, New Mexico, and Texas; English and German in Ohio; and English and French in Louisiana. In California, there were Chinese, Japanese, German, Italian, and French schools, and many German-language schools were established throughout the territory. Wiley and Wright (2004) considered that, over this period, some groups received tolerance or intolerance depending on their ethnicity, racial, and religious status. At the beginning of the 20th century, incoming immigrants added even more linguistic diversity to the territory. However, in Wiley and Wright's (2004) and Flynn-Nason and Feinberg's (2002) historical account, during the end of the 19th century, language diversity increasingly became more contentious in the U.S., as registered court appeals show. In 1890, German speakers could repeal an English-only requirement in schools of Wisconsin. In the 1898 case of *Tape v. Hurley*, Chinese

children had the right to attend the same public schools as others in their neighborhood in California.

As immigration became truncated over the period between World War I and World War II by restrictive policies, Flynn-Nason and Feinberg (2002) observed at this period an increase of court cases mirrored an intense rejection of language and culture diversity in the U.S. As indicative of the perception of multilingualism as a problem, during 1918 and 1923, laws requiring English-only instruction were adopted in more than 30 states as a "patriotic" measure. It is worthy to note that, in 1906, the Naturalization Act required knowledge of English for naturalization.

Wiley and Wright (2004) linked the ideology of the U.S. as a monolingual territory to early nativists and then a resurgence of neo-nativists by the turn of the 20th century. These groups promoted the rights and privileges of Whites born in the U.S. over those of immigrants, attempting to "impose the learning of English as a crucial component of loyalty and what it means to be an 'American" (p. 145). These researchers linked the idea of minorities' linguistic assimilation with ideologies of racial, cultural, and linguistic superiority among the English colonizers and its reification through eugenic studies. At the beginning of the 20th century, many studies related intelligence, race, and mental traits, like Wiley and Wright (2004) observed:

A Study of American Intelligence provided ammunition for nativists who succeeded in influencing Congress to pass a restrictive immigration act with strict quotas for non-Nordics. "Of the 27 states with sterilization laws by 1930, 20 had been passed since 1918, the end of World War I. Works by eugenicists such as Brigham were an important factor in the passage of this legislation" (Weinberg, 1983). In 1924, a young African American student at the University of Chicago, Horace Mann Bond, undertook the secondary data analysis and found a correlation of .74 between schooling and intelligence. Bond further found that African Americans in Illinois averaged higher scores than Whites from four southern states. Bond's findings were largely ignored by the leading testing experts and "theorists of genetic inferiority" (Weinberg, 1983, p. 63; Wiley, 1996), whereas Brigham's work remained influential through the 1920s—a period marked by widespread lynching and discrimination against African Americans (p. 160).

These discriminations also affected non-English speaking children. In 1931, the *Alvarez v. Lemon Grove School District* case reinstated Mexican children previously segregated. It is also an important reminder that, in 1950, another resource of language minority was added by Hawaii, becoming the fifth state in 1959.

In 1954 in *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka*, the Supreme Court concluded that "separate but equal"⁷ has no place in the field of public education. The Civil Rights Act in 1964 prohibited discrimination based on race, color, religion, sex, and national origin in public education. Flynn-Nason and Feinberg (2002) coined the period over 1960-1979 as the "reemergence of bilingual education" (p. 50).

In 1962, The Migration and Refugee Assistant Act authorized funding to educate and train refugees. In 1963, with the assistance of the Ford Foundation grant, Coral Way Elementary started a two-way bilingual program in Miami-Dade, accommodating recent Cuban refugees' needs and allowing English speakers to learn Spanish. This two-way model will be replicated over the country in the next decade. Interestingly, in her historical account of its implementation, Coady (2020) noticed many conditions favored leadership's hard work to convince the school community and the Ford Foundation about the program.

⁷ A doctrine derived from a Louisiana law of 1890, confirmed in the <u>*Plessy v. Ferguson*</u> Supreme Court decision of 1896, which allowed state-sponsored segregation and restricted African Americans' <u>civil rights</u> and <u>civil liberties</u> during the <u>Reconstruction Era</u>.

In 1968 the Bilingual Education Act (BEA) was enacted to support economically disadvantaged language minority children. As a representation of changes in the discourse towards emergent bilinguals, in 1970, Andersson and Boyer published a report on "The Bilingual Task" performed by the Southwest Educational Development Laboratory funded by Title VI with the U.S. Office of Education affirming:

English-speaking children in the United States naturally begin their formal schooling in their mother tongue, while children of Navajo, Chinese, Japanese, Eskimo, German or any of half a hundred other language backgrounds are not encouraged to begin their formal learning in their mother tongue. English-speaking 'children profit from carefully prepared reading-readiness and reading programs while children with other language backgrounds have no such provisions for reading in their language. Such practices leave them illiterate in their mother tongue; they also indirectly foster illiteracy in English by forcing them to read in English before they are ready. Developmental psychology is applied to English-speaking children's education, but not non-English-speaking children, whose needs are more significant. The mediocre results that have been so well publicized of late should hardly surprise us. (Andersson and Boyer, 1970, p. 3)

Interestingly, this report summarized, in 1970, many research outcomes of the benefits of simultaneous biliteracy schooling experiences in the U.S. and around the world at that time. Decades later, many researchers (such as Bialystock, 2007; Thomas and Collier, 2002) confirmed similar outcomes and conclusions. However, as Flores and Garcia (2017) argue, "in contrast to the vision of community-based bilingual-bicultural schools connected to broader political struggles for racial equity, the majority of the bilingual education programs that were organized as a result of the BEA were mostly transitional in nature" (p. 18).

In 1974, *Lau v. Nichols* required schools to provide appropriate services for emergent bilinguals, named "limited-English-proficient" students. The Office of

Bilingual Education and Minority Languages Affairs in the Department of Education substitute the Office of Bilingual Education, and the Passage of the Equal Opportunity Act required states and school districts to overcome language barriers impeding equal participation. In 1975, The Indochina Migration and Refugee Assistance Act authorized funds to educate and train Vietnamese and Cambodians; The Indian Self-Determination and Education Assistance Act increased the participation of Native Americans in the conduction of their educational programs.

The 1980s became more turbulent for language minorities. Wiley (2000) saw a new rise of nativists in the 1980s throughout the English-only initiatives over the subsequent decades. In 1981, President Ronald Reagan declared bilingual education "absolute wrong and against American concepts to have a bilingual education program that is now openly, admittedly, dedicated to preserving their native language and never getting them adequate in English so they can go out into the job market" (Clines, 1981). The first amendment to establish English as the United States' official language was introduced in this same year, and Virginia was the first state to enact English-Only language legislation.

In 1982, in the *Plyer versus Doe* case, the Supreme Court ruled that states cannot deny public education to students based on their immigration status. In 1988, the Bilingual Education Act was reauthorized with expanded funding for special alternative programs, which provided instruction using only English. In 1989, New Mexico adopted a resolution to foster proficiency in languages other than English as a part of the preparation for the 21st century (Flynn-Nason & Feinberg, 2002).

The 1980 and '90 Decades in Florida. Over this period, hundreds of thousands of refugees were admitted to South Florida. In 1981, an English-Only campaign started in Miami-Dade, with an Anti-Bilingualism Ordinance prohibiting the county's funding for any language other than English (Flynn-Nason and Feinberg, 2002). In 1988, Florida voted to become an "official English" state; at the same time, community leaders joined efforts to seek equitable conditions for minority language learners in Florida schools. As a result of these efforts, the Florida Department of Education signed the 1990 Consent Decree, establishing the preparation requirements for teachers of emergent bilingual students in the subsequent years, which became a set of listed competencies integrated into the teacher-preparation courses. Recently, de Jong, Dwyer, and Wilson-Patton (2020) noticed that, despite requiring that all teachers learn these specific competencies to teach emergent bilinguals, an unintended consequence of the Florida Consent Decree was teachers' preparation programs being compressed into an infusion model where ESOL strategies were distributed among subject area education courses taught mostly by subject area teachers and rarely by ESOL specialists. Thus, for these scholars, the Consent Decree established a "diffusion" of second language acquisition and pedagogy, moving away from the initial purpose of deepening teachers' training with this knowledge. To this end, Coady, Harper, and de Jong (2011) ultimately criticized how the program turned out to be more a set of strategies adopted by teachers during their classwork.

In 1991, the National Security Education Act established the National Security Program to develop the U.S. national capacity to teach foreign languages and cultures to strengthen U.S. economic competitiveness and enhance international cooperation and security. Simultaneously, Lee and Wright (2014) perceived in the late 1990s a new wave of restriction-oriented policies: California's Proposition 227 (1998), Arizona's Proposition 203 (2000), and Massachusetts's Question 2 (2002). All these policies placed restrictions on bilingual education mandates that English learners be instructed through structured English immersion programs. Interpretation and implementation of these initiatives have varied, but each led to a significant reduction of bilingual initiatives in the U.S. territory.

Flores and Garcia (2017) argue that at this time, linguistic minorities communities intensified alternative modes of heritage language education, seen as "racialized" and "instilling cultural pride" (p. 24). In 2001, under No Child Left Behind (NCLB) legislation,⁸ emergent bilinguals were designated as Limited English Proficient (LEP), and the funding priority was to make them English competent. The office dedicated to bilingual education became the English Language Acquisition, Language Enhancement, and Academic Achievement for Limited English Proficient Students. In that decade, the abandonment of the number of bilingual education programs in the United States was explained by schools' necessity to adapt to accountability and high stakes testing under NCLB legislation (Wiley and Wright, 2004).

In the last decades of the 20th century and the beginning of the 21st century, research on HL community-based schools increased their visibility and organization (Carreira and Kagan, 2011). Lee and Wright (2014) noted how the maintenance of HL and biliteracy development has been difficult for minority families and, in most cases,

⁸ The No Child Left Behind law was enacted in 2002 under President George W. Bush to update the Elementary and Secondary Education Act.

starts at home and becomes formalized in HL community-based schools. Although these programs have existed in the United States for over 300 years, HL community-based programs have typically been distant from mainstream schooling. Historically, these programs are predominantly afterschool or weekend classes and exist due to their local governance by families, community leaders, and places of worship. A current and crucial challenge of HL community-based schools is to articulate with districts and states to give their students language credits for their participation.

Seal of Biliteracy. Heineke and Davin's (2020) research on the history of the Seal of Biliteracy's policy implementation in 18 states, plus D.C., considered it a bottom-up educational movement challenging monolingual ideologies in U.S. society. This effort promised to recognize proficiency in languages other than English on students' high school diplomas. However, this recognition has depended on local language leaders' articulation. The researchers observed how, despite promoting bilingualism, in districts where the Seal only recognizes some world languages and not the local communities' heritage languages, the Seal of Biliteracy serves less to emergent bilinguals' bilingualism and more to English-dominant students learning world languages.

The 2000s portrayed a new expansion of bilingual dual language immersion programs in the U.S. This expansion has been supported by the accumulated data on research (Bialystock, 2007) from the last two decades, confirming the cognitive and academic benefits of bilingualism. Furthermore, research (Collier & Thomas, 1998; 2002) also observed that certain forms of bilingual education, such as dual language immersion programs, are the most effective courses toward achieving biliteracy and higher academic skills in both languages taught. In these programs, students from both backgrounds, language minority, and language majority have shown higher levels of academic achievement. This model has been growing in popularity in the U.S. but still varies by local context, available in only about 2% of U.S. schools (Gross, 2016).

Flores and Garcia (2017) explained that these programs were modeled after Canadian immersion schools, which teaches languages separated and police students use of languages (*this is English time, and this is Spanish time,* as an example). These researchers critique this approach because, they argue, devalues minoritized students typical bilingual *languaging*. They also highlighted that Dual Language Immersion (DLI) schools moved toward a commodification of bilingualism tied with the professional global market.

Silencing Heritage Languages

This historical account of educational language policies in the U.S. showed the construction of English as the only valued language in U.S. schooling over time, and the recent commodification of an specific type of bilingualism, departed from the abilities that emergent bilinguals bring to schools. In an account of the history of the U.S. education system, Joel Spring (2016), highlighted the efforts to deculturize Native Americans, African Americans, Asian Americans, and Latinx through replace their HL with English. He comments:

An important element in the Americanization of Mexican schoolchildren, as it was for Indians, was eliminating the speaking of their native language. Educators argued that learning English was essential to assimilation and the creation of an unified nation. Furthermore, language was considered related to values and culture. Changing languages, it was assumed, would cause a cultural revolution among Mexican Americans. (p. 119)

The scholar also commented how curriculum and textbooks reflected and emulated the

culture of the dominating group. As observed previously, the perception of

multilingualism as a "problem" has been contentious over time. An ideology tied to

discourses of nativist, neo-nativist, and nationalist groups in the U.S. and the idealized

concept of the nation-state.

Interestingly, many campaigns led by minority groups have framed the idea of

equality for minority language learners as a defense of their right to learn English, which

Florida Consent Decree is an example (Florida Department of Education, 1990);

Each limited English proficient (LEP) child enrolled in any program offered by the Florida Public Schools is entitled to equal access to programming which is appropriate to his or her level of English proficiency, academic achievement and special needs.

The primary goal of all such programming is, to develop as effectively and efficiently as possible, each child's English language proficiency and academic potential. Such programs should also provide positive reinforcement of the self-image and esteem of participating pupils, promote cross-cultural understanding, and provide equal educational opportunities.

However, the lack of emphasis on the discussions about these learners' development of their heritage languages and achieving biliteracy as a right is puzzling. Looking at this scenario with the lenses of Foucault's (1994, 1991) counter-conduct, one could question if minorities fighting for the right to learn English and not for biliteracy embody the dominant ideology of monolingual habitus. The idea of a nation-state based on a monolingual paradigm became a mindset throughout different groups (majority and minorities), which creates this paradox: emergent bilinguals need "remediation"—that is, the "right" to become English proficient—not the opportunity to nurture their bilingualism.

Although I have been working with groups that actively seek the expansion of bilingual education in the U.S., and I have been working with many heritage language community-based schools that operate on weekends and in afterschool programs, in my experience with academia and mainstream schools, the development of heritage language biliteracy is still a marginal discussion. The conjuncture described above, intertwining the notions of language legitimacy, linguicism, and the normalization of a monolingual curriculum, could help me understand the complexities of teachers' beliefs towards HL literacy skills.

Conclusion

In South Florida, there is a general idea that bilingualism is valued in the community, but research on teachers' practices indicated that this was not extended inside schools (Valencia & Lynch, 2019; Mackinney, 2016; Lanier, 2014; Harper et al., 2007; Coady, Harper, and de Jong, 2011; Dwyer, and O'Gorman-Fazzolari, 2023). This study used a mixed method approach and confirmed this previous research inquiring about teachers' beliefs towards learners' HL.

To understand and discuss teachers' language ideologies and what orient teachers' beliefs towards emergent bilinguals' HL literacy skills, this study foresees answering the following research questions:

- In Miami-Dade County, considering K-2nd grade teachers, what are teachers' language ideologies regarding the notion of biliteracy and heritage languages?
- 2. What are teachers' beliefs regarding using their students' heritage languages and how are these enacted inside classrooms?
- 3. Is there any relationship between teachers' demographics and teachers' language ideologies?

To answer these questions, the study used the theoretical framework presented in this chapter. As mentioned before, Valencia and Lynch (2019), Mackinney (2016), and Lanier (2014) affirmed, despite bilingualism political and economic value in South Florida, the values of HLs inside the school setting are yet unknown.

CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY

This dissertation aimed to understand the complexities of language ideologies in a multilingual setting. Precisely, it captured and discussed teachers' beliefs regarding emergent bilinguals' (EB) heritage languages (HL) literacy skills in early school years. As the previous chapter explored, studies on teachers' beliefs have shown this construct plays an essential role in how teachers understand their purpose of teaching and the choices they make (Macnab & Payne, 2003; Richardson, 1996). Notably, research on teachers' beliefs about cultural diversity (see for a compilation on Gay, 2014) concluded a lack of data on in-service teachers, and the existing data consistently points to teachers choosing silence related to diversity. Interestingly, despite many teachers valuing linguistic diversity in general, these beliefs are not carried over into their practice. These conclusions directly relate to research conducted in Florida. Harper et al. (2007) noticed that mainstream teachers and even reading coaches mistakenly see as errors what biliteracy researchers usually see as cross-linguistic and developmental nature of reading; Coady, Harper, and de Jong (2011) concluded teachers rated themselves least effective when using students' home language as a good source for teaching; and Dwyer and O'Gorman Fazzolari (2023) noticed teachers use some ESOL techniques, but despite students and teachers coming from a multicultural background, there was an exclusion of learners' culture in the classroom. The relevance of this study relates to the idea that EBs bring to schools their HL repertoire, which research indicated has not been used or valued in this setting. This leads to the necessity of understanding and discussing what are

teachers' beliefs towards learners' HL in a multilingual setting to better comprehend this situation.

Capturing teachers' beliefs needs a complex path. Consequently, this study used a mixed-methods approach. Ponce and Pagán-Maldonado (2015) summarized that the mixed-methods approach integrates quantitative and qualitative procedures to gather data to generate a clear and deep understanding of the research problem. In education research, the research questions guide the methodological decision. This chapter will explain the methodology envisioned for this study, and the next section will describe its research questions and the researcher reflexive positionality.

Researcher Reflexive Positionality and Research Questions

As Murphy (2022) explained, Bourdieu wrote about the need to reject researchers' epistemological innocence. In Bourdieu's work on methodology, he rejected a dichotomy between theory and methodology, and recognized how the research methodologies need to encompass a reflexive consideration of researcher positionality. In this way, in his accounts of research, he applied his thinking tools (habitus and practice, fields, and capital) to make evident the researcher's location in both the academic and research fields.

I position myself as a Latina scholar tied to critical pedagogy and a repertoire based on studies of second language acquisition, multilingualism, biliteracy, and language policy as social practices. As a reflective researcher, I understand my marginal positionality in the competing forces of literacy studies inside U.S. schools, and I acknowledge the limited cultural capital this dissertation and my role as a scholar have in

discussions of curricula that historically position diverse learners, teachers, and researchers as marginal competitors. As a reflective researcher, I understand that while critically reflecting on a monolingual literacy habitus I use the required SE as a "cultivated legitimate" tool throughout this dissertation.

In my previous research, I explored the challenges of heritage language community-based schools helping immigrant and refugee families maintain and develop their languages and culture in the U.S. (Boruchowski, 2014). In this study, I hoped to come to an understanding of teachers' beliefs toward HL inside classrooms in a multilingual setting through addressing the following research questions:

- In Miami-Dade County, considering K-2nd grade teachers, what are teachers' language ideologies regarding the notion of biliteracy and heritage languages?
- 2. What are teachers' beliefs regarding using their students' heritage languages and how are these enacted inside classrooms?
- 3. Is there any relationship between teachers' demographics and teachers' language ideologies?

The next segment of this chapter presents the research population and describes general research procedures. Subsequently, I describe each phase (quantitative and qualitative) that constitutes the mixed methods explanatory sequential design separately but in sequence. In each phase, I briefly discuss its validity, reliability, and ethical considerations.

Population

The target population was 3,210 K-2nd grade elementary teachers (adults over 21 years old) in MDCPS. This study focused on K-2nd grade teachers due to Lee and Kim (2008), and He's (2008) observation that HL does not simply perform the function of regular communication but is also a symbolic marker of a learner's identity. I translate Pinar's proposition of a curriculum as validating and incorporating languages, heritages, genders, and socially and culturally situated positions of learners' and teachers' subjectivities in the process of education. Weaving these powerful elements together to develop a curriculum relates to social justice and a more democratic society. Above all, the lack of value of learners' HL at schools leads to the question of whether learners can use their entire language repertoire in this setting. As Garcia and Wei (2014) observed: "language practices cannot be developed except through the students existing knowledge" (p. 80). To this end, I have selected the K-2nd grade range since, as O'Grady et al (2011) have observed, it is a period of immersion in literacy in social language, which usually affects emergent bilinguals and their family's relationship with their HL.

Estimating the Number of the Target Population

Before the Covid-19 pandemic, I planned to use a random sampling procedure, assuming MDCPS would provide an email contact list of district's K-2nd grade teachers. MDCPS could not provide an exact number of teachers in K-2nd grade to calculate my target population. Unsuccessfully, I reached out to different departments (Curriculum and Instruction, ELA, and Research and Data Management) by email and telephone. The Research and Data Management could only provide the number of all districts'

elementary teachers during the 2020-21 school year: 7,117. Thus, in this section, I explain the procedures used to estimate the number of my target population.

My first strategy was to use the MCDPS school's directory and call each school to get information about their K-2nd grade teachers. I accounted for 290 public and charter schools, offering K-2nd grade classes in the MCDPS directory. Using the district list of schools' names, telephones, and principals' emails, I contacted 219 public (elementary and K-8 centers) and 71 charter schools' principals with little success. The time frame was December 2020, a period when I could not visit schools enduring pandemic restrictions. Another difficulty was that schools avoided sharing teachers' information by telephone, even after I identified myself, with supporting documentation, as a researcher approved by the district Research Review Committee (RRC).

To calculate my target population and minimize coverage bias, I crossed information from the school's website, district general information, and the National Center of Education Statistics (NCES). I visited 208 (71.72%) school websites that provided in-depth information, such as a list of staff, teachers' grade, and emails. However, 82 (28.28%) schools' websites only provided general information, such as a letter from the principal and a general staff list. In this case, to identify the number of kindergartens, 1st, and 2nd grade teachers, I crossed information from the NCES website, which provided the number of students enrolled for each grade in a specific school year. I divided this number by 25 (students for each teacher) to estimate the number of kindergartens, 1st, and 2nd grade teachers at that school. I created a worksheet to organize all the schools' data to help me estimate the number of teachers for each specific

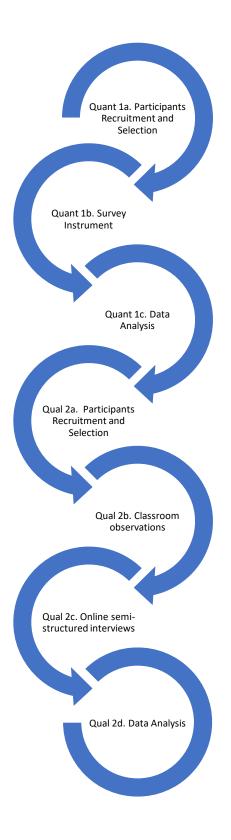
grade. After verifying data three times, I estimated that I needed to contact 973 kindergartens, 1,061 1st, and 1,086 2nd grade teachers.

Based on these calculations, I assumed that the target population for the study was 3,120 K-2nd grade teachers serving in the Miami-Dade County Public Schools (MDCPS). Among the teachers contacted, 150 filled out the survey. After discarding participants that did not complete the survey through the end, I had a total of 125 respondents (n = 125).

Research Procedures

This study was conducted as a mixed-method explanatory sequential design divided into two phases. In Phase I, I used a quantitative approach (survey instrument), whose results were the foundation of the subsequent data collection. Consequently, in Phase II, I used findings from the survey instrument to design the qualitative phase, assessing trends and relationships to conduct classroom observations and guidelines for the online semi-structured interviews. In this way, this study envisioned capturing tendencies in teachers' beliefs and then focused on a deeper discussion of the complexities of language ideologies and orientations guiding K-2nd grade teachers. Of note, to provide safety measures to the researcher and all participants, research procedures had been designed to avoid face-to-face interaction. The following figure summarizes the general research procedures sequence:

Figure 2. Mix-Methods Sequenced Phases



Phase I: Quantitative Approach

In this first phase, I used a quantitative instrument—a survey—to capture attributes of teachers' beliefs toward emergent bilinguals' HL literacy skills. The following subsections describe participants' recruitment and selection, instrument design, data analysis, and other considerations for Phase I.

Phase I: Participant Recruitment

I designed the research methodology before the Covid-19 pandemic but conducted the research during this challenging period, a phenomenon that affected my Phase I data collection techniques. Before the pandemic, the quantitative phase of this investigation would have me selecting participants through a random sampling procedure (assuming MDCPS would provide a contact list of K-2nd grade teachers).

The district did not provide the data I expected, only a directory with a list of schools, their telephone number, principals' names, and location. After IRB and district's Research Review Committee (RRC) approvals, I started collecting data during the first year of the pandemic, and the difficulties of calculating and accessing participants became evident. The restrictions on face-to-face contact with the schools during the pandemic aggravated these difficulties. Reasons for these unexpected difficulties include the following:

 As mentioned previously, MDCPS could not provide the exact number of teachers from K-2nd grade to calculate my target population. Unsuccessfully, I reached out to departments (Curriculum and Instruction, ELA, and Research and Data Management) by email and telephone, and the research department

only provided me with the number of all elementary teachers during the 2020-21 school year (7,117).

- 2. MDCPS did not have a list with K-2nd grade teachers' emails. The district directed me to a school directory, where I could find only general information about each school, such as the principal's name, address, and a list of all staff names, without specifying teachers' grades. I designed a procedure to undermine this difficulty of accessing teachers' email contact.
- 3. The RRC committee required that I have the approval of each school's principal before inviting teachers to take the survey. Due to pandemic restrictions, the main modes of contacting principals and teachers were phone calls, emails, and mail, avoiding in-person contact.

In the following paragraphs, I describe how I attempted to mitigate the difficulties of calculating and accessing district data and participants during the pandemic period.

Accessing Participants

Based on the district schools' directory, I decided to email all school principals to explain my research, invite them to visit a web page with my research information and documents, and ask their permission to contact teachers. In this first form of contact, nine emails bounced back, one principal did not allow their teachers to participate in the study (they were already selected for another research project), and three principals allowed me to contact their teachers. In a second attempt, I asked principals to directly share, if approved, an informational email with their K-2nd grade teachers. This attempt also had little response.

After two months of trying to access teachers via email with little success, I decided to change my research procedures. I met with three experts to review my research methodology. One of them expected minimal responses due to pandemic difficulties of face-to-face contact. He also advised me to assume that teachers would be overwhelmed with the demands of hybrid classroom interactions. To improve my data collection, he advised me to consider sending the survey to all target populations by changing the quantitative data collection procedure from the stratified sample to a census, which would increase the coverage response rate.

I decided to adopt this approach and invited the entire target population. At this time, I used two modes of invitation to the survey: email and postal mail. I printed out 3,000 flyers and informational letters and created an informative package. I sent them to each school, asking principals to distribute them to their K-2nd grade teachers. The package contained a letter to principals (using a QR code to access the webpage with more information and documents about the research) and, to each teacher, a flyer, an informational letter, and a QR code to access the adults' consent and survey. I sent these packages via mail to all MDCPS schools with K-2nd grade teachers aiming to minimize coverage bias. After mailing the information, contacting the population via email became more efficient. Over the next two months, I sent two reminders, through email and mail, to all school principals and teachers.

Conducting a Census. As observed before, due to difficulties in accessing the population and being concerned with the low response rate over the first three months of data collection, I modified the research procedure to conducting a census. Daniel (2012)

explained that a census includes all the elements of the target population. Fricker (2008) considered it a non-probability sample compared to convenience samples because it is left up to everyone to decide to participate in the survey. This researcher also explained that non-probability-based samples could be helpful for researchers during early stages of developing research hypotheses. This purpose strongly related to the objective of my research survey, as a valuable way to identify tendencies in teachers' beliefs and prepare for the research's second phase.

Daniel (2012) explained that when conducting a census, sampling error and selection bias are eliminated because a sample of the population is not taken. However, in this approach, researchers need to consider problems when collecting data, more specifically nonresponse bias. In non-probability surveys, the bias might come from those who opt in as they may not be representative of the general population. Sources of nonresponse bias derive from the inability to contact (such as inaccurate email address), inability to respond, or refusal to respond.

Fincham (2008) explained representativeness refers to how well the sample drawn for the questionnaire research compares with the population of interest. While Fricker (2008) explained that in a census, taking larger samples will not correct for nonresponse bias, Daniel (2012) indicated some ways to minimize this problem. For validity purposes and to minimize nonresponse bias, in the next chapter, when reporting Phase I results, I discuss how the data collected in my study mirror the demographics of MDCPS elementary teachers.

Phase I: Survey as Research Instrument

My study used a closed-ended questionnaire in Phase I. Groves et al (2009) observed that surveying is a method for understanding how characteristics, ideas, experiences, or opinions are predominant in a population. Another important aspect of this type of instrument is how this method of gathering information can described as a correlation between respondent answer questions and the statistics. This procedure intentionally addresses the objectives of this research more appropriately, namely allowing the researcher to capture nuances of teachers' beliefs (dependent variable) and correlating them with statistical demographic data, such as SES of the students' population, teachers' ethnicity, type of programs, teachers' gender, and years of teaching.

Model Studies

The instrument used in this survey was based on Lee and Oxelson's (2006) mixed-method study, which was replicated in Europe by De Angelis (2011), and in Southwest Florida by Szecsi Szilagyi and Giambo (2015). The Lee and Oxelson (2006) questionnaire used a Likert scale to collect information from 69 teachers through a convenient sample. Ultimately, ten teachers were selected to participate in an in-depth online interview about their attitudes towards HL, bilingual students, and HL maintenance. The questionnaire consisted of 42 items: seven on demographics, 11 on practices regarding HL value and maintenance, and 24 on perceptions of bilingualism and attitudes towards students' HL. This survey also collected information from three openended questions. A Varimax Principal Component Factor Analysis identified the validity of the underlying constructs assessed through the various items of the questionnaire. It is

also worthy to note that researchers distributed 290 questionnaires, had a return rate of 24% and included a reward of a \$25 gift card for assistance in data collection. The researchers concluded that there was a lack of interest in issues related to HL maintenance. In fact, they found that teachers in California did not see the maintenance of the HL of their students as one of their roles.

De Angelis (2011) used the survey instrument created by Lee and Oxelson (2006) with slight modifications to adapt it to the European context. This time the survey explored beliefs of 176 secondary teachers in Italy, Austria, and Great Britain. This instrument included 25 closed questions, 18 demographic questions, and a 1-4 Likert scale. The research applied Cronbach's Alpha to check for internal reliability and used Kruskal-Wallis distribution-free test for data analysis. De Angelis (2011) concluded that parents afford teachers and administrators great power regarding language, which extends outside the classroom when they advise parents about language use and encourage or discourage parents from preserving an HL. Teachers who believe that HL skills might interfere with acquiring a new language might discourage students and families from using the HL. The research highlighted a lack of teachers' adequate training in second language acquisition and culturally responsive teaching (De Angelis, 2011).

Szecsi, Szilagyi, and Giambo (2015) replicated the studies described above. They used the same survey instrument to gather information of 270 pre-service teachers participating in a teacher education program in Southwest Florida. Their study implemented an online administration mode. The survey used demographic questions and 35 statements, divided into two parts. The first one focused on attitudes and beliefs toward HL maintenance, and the second part consisted of statements about classroom

practices related to HL maintenance. Their investigation concluded that despite teachers showing some understanding of issues related to HL maintenance, they also indicated a limited commitment toward it. The report also portrayed teachers having limited strategies of how to value HL in the classroom setting. Interestingly, these findings are similar to other research dedicated to Florida teachers, cited in previous chapters (Harper et al., 2007; Coady, Harper, and de Jong, 2011; Dwyer & O'Gorman Fazzolari, 2023), which also noticed an absence of learners' diverse culture in the classroom.

These three studies (Lee & Oxelson, 2006; de Angelis, 2011; Szecsi, Szilagyi, & Giambo, 2015) indicated that teachers' training is needed to change prejudice towards emergent bilinguals HL skills, as well as prepare teachers to help students and families maintain their HL. My study replicates, with slight modification, the questionnaire used in these preview studies.

My Study

My survey compiled 29 closed questions, plus eight items on demographics. It is essential to highlight that I used similar constructs of previous research with a minor modification. To measure teachers' beliefs towards learners' HL, I added an extra construct, "beliefs towards the processes of emergent bilingual's language acquisition" to capture nuances of teachers' beliefs related to biliteracy development. I also renamed the construct "school-level policy" as "policy inside classroom and schools" to advance focus on teachers' beliefs towards schools' policies and relate them to classroom practices. The following table compares the original constructs and the adaptations created for this survey:

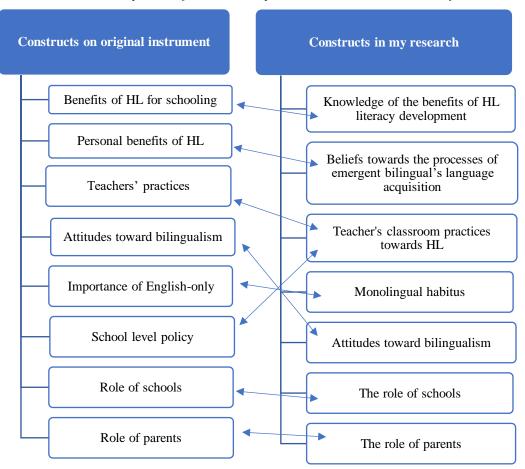


Table 1. Comparison of constructs on previous instrument and this survey.

My investigation slightly reworded the constructs used by Lee and Oxelson (2006) to adapt the questionnaire to the Miami-Dade context (check the Appendix to see a more detailed explanation comparing modifications between questionnaires). I attempted to relate my final version of the questionnaire to the conceptual framework described in the second chapter, such that it establishes a lens for analyzing and discussing teachers' beliefs toward HLL literacy skills in early school years.

To maintain coherence and facilitate participants' answers, the questionnaire used a Likert scale; however, instead of the one-to-seven points used in Lee and Oxelson (2006), my instrument used a one-to-five-point agreement scale. I conducted a selfadministered online survey that targeted a high number (3,120 K-2nd teachers) of participants. Consequently, I eliminated the three open-ended questions from the model study due to the difficulty in coding the sample size and replaced this with observations of and interviews with five teachers, which will be discussed as part of the Phase II descriptions.

Previous questionnaires were mainly organized mostly towards two oppositions if teachers were inclined to EN-only or HL tendencies, consequently, another modification compared with previous studies was that I grouped the survey statements in a language ideology scale. In that way I aimed to capture variability in teachers' beliefs towards learners' HL as monolingual, plurilingual, or tolerant tendencies. Noteworthy that this scale pointed out to tendencies, and not to static perceptions. They were interpreted as a dynamic system of value operating inside schools that may hold inconsistencies and contradictions. As pointed out in the theoretical framework, Gal and Irvine (2019) noticed, ideologies are not static, nor are they doctrines that exist in a separate realm from people as they have creative interpretations. The following subsection explains the ideology scale.

Monolingual Language Ideology Scale. The ten questions in this pool aimed to capture if teachers aligned with an assimilationist perspective. I assumed that teachers with these tendencies would not see value in HL maintenance and perceive schools as

English-only spaces, inculcating assimilation to a society that reproduces a monolingual mindset. For example, related to the processes of emergent bilinguals' language acquisition (see questions 1, 12, 16, and 26), the statements would check if teachers believed that speaking or developing literacy in more than one language simultaneously could have a negative impact on learners' English development. The survey measured teachers' classroom practices towards HL in questions 5, 6, and 8 to capture if teachers perceived classrooms as English-only spaces. These questions specifically used the term "classroom" to differentiate from the other school areas where students could use their HL for playing or informal conversations. Question 22 measured attitudes toward bilingualism, and question 18 measured beliefs toward the role of schools in students' HL development. Question 20 measured specifically teachers' advice to parents regarding language use at home.

Tolerance Language Ideology Scale. These six questions aimed to capture a more dichotomic perception of bilingualism and HL maintenance. These statements assumed that teachers valued bilingualism and understood the importance of HL maintenance; however, they perceived classrooms should be English-only spaces. This relates to previously discussed "monolingual mindset" as a robust language ideology enacted on educational policies. Not only has the monolingual learner been used as a paradigm and a form of disciplinary power in curriculum development to promote assimilation and "normalization" of children with diverse language backgrounds entering the school system, but this hegemonic discourse has also been at the core of the notion of universal education in the U.S.

The tolerance tendency was checked using six items represented in the questionnaire as questions 2, 10, 14, 17, 24, and 28. Questions 14 and 24 foresaw measuring the knowledge of the benefits of HL literacy development, while questions 10 and 17 captured teachers' classroom practices towards HL. Question 28 envisioned capturing the role of schools, and question 2, the role of parents.

Plurilingual Language Ideology Scale. The sentences in this pool assumed that teachers valued HL, understood the benefits of HL literacy, and explicitly legitimized and used HL inside classrooms. These tendencies were examined using 13 items represented in the questionnaire (Q3, Q4, Q7, Q9, Q11, Q13, Q15, Q19, Q21, Q23, Q25, Q27, and Q29). In this pool, the sentences captured teachers' knowledge about the processes of bilingual language acquisition (Q3), teachers' beliefs towards bilingualism in general (Q11, Q13, Q23, Q25), the use of HL at school (Q4, Q7, Q9), teachers' classroom practices towards HL (Q15, Q21), and teachers' beliefs related to parents, teachers, and schools' roles towards learners' HL development (Q19, Q27). Follow the final version of the questionnaire:

1.	(Beliefs towards the processes of emergent bilinguals' language acquisition) It is confusing
	for a student's brain to simultaneously develop literacy in their home language and
	English.
2.	(The role of parents) Home language maintenance is the responsibility of the parents.
3.	(Beliefs towards the process of emergent bilinguals' language acquisition) Students can
	learn to read and write in two languages at the same time.
4.	(Beliefs towards the processes of emergent bilingual's language acquisition) Home
	language literacy is beneficial for students' English language development.
5.	(Teacher's classroom practices towards HL) In my classroom, students need to spend time
	and energy learning English rather than their home language.
6.	(Monolingual habitus) In my class, I ask students to leave their home language behind and
	focus on English.
7.	(Beliefs towards the process of emergent bilinguals' language acquisition) Developing
	speaking skills in the home language helps students in their academic progress.

Table 2. Constructs and My Survey Questionnaire Statements (color coded by ideology)

8.	(Teacher's classroom practices towards HL) In my class, students must use English all the
0	time to learn English faster.
9.	(Beliefs towards the process of emergent bilinguals' language acquisition) I explicitly
	praise the students for knowing another language.
10.	(Teacher's classroom practices towards HL) Students may use their home languages in
	class, but I acknowledge them only when they use English.
11.	(Knowledge of the benefits of HL literacy development) It is beneficial that students are
	highly literate and orally fluent in both English and their home language.
12.	(Monolingual habitus) Encouraging students to maintain their home language will prevent
	them from fully learning English.
13.	(Knowledge of the benefits of HL literacy development) I believe the maintenance of the
	home language is important for a student's development of his/her/their identity.
14.	(Knowledge of the benefits of HL literacy development) I tell my students that their home
	language is important and valuable, but that at school, we must use English.
15.	(Teacher's classroom practices towards HL) In class, I have my students share their home
	language every chance I get.
16.	(Beliefs towards the process of emergent bilinguals' language acquisition) Students should
	spend their time learning to read and write in English rather than in the home language.
17.	(Teacher's classroom practices towards HL) After students have mastered English, I value
	their home language(s).
18.	(The role of schools) Schools should be invested in only helping students learn English.
19.	(The role of parents) I discuss with parents how we can help their children learn English
	and maintain their home language(s).
20.	(The role of parents) I advise parents to help their children learn to speak English faster by
	speaking English at home.
21.	(Teacher's classroom practices towards HL) I allow students to use their home language in
	completing classwork or assignments.
22.	(Monolingual habitus) Everyone in this country should speak English and only English.
23.	(Attitudes towards bilingualism) In my teaching, I place equal importance and value on
	knowing both English and the home language.
24.	(Attitudes towards bilingualism) Home language literacy is good, but only after children
	master English.
25.	(Attitudes towards bilingualism) I make an effort to learn and use learners' home language
	in my classroom.
26.	(Monolingual habitus) Frequent use of the home language at home will prevent students
	from learning English.
27.	(The role of schools) Ideally, schools should provide home language literacy instruction
	starting in kindergarten.
28.	(The role of schools) Schools should provide home language instruction in middle or high
	school only.
29.	(Beliefs towards the process of emergent bilinguals' language acquisition) I tell parents
	that maintaining the home language is a crucial component to developing literacy in
	English.

Monolingual Tolerance Plurilingual

Phase I: Data Analysis

This study's data analysis started by linking each instrument's response to its construct's subscale and the general research questions. Specifically for Phase I, this study followed Pazzaglia, Stafford, and Rodriguez's (2016) guidelines for survey methods, with the researcher reviewing the analysis plan, preparing, and checking data files, calculating response rates, calculating summary statistics, and presenting the results in tables or figures. To analyze the data collected by the survey instrument, the researcher used SPSS (IBM) to calculate descriptive statistics and ordinal logistic regression (often called ordinal regression). This last one, specifically to predict how the ordinal dependent variable (teachers' beliefs measured by Likert-scale) relates to one or more nominal (ordinal and categorical) independent variables (gender, ethnicity, years of teaching, students' SES, and percentage of ELL in the school).

As observed before, the dependent variables used in this research captured variability in teachers' beliefs observing their tendencies towards monolingual, plurilingual, or tolerant perspectives in a language ideology scale. There was no manipulation of the independent variables. In this way, I observed whether there was any correlation between teachers' beliefs and the independent variables (gender, ethnicity, years of teaching, students' SES, and percentage of ELL in the school).

Phase I: Other Considerations

Survey Instrument Validity

A challenge anticipated in my research was some social desirability bias—that is "the tendency to present oneself in a favorable light" (Groves et al., 2009, p. 168)—which can affect the validity of the questionnaire. In this study, the social desirability bias related to possible media coverage of research on the cognitive advantages of bilingualism (Bialystock, 2007). This news could uncover potential ideological prejudice toward students' literacy development in their HL. For this reason, when assessing the model questionnaire (Lee & Oxelson, 2006; de Angelis, 2011; Szecsi, Szilagyi, & Giambo, 2015), one significant observation emerged: the statements used in previous research offered predominantly positive and assertive sentences toward bilingualism and learners' HL. I weighted this as a possible bias toward positive perspectives of bilingualism and how they could overshadow participants' negative perceptions. Consequently, I strived for a more balanced number of questions, weighing sentences' wording both in positive and negative perspectives.

Specifically related to questions' wording, because my research will be a selfadministered questionnaire, I expected participants to experience some challenges in encoding, comprehending, retrieving, estimating, judging, and following instructions to report their answers (Groves et al., 2009). Compared with the Lee and Oxelsen (2006) questionnaire, I reworded my questionnaire to be more consistently interpreted and hopefully minimize these challenges. To further address this issue, I conducted member checks and submitted the questionnaire to three expert reviews (Groves et al., 2009) to assure accuracy, credibility, and validity. The experts assessed the appropriateness of its content for measuring the intended concepts, wordiness, and visual presentation. The last modification to add validity to the survey was, indicated by Groves et al. (2009), changing the order of questions to blend constructs' subscales and putting the unpopular items first to yield more revealing answers.

Survey Internal Reliability and Validity

As my survey aimed to capture teachers' perceptions of bilingualism and HLs in the fourth largest school district in the U.S., one weighted source of errors related to cost and logistics, due this survey be administrated online via computerized self-administered questionnaires (CSAQ) and distributed through email. As Groves et al. (2009) observed, this administration offers reduced costs (logistical and time issues), an increased timeline, and uncomplicated measurement data organization. However, this administration mode is suitable for coverage and nonresponse problems. To minimize this challenge, I reached principals and teachers through mail and email to reinforce participation. Another challenge related to coverage and nonresponse in this type of survey is usually due to technology access. However, this complication was not a concern for this specific investigation due to the expectation that all teachers in the district had access to the Internet in their schools.

Previous research (Lee & Oxelson, 2006; de Angelis (2011); Szecsi, Szilagyi, & Giambo, 2015) captured teachers' disconnection to the role of HL maintenance. In addition, Walker, Shafer, and Iiams (2004) stated that teachers need to believe in the benefits of bilingualism and understand the adverse effects of HL loss to show interest in language maintenance. For these reasons, subject anonymity was included with this survey to deal with social desirability bias.

Cronbach alpha coefficient to check the internal reliability of the questionnaire, and the validity was assessed by examining the inter-item correlation matrix of the item constructs that represent each of the three ideology scales. The internal reliability of the

questionnaire confirmed the Cronbach alpha coefficient, which is described in the next chapter.

Ethical considerations

Participation in this phase of the investigation involved minimal risks, such as spending the time to answer the survey questionnaire (approximately nine minutes). The Florida International University Institutional Review Board (IRB) and the district's Research Review Committee (RRC) approved my study to work with human subjects (teachers-adults). The study used an informed consent document, making clear that there is no obligation or direct benefit to the participants of this study. Related to privacy, the quantitative phase only collected anonymous data. Research data was stored electronically in a personal laptop in a password-protected folder.

Phase II: Qualitative Approach

After gathering and analyzing the quantitative data, I selected five teachers to observe their classrooms and conduct online semi-structured interviews exploring tendencies on survey responses. As Rubin and Rubin (2012) explained, the purpose of qualitative research is to analyze and discuss how people construct their realities, establish norms and ways of thinking. They view semi-structured interviews as bringing thickness of the descriptive data to the mixed-method approach. As discussed previously, I adopted a reflexive positionality recognizing a dichotomous relative autonomy as a marginal competitor in the field of literacy inside schools but simultaneously structurally reproducing various of its cultural capital.

Phase II: Participant's Recruitment and Selection

One teacher who completed the Phase I survey indicated her interest in participating in the qualitative phase encompassing four hours of classroom observations and a semi-structured interview. The other four teachers were recruited by sending emails and flyers to the 290 principals asking them to share the qualitative data collection phase invitation. From these recruitment emails, four more teachers (from three different schools) volunteered to participate in this phase. All participants' names have been changed to respect their privacy.

Setting and Participants

In this section, I describe schools and teachers participating in this study's qualitative phase.

School One (Laura). *School One* is a charter public school founded in late 1990 by two teachers devoted to Montessori and Culturally Relevant Pedagogy. The school diverges from other charter programs in Miami because it has been managed as a nonprofit foundation governed by these teachers. Data from 2021-2022 (FDOE) indicate the school employs 31 teachers and served 543 students from K-8th grade in Southwest Miami. The student population classified by race or ethnicity is 22.1% Black or African American, 63.7% Hispanic, 10.7% White, and 2.2 % Multiracial. In addition, 56.4% of the students are registered as economically disadvantaged, 6.3% as ELL, and 9% as Students with Disabilities. Laura is a White kindergarten teacher with a double major in Spanish and Montessori education. She was raised monolingually but has always been curious about languages because her grandmother spoke Polish. She holds a Master's degree in Multicultural Education and has experience teaching ESL abroad. When she moved to Miami, she passed the ESOL certification exams. Throughout my observations, Laura showed herself to be a knowledgeable teacher that values diversity. She was always available to engage in conversation with learners, asking rich questions, listening to them, and respecting students' ideas about the world.

Laura feels strongly connected with the school's philosophy (Laura interview transcription, p. 3, lines 14-41). She teaches in a multi-age group and serves 25 students between 3 to 7 years old. The classroom was organized into stations, which the teacher changed over the school year. At the time of my classroom observations, some stations were cloths washing, art, students' self-made life timelines, reading (with a multilingual library), and tables with diverse materials. Examples of materials included soap, pencils, papers, and diverse math and reading materials typical in Montessori programs, such as beads and cubes for counting and various wooden movable alphabets. All signage on the walls was in English.

I observed Laura teaching for one-hour over four weeks, concentrating on early mornings. I used a telephone camera with a wireless microphone attached to the teacher's shirt to record Laura during my visits. I usually observed circle time, when the teacher presents and discusses the week's topic, sang the *good morning* song, and asked students about their work preferences for that day. After circle time, students would work

independently or in pairs in art, math, reading, writing, or working stations such as washing clothes and using mills for grinding soap. Most students seemed engaged in their work and frequently asked the teacher for materials, expressed doubts, or show their work. During an interview, Laura described how she designed her class, based on Montessori pedagogy, where

"(...) an adult does not have just constantly to give lessons or presentations. They can do much observation. They can give a couple of presentations, and then allow the children to show that and model that for the others" (Laura interview, p. 3, lines 15-17).

The teacher also described that, among her five 3-year-old students, only one speaks English at home, most speak Spanish only, and one family speaks French and Spanish. Considering her 5 Voluntary Pre-Kindergarten (VPK)⁹ students, again, only one speaks English at home, and most families speak English, Spanish, and Haitian Creole. Laura serves 15 kindergartners, and most families speak both English and Spanish, but four learners speak only Spanish at home. In this group, there is one student with a Portuguese-speaking father. However, the teacher understands that this family speaks only English at home. Summarizing, from these 25 students, the teacher believed three students were immersed in an English-only speaking home. The majority were a mix between English and Spanish, with some students immersed in a Spanish-only environment. Eight of all 25 students were classified as ESOL, but the teacher did not provide their proficiency levels.

⁹ Voluntary Pre-Kindergarten is a program designed to introduce children to school environment, preparing and developing their foundation for compulsory education (starting in kindergarten).

During my observations, Laura spoke English-only with students, which later was confirmed in the teacher's interview as a school language policy. She believed that the school established an English-only policy due to learners from African American backgrounds not having the same treatment as Hispanic students:

This is based on what I've heard from our administrators. I am just paraphrasing. What I've heard them say, and the reason why that is because we serve over a 30% of our community is African American. And, they feel that African American children, here in Miami, are often disserved because they're not bilingual, or multilingual. So, and their language, their dialect is not respected. So that's why they have our school as a as an English immersion program, not as a bilingual. Because we are serving a good amount of African American students (Laura interview transcript, p. 8, lines 17-21).

Besides speaking and holding a major in Spanish, Laura did not use Spanish at

any time in my recordings but reported in the interview that if a student did not

understand English, she would translate it to Spanish when necessary:

"I will always speak to them in the language to help them. So, if a child spoke a different language that I did not understand, I would find a way to work with that child" (Laura interview, p. 3 lines, 27-28).

School Two (Andrea). *School Two* takes pride in offering students 30 minutes of home language instruction (in Spanish, French, or Haitian Creole) every day. The school's population composition is 65.4% Black/African American, 1% Asian, 29.5% Hispanic, 2.5% White, and 3% students classified as multi-racial. The school is in a low-income neighborhood east of Miami, and 83% of its students receive FRL. As reported on the school website, its mission relies on its multilingual program and students'

academic achievement. Another school highlight is the community liaison which speaks four languages and holds monthly meetings with parents.

Andrea is a kindergarten teacher with a double major in education and psychology. She also holds a Master's degree in Reading, is dynamic, and effectively implements a positive behavior system in her classroom (Researcher Observation Notes, 10.24.22, p. 2). She is a bilingual, second-generation Colombian immigrant raised in Miami. Andrea teaches in a public elementary school offering a Magnet language program. Andrea's classroom environment is highly structured. The 19 students sit in pairs, and their tables are organized in 4 rows. All signage on the walls is in English. There are five computers in the back of the class, where students usually take turns completing their i-Ready assigned lessons¹⁰.

Andrea had ten students classified as ESOL. Seven speak Haitian Creole at home, two recently arrived from Colombia (Spanish speakers), and another newcomer from Ukraine speaks Russian¹¹. During my observations, and as confirmed by the teacher during the interview, Andrea used "a couple of words" (Andrea interview, p. 1, line 33) in students' HL, mainly in Spanish and some words in Russian. Andrea reported valuing students' HL and knowing how HL supports literacy in second language acquisition.

In my classroom observations, Andrea used Spanish to scaffold understanding precisely when she noticed students from this background struggling to understand or

¹⁰ i-Ready is an online personalized program for reading and math designed by Curriculum Associates company. The district uses this program to assess and monitor learners' progress in these areas (Curriculum Associates, 2023).

¹¹ At the beginning of 2022, Russian troops invaded Ukraine, initiating a war that continued while I collected data and wrote this dissertation. This war led to many women and children becoming Ukraine refugees in different countries. This student is a refugee that came to stay with family during wartime. Noteworthy that 30% of Ukrainians speaks Russian, due to historic territory disputes in the region.

respond to her requests. On these occasions, she translated some sentences into Spanish and modeled how the student should repeat that in English. Andrea also scaffolded students' understanding by asking peers to model actions. For example, when the teacher asked students to bring the notebook to her table to check them, she asked a student to model the action of bringing the notebook to her so the others would copy it. Another scaffolding strategy was using realia and class objects to help students understand the lesson's topic. For example, when teaching about shapes, Andrea showed many objects in the class and asked the students to classify them. In one instance, she showed a rule and an eraser to be classified as rectangles.

School Three (Lucia). *School Three* is in southwest Miami. It serves 460 students in K-5 grades and employs 34 full-time teachers. The school offers various programs, such as Cambridge, Extended Foreign Language (EFL¹²), Inclusion, Resource, and self-contained autism spectrum disorder (ASD) units. The school's mission states the commitment for "students to achieve maximum academic potential" (Miami Dade County Public Schools, 2022) and promotes "rights, rules, responsibility, and respect to everything we do." Students' population racial and ethnic composition is 1% Black/African American, 96% Hispanic, and 3% White. At this school, 81% of the students receive FRL. During the interview, the teacher explained that her class is part of the Extended Foreign Language (EFL) program. The district website explains that this program offers teaching language arts in another language for students to develop their

¹² EFL is an Extended Foreign Language initiative created for elementary schools in MDCPS dedicated to developing bilingualism. In these programs, teachers should allocate 300 h/week teaching Language Arts/Reading/Writing in the target language.

bilingual skills for 60 minutes a day in Spanish (Miami-Dade County Public Schools, n/d).

Lucia is a bilingual second-generation Cuban immigrant. She has been teaching for 25 years and holds a bachelor's degree in education and a Master's degree in TESOL. Lucia taught first grade students and frequently commented that teaching moral values and emotionally connecting with students was part of her duty. Lucia served 20 students. Two were classified as ESOL students' levels one or two, and six were designated as levels three or four¹³. All students from this class spoken Spanish only or Spanish and English at home.

I observed Lucia for five weeks, taking notes of teacher utterances and teacherstudent interactions. The first time I visited her classroom was at a Hispanic Heritage Month celebration. The teacher and students baked arepas, going over the recipe and baking them as a science and math project.



Figure 3. School Three Hallway During Hispanic Heritage Month

¹³ Florida participates in the WIDA Consortium, which standards and assessments organize students classified as ESOL in six different English proficiency levels. All Florida districts follow this proficiency level model: they are 1) entering, 2) emerging, 3) developing, 4) expanding, 5) bridging, and 6) reaching. In the standards for multilingual learners (WIDA, 2020) the document suggests specific accommodations adequate for each different learners' English proficiency levels.

Figure 4. School Three Mural During Hispanic Heritage Month



At this time, the teacher and students used mainly English but added Spanish occasionally. That day, the recipe was available in both languages on the whiteboard. However, after this day, the teacher would only speak Spanish for interpersonal communication. When teaching, Lucia used Spanish to get students' attention and cooperation, or to comment on their behaviors,

"Por qué estas haciendo esso?" "Papi, you need to stop doing that" or "Ayer, también no he hecho nada."

During my five hours of observation, Lucia used Spanish once as a scaffolding strategy for learning English. All classroom signs were in English.

Lucia organized her classroom into three big tables with six to seven students sitting at each one. Separating students by levels, she concentrated all learners classified as ESOL at one table and the gifted and advanced students at another.

Figure 5. Lucia Classroom



Figure 6. Lucia Classroom



Figure 7. Lucia Classroom



Lucia usually used the smart board to follow the Wonders' McGraw Hill literacy curriculum.¹⁴ During my observations, typically the teacher started with the program prereading activity. The computer read aloud the vocabulary words and frequent words. Afterward, the teacher repeated the key vocabulary aloud and asked questions to help students connect meanings. After this pre-reading activity, the teacher activated the program reading aloud feature. At times, she would pause the program and ask questions to help students make personal connections with the story's events. After this activity, the students usually answered a question related to the text in their notebooks, and the teacher walked around to check and comment on their writing.

School Four (Valeria and Leticia). *School Four* is a charter school located in northwest Miami, offering K-5 elementary bilingual programs in Spanish, Portuguese, and French. The school serves approximately 1,100 students, employs 42 full-time teachers, and follows the district language time allocation of 60% of the time in English and 40% in the target language. The students' demographic composition is 4.9% White, 0.2% Black or African American, 92.6% Hispanic, 2.1% Asian or Pacific Islander, and 0.1% students classified as Multiracial; 34% of the students receive FRL. I observed and interviewed two teachers from this school, one teaching English Language Arts, Math, and Science to kindergarten and first graders and another teaching the same subjects to second and third graders.

¹⁴ The school used McGraw-Hill's Wonders K-5 ELA literacy curriculum. In its website, it advertises that the textbook uses evidence-based program that offers differentiation and resources to support ELL (McGraw Hill, 2023).

Valeria. Valeria is a first-generation immigrant. She completed her Bachelor's degree in English Language Arts in Cuba. She arrived in the U.S. ten years ago and worked hard to validate her degree and complete all her licenses to start working as an elementary school teacher in Miami five years ago. This is the second year that Valeria teaches at School Four. Valeria speaks English, Spanish, and Russian. In this bilingual program, she is responsible for the Language Arts, Math, and Science curriculum in English for the second graders, which was my research's focus.

I observed Valeria teaching for over four hours. While I was present, Valeria used English mostly and Spanish occasionally, specifically when addressing student behavior, or to get students' attention or for interpersonal communication, such as

"Better, papi," "Especially you, señorita, stop dancing" "Ahora, puedo dicer?"

Valeria served 25 students, divided into six tables. She used the smart board to follow the Wonders' McGraw Hill literacy curriculum. During my observations, it was typical that the Valeria would start reading aloud a text from the smart board and then ask students to complete a task in their notebooks. The teacher would give students time to check answers with their peers. After that, she would reread the text and go over the questions, asking a student to read aloud his/her answers, whereupon the teacher invited the class to agree or disagree with the answer. Sometimes, the teacher would model how to answer, writing the answers simultaneously with the students on the smart board.

Teaching in a bilingual program, Valeria referred once to students' skills learned in the Spanish class: It was during math time when the teacher reminded students they had already learned that concept with her partner teacher. During the interview, Valeria confirmed that she uses English most of the time but sometimes asks students to share words in their HL (Mandarin, Russian, Haitian Creole, and Spanish) when teaching social studies, particularly when the topic discusses diverse cultures.

Leticia. Leticia is a bilingual second-generation Cuban immigrant raised in Miami, and she teaches English Language Arts, Math, and Science to kindergarten and first graders in this bilingual program. Since high school, she has been dedicated to developing her teaching skills, graduating from a magnet program with a diploma in early childhood education. After that, she pursued a Bachelor's degree and a Master's degree in Education.

Leticia serves 25 students organized at six tables. In her class, she offers students a small library with books mainly in English though there are some in Spanish and Portuguese. A typical routine I observed was the teacher's Language Arts lesson, where Leticia uses the smart board to follow the Wonders' McGraw Hill literacy curriculum. During my observations, the teacher started with a video related to text features, such as author or theme, and then used the program's pre-reading activities. The teacher and students would read key vocabulary and high-frequency words aloud to prepare for reading a text. After this, Leticia invited individual students to read the text aloud and then reread the same passage aloud immediately after. Leticia would usually model answering the workbook's questions, writing on the smart board simultaneously as students did likewise in their notebooks.

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During my observations, Leticia spoke mainly English with students, using Spanish to engage in interpersonal communication with students, mainly to control their behavior, or make brief comments, such as,

"Mira todo esso, I do not like this mess," "Presta atención," "Yo creo que está en su backpack."

Students freely spoke English, Spanish, and Portuguese among themselves. Leticia has three students classified as ESOL level one¹⁵. One time, as a scaffold, she relied on circumstantial translations¹⁶ to Spanish. During the interview, Leticia commented that when she is focusing on academic work, she uses English only but does allow students to use any language when it is not academic work.

Phase II: Data Collection and Research Instruments

The qualitative component of this study used a sample of five teachers. One teacher who completed the Phase I survey indicated her interest in participating in the qualitative phase encompassing four hours of classroom observations and a semistructured interview. The other four teachers were recruited by sending emails and flyers to the 290 principals asking them to share the qualitative data collection phase invitation. From these recruitment emails, four more teachers (from three different schools)

¹⁵ As noted before, Florida participates in the WIDA Consortium that designs and implement standards and assessments for multilingual learners. It uses ACCESS assessment tool to describe ELL proficiency in six levels, which should guide teachers' curriculum accommodations for students classified as ESOL (WIDA, 2022).

¹⁶ I use the term *circumstantial translation* to differ from teacher planned scaffolding strategies that involved translation.

volunteered to participate in this phase. All participants' names have been changed to respect their privacy.

One teacher, Laura, allowed me to video record her classroom. For this data set, I used a telephone camera with a wireless microphone attached to the teacher's shirt to record Laura during my visits. The remaining four teachers declined video recording opportunities. Consequently, I took notes while observing Andrea, Lucia, Leticia, and Valeria, for four hours over five weeks (one week interrupted by the school's closure due to the proximity of a hurricane). In these observations, I took note of teachers' utterances and teacher-students' interactions, focusing pointed on when the teacher or students:

- 1. used another language than English or
- 2. referred to diverse languages and cultures.

For this phase, I also collected five video recording interviews each lasting approximately 40 minutes, four hours of class observation registered in video recordings, and 16 hours of researchers notes of classroom observations. In total, I collected around 200 minutes of interviews and 20 hours of classroom observations.

Semi-structured Interviews

Interviewing is defined as a purposeful conversation between two people directed by an individual who wants to get information from the other (Morgan, 1997). As Rubin and Rubin (2012) observed, through interviews, researchers can explore "the experiences, motives, and opinions of others and learn to see the world from perspectives other than their own" (p. 3). These authors also took into consideration that researchers plan a few questions in qualitative interviews, organizing them such that they link to one another to obtain the information needed.

The results from quantitative analysis indicated the need to explore, inside classrooms, when and if teachers use learners' HL and for what purposes. While conducting interviews, I elaborated questions about their consciousness of following a language policy and why, so I could better understand the degree to which teachers in this multilingual community, being multilingual themselves, subsidize the symbolic power of English and cultivate inside classrooms a "monolingual habitus." Based on indications from the quantitative data results, I designed the following interview protocol:

- Training/ where/ bachelor/ ESOL endorsement
 - Please, can you tell me about your teacher training background?
- Knowing learners' home languages
 - In your class, how many students speak another language than EN, and what are the languages they speak?
- Classwork/ use HL/ Practices towards children's biliteracy
 - In you daily classwork, do you allow students to speak another language than English? What do you do when students use their home language in your classroom? Why do you take these actions?
 - Do you incorporate students' home languages in your classes' activities or in their homework? When? Can you give me examples?

- Do you allow students use their HL at any time in completing class assignments or homework?
- Do you use or have available in your classroom any bilingual material?
- Literacy HL- appropriate time/ relates to EN/ mixing/
 - What do you think about students learning their home languages and English at the same time? Do you think there is an appropriate age for students to develop literacy in their home languages?
 - Do you think that home language literacy relates in any way to literacy development in English? How?
 - Considering vocabulary and phonemes, do you see students mixing home languages and English? How do you deal with that?
- Advice to families
 - What do you tell parents about their home languages?
 - Do you believe that there are some situations that the parents should not speak their language at home?
 - At your school, are there any directions for parents about language using at home?
- Role of schools/ School level language policy
 - From the district, have you received any directions or there any indications about students' home languages?

- In your school, are you instructed to use any language specifically?
- In your school, are you instructed to help families keep the heritage language?
- Do you see students' home languages being used at school at any time?

Phase II: Data Analysis

Bogdan and Biklen (2007) observed that data analysis involves working with the data, organizing them, breaking them into manageable units, coding them, synthesizing them, and searching for patterns. Data interpretation refers to developing ideas about one's findings and relating them to the literature and broader concerns and concepts. In this phase, the data collected derived from interview transcripts, audio/video recording semi-structured interviews, researcher classroom observation notes, and researcher reflexive journal. To enhance trustworthiness, the reflective journal was where the researcher's feelings, prejudices, and any possible source of bias were exposed in any stage of this study (Peshkin, 1998).

Class Observations and Interviews

Qualitative data analysis began with carefully reviewing all data recorded. First, I dedicated myself to reading all classroom observation transcripts. I transcribed all interviews. Once interviews were transcribed, I read each participant's transcript twice, taking notes of shared ideas. Reading all class notes and interview transcripts provided a broad sense of the data and helped me reflect on its overall meaning (Creswell, 2009). In the third round of reading, I looked for comparisons between the classroom observation

information and interview data regarding teachers' beliefs towards language policy and the use of HL. In a subsequent read-through, I looked for excerpts representing teachers' use or value of HL. In the fifth reading round, I identified the most notable quotes that shaped the tentative codes from the raw data. Identifying quotes represented what Creswell (2009) calls the heart of this qualitative portion of the study. Through the quotes, I used a content thematic analysis using codes that derived categories. These are the codes generated from classroom observations and interviews:

- Language used by the teacher (EN or SP)
- Language used by the students (EN, SP, PO, HC)
- Bilingualism in general
- Biliteracy (HL specifically)
 - o Transfer
- HL Environment:
 - Students can use HL.
 - o I use EN.
- Teacher Addressing Student Behavior:
 - "Try harder" or "Not doing enough": to all challenging behavior, and for EB classified as ESOL when not engaging or lost.
 - SP to connect/intimidate.
 - Positive Behavior Approach.
 - Use the test as a pressure.
- Use of ESOL Scaffolding Practices
 - \circ Translation

- o Realia
- Modeling in EN
- Prescribed Curriculum
 - Scaffolding: video, computer-based reading program, pre-vocabulary reading aloud.
 - Preparing for test
 - o Academic time
- Advice to parents
- Language Landscape
- Language as a "problem"

In the following chapter, I will describe how these codes generated an overarching category and subcategories.

Phase II: Other Considerations

Qualitative Instrument Consistency and Coherence

Qualitative researchers are not concerned with the traditional idea of reliability and are more related to the ideas of accuracy and comprehensiveness of their data (Bogdan and Biklen, 2007). As Peshkin (1998) suggested, in a natural and inductive process such as a qualitative study, the researcher's subjectivity cannot be avoided. This subjectivity affects how the researcher interprets data and the data collection process. In this phase, reliability is more related to consistency and coherence across data collection, theoretical approach, analysis.

To make the constructed nature of research outcomes visible to the reader, my study used a reflexive approach (Ortlipp, 2008), making clear how my experiences, values, and positions have influenced the research interests. This commitment can be noticed in all chapters, when I made visible assumptions, choices, and experiences influencing the research process.

Zohrabi (2013) noted that in mixed-methods studies, reliability is consistent, dependability, and replicability. It is noteworthy that while replicability is straightforward in the quantitative approach, achieving identical results is not expected in the qualitative approach. To this end, Lincoln and Guba (1985) point out that instead of obtaining the same results in a qualitative instrument, it is better to think about the dependability and consistency of the data.

Ethical Considerations

Participation in this investigation phase involved minimal risks, such as spending time participating in the online interview. Precisely, teachers' interviews lasted between 40 and 45 minutes, but I also contacted interviewees for member checks (approximatively 15 minutes).

Related to privacy, the quantitative phase only collected anonymous data, and the qualitative phase required researcher data confidentiality, such as changing names and removing any possible identifiable information of interviewees. Any disclosure of the human subjects' responses outside the research would not reasonably place the subjects at

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risk of criminal or civil liability or damage the subject's financial standing, employability, educational advancement, or reputation. Research data was stored electronically in a personal laptop in a password-protected folder. Committing to interviewees' confidentiality, the data were not stored via cloud services.

CHAPTER 4

RESULTS

This study used a mixed-method explanatory sequential design divided into two phases. In Phase I, I used a quantitative approach (survey instrument), results of which were the foundation of subsequent data collection. Consequently, in Phase II, I used findings from the survey instrument to design the qualitative phase, assessing trends and relationships to conduct classroom observations and guide online semi-structured interviews. In this way, this study envisioned capturing tendencies in teachers' beliefs and then focusing on a deeper discussion of complexities of language ideologies and orientations guiding K-2nd grade teachers in the district.

To analyze the data collected via the survey instrument, I used descriptive statistics and ordinal logistic regression to predict how the ordinal dependent variable (teachers' beliefs measured by Likert-scale) relates to one or more nominal (ordinal and categorical) independent variables (gender, ethnicity, years of teaching, students' SES, and percentage of ELL in the school). The dependent variables in this research captured variability in teachers' beliefs by observing their tendencies toward monolingual, plurilingual, or tolerant perspectives on a language ideology scale.

This chapter is divided into two parts. The first describes the results from the quantitative approach, and the second describes the results from the qualitative approach.

Phase I Results: Quantitative Approach

This part presents results of data collected using the quantitative approach outlined in Chapter 3. The following sections present the descriptive statistics of research variables, their internal reliability and validity, and ordinal regression calculation to check if and how the dependent variables (teachers' beliefs measured by Likert-scale) relate to one or more independent variables (gender, ethnicity, years of teaching, students' SES, and percentage of ELL in the school). All calculations and analyses were conducted using IBM SPSS version 25.

Quantitative Data Collection: Missing Data and Internal Reliability and Validity of the Questionnaire

In the quantitative phase, I used a non-probability sample. The target population for the study was 3,120 K-2nd grade teachers serving in the Miami-Dade County Public Schools (MDCPS). Among the teachers contacted, 150 filled out the survey. Of these, several were unfinished and therefore discarded, leaving a total of 125 respondents (n = 125).

The questionnaire adopted in this study had 37 questions. Eight examined teacher demographics, while the rest focused on the teacher inclinations towards monolingual, plurilingual, or tolerant perspectives. The demographic questions formed the independent variables, and the remaining questions characterized the dependent variables. I closed the survey after six months when I achieved 150 participants. After that, I ran descriptive statistics for the demographics and the 29 statements.

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After data collection, some missing data were noted, and Listwise deletion in SPSS was used to handle the missing entries. For the demographic variables, race had two missing data, years of teaching experience had three missing data, teaching grade had eight missing data, teaching program had nine missing data, knowing another language had one missing datum, and 23 missing data were noted for both student SES and percentage of ELLs.

The constructs of the three subscales representing the language ideologies were measured with a Likert scale ranging from 1 (strongly disagree) to 5 (strongly agree). For these data, any input captured as zero was considered missing. The item constructs representing monolingual ideology had a total of 6 missing data. Q5 and Q20 each had one missing datum from different participants, whereas Q22 and Q26 each had two missing data inputs from the same participants. The item constructs representing tolerance ideology had five missing data. Q2 had one missing datum, while two missing inputs were observed from both Q24 and Q28. The item constructs representing plurilingual ideology had a total of 12 missing data, with ten missing data from two participants and the other two from two participants. Two missing data inputs were observed from Q21, Q25, Q27, and Q29. Four missing data inputs were noted from Q23. The following section presents the results of demographic variables.

I adopted the Cronbach alpha coefficient to check the internal reliability of the questionnaire, and the validity was assessed by examining the inter-item correlation matrix constructs (knowledge of the benefits of HL literacy development, beliefs towards the processes of emergent bilingual's language acquisition, teacher classroom practices

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towards HL, attitudes toward bilingualism, monolingual mindset, the role of schools, and the role of parents) within each of the three dependent variables.

Monolingual Ideology

The 10-item constructs representing monolingual ideology were analyzed, and a Cronbach alpha coefficient of .782 was observed. This is above the commonly used threshold of 0.7, indicating that the item construct have internal reliability (Bonett & Wright, 2015). The inter-item correlations between the ten constructs ranged from .018 to .523, below the maximum threshold of 0.85, indicating the constructs have internal validity.

 Table 3. Reliability Statistics of Monolingual Ideology Variable

Cronbach's Alpha	Cronbach's Alpha Based on Standardized Items	N of Items
.782	.794	10

Table 4. Summary Item Statistics for the Monolingual Ideology Variable

	Mean	Minimum	Maximum	Range	Maximum / Minimum	Variance	N of Items
Inter-Item Correlations	.278	.018	.523	.506	29.782	.014	10

Summary Item Statistics for the Monolingual Ideology Variable

Tolerance Ideology

The six-item constructs representing tolerance ideology received a Cronbach alpha coefficient of .671, slightly below the common accepted threshold of 0.7 as discussed by Bonett and Wright (2015). Deleting the construct (the role of parents) would increase the Cronbach alpha coefficient to .699. Since the increment in reliability is marginal, and item construct HLPARENTS has no high correlation with another construct representing tolerance, I decided to maintain the construct and assume its internal reliability, a decision supported by Bonett and Wright (2015) discussions of Cronbach alpha coefficient. The inter-item correlations between the six constructs ranged from .054 to .505, below the maximum threshold of 0.85, indicating the constructs have internal validity.

Table 5. Reliability Statistics of Tolerance Ideology Variable

Reliability	Statistics	of T	<i>Colerance</i>	Ideology	Variable

Cronbach's Alpha	Cronbach's Alpha Based on Standardized Items	N of Items	
.671	.676	6	

Table 6. Item-Total Statistics for Tolerance Ideology Variable

	Scale Mean if Item Deleted	Scale Variance if Item Deleted	Corrected Item- Total Correlation	Squared Multiple Correlation	Cronbach's Alpha if Item Deleted
HLPARENTS	11.90	14.668	.195	.078	.699
ACKOWENCLAS S	13.33	12.319	.507	.420	.592
HLVALUEBUTUS EEN	12.58	11.811	.464	.309	.607
AFTERENHL	13.12	12.058	.489	.262	.596
HLGOODAFTERE N	13.73	13.635	.495	.353	.608
HLLHIGHSCHOO L	13.70	14.275	.299	.171	.662

Item-Total Statistics for Tolerance Ideology Variable

Table 7. Summary Item Statistics for Tolerance Ideology Variable

	Mean	Minimum	Maximum	Range	Maximum / Minimum	Variance	N of Items
Inter-Item Correlations	.258	.054	.505	.451	9.298	.021	6

Summary Item Statistics for Tolerance Ideology Variable

Plurilingual Ideology

The 13-item constructs representing plurilingual ideology were found to have a Cronbach alpha coefficient of .823, indicating good internal reliability (Bonett & Wright, 2015). The inter-item correlations between the 13 constructs ranged from .018 to .562, below the maximum threshold of 0.85, indicating the constructs have internal validity.

Table 8. Reliability Statistics of Plurilingual Ideology Variable

Reliability S	<i>Statistics</i>	of Pluriling	ual Ideology	Variable
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Cronbach's Alpha	Cronbach's Alpha Based on Standardized Items	N of Items
.823	.828	13

Table 9. Summary Item Statistics for the Plurilingual Ideology Variable Summary Item Statistics for the Plurilingual Ideology Variable

	Mean	Minimum	Maximum	Range	Maximum / Minimum	Variance	N of Items
Inter-Item Correlations	.270	.018	.562	.543	30.589	.016	13

Quantitative Results: Descriptive Statistics of the Demographic Variables

This section presents and discusses the descriptive statistics of independent variables: teachers' gender, ethnicity, years of teaching, languages spoken, type of program and grade, schools rank on students' SES, and percentage of ELL in the school. For validity purposes, I compare how the data collected mirrors the demographics of my target population, MDCPS elementary teachers. Also, I explore the implications of my research participants' characteristics, highlighting how this research focused explicitly on MDCPS due to the teachers' diversity, if compared with the national and state demogrpahic.

Teachers' Demographic Data on Gender and Ethnicity

Using federal (National Center for Education Statistics, 2022) and Florida Department of Education (Florida Department of Education, 2021) data, I compared the gender and ethnicity demographic percentages of elementary school teachers at national, state, and district levels with my research participants. It is essential to highlight that MDCPS teachers' demographics differ from the federal and state percentages. This research specifically focused on MDCPS because the district contains a majority of the multilingual teachers serving most multilingual learners.

As Table 10 below shows, there is a slight difference between national, state, and district percentages related to the gender of elementary teachers. The National Center for Education Statistics (2022) reported that in the 2017-18 school year, most elementary school teachers were female, male teachers represented only 11 percent at this level, a lower percentage compared to male teachers at the secondary level. During the 2021-22 school year, the state (Florida Department of Education, 2021) registered 9.31% male elementary teachers and 90.68% females. While in that same year, the district (Florida Department of Education, 2021) classified 13% of elementary teachers as male and 87%

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as female. The following table shows the difference between national, state (Florida), Miami-Dade, and my data respondents regarding gender percentages.

%	U.S.	FL	MDCPS	My research
	(2017-18)	(2021-22)	(2021-22)	(2021-22)
Male	11	9	13	4
Female	89	91	87	94
PNS				2

Table 10. Gender Demographic Comparison

PNS: Prefer Not to Say

My data set observed 4% male teachers and 94% female participants. It is essential to highlight that my survey included a "prefer not to say" (PNS) option that was not present in the national, state or district demographic data set. The difference between my data set is a variation of 5 percent more females compared to Miami-Dade teachers. This slight difference does not present a significant non-response bias concerning gender. Consequently, based on Daniel's (2012) considerations of validity in a census, I concluded that my data set could represent the MDCPS population regarding gender.

As showing in Table 11, in the 2020-21 school year, Florida accounted for 72,375 elementary teachers, with MDCPS accounting for 7,416 elementary teachers (Florida Department of Education, 2021). Regarding participants' ethnicity, in my research (n=125), 54% of respondents classified themselves as Latino/a/x, 28% chose White, 16% Black Caribbean or African American, 1% marked Middle Eastern, and 1% Eastern Slavic. I accounted for a missing value of 1.6%, and no participants selected Native Hawaiian or Pacific American, American Indian, or Alaska Native. As the following figure summarizes:

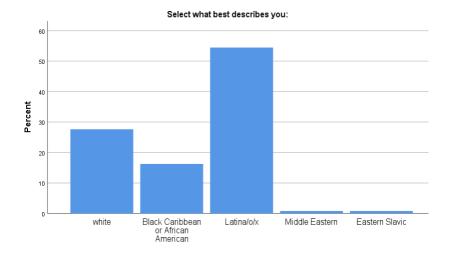


Figure 8. My participants' demographic ethnicity

During the 2017-18 school year, at the federal level (National Center for Education Statistics, 2022), about 79% of public-school teachers were White, 9% were Hispanic, 7% were Black, 2% were Asian, 2% were of two or more races, and 1% were American Indian/Alaska Native. Additionally, Pacific Islanders made up less than 1% of public-school teachers. The following table summarizes the ethnic proportion of national, Florida, Miami-Dade, and my research data for elementary teachers.

%	White	Black or African American	Hispanic/ Latino	Asian	American Indian or Alaska Native	Native Hawaiian or Other Pacific Islander	Two or more races
National (2017-18)	79	7	9	2			
Florida	68	13	17	1	0.21	0.09	1.04
MDCPS	16	23	59	1	0.31		0.17
My research	28	16	54	1.617			

Table 11 - Elementary Florida teachers' demographics on ethnicity (2020-21 school year)

¹⁷ I reached this percentage by adding participants who chose Middle Eastern, and Eastern Slavic options.

I compared the demographics of my survey data collected with the data in the previous table regarding ethnicity. The difference between Miami-Dade (Florida Department of Education, 2021) and my data set consists of my data representing 12% more White teachers, 6% fewer Black Caribbean or African American teachers, and 5% fewer Latinx teachers. Despite observing more than a 10% difference in White respondents, I concluded that all the differences between Miami-Dade and my participants do not indicate a significant nonresponse bias in need for weighting data.

Taking Daniel's (2012) and Fincham's (2008) considerations about validity in census data collection, I concluded that the slight difference between fewer points percentage does not present a significant nonresponse bias in the need for weighting data adjustment. Another critical reason leading me to assume that my participants' data set represents Miami-Dade teachers is that all nine school board districts were represented, and there is a great diversity of participants' schools' zip codes in my research.

Participants' Teaching Grades, Years of Teaching, and Schools' Demographic Data

This research concentrated on surveying kindergarten, 1st, and 2nd grade teachers due to Lee and Kim's (2008) and He's (2008) observation that HL does not simply perform the function of regular communication, it is also a symbolic marker of a learner's identity. The K-2nd grade is a period of immersion in literacy in the school language, which usually affects emergent bilinguals and their family's relationship with their HL, possibly leading to language shift (O'Grady et al., 2011). As indicated in the Figure 6, participants in this research represented a slight majority of kindergarten teachers (37%),

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while each first and second-grade teacher represented 32 %. All three grades were distributed evenly, around 30%.

Figure 9. My participants divided by grade.

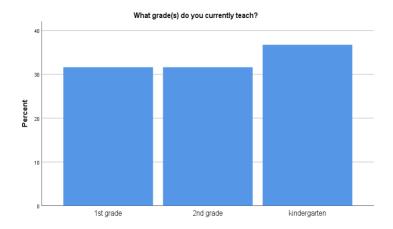


Figure 10 details the proportion of participants' experience (in years). Most research participants had less than five years of experience, representing 30% (n = 37), followed by those with more than 26 years of experience (16%, n = 20), those with six to ten years of experience (15%, n = 18), those with 11 to 15 years (14%, n = 17), and 16 to 20 years (14%, n = 17). The smallest percentage of participants was with those with 21 to 25 years of experience (11%, n = 13).

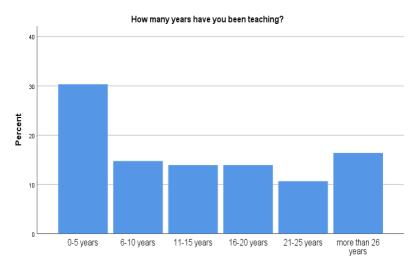
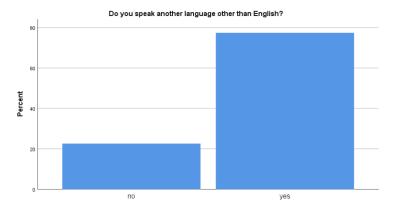


Figure 10. My participants by teaching experience in years

Figure 11 shows the proportion of monolingual or multilingual teachers. The figure below shows that 77% (n = 96) could speak another language in addition to English whereas 23% (n = 28) could only speak English.

Figure 11. My participants by their language abilities



In my research, 84% of participating teachers worked in a mainstream program, while 16% worked in bilingual programs. Considering each school's accounting of student SES, I accounted for 9% of the teachers representing schools with students receiving between 0-25% of free and reduced lunch (FRL), 10% between 26-50%, 24% between 51-74%, and 57% of teachers representing schools with students receiving between 75-100% of FRL.

Another set of data collected from the teachers participating in this Phase I was their schools' percentage of ELL students. I accounted for 52% of teachers from schools with a percentage between 0-25% of students classified as ELL, 46% between 26-50%, 2% between 51-74%, and less than 1% with teachers from schools with a percentage between 75-100% of students classified as ELL. Summarizing, in Phase I, most teachers represented schools with a high percentage of students receiving FRL and between 0-50% of students classified as ELL.

Quantitative Findings: Descriptive Statistics of the Ideology Scale

The survey instrument encompassed 29 items organized to represent three different ideological approaches to students' HL. The following is a detailed description of the results for each ideology scale.

Monolingual Ideology

Sentences in the monolingual scale were composed to capture negative beliefs and attitudes toward bilingualism and HL oral and literacy development. As examples, a sentence was designed to pick up whether a teacher believes that developing HL (oral and literacy skills) can be confusing or prevent learners' English development, whether teachers see no relationship to or responsibility for HLL's development, or whether they perceive schools should be sites for students to assimilate to English, reproducing the monolingual mindset previously discussed. An important tendency in this scale was teachers' belief that families and students should focus on English development only.

Figure 12 below shows that 26% (n = 33) strongly disagree with having a monolingual ideology, 57% (n = 71) disagree, 14% (n = 17) are not sure whether they

have a monolingual ideology, 2% (n = 3) indicate they have a monolingual ideology, and 1% (n = 1) strongly agree.

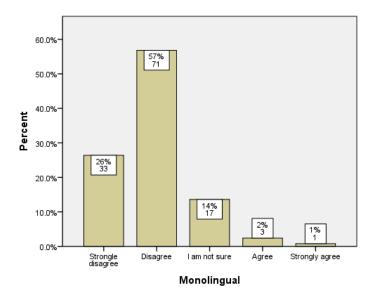


Figure 12. Participants Distribution of Monolingual Ideology

The questions in this pool captured a general rejection of an assimilationist perspective. From the total of 10 statements, in six, teachers indicated a blunt rejection of any monolingual ideology, valuing bilingualism in some specific ways. They understood the importance of HL literacy and oral development for learners' identity and how HL development positively impacts learners' English development. Noteworthy are questions Q6, Q12, Q16, Q18, Q22, and Q26, which indicated that more than 70% of teachers disagreed or strongly disagreed with the statements, as the following table shows:

Question	Statement	Disagreement	
number		Percentage	
Q22	Everyone in this country should speak English and only	95.2%	
	English.		
Q12	Encouraging students to maintain their home language	90.4%	
	will prevent them from fully learning English.		
Q6	In my class, I ask students to leave their home language	88%	
	behind and focus on English.		
Q26	Frequent use of the home language at home will	87.2%	
	prevent students from learning English.		
Q18	Schools should be invested in only helping students	84%	
	learn English.		
Q16	Students should spend their time learning to read and	73.6%	
	write in English rather than in the home language.		

 Table 12. Statements which confidently indicated a rejection of monolingual perspective (Ordered by the highest number of disagreement).

A general observation of the percentages from above statements indicated a blunt rejection of monolingual ideology towards more general affirmations, such as (Q22) "Everyone in this country should speak English and only English," which presented the most level of disagreement with 95.2%. Meanwhile, questions involving considerations about using HL inside schools received less confident rejection, such as (Q16) "Students should spend their time learning to read and write in English rather than in the home language," with a percentage of disagreement of 73.4%.

Teachers disagreed with the monolingual ideological perspective in all statements except one (Q5) "In my classroom, students need to spend time and energy learning English rather than their home language." The majority (54%) agreed with this statement and a similar tendency was observed in specific questions that related to the use of HL inside schools. Specifically, in three statements, Q1, Q8, Q20 (which reject monolingual perspective), respondents showed high number of adherences toward a monolingual ideology if we consider the number of not sure, agree, and strongly agree combine. In Q1, "It is confusing for a student's brain to develop literacy in their home language and English simultaneously," 35.2% of the respondents indicated that they are not sure or unaware of research on bilingual language acquisition processes. In Q8, "In my class, students must use English all the time to learn English faster," a total of 36.8% of the participants were not sure or indicated that they believe they are helping learners when creating an English-only classroom (32%). Related to beliefs toward language use at home, in Q20, "I advise parents to help their children learn to speak English faster by speaking English at home," 32.4% of teachers believed that parents will help learners if they speak English. Notably, 12% of the teachers showed that they still need to determine what languages they should advise parents to use at home. Table 13 summarizes these results.

 Table 13. Statements which rejected monolingual perspectives but with more balanced results.

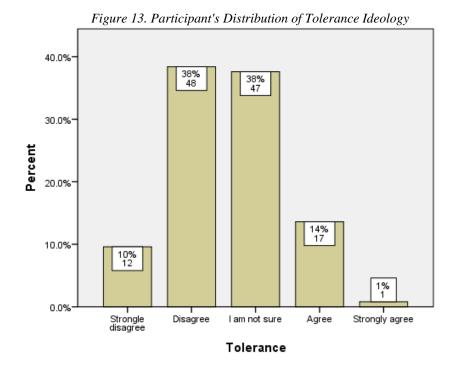
 (Ordered by the highest number of disagreement).

		Disagree	Not Sure	Agree
Q1	It is confusing for a student's brain to	64.8%	13.6%	21.5%
	simultaneously develop literacy in			
	their home language and English.			
Q8	In my class, students must use English	63.2%	4.8%	32%
	all the time to learn English faster.			
Q20	I advise parents to help their children	54.4%	12%	32.4%
	learn to speak English faster by			
	speaking English at home.			

Tolerance Ideology

The statistical analysis of participants' answers toward a tolerance perspective revealed more balanced results than the blunt rejection of the monolingual perspective. Figure 13 below shows that 10% (n = 12) strongly disagreed with statements indicating a tolerance ideology, 38% (n = 48) of the participants disagreed, 38% (n = 37) of the

participants were not sure, 14% (n = 17) agreed with statements indicating a tolerance language ideology, and 1% (n = 1) strongly agreed. Notably, the number of participants inclined to disagree or indicating they were unsure about the statements was considerable (38%).



The questions in this pool captured that most teachers (Q2=72%) agreed that HL maintenance is the parents' responsibility. Most teachers rejected (Q24=80.8%) that HL literacy is good only after learners' have mastered English. Similarly, teachers disagreed that the preferred time for HL instruction should be after elementary years (Q28=75.2%). Interestingly, although most participants disagreed that they only acknowledge students when speaking in English (69.6%), there was a considerable number of participants (30.4%) who were not sure or agreed to ignore learners' HL use in class (Q10). Table 14 shows the tolerance sentences on a scale based on participants' responses:

70% or Higher Disagree	Attentive Results	70% or Higher Agree
Q24. Home language literacy is good, but only after children master English.	Q14. I tell my students that their home language is important and valuable, but that at school, we must use English.	Q2. Home language maintenance is the responsibility of the parents.
Q28. Schools should provide home language instruction in middle or high school only.	Q17. After students have mastered English, I value their home language(s).	
Q10. Students may use their home languages in class, but I acknowledge them only when they use English.		

Table 14. Comparison of tolerance perspective statements in a scale

Similar to the results in the monolingual scale, in general, the tolerance scale confirmed that teachers value students' bilingualism but see schools as English-only spaces. This pool also confirmed that teachers do not see the importance of using HL inside classrooms or feel responsible for students' HL maintenance.

Plurilingual Ideology

Consistent with previous results, data measuring tendencies toward the plurilingual ideology showed most teachers believed that HL maintenance is important, valued HL literacy and oral development, and understood bilinguals' language development. Compiling the statistics of this pool, most teachers agreed (53%) or strongly agreed (30%), with sentences indicating a plurilingual perspective. These results show that none (0%) of the participants strongly disagreed with having a plurilingual ideology, 2% (n = 3) disagreed, and 14% (n = 18) were not sure about sentences indicating a plurilingual ideology. As the figure shows:

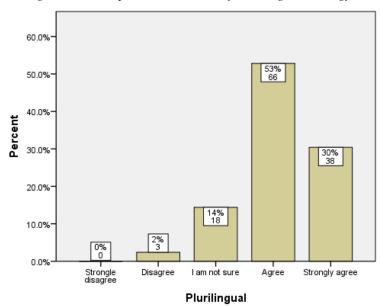


Figure 14. Participant's Distribution of Plurilingual Ideology

Eight statements (Q3, Q4, Q7, Q9, Q11, Q13, Q19, Q23) received a high percentage of agreement (higher than 70%), as the Table 15 describes:

	(Ordered by the highest number of agreement).	
Question	uestion Statement	
number		Percentage
Q13	I believe the maintenance of the home language is important for a student's development of his/her/their identity.	96.8%
Q4	Home language literacy is beneficial for students' English	91.2%
	language development.	
Q7	Developing speaking skills in the home language helps	91.2%
	students in their academic progress.	
Q3	Students can learn to read and write in two languages at the	90.4%
	same time.	
Q11	It is beneficial that students are highly literate and orally	89.6%
	fluent in both English and their home language.	
Q19	I discuss with parents how we can help their children learn	82.4%
	English and maintain their home language(s).	
Q23	In my teaching, I place equal importance and value on	80.8%
	knowing both English and the home language.	
Q9	I explicitly praise the students for knowing another	74.4%
	language.	

Table 15. Statements which confidently indicated adherence to a plurilingual perspective

However, a more detailed observation of all the statement percentages presented interesting results. Although most teachers agreed with sentences indicating a plurilingual perspective, four statements (Q15, Q21, Q27, Q29) received more balanced results. The following table shows the four statements with more balanced tendencies:

 Table 16. Statements which accepted the plurilingual perspective but had more balanced results if considered not sure and disagree

Question Number	Statement	Agree	Not Sure	Disagree
Q25	I make an effort to learn and use learners' home language in my classroom.	66.4%	10.4%	21.6%
Q29	I tell parents that maintaining the home language is a crucial component to developing literacy in English.	66.4%	16.8%	15.2%
Q27	Ideally, schools should provide home language literacy instruction starting in kindergarten.	65%	18.4%	16%
Q15	In class, I have my students share their home language every chance I get.	50.4%	16.8%	32.8%

(Ordered by the highest number of agreement).

The last statement in the table above is an example of how 48% of participants were not sure or agreed that students use their HL inside classrooms. Noteworthy, most

teachers, 58%, disagreed with the statement (Q21), "I allow students to use their home language in completing classwork or assignments."

All descriptive statistics results organized by ideology scales together are consistent. They revealed that although teachers value bilingualism and learners' HL, inside schools, and more specifically inside classrooms, HLs is not used or valued. It also indicates that teachers mostly do not use HL to scaffold students learning inside classrooms, ignoring their background knowledge.

Quantitative Findings: Ordinal Regression

To deepen my analysis from data collected in Phase I, I used ordinal logistic regression to predict how the ordinal dependent variable (teachers' beliefs measured by Likert-scale) relates to one or more nominal (ordinal and categorical) independent variables (gender, ethnicity, years of teaching, students' SES, and percentage of ELL in the school). These calculations aimed to answer one research question: Is there any relationship between teachers' demographics and language ideologies?

The research questionnaire collected 37 variables from each participant where eight questions represented the demographics. Since the demographic variables were the predictor variables, all record with missing data were deleted thereby reducing the sample size to 91 (n=91) from the 125 records initially collected.

Assumptions for Ordinal Regression

O'Connell (2006) explained that to analyze the data using ordinal regression, the dataset had to meet four criteria:

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- The dependent variable should be ordinal.
- The independent variables can combine categorical, ordinal, and continuous variables.
- There is no multicollinearity between variables.
- The model has proportional odds.

I explain these four criteria following.

The Dependent Variable Should Be Ordinal. Considering O'Connell (2006) discussion, in this study, the three dependent variables (monolingual, tolerance, and plurilingual) were all measured on an ordinal scale.

The Independent Variables Can Combine Categorical, Ordinal, and

Continuous Variables. Following O'Connell (2006) considerations, in this study, the independent variables included nominal and ordinal variables. Specifically, there were five nominal variables (gender, ethnicity, teaching grade, teaching program, and knowledge of another language), and three ordinal variables (teaching experience, measured by the number of years; the teachers' school percentage of the students' SES, classified by the number of students receiving free and reduced lunch; and the third one, the percentage of ELL students in the participant's school).

There Is No Multicollinearity. No multicollinearity ensures that no two or more independent variables are highly correlated. A high correlation between the independent variables causes challenges in understanding which variables contribute to explaining the

dependent variable. In this study, the Model Fitting Information ranged from .133 to .619, below the high correlation threshold (0.7) (O'Connell, 2006). As the following three table shows:

Table 17. Monolingual Model Fitting

Model Fitting Information					
	-2 Log				
Model	Likelihood	Chi-Square	df	Sig.	
Intercept Only	170.431				
Final	165.091	5.340	7	.619	

Link function: Logit.

Table 18. Tolerance Model Fitting

Model Fitting Information

	-2 Log			
Model	Likelihood	Chi-Square	df	Sig.
Intercept Only	196.390			
Final	187.851	8.539	7	.287

Link function: Logit.

Table 19. Plurilingual Model Fitting

Model Fitting Information					
	-2 Log				
Model	Likelihood	Chi-Square	df	Sig.	
Intercept Only	144.601				
Final	133.475	11.126	7	.133	

Link function: Logit.

The Model Has Proportional Odds. O'Connell (2006) explained that for the results of an ordinal logistic regression to be valid, there should be an identical effect of every independent variable on the cumulative split of the dependent variable. In other

words, ordered logistic regression assumes that the coefficients that describe the relationship between all pairs of groups are the same; there is only one set of coefficients (only one model). As O'Connell (2006) explained, if this were not the case, we would need different models to describe the relationship between each pair of outcomes. To satisfy the proportional odds assumption, I ran diverse calculation and ended removing the independent variables teaching program, teaching grade, and knowledge of another language from the model. Using as independent variables gender, ethnicity, students' SES, and the number of ELL students at school, I confirmed the proportional odds assumption and checked by analyzing the test of parallel lines as follow.

Monolingual Dependent Variable. Table 20 below provides the summary where p = .749. For our model, the proportional odds assumption has held because the significance of our Chi-Square statistic is bigger than .05 (O'Connell, 2006).

	-2 Log	5		
Model	Likelihood	Chi-Square	df	Sig.
Null Hypothesis	165.091			
General	148.722 ^b	16.369°	21	.749

Table 20. Monolingual Test of Parallel Lines^a

The null hypothesis states that the location parameters (slope coefficients) are the same across response categories.^a

a. Link function: Logit.

b. The log-likelihood value cannot be further increased after maximum number of step-halving.

c. The Chi-Square statistic is computed based on the log-likelihood value of the last iteration of the general model. Validity of the test is uncertain.

Tolerance Dependent Variable. For this dependent variable, the test of parallel

lines summary where p = .865 indicating the model to satisfy the proportional odds

assumption:

	-2 Log			
Model	Likelihood	Chi-Square	df	Sig.
Null Hypothesis	187.851			
General	173.747 ^b	14.104 ^c	21	.865

The null hypothesis states that the location parameters (slope coefficients) are the same across response categories.^a

a. Link function: Logit.

b. The log-likelihood value is practically zero. There may be a complete separation in the data. The maximum likelihood estimates do not exist.c. The Chi-Square statistic is computed based on the log-likelihood value of

the last iteration of the general model. Validity of the test is uncertain.

Plurilingual Dependent Variable. Table 22 below shows the test of parallel lines

summary where p = .417 indicating the slope coefficients are the same across the

response variables, which indicates the model satisfy the proportional odds assumption.

	-2 Log			
Model	Likelihood	Chi-Square	df	Sig.
Null Hypothesis	133.475			
General	126.362	7.114	7	.417

Table 22. Plurilingual Test of Parallel Lines^a

The null hypothesis states that the location parameters (slope coefficients) are the same across response categories.^a a. Link function: Logit.

Ordinal Regression Results for Monolingual Dependent Variable

After meeting the four assumptions for the ordinal regression, this section

proceeds to presenting the Pseudo R Square values for the three different measures. The

Cox and Snell value (r = .057) shows that the predictor variables contribute 5.7% of the variation in monolingual language ideology beliefs, Nagelkerke (r = .063) indicates it is 6.3% while McFadden shows it is 2% (r = 0.026). All indicating very low correlation between variables, as showed in Table 23.

Table 23. Monolingual Pseudo R-Square Values

Pseudo R-Square				
Cox and Snell	.057			
Nagelkerke	.063			
McFadden .026				

Link function: Logit.

Table 24 below provides the monolingual dependent variable parameter estimates, which are the ordered log-odds (logit) regression coefficients. From the table, only the measure representing (GENDER =1, p = .000) could be statistically significant in predicting some variation in monolingual language ideology. This is later discussed.

	Parameter Estimates						
	Estimate	Std. Error	Wald	df	S	Sig.	
Threshol	[Monolingual = 1]	15.462	1.059	213.139	1	.000	
d	[Monolingual = 2]	17.885	1.061	284.140	1	.000	
	[Monolingual = 3]	19.531	1.146	290.576	1	.000	
	[Monolingual = 4]	20.957	1.436	213.12	1	.000	
Location	YEARS	107	.112	.908	1	.341	
	SES	080	.224	.128	1	.720	
	ELL	.080	.376	.046	1	.831	
	[GENDER=1]	16.681	1.399	142.071	1	.000	
	[GENDER=2]	16.625	.000		1		
	[GENDER=4]	0 ^a			0		
	[RACE=1.0]	.373	.464	.645	1	.422	
	[RACE=2.0]	.970	.639	2.310	1	.129	
	[RACE=3.0]	O ^a			0		

Table 24.	Monolingual	Parameter	Estimates
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Parameter Estimates						
	95% Confidence Interval					
	Lower Bound Upper Bound					
Threshold	[Monolingual = 1]	13.386	17.538			
	[Monolingual = 2]	15.805	19.964			
	[Monolingual = 3]	17.285	21.777			
	[Monolingual = 4]	4] 18.143 23.77				
Location	YEARS	326	.113			
	SES	518	.358			
	ELL	657	.818			
	[GENDER=1]	13.938	19.423			
	[GENDER=2]	16.625 16.625				
	[GENDER=4]					
	[RACE=1.0]	537 1.283				
	[RACE=2.0]	[RACE=2.0]281 2.22				
	[RACE=3.0]					

Link function: Logit. a. This parameter is set to zero because it is redundant.

Table 24 above confirms these results by the Parameter Estimates, where no variable showed significance less of 0.05, required to reject the null hypothesis.

Ordinal Regression Results for the Tolerance Dependent Variable

After meeting the four assumptions for the ordinal regression, related to Pseudo R Square values for the model, The Cox and Snell value (r = .090) shows that the predictor variables contribute 9% of the variation in the tolerance language ideology beliefs, Nagelkerke (r = .096) indicates it is 9.6% whereas McFadden shows it is 3% (r = 0.036). See table below:

Table 25.	Tolerance	Pseudo-Square	Values
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Pseudo R-Square					
Cox and Snell	.090				
Nagelkerke	.096				
McFadden	.036				

Link function: Logit.

Table 26 below provides the tolerance dependent variable parameter estimates. From the table, no measure was noted to be statistically significant in predicting the variation in tolerance language ideology (significance less of 0.05).

	Para	meter Esti	mates			
	Estimate	Std. Error	Wald	df	S	Sig.
Threshold	[Tolerance = 1]	-1.003	2.220	.204	1	.651
	[Tolerance = 2]	1.245	2.221	.314	1	.575
	[Tolerance = 3]	2.899	2.236	1.682	1	.195
	[Tolerance $= 4$]	6.030	2.448	6.068	1	.014
Location	YEARS	065	.108	.361	1	.548
	SES	080	.215	.138	1	.710
	ELL	.317	.365	.758	1	.384
	[GENDER=1]	2.459	2.346	1.099	1	.294
	[GENDER=2]	.869	1.915	.206	1	.650
	[GENDER=4]	0 ^a			0	
	[RACE=1.0]	.843	.452	3.475	1	.062
	[RACE=2.0]	1.086	.617	3.094	1	.079
	[RACE=3.0]	O ^a			0	

Table 26. Tolerance Parameter Estimates

Link function: Logit.

a. This parameter is set to zero because it is redundant.

Parameter Estimates							
		95% Confidence Interval					
	Lower Bound Upper Bound						
Threshold	[Tolerance = 1]	-5.354	3.348				
	[Tolerance = 2]	-3.108	5.599				
	[Tolerance = 3]	-1.483	7.281				
	[Tolerance $= 4$]	1.232	10.828				
Location	YEARS	276	.146				
	SES	501	.342				
	ELL	397	1.032				
	[GENDER=1]	-2.138	7.056				
	[GENDER=2]	-2.884	4.622				
	[GENDER=4]						
	[RACE=1.0]	043	1.729				
	[RACE=2.0]	124	2.295				
	[RACE=3.0]	•					

Link function: Logit. a. This parameter is set to zero because it is redundant.

Ordinal Regression Results for Plurilingual Dependent Variable

After meeting the four assumptions for the ordinal regression, here are the Pseudo R Square values for the three different measures. The Cox and Snell value (r = .115) shows that the predictor variables contribute 11.5% of the variation in the plurilingual language ideology beliefs, Nagelkerke (r = .134) indicates it is 13.4%, whereas McFadden shows it is 6.2% (r = 0.062).

Table 27.	Plurilingual	Pseudo	R-Square
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Pseudo R-Square					
Cox and Snell	.115				
Nagelkerke	.134				
McFadden .062					

Link function: Logit.

Table 28 below provides the plurilingual dependent variable parameter estimates. From the table, two measures [RACE=1 (p = .039), and GENDER=1 (p = .000)] were noted to be statistically significant in predicting the variation in plurilingual language ideology, which will be further discussed.

Parameter Estimates							
	Estimate Std. Error Wald df Sig.						
Threshold	[Plurilingual = 3]	-18.087	1.093	273.840	1	.000	
	[Plurilingual = 4]	-15.402	1.078	203.977	1	.000	
Location	YEARS	.163	.115	2.014	1	.156	
	SES	180	.229	.619	1	.432	
	ELL	.411	.388	1.121	1	.290	
	[GENDER=1]	-18.742	1.468	162.940	1	.000	
	[GENDER=2]	-16.383	.000		1		
	[GENDER=4]	0 ^a			0		
	[RACE=1.0]	-1.003	.485	4.273	1	.039	
	[RACE=2.0]	396	.648	.374	1	.541	
	[RACE=3.0]	0 ^a			0		

Table 28. Plurilingual Parameter Estimates	
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Parameter Estimates

		95% Confidence Interval		
		Lower Bound	Upper Bound	
Threshold	[Plurilingual = 3]	-20.229	-15.944	
	[Plurilingual = 4]	-17.516	-13.289	
Location	YEARS	062	.389	
	SES	629	.269	
	ELL	350	1.172	
	[GENDER=1]	-21.620	-15.865	
	[GENDER=2]	-16.383	-16.383	
	[GENDER=4]			
	[RACE=1.0]	-1.955	052	
	[RACE=2.0]	-1.666	.874	
	[RACE=3.0]			

Link function: Logit. a. This parameter is set to zero because it is redundant.

Summary of Ordinal Regression

All the constructs representing monolingual, tolerance, and plurilingual ideology scales were confirmed to have good internal reliability and validity. To satisfy the proportional odds assumption for conducting ordinal regression, some modifications to the independent variables were undertaken, such as eliminating teaching program, teaching grade, and knowledge of another language. Using as independent variables gender, ethnicity, students' SES, and the number of ELL students at school I confirmed the proportional odds assumption, checked by analyzing the test of parallel lines.

In the monolingual scale, only gender showed a possibility in predicting the variation [GENDER=1 (p = .000)]. Noteworthy, considering that 94% of participants were female, this significance relates only to an interception. In the tolerance dependent variable model, the measures were also not helpful in predicting any variation. In the plurilingual scale, two measures were noted to be statistically significant in predicting the variation in plurilingual language ideology namely, [RACE=1 (p = .039), and GENDER=1 (p = .000)].

Despite these results, the overall judgment of whether independent variables have influence on the dependent variable is based on the model fitting information table for each model (see Tables 17, 18, and 19). In the model fitting tables, the presence of the predictor/independent variables did not help predict the dependent variable. Because of this, the independent variables are considered to have an influence of intercept only.

Summary of Results of Quantitative Approach Informing Qualitative Phase

Considering all quantitative results together, I evaluated that most teachers inclined toward a tolerant perspective: They value HL maintenance and bilingualism in theory, but during instructional time they see classrooms as English-only spaces. Most teachers also reported that they did not allow students to complete assignments using their HL. These results confirmed previous studies in Florida (Dwyer and O'Gorman Fazzolari, 2023; Szecsi, Szilagyi, and Giambo, 2015; Coady, Harper, and de Jong, 2011; Harper *el al.* 2007) indicating that teachers do not use HL to scaffold students learning inside classrooms, ignoring their background knowledge.

These results helped design my qualitative data collection phase by indicating that I needed to pay attention to when teachers use learners' HL and for what purposes. While conducting interviews, I elaborated questions (see chapter three) about teachers' consciousness of following a language policy and why, so I could better understand how teachers in this multilingual community, being multilingual themselves, submit or not to the symbolic power of English and cultivate, or not, a "monolingual habitus" inside classrooms.

Part II: Results from the Qualitative Approach

In the qualitative phase, my involvement as a researcher was necessary to observe participants' teaching experiences. I usually sat in the back of the class, observed, and took notes of teachers' and students' interactions guided by qualitative approach recommendations from Bogdan and Biklen (2007). However, after finishing my observations, I sometimes noticed the teacher needed help distributing materials and checking students' notebooks, and I volunteered to help teachers for 30 minutes to 1 hour. For this phase, I collected five 40- to 45-minute-long interview video recordings, four hours of class observations registered in video recordings, and 16 hours of classroom observations registered in my observation protocol. I collected around 200 minutes of interviews and 20 hours of classroom observations.

Qualitative Data Collection

The qualitative component of this study used a sample of five teachers. One teacher who completed the survey indicated her interest in participating in the qualitative phase encompassing four hours of classroom observations and a semi-structured interview. The other four teachers were recruited by sending emails and flyers to the 290 principals asking them to share the qualitative data collection phase invitation. From these recruitment emails, four more teachers (from three different schools) volunteered to participate in this phase. All participants' names have been changed to respect their privacy. In chapter three, I described the four schools' settings and the five teachers. The following two tables summarizes the demographic information of the schools' visited and the participant teachers:

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Schools	Туре	Program	Number of Teachers	Number of Students	Students Ethnicity % White	Students Ethnicity % Black	Students Ethnicity % Hispanic	% FRL
One	Public Charter	English Immersion	31	543	11	22	64	20
Two	Public Magnet	Language Focus (30m day)	33	433	2	65	30	83
Three	Public	EFL (30m day)	34	460	3	1	96	81
Four	Public Charter	Bilingual (40% target language, 60% EN)	42	1,100	5		92	34

Table 29. Summary of Participants Schools in Qualitative Approach

Data collected from National Center for Education Statistics

Table 30. Summary of Participant Teachers in Qualitative Approach

Teacher	Ethnicity	Languages	Bachelor	Master
		Spoken		
Laura	White	EN/ SP/ PO/	Spanish and	Multicultural
(One)		CH	Montessori	Education
Andrea	Hispanic	EN/ SP/ RU	Education and	Reading
(Two)	(CO-AM)		Psychology	
Lucia	Hispanic	EN/ SP	Education	TESOL
(Three)	(CU-AM)			
Valeria	Hispanic	EN/ SP/ RU	English and	
(Four)	(CU-AM)		Translation	
Leticia	Hispanic	EN/ SP	Early Childhood	Education Literacy
(Four)	(CU-AM)		Education	

One teacher, Laura, allowed me to video record her classroom. For this data set, I used a telephone camera with a wireless microphone attached to the teacher's shirt to record Laura during my visits. The remaining four teachers felt uncomfortable with video recording procedures. Consequently, I took notes while observing Andrea, Lucia, Leticia, and Valeria for four hours over five weeks (one week was interrupted by the school's closure due to the proximity of a hurricane). In these observations, I followed Bogdan and Biklen's (2007) features of qualitative research and designed an observation protocol (see Appendix). In this protocol, I took note of teachers' utterances and teacher-student interactions, focusing on what languages the teacher or students used or when they referred to diverse languages and cultures. In the following sections, I describe the qualitative data analysis process.

Qualitative Data Analysis

Qualitative data analysis began with carefully reviewing all data recorded. Initially, I dedicated myself to reading all classroom observation transcripts, and as the next step, I transcribed all interviews. Once the interviews were transcribed, I read each participant's transcript twice and took notes of shared ideas. Reading all class notes and interview transcripts provided a broad sense of the data and helped me reflect on its meaning (Creswell, 2009). In the third round of reading, I looked for comparisons between the classroom observation and interview data regarding the focus of my research questions: teachers' use and beliefs towards languages. After that, I looked thoroughly for excerpts representing teachers' use or value of HL. In the fifth reading, I identified the tentative codes from the raw data. These are the codes generated from classroom observations and interviews:

- Language used by the teacher (EN or SP)
- Language used by the students (EN, SP, PO, HC)
- Bilingualism in general
- Biliteracy (HL specifically)
 - o Transfer
- HL Environment:

- \circ Students can use HL.
- I use EN.
- Teacher Addressing Student Behavior:
 - "Try harder" or "Not doing enough": to all challenging behavior, and for
 EB classified as ESOL when not engaging or lost.
 - SP to connect/intimidate.
 - Positive Behavior Approach.
 - Use the test as a pressure.
- Use of ESOL Scaffolding Practices
 - \circ Translation
 - o Realia
 - o Modeling in EN
- Prescribed Curriculum
 - Scaffolding: video, computer-based reading program, pre-vocabulary reading aloud.
 - Preparing for test
 - o Academic time
- Advice to parents
- Language Landscape
- Language as a "problem"

After organizing data using these codes, I selected exemplary quotes for each. Identifying quotes represented what Creswell (2009) calls the heart of this qualitative portion of the study. As the subsequent data analysis step, I organized all the quotes thematically in the following categories: Language used by the teacher, Language used by Learners, Environment, Teacher Addressing Student Behavior, Use of ESOL Scaffolding Practices, Academic Time, Language Landscape, Transfer, Beliefs Towards Bilingualism in General, Beliefs Towards Biliteracy (specifically HL), Advice to Families, Beliefs Towards the Use of HL Inside Classrooms, Beliefs About Top-down Language Policies, Beliefs Towards ESOL Scaffolding Practices, Students Can Use HL, Language as a "Problem."

Reading these quotes at different times and organizing them in categories led me to notice they could be arranged in the overarching theme of LPP. As presented in the theoretical framework, I am using Spolsky's (2007) idea that LPP involves three independent but interrelated components: language practices, ideologies, and management. The following figure shows how I organized and incorporated the overarching category of LPP and its three components in the data analysis:

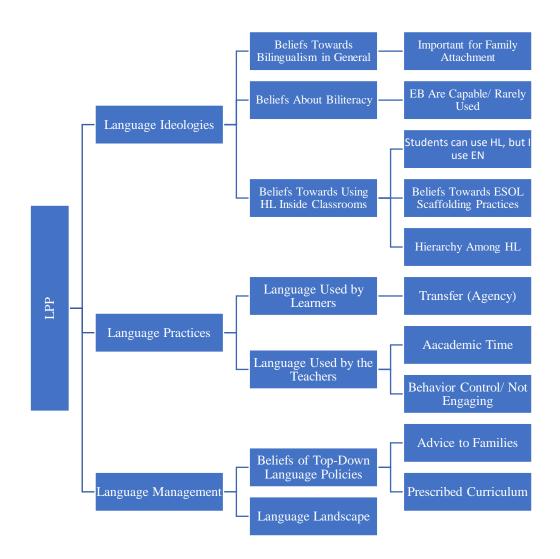


Figure 15. Overarching categories and subcategories derived from thematic codes.

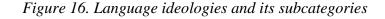
Summarizing the qualitative phase data analysis process: I used Creswell's (2009) content thematic analysis, which involved organizing the raw data in codes and selecting its exemplary quotes. These quotes were organized into categories that became part of an overarching theme.

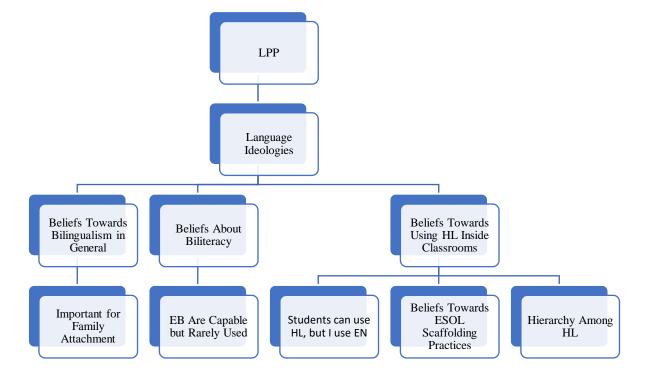
Qualitative Analysis Overall Results

In the following sections, I explain how these quotes and categories relate to Spolsky's (2007) three LPP components: language ideologies, language practices, and language management.

Language Ideologies

As presented in the theoretical framework, this research understands language ideology as a "regime of value" (Gal & Irvine, 2019, p. 13) that is neither true nor false. They represent discourses attributing value to linguistic forms and practices and their effect on building social differences. The following figure summarizes how qualitative data from classroom observations and interviews portrayed teachers' language ideologies.





Beliefs Towards Bilingualism in General. All teachers generally perceived the

value of students maintaining their HL for family integration or future professional

purposes. Two teachers (Laura and Leticia) explicitly commented:

They were only having her as the caregiver all day long, but the mother of the other baby did not want the aunt to speak Spanish. But she didn't really speak English, and she would always say to me, Joanna, "No es in delito hablar". Like, you can't lock me up for this. We would talk about that all the time. How important it is for native people to speak their language. Like I said, even if the child doesn't speak the language, they will have it." (Laura Interview Transcript, p. 5-6, lines 44-6).

And,

"I think that's why we have this program in our school because it really benefits them for their future to be honest. I mean, it'll be great to have somebody that works in your company, works at another school, whoever or wherever, they want to work, they speak three different languages" (Leticia Interview Transcript p. 4, lines 31-34).

In another example, Leticia valued students' HL, noticing the importance of

students' extended family relationships. She attributed this knowledge not only to her

college and master's degree courses but to her own experience, being raised as bilingual,

and observing her nephew's difficulty establishing communication with his grandparents.

So, I really always suggested the parents and recommended them to always continue talking their home language because it's super important. I don't want to lose it, like my niece, and my nephew. They understand Spanish but they barely speak it. So, I've seen that personally. I would like for my students to continue having their home language because it's so important" (Leticia Interview Transcript p. 5, lines 32-35). **Beliefs About Biliteracy.** All teachers affirmed during the interview that students could simultaneously develop oral language and literacy in different languages. During the interview, all teachers noticed that learners transfer skills from one language to another. Noteworthy, Laura, Andrea, and Lucia specifically commented on the advantages of students' developing HL literacy simultaneously with English. As Andrea commented:

Like you know you do not shut down their language you kind of embrace it and it's going to help them you know develop how to read like their literacy in English too. So, I know that they have this skill in Spanish, I know that child was going to be able to do it in English as well. The same thing." (Andrea interview transcript, p. 2, lines 23-26).

Andrea also commented about a newcomer's strong Spanish skills:

When she first came to kindergarten, and (...) she could write sentences in Spanish. So, I was like this is perfect. And I told mom, well she has the skills; she just needs to be exposed to the language. (Andrea Interview Transcript, p. 1, lines 42-44).

And Laura commented about her understanding of emergent bilinguals' transfer skills,

when advising a parent to invest in HL literacy skills:

So, one of my parents—she's from Colombia—and she was telling me that she's concerned because her daughter is reading so well in Spanish but in English it's a little harder. And I said, "Well, I love that she's reading in Spanish because it's phonetic." It's perfectly phonetic, and it's going to be easier to read in Spanish than in English, but in English she's learning all of the rules behind the phonics. So, she is reading, just it's just harder because the English language for reading has as a percent of elements. But most of it is phonetic so it's not too much of a difficulty. And I encourage my students who are coming back next year—the ones who speak Spanish at home—I encourage them to please read and practice the Spanish language sounds, associated with the letter. So, they start to blend and they get those concepts in Spanish. I find that the children when they have that in one language, they are able to read much faster than even my native English speakers. (Laura interview, p. 5, lines 25-35).

Beliefs Towards Using HLs Inside Classrooms. All teachers were at least,

English and Spanish bilinguals, two of them also spoke Russian as a third language, and another spoke Polish and Chinese. During the interviews, as noted before, all teachers commented on valuing HL inside classrooms, and would use students' HL to help newly arrived immigrant students feel comfortable in the classroom:

"I mean we are for the benefit of my students, I speak in English because that's the community language of our classroom, but I will switch any language when necessary. And also, when the opportunity arises. When we're talking about another place, where we are referring to other people, so we want to know some of their language." (Laura Interview Transcript, p. 7, lines 38-31)

However, when questioned during the interview, they confirmed that they mainly use EN

for instructional purposes:

"In English, during the language arts time, when we are reading, we try not to use Spanish, because we have other ways. We have like I said scaffolding. We try not to, and we try for them, as they get directions, they get it in English. You could help them in Spanish, but when you receive any answers from them and everything, we try to do our best in English, definitively" (Lucia interview transcript, p. 4, lines 1-5).

And,

I allow them to use their home languages. If we're doing and it's not something that's academic, I allow them to use their home language. So, keep speaking English, I mean English, Spanish, and Portuguese, even if there were from Haiti, they could talk in their home language, when it's not something academic" (Leticia Interview Transcript, p. 3, lines 11-14).

When asked to clarify what academic work means, she responded,

Academic would be anything that has to do with the curriculum. So, when I'm teaching reading, if I'm reading them a story, at that moment in the story of the week, that's completely in English. And if we're doing language arts, all of that is in English, math, science, and social studies, all of that is in English". (Leticia interview transcripts, p. 3 lines 25-28).

Exceptionally, Andrea, during interview commented that she welcome students using

their HL to complete homework.

"That's fine. I'm OK. When the first time I had her do like a regular size assignment, she wrote to me two sentences in Spanish. And I said, "That's beautifully done," and I think she maybe had a minor error, like capitalization, in the beginning of the sentence. But I said, "In English it's the same way, except that we're putting the words in English" (Andrea Interview Transcript, p. 3, lines 13-18).

However, the other four teachers mainly did not use HL for instructional purposes

(as will be explained later when discussing language practices inside classrooms).

Consequently, despite teachers saying they valued and used HL during the interview,

these beliefs were not carried out inside classrooms, and teachers mainly used EN. When

questioned about why she would use mainly EN during instructional time, Leticia

explained:

"Because when they're learning the English language, you have to really immerse them in that language, so they can start learning it, and understanding it. If I'm talking to them always in Spanish, they're not going to understand English, they are not going to learn it, so I have to talk to them academically in English the entire time—unless I have to translate it for them" (Leticia Interview Transcript, p. 3, lines 14-18). Hierarchy Among HLs. Interestingly, Andrea had 19 students, and 10 were

Haitian Creole heritage speakers classified as ESOL. During my class observations, the teacher never implemented a single scaffolding strategy for these learners. However, she relied on her Spanish skills in the same class to offer limited circumstantial translation to a Spanish-speaking student. During the interview, the teacher reinforced a deficit perspective toward the Haitian community, blaming the parents for not participating in their children's education:

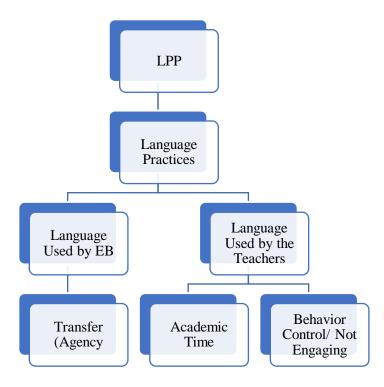
They're less involved. So, it's a little bit harder to reach them. Maybe it is because of the language, (...) I write to them through class Dojo. That's like the app that I send parents messages. I think you saw when I take off points. It is also like a platform instead of my phone to send messages back and forth. I get it right on my boards quick. It like let me answer this message, so I noticed there that this year they put translates to Russian, translates to French translate to Spanish, and I noticed that I would say, the majority of the Haitian Creole, because it's not an option as a language, they don't have it yet, what they do is put to translate to Spanish or to French. At least whatever I write in English, they're understanding, I guess, (Andrea interview, p. 4, lines 11-26).

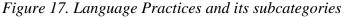
As another example, Laura never used a language other than English in class, despite believing that the teacher should make efforts to communicate with learners' cultural and linguistic backgrounds. I pointed out this disparity during the interview, and she explained that the administration required an English-only language policy because the school is not bilingual and,

the reason why that is because we serve over a 30% of our community is African American. They feel that African American children, here in Miami, are often disserved because they're not bilingual, or multilingual. So, and their language, their dialect is not respected. So that's why they have our school as an English immersion program, not as a bilingual. Because we are serving a good amount of African American students. But in my own personal belief, they need to be able to communicate with the people around them first and foremost. So that's their family. So, they need to be able to speak their home language. I feel that's very important. (Laura interview, p. 7, lines 1-8).

Language Practices

Spolsky (2007) explained that language practices are observable behaviors, and in this research, this section presents the data provided by classroom observations expressly. The following figure summarizes the subcategories data generated for the practices' component.





Language Used by EBs. All participants reported in their interviews allowing students to use their HL in the classroom, usually when it is not "academic time," or letting students use the HL at the beginning of the school year, expecting them to transition to English only at some time. When asked to explain better if students speak their HL in the class when it is not academic time, Leticia observed that she does not mind because they are little. However, if she taught third grade, this would be different: I allow them to use their home languages. If we're doing and it's not something that's academic, I allow them to use their home language. So, keep speaking English, I mean English, Spanish, and Portuguese, even if there were from Haiti, they could talk in their home language, when it's not something academic (Leticia interview transcripts, p. 3 lines 11-14).

Besides commenting that they allowed students to use the language they felt comfortable

with among themselves in their free time, they preferred that students use English for

academic time. Indeed, it was expected that the students "adapt" over the school year and

start using English all the time, as Lucia commented:

I see those two students that started. They only wanted to talk Spanish between them themselves, as friends. I have implemented [English], little by little, because you want them to feel comfortable. After all, they don't have the language. You don't want them to feel you know, an outsider, but little by little. When they talk, they have to talk in Spanish, and I say it in English. And they are talking more [English] now. (Lucia Interview Transcript, p. 3, lines 14-19).

And,

When they talk, they talk in Spanish, and I say it in English. And they are talking more [English] now. When they ask me to go to the restroom, when they ask me something that they want, they said it in English. Two days ago, we had donuts, and one of them wanted chocolate donuts. So, "Well you tell me that you want a chocolate donut. You have to tell me what you want. If you don't tell me, I don't know, but you have to tell me in English". You see the articulation is different because they're getting started. But she's not as shy as she was at the beginning of the school year" (Lucia Interview Transcript, p. 3, lines 20-25).

During the interviews, Laura, Andrea, and Leticia reported that students are

allowed to use any language they feel comfortable with among themselves. In the case of

Laura and Andrea, this represented teachers' agency because they believed that the

district and the school recommended English only inside classrooms.

Learners Use Their Agency to Transfer. During my classroom observation and

when later inquired in the interview, teachers realized that students use their HL during

instructional time to make connections among languages and asking teachers about

cognates:

They do a lot of connections. When we were writing, especially writing. (Lucia interview transcript, p. 4, line 36).

(...)

So, they ask about how do we do this, even writing the date in Spanish. It is very different than English and they see that. It's like that, "Why did you write it in the other way around?" I say, "Like this is the way we write in Spanish. We write the date first, and then the month, and so on" (Lucia interview transcript, p. 5, lines 14-17).

Valeria realized during the interview:

During the learning time, [Luciana's] the one who usually does. She says, "communicate is *communicar en español*," and then I make a pause and said, "That is true, Luciana. In English we have *communicate*." I make that parenthesis to clarify. So, in that way the other students, who do not speak Spanish at all, that happens. It's valid to make that parenthesis. It is something else they learn. I said, "Yes, *comunicar*, in English is *communicate*." Usually, Luciana she's the one who is interested in those (Valeria interview transcript, p. 5, lines 32-36).

During my observations, in Leticia's classroom, the students would speak Spanish or

Portuguese. In the interview I asked her about a moment I registered:

Researcher: I don't know if you noticed. One day, you were teaching about a butterfly, and at the end of the lesson, when they were just like writing in their journals, or drawing, one student started to sing a song from Brazil. The song is called "Little Butterfly," *Borboletinha*. The whole class sang together. It was spontaneous.

Teacher: Yeah, they really like to sing, and especially the songs in Portuguese. They really like that. So, when they want to sing, I really don't mind it if they're doing their work or they're almost done. I don't really mind. They're still babies, you know, they're fine. I think they need to be able to have that, to be child. (Leticia Interview Transcript, p. 3, lines 29-37). Language Used by the Teachers. Similarly to general beliefs captured in quantitative data, qualitative data from interviews indicated that teachers value HL and biliteracy in general. They believed they should use students' HL to help newly arrived students feel comfortable or create a "connection" in the classroom. Furthermore, they would translate directions or sentences to help students if needed. However, there was a mismatch between teachers' belief and their practice. During my classroom observations, all teachers, except one, used English only during instructional time. When teachers used Spanish, it was for interpersonal communication, to get students' attention and cooperation, or to comment on their behaviors:

- "Mira todo esso, I don't like this mess." (Leticia classroom observation Protocol 1, September 20, 2022).
- "Por qué estás haciendo esso?" (Lucia Classroom Observation Protocol 4, on 11.03. 2022).
- "Papi, you need to stop doing that." (Lucia Classroom Observation Protocol 5, on 11.07. 2022).
- "Ayer, también no he hecho nada." (Lucia Classroom Observation Protocol 5, on 11.07. 2022).

Despite teachers saying in the interview that they would use students' HL to scaffold understanding if needed, during my classroom observations, only one teacher (Andrea) used circumstantial translation to Spanish, which is a language the teachers equated to all students, despite their HLs varying among Italian, Russian, French, Chinese, and Haitian Creole.

Beliefs Towards ESOL Scaffolding Practices. Remarkably, all teachers reported

during the interview that they relied on circumstantial translation to Spanish as a

scaffolding strategy for students classified as ESOL level 1 or 2¹⁸. Teachers believed that

students classified as ESOL level 3 or 4 did not need adaptions. As Valeria described:

Two students classified as ESOL levels three or four, believe that because they are at this level, they do not need scaffolded tasks or translation, "Because, since she's not ESOL level one or two, I'm supposed not to use the scaffolded task for her, because she's level three" (Valeria interview transcripts, p. 5, lines 20-22).

In fact, in Valeria's interview, she reported that students advised struggling students *not* to use translation as scaffolding. Teachers and students understood that translating should not be a tool for learning languages:

Sometimes, I have a student this year, Luciana. She's not ESOL one or two; she is [level] three. She's doing much better this year in third grade. Sometimes she used to do that but even though, the rest, the ones that are in the same table say, "Hey, Luciana do not translate. It's better not to translate." When I heard that the first time, they are really accountable because, that's what I learned at the university. It's better you need to just associate. That's why it's so good when you have a picture. So the first time I heard that in my class, she was trying to translate. I just immediately I tried to find like a picture or more visuals to help her. But they, the students, they say do not translate. And they try to find an explanation for her, with simpler words to help her (Valeria interview transcripts, p. 5, lines 6-14).

During my 20 hours of classroom observations, only three times teachers used or mentioned Spanish during instructional time. One teacher, Andrea, used Spanish to translate sentences for a reading activity for her ESOL level 1 student. Valeria told students they had already learned the same topic in Spanish class. Lucia mentioned one Spanish word in a pre-reading vocabulary activity when the smart board program

¹⁸ As noted, Florida participates in the WIDA Consortium. Their standards and assessments organize students classified as ESOL in six different English proficiency levels, and there are specific accommodations adequate for each one of them (WIDA, 2020).

displayed the word tranquil in English. Below I offer an excerpt of my notes from when the teacher asked the class what tranquil means:

Some students shout out *peaceful* and the teacher asked, "Can you give me an example of a place that is peaceful?" One student responded, "A lake." The teacher complemented, "Remember the word *tranquila* in Spanish? You hear a lot from your parents, *tranquilo*, *tranquila*." (Lucia classroom observations, November 03, 2002, 9:17 am).

In fact, as noticed before, while Laura used only English, Lucia, Valeria, and Leticia used Spanish mostly to complain about students' behavior, but never offered appropriate scaffolding to assist students classified as ESOL to engage in academic tasks. During interviews, Lucia commented that she teaches Spanish for 45 minutes a day as part of the EFL program¹⁹. She uses Spanish mostly during this period; however, during the rest of the day, she would model English:

When they talk, they talk in Spanish, and I say it in English. And they are talking more [English] now. When they ask me to go to the restroom, when they ask me something that they want, they said it in English. Two days ago, we had donuts, and one of them wanted chocolate donuts. So, "Well you tell me that you want a chocolate donut. You have to tell me what you want. If you don't tell me, I don't know, but you have to tell me in English". You see the articulation is different because they're getting started. But she's not as shy as she was at the beginning of the school year (Lucia interview transcript, p. 3, lines 20-25).

Academic Time. Except for School One, all other schools (Two, Three and Four)

offered an HL class. However, in these programs the teachers believed and enacted a

language separation literacy instruction, as Lucia commented:

We try not to use. In English, during the language arts time, when we are reading, we try not to use Spanish, because we have other ways. We have like I said scaffolding. We try not to, and we try for them, as they get directions, they

¹⁹ EFL is an Extended Foreign Language initiative created for elementary schools in MDCPS dedicated to developing bilingualism. In these programs, teachers should allocate 300 h/week teaching Language Arts/Reading/Writing in the target language.

get it in English. You could help them in Spanish, but when you receive any answers from them and everything, we try to do our best in English, definitively. (Lucia interview transcript, p. 4, lines 1-5).

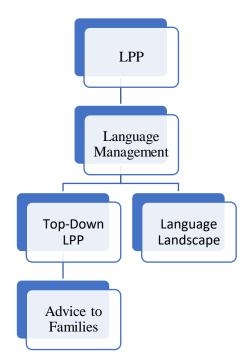
They justified the language separation due to the belief that students need an English immersion environment to learn English:

Because when they're learning the English language, you have to really immerse them in that language, so they can start learning it, and understanding it. If I'm talking to them always in Spanish, they're not going to understand English, they are not going to learn it, so I have to talk to them academically in English the entire time—unless I have to translate it for them. (Leticia interview transcript, p. 3, lines 14-18).

Language Management

As explained in the theoretical framework, Spolsky (2007) understands that the LPP component presupposes a manager with efforts to impose language practices. A complexity of diverse actors are trying to regulate language use inside schools, such as state and district policies, language policies used by curriculum and textbooks, and administration, community, teachers, and parents' ideologies. In this section, I present how the qualitative data (observations and interviews) portrayed the teachers' understanding of top-down language policy.

Figure 18. Language Management and its subcategories



Beliefs of Top-Dow Language Policies. During the interview, teachers presented different beliefs about district or school language policies. Andrea reported that the district language policy was to use English all the time. She also understood that her school ESOL department guidelines are speaking English-only:

"(...) she encourages us to speak to them in English because that's how they're going to pass the year. That's kind of what I tell the parents, I tell them I can't telling them all the time in their home language. What it is, I need for them is to adapt" (Andrea interview, p. 6, lines 31-34).

Despite her beliefs about the district and school language policy, Andrea was the only teacher using SP for instructional purposes: "I don't mind speaking in Spanish sometimes, or even a little bit of Russian, because I know they're going to pick up the English very quickly" (Andrea interview transcript, p. 6, lines 8-9). Other teachers, Laura, reported that the school's administration recommended an English-only environment because the school does not have a bilingual program. She reported that her administration was aware of how Laura's personal beliefs opposed the school language policy, relaying how the administration switched a student out of her class in November 2021 "because you speak Spanish." Meanwhile, Lucia believed that there was no English-only policy in the district. However, she commented that she is allowed to use Spanish because she teaches 45 minutes of this language every day:

No, you don't have guidance for English-only, but we do have guidelines to ESOL support. And it all depends on the ESOL levels. As, you know, they get older, they also use dictionaries. They use a lot of things that helps support their language. But it's not like, "You can't", you know. If there's a child, and this is me, as a teacher, if there's a child that's struggling and I can't get away of communication, I have to help him in Spanish. That I have, no doubt about it. (Lucia interview transcript, p. 4, lines 7-11)

Teachers presented diverse beliefs towards the district's classroom language policy, ranging from English-only to "there is no English-only policy in the district."

Teachers' Perceptions About Advice District or Schools Offer to Families.

Teachers did not know if the district or the school has guidelines for parents about the use of HL at home, but teachers used their agency, based on their knowledge and experience as bilinguals, to advise parents. Interestingly, Andrea believed that the district advises families reading in their HL when the student need reading intervention:

I don't feel like they really talk about that. I feel like it's more said when we have if we have a meeting with the child. With that parent in particular, let's say the child is maybe on the road to repeating in kindergarten, or the child needs more support or the child is doing great, usually it's more when they need that extra support, that we have the meeting and we tell them like you know, "Read to them in your language, in your home language", and that's I think where we encourage that more often than not, like a special meeting." (Andrea Interview Transcript, p. 5, lines 26-32).

Valeria, a teacher from the DLI²⁰ program, believed that the school tells parents to speak their HL at home: "So, the school is always suggesting, please, never stop practicing the mother language" (Valeria interview transcripts, p. 4, line 15). However, Leticia, who teaches in the same program, did not know if the district or the school had guidelines about what languages families should speak at home.

Teachers' Advice to Families. During the interview, most teachers commented advising families to speak their HL and English at home. Usually, they advised parents to maintain their HL based on their experience being raised as bilinguals. However, some of them would ask parents to speak English during homework time:

I recommend for the parents to speak English while they're doing their homework. The homework is in English, so either way, the best way to reinforce the homework is to talk to the students in English. So, I also recommended when they're studying their spelling words, or sight words, anything that's academic wise, that's when I recommend speaking in English. Of course, if there's something like, if the parent knows how to speak English, and also knows Spanish or Portuguese, I usually recommend the parents to switch it up like I do in the classroom. Like if a son doesn't understand *car*, and then *carro*, you know, I told him, "OK, you can use your home language to explain to them what a car is" because that will help them identify. I know what it is now. (Leticia interview transcript, p. 6, lines, 25-33).

²⁰ Dual Language Immersion (DLI) programs aim develop learners biliteracy allocating, in this district, at least 40% of daily school time to a target language.

Language Landscape. In all observed classes, all signage on the walls was in English. Exceptionally, one day in Lucia's classroom, during Hispanic Heritage Month, the teachers and students were conducting a particular project and cooking arepas (a Venezuelan dish). The arepa recipe was available in SP and EN on the whiteboard that day (Lucia Classroom Observation Protocol 1, on 10.06.22). During the interview, when asked if they have bilingual material available to students, all teachers commented that they have a small library with books mainly in English, and all teachers commented that they also have some books available in Spanish and Portuguese. However, only in Laura's classrooms were the books in diverse languages visible and within easy access to students.

Chapter Summary

The data collected and analyzed in this inquiry indicated that teachers in this multilingual community predominantly rejected a monolingual assimilationist tendency towards learners' HL. As Spolsky (2007) noticed, LPP involves the complexity of language practices, language ideologies, and language management. Accounting for all data, teachers predominantly hold what this study named as a tolerant language ideology tendency towards EBs' HLs. In their discourses, they valued bilingualism and understood the importance of HL maintenance, but these beliefs still need to be carried out in their practices. Moreover, data collected indicated that teachers believe that HL maintenance is the parents' responsibility.

As will be further discussed in the next chapter, teachers and students are perceived as language policy agents acting in multiple levels of adherence and resistance

to top-down established policies and drawing from different ideologies (Glasgow & Bouchard, 2018). In this next final chapter, I will discuss how data answered my research questions, indicate my conclusions and its implications for teacher training and future research, and this study's limitations.

CHAPTER 5

DISCUSSION

This chapter discusses significant findings of a mixed-methods inquiry examining teachers' beliefs and ideologies regarding students' HL in a multilingual setting. This study assumed that emergent bilinguals arrive at school with pre-literacy skills not isolated from schools' literacy development. This research focused on particularities of South Florida, where previous research confirmed that community, students, and parents value HL maintenance (Lanier, 2014; Ramos, 2007; Portes & Schauffler, 1996; Fradd & Boswell, 1996; Taylor & Lambert, 1996; Huddy et al.,1984), and teachers, most of whom are bilingual themselves, serve a community with a majority of emergent bilingual learners, that may not be classified as ESOL.

In this chapter, it is applicable to return to Pierre Bourdieu's (1991, 1992) and Michael Foucault's (2012) thinking tools, which helped me perceive and name the contradictions between teachers' beliefs and practices through the lenses of the disciplinary power and the monolingual mindset (Ellis, Gogolin & Clyne, 2010). Other applicable notions are agency in language policy and planning (Glasgow & Bouchard, 2018), heteroglossic and monoglossic language ideologies in the curriculum (Flores & Schissel, 2014), and the notions of literacy as a socio-cultural practice (Martin-Jones & Jones, 2001) versus an autonomous view of literacy (Street, 2000).

In this chapter, I demonstrate how data analysis answered my three research questions examining this study's significant findings and how they relate to the theoretical framework. I also consider implications for teacher training and future

research. For this purpose, this chapter is divided into two sections. The first corresponds to how data analysis answered each research question. The second summarizes overall conclusions and discusses the practical implications of this research concerning future teaching training and education research.

Addressing the Research Questions

RQ1: In Miami-Dade County, considering K-2nd grade teachers, what are teachers' language ideologies regarding the notion of biliteracy and heritage languages?

In theory, most teachers valued biliteracy in the HL and showed an understanding of the advantages of students' developing HL literacy simultaneously with English. However, these beliefs still needed to be carried out into instructional time. Furthermore, most teachers see HL maintenance and development as a family responsibility.

Despite these results, data from the quantitative approach indicated that attention is still needed to the concerning number of teachers (35.2%) agreeing or not sure about the misconception: "It is confusing for a student's brain to develop literacy in their home language and English simultaneously." Also, quantitative data recorded that many participants (30.4%) were unsure or agreed to ignore learners' HL use in class. Moreover, a concerning suggestion derived from both quantitative and qualitative data collected: teachers commented that immersing students in an English-only environment would help them learn English faster. Contrarily, scholars such as Echevarria et al. (2010), Díaz-Rico (2014), and Peregoy and Boyle (2017) argued that because EB are actively processing their first language, shifting to an unfamiliar language during the early school years can negatively impact both language development. Moreover, research on multilingual learners (such as Bialystock, 2007; Cummins, 2008; Thomas & Collier, 2002; 2009; 2017) confirmed the benefits of simultaneous biliteracy schooling for these learners.

Qualitative data, in particular, demonstrated that all teachers recognized (when prompted by an interview question) that learners compared and transferred skills from one language to another. This data confirms the evidence that young children can develop and distinguish between different written representation systems (Bauer & Gort, 2012; Reyes, 2012). However, despite teachers' beliefs in the value of HLs, classroom observations reported teachers using mainly English. As noted earlier, English was the principal linguistic and cultural capital inside classrooms during instructional time.

RQ2: What are teachers' beliefs regarding using their students' heritage languages and how are these enacted inside classrooms?

An interesting finding from this research indicated that teachers must be made aware of schools' and district's top-down language policies. They presented varied beliefs: some teachers believed they should use English-only, others commented that no such policy exists in the district. Overall, teachers principally used English but reported during the interview that they would use learners' HLs, especially when helping newly arrived students to "connect" with the teacher or to make them feel comfortable. Nevertheless, there was a mismatch between teachers' beliefs and their practice.

Regarding the language used by the teachers, quantitative data indicated that many teachers (30.4%) were unsure or agreed to ignore learners' HL use in class. My qualitative data corroborated these findings: During 20 hours of classroom observations,

there were only three times teachers used or mentioned an HL (Spanish only) during instructional time. One teacher, Andrea, used Spanish to translate sentences for a reading activity for an ESOL level 1 student. Valeria, from the bilingual program, mentioned to students that they had already learned the same topic in Spanish math class (with a different teacher), and Lucia mentioned a Spanish cognate in a pre-reading vocabulary activity when the program displayed the word tranquil in English.

During my classroom observations, most teachers used English-only during instructional time. When teachers used any HL, it was Spanish for interpersonal communication, such as getting students' attention and cooperation or commenting on their behaviors. These findings support Coady, Harper, and de Jong's (2011) conclusions that Florida teachers rated themselves as least effective when using students' home language as a good source for teaching.

Qualitative data indicated that teachers allow students to use their HL in the classroom, usually when it is not "academic time." Two teachers indicated a monolingual assimilationist tendency when reflecting that they allow students to use their HL at the beginning of the school year but expect them to transition to English-only at some time.

The most disconcerting result of this study is the violation of minority language learners' rights: During instructional time, teachers did not plan to scaffold their lessons. Some teachers used circumstantial translation to Spanish, which teachers equated for all students, although learners' HLs varied among Italian, Russian, Chinese, Haitian Creole, Portuguese, and French. As teachers explained during interviews, they relied on their knowledge of Spanish for circumstantial translation to equate all students' ESOL lesson adaptations. The use of English and the limited use of circumstantial Spanish implies

that, during academic time, students classified as ESOL are left to "sink or swim," which violates Florida Consent Decree (1990), (Miami), case 90-1913, (U.S.), agreement IIB:

d. A district's LEP plan shall rely upon and incorporate home language instruction in basic subject areas (such as transitional or developmental bilingual education) and/or ESOL instruction in basic subject areas (such as "structured" or "sheltered" instructional strategies) in addition to basic ESOL instruction. All such programming shall provide each LEP student with the opportunity to learn the academic English subject matter vocabulary necessary for academic success.

The contradictions between teachers' beliefs and practices raise the question of how schools practice linguistic discrimination and institutional linguicism. Emergent bilinguals classified as ESOL are labeled "disadvantaged" because the school does not recognize their literacy skills in another language other than English nor offer the scaffold necessary to engage their cognitive skills and develop English proficiency.

Despite teachers believing they attempted to help and make learners feel comfortable learning, their effort was inconsistent with learners' diverse languages and cultures. This presents a disparity in district commitment to offering equitable conditions for all minority language learners, as the District Plan (2017) suggests:

The school-based administrator(s) and counselor(s) are responsible for ensuring that ELLs have equal access to all school programs, services, and facilities and that ELLs are afforded the same rights as their non-ELL peers. District ELL instructional specialists serve as advocates for ELLs and their families to ensure equal access and may be responsible for providing information and training to school-based personnel, including bilingual paras regarding equal access to all programs and services for ELLs. (p. 13)

Apart from the limited value and use of Spanish, the social and cultural value of other learners' HLs was not evident inside classrooms, leaving learners' cultural and linguistic backgrounds invisible. The need for planned accommodation based on student English proficiency level and HL is especially concerning for learners from Haitian Creole backgrounds, the second language most spoken in this community. As I pointed out in the theoretical framework, linguicism works consciously or subconsciously. Consciously, when a teacher explicitly bans the use of a student's HL, and unconsciously when teachers, schools, and policies unquestioned assume that English or, in this case, Spanish is the only language for circumstantial accommodations.

Also remarkable was that teachers recognized that learners use their agency and connect their knowledge from one language to another. Teachers' reflections during interviews about emergent bilinguals' behavior confirmed how Genesee et al. (2005) highlighted that bilingual writers employ several effective strategies using all their language repertoire, such as searching for cognates.

RQ3: Is there any relationship between teachers' demographics and language ideologies?

Data from the quantitative approach, specifically from ordinal regression results, answered this research question specifically. As detailed explained in Chapter Four, after satisfying all four criteria to conduct ordinal regression, no predictor demographic variable could be statistically significant in predicting any teachers' variation in their beliefs. Consequently, no salient relationship could explain teachers' language ideologies. The results indicated that regardless of variables such as gender, ethnicity, students' SES, and the number of ELL students at school, the conclusions are pervasive to all Miami teachers.

Conclusion

Immigrant-origin children are the fastest growing segment of the school-age population in the U.S. (Paris & Lim, 2017). The central premise of this study recognized that EBs arrive at school with language and literacy skills that will interact with the new ones (Garcia & Wei, 2014). For this reason, this dissertation anchors on Pinar's (2019) definition of curriculum that validates and incorporates the languages and culture of learners and teachers in the education process. This premise is fundamental in a community where most learners and teachers are multilingual.

In South Florida, there is a general idea that Spanish has economic and political capital in this community, but research on teachers' practices indicated that this was not extended inside schools (Valencia & Lynch, 2019; Mackinney, 2016; Lanier, 2014; Harper et al., 2007; Coady, Harper, and de Jong, 2011; Dwyer, and O'Gorman-Fazzolari, 2023). These implications led me to capture and discuss teachers' beliefs towards learners' HLs and how these are enacted in the early school years, as a possible way to explain this situation. For this purpose, I used in this study a mixed-method approach.

As stated before, it was expected that teachers would portray a generally positive attitude toward bilingualism. One possible explanation for this result is that bilingualism in this community has been perceived as an economic and cultural capital. Other possible explanations are that teachers rely on their experience as bilinguals, and pre-service

teachers in Florida are required to complete ESOL courses. These courses approach bilingualism, which may help teachers understand bilingual language acquisition and the value of HL maintenance in theory. Nevertheless, it is crucial to highlight that most of these courses approach bilingualism through a monoglossic language ideology of curriculum (Flores & Schissel, 2014), which may contribute to teachers still having specific misconceptions about using EB's HLs inside classrooms for instructional purposes.

This outcome further supports results obtained in previous research on K-12 teachers' beliefs. Garrity et al. (2019) and Lucas, Villegas, and Martin (2014) identified predictors associated with favorable views about bilingualism, including being bilingual and having experience with children whose home language is not English, and teachers' participation in pre-service or in-service preparation courses. Interestingly, my research results also conformed with Lucas, Villegas, and Martin's (2014) indication that while many teachers value linguistic diversity in general, those beliefs do not necessarily carry over into their practice. These findings are also consistent with Szecsi, Szilagyi, and Giambo's (2015) study in Southwest Florida that used the same questionnaire. Their investigation concluded that, despite teachers showing some understanding of issues related to HL maintenance, they indicated a limited commitment toward it. Both reports portray teachers needing more strategies to value HLs inside classrooms. These findings corroborate with other research dedicated to Florida teachers (Harper et al., 2007; Coady, Harper, and de Jong, 2011; Dwyer & O'Gorman Fazzolari, 2023), which also noticed an absence of learners' diverse culture in the classroom.

Hypothetically, the singular conditions of this study's population (a majority of multilingual teachers and learners) should offer the optimal circumstances to value learners' HLs inside schools. However, overall, teachers held ideological tolerance toward HLs inside schools while enacting an autonomous view of literacy (Street, 2000) that does not include learners' HL literacy skills in their instruction. Most teachers believed they should exclusively use English during "academic time" reproducing a monoglossic language ideology of the prescribed curriculum (Flores & Schissel, 2014). Although being bilingual themselves and valuing bilingualism and HLs maintenance in general, teachers conceded to a monolingual mindset (Ellis, Gogolin, and Clyne, 2010) enacted on textbooks and educational policies.

Recalling Bourdieu's (2008) ideas of habitus and dispositions, and Foucault's (2012) discussions of the hierarchical power of the "norm," teachers, during instructional time, became agents of reproduction of the symbolic power of English when this language was more valid than learners' HLs. Moreover, teachers, consciously or not, coerced students to "assimilate" to the normativity of a hierarchy among languages that positions the language and culture learners bring to school as secondary. Considering South Florida's special conditions for this research, these results possibly indicate that more than teachers' experience and training are needed to counter the hegemony of the monolingual mindset. Reviewing the curriculum that sustains a monoglossic language ideology on textbooks and policies is also necessary.

This research observed two especially troubling practices inside the classroom: the lack of using planned scaffold instruction towards learners classified as ESOL and the belief that when these showed English proficiency level three or higher, they would not

need scaffolding anymore. Reading Florida adopted standards for multilingual learners (WIDA, 2020), the document suggests specific accommodations adequate for each of the six different learners' English proficiency levels. However, data captured in this research indicated that teachers did not plan to scaffold their lessons during instructional time. Some teachers used circumstantial translation to Spanish, a language teachers equated for all students, although learners' HLs varied among Spanish, Italian, Russian, Chinese, Haitian Creole, French, and Portuguese. As teachers explained during interviews, they relied on their knowledge of Spanish for circumstantial translation to equate all students' ESOL lesson adaptations.

These disconcerting results represent a violation of minority language learners' rights. Emergent bilinguals are expected to engage in academic tasks from the earliest level of new language development. They need to receive appropriate scaffolding that will assist them in completing these tasks. This study illustrates the necessity of revising pre-service teachers' ESOL courses and teaching in-service training. Furthermore, teachers, school administrators, and curriculum designers should frame EB's literacy from their perspectives as language users. Their progression should not be limited to supporting to develop English language proficiency but aim for a continuum of biliteracy.

Substantial data indicated that teachers attributed some cultural capital to one HL in the community, Spanish. As Bourdieu (1995) elaborated, linguistic and cultural capital inside schools become markers of difference. Classroom observations highlighted competing cultural capital inside schools: while Spanish holds some cultural capital, Haitian Creole (HC) does not. My qualitative data collection confirmed a deficit perspective towards HC-speaking community families when one teacher equated the

language barrier to the parents' lack of interest in their child's life. This finding contradicts caregivers' educational rights to information about their children's education. A fact sheet from the U.S. Department of Justice and Education (n.d.) through the Office for Civil Rights indicates that the school is responsible for providing parents with information about their children in a language they understand. This corroborates Wienk's (2018) research data reporting a pervasive exclusion of the Haitian population and the use of language to justify and legitimate their segregation.

Moreover, qualitative data collection captured the reproduction of local social conflict inside schools between non-Hispanic Black and Hispanic/Latino communities. A teacher from one school with many Black and African American students believed that the school established an English-only policy due to learners from African American backgrounds not having the same treatment as Hispanic students. As I pointed out before, a potential explanation for the difference between Spanish's attributed cultural capital relates to the commodification of this language in the bilingual community market. The solution this school encountered for the struggle between different minorities was enacting an English-only policy. In this situation, the school mistakenly perceived that, in this multilingual community, the struggle is between both minorities instead of focusing on the monoglossic ideology of the prescribed curriculum. Alternatively, the school could value all diverse learners' background knowledge and discuss institutionalized linguicism toward all learners' languages and cultures.

This conflict exemplifies the complexity of Miami's sociolinguistic landscape and the layers of language policy and planning. This school website, in particular, presented a discourse valuing students' cultural and ethnic diversity as a representation of a global

community, associating it with its language diversity. Another layer is the teacher's interpretation of the administration's established English-only policy to equate similar power to African Americans and Hispanics. Another layer was added during the interview when the teacher said she used her agency and learners' HLs to make them feel comfortable (which the classroom observations did not capture). This study validates the complexity of how people appropriate the meaning of language policy, showing, as Spolsky (2007) argued, teachers act as managers in schools' local contexts.

Glasgow and Bouchard (2018) commented that teachers and students are perceived as language policy agents acting in multiple levels of adherence and resistance to top-down established policies and drawing from different ideologies. As noted before, interestingly, despite teachers being multilingual and serving mostly multilingual learners, they complied with the disciplinary power of the prescribed curriculum. This tendency also appeared inside schools that offer bilingual programs, as they enacted what Heller (2006) coined "parallel monolingualism" (p. 271), which teaches languages separated and police students' use of languages (this is English time, and this is Spanish time, as an example). This type of instruction opposes how EB languaging (as a verb) is diverse and fluid, which can limit how bilinguals use their holistic repertoire (Garcia & Wei, 2014). Despite enacting an autonomous view of literacy, teachers noticed that sometimes students used their bilingual repertoire to compare languages during instructional time. Teachers' reflections during interviews about emergent bilinguals' behavior confirmed Genesee et al. (2005) highlight that bilingual writers employ several effective strategies, such as searching for cognates.

All outcomes lead to the necessity of further examination of the inadequacy of the disciplinary power of the monolingual mindset (Ellis, Gogolin, and Clyne, 2010) enacted in the curriculum selected for this multilingual district. Currently, teachers' practices and prescribed curriculum do not validate and incorporate learners' languages and heritages in the education process, performing a deficit perspective that portrays learners as "empty." These students bring an array of cultural heritages, which lead to different ways of constructing knowledge, making sense of experiences, and learning (Gay, 2000). As critical pedagogy suggests, teaching and learning are human experiences with profound social consequences (Shor, 2000), and learners' and teachers' subjectivities should be essential components of the curriculum (Pinar, 2019).

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Implications and Future Research

These findings suggest that districts and teachers' training programs must challenge a monolingual mindset and the autonomous notion of literacy for multilingual learners. This study indicated that when discussing EBs' literacy development, it should focus on the following:

• Validate teachers' agency and multilingual experiences, emphasizing how they can reclaim their bilingual experiences during instructional time.

• That TESOL training is not limited to strategies to develop literacy in English but includes a continuum of biliteracy framework.

• Revise teachers' training courses and professional development to clarify that teachers should use learners' HL to scaffold their learning inside classroom. As well as modeling how to validate and include learners' HL and cultures during instructional time.

• Teacher training courses need to specifically target the misconception that learners classified as ESOL with English proficiency levels higher than emerging skills do not need accommodations, which infringe upon these students' right to equitable learning conditions.

• In multilingual contexts, districts and teachers' training programs should envision equity measures toward language minorities beyond the use of Spanish. Equitable conditions should be amplified by discussing integrating all minorities' languages and cultures inside schools' curricula.

• Discuss instructional practices on how to use learners' HL repertoire to develop a continuum of biliteracy. Among the notions following a bilingual holistic approach are translingual practice (Canagarajah, 2013), translanguaging (Garcia & Wei, 2014), and flexible bilingualism (Creese & Blackledge, 2010).

• Design a curriculum that integrates learners' agency to dismantle the "parallel monolingualism" in multilingual settings.

• Revise textbooks rejecting a monoglossic language ideology of curriculum (Flores & Schissel, 2014) and an autonomous view of literacy (Street, 2000), while increasing EBs bridging skills between languages.

Nevertheless, when learners' diverse, multilingual repertoires are not used or ignored during instruction, schools will continue to be sites of social and cultural reproduction of a monolingual mindset (Ellis, Gogolin & Clyne, 2010). This study indicated a possible explanation for what impeded teachers from using learners' HL for instructional purposes: the belief that immersion in an English-only environment would help them learn English faster, aligned with the disciplinary power of the monoglossic language ideology of curriculum (Flores & Schissel, 2014), enacted through an autonomous view of literacy (Street, 2000) in textbooks. This a concerning outcome because it is already established in the literature on ELL instruction (Echevarria et al., 2010; Díaz-Rico, 2014; Peregoy & Boyle, 2017) that learners' HLs should be used for scaffolding practices and valued to avoid learners' deficit perspective.

The idea of democracy is at the core of the discussion of validating and incorporating all minority language learners' repertoire in their literacy path. In my reflections, an idea of a democratic society relates to everyone having a voice; there is no silencing. It also refers to recognizing and embracing plurality; there is no explicit or implicit erasure. It fundamentally relates to equality; there is no reproduction of privileges—one culture, one class, one gender, or one language. This study's most notable conclusion is that sewing learners' HLs and cultures together to develop a curriculum relates to social justice and a more democratic society.

Limitations

The findings of this study must be examined considering some limitations. Methodological limitations arose mainly over the research design and quantitative data collection phase due to Covid-19 pandemic restrictions over the years 2020-2022. Firstly, I faced issues with the research sample and selection, which led me to change from a random sampling procedure to conducting a census. In a non-probability survey, bias might come from those who opt in as they may not represent the general population. Although for validation purposes and to minimize nonresponse bias, the data collected in my study mirrored the demographics of MDCPS elementary teachers, these results should be carefully considered.

Another source of conflict derived from the researcher's reflexive positionality. I am positioning myself as a Latina scholar tied to critical pedagogy and a repertoire based on studies of second language acquisition, multilingualism, biliteracy, and language policy as social practices. I understand my marginal positionality in the competing forces of literacy inside U.S. schools.

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APPENDIX Appendix A

Key
Ideology scale highlighted.
Tolerance
Monolingual
Plurilingual
Same questions from 2006 but vocabulary changes marked in red

Lee & Oxelson's (2006) Statements			My study Statements
Lee & Oxelson (2006)	My study		
Benefits of HL for schooling	Beliefs towards the processes of emergent bilingual's language acquisition	 Proficiency in the home language helps students in their academic progress. Home language instruction is beneficial for students' English language development. It is important that children are highly literate and fluent in both English and their home language. I praise the children for knowing another language and culture. 	 Maintenance and development of the home language helps students in their academic achievement at school. Home language literacy is beneficial for students' English language development. It is important students learn literacy in English. Their home language is not my responsibility. I explicitly encourage students to maintain and speak their home language at home not at school.
Personal benefits of HL	Knowledge of the benefits of HL literacy development	 5. Proficiency in the home language helps students in their social development. 6. The maintenance of the home language is important for the student's development of his or her identity. The maintenance of the home language is essential in keeping channels of communication open with parents. 7. I tell my students that their home language is important and valuable, 	 5. Proficiency in the home language helps students in their social and emotional development. 6. The maintenance of the home language is important for the student's development of his or her identity. 7. I tell my students that their home language is important and valuable, but at school we must use English.

		but at school we must use	
Teacher practices	Teacher classroom practices towards HL	 English. 8. Teachers should encourage students to maintain their home language. 9. Children should spend their time and energy learning English rather than learning their heritage language. 10. In class, I have my students share their home language and culture every chance I get. I visit students' homes to find out more about their home culture and language. 11. I allow students to use their home language in completing class work or assignments. 	 8. I encourage students to maintain their home language. 9. In my classroom, children need to spend time and energy learning English rather than learning their heritage language. 10. In class, I have my students share their home language and culture every chance I get. 11. I allow students to use their home language in completing class work or assignments. 29. After students mastered English, I value their home
Attitudes toward bilingualism	Attitudes toward bilingualism	It is a great idea that students go to heritage language schools (i.e. Saturday Language Schools).It is valuable to be multilingual in our society. Schools should give credit to students who are attending Saturday schools.12. I talk with parents to strategize on how we can help their children learn English and maintain their home language.13. Children who maintain their home language have a better chance of succeeding in the future. Heritage language maintenance is too difficult to achieve in our society. I make an effort to learn my students'	 languages. 12. I discuss with parents on how we can help their children learn English and maintain their home language. 13. Children who maintain their home language have a better chance of succeeding in the future. 14. In my teaching, I place equal importance and value on knowing both English and the home language.

Importance of English - only	Monolingual habitus	 home languages. 14. In my teaching, I place equal importance and value on knowing both English and the home language. 15. Frequent use of the home language deters students from learning English. 16. Everyone in this country should speak English and 	15. Frequent use of the home language at home will prevent students from learning English. 16. Everyone in this country
		only English. 17. Encouraging the children to maintain their home language will prevent them from fully acculturating into this society. 18. I ask students to leave their home culture and language behind when they step into my classroom.	 should speak English and only English. 17. Encouraging the children to maintain their home language will prevent them from fully participate into this society. 18. I ask students to leave their home language behind and focus on English when they step into my classroom.
School level policy	Policy inside classroom and schools	Children do value their home language and culture. 19. I talk to my students about how important maintaining their home language is.	19. I talk to my students about how important maintaining their home language is.
Role of schools	The role of the schools	20. Schools should be invested in helping students maintain their home language. 21. (a b c) Ideally schools should provide home language instruction. Teachers, parents, and schools need to work together to help students learn English and maintain their home language.	 20. Schools should be invested only in helping students learn English. 21.a Home language literacy should start only after children mastered English. 22. (21b) Schools should provide home language literacy instruction starting in kindergarten 23. (21 c) Schools should provide home language instruction starting in middle or high school only. 30. I ask children use all their languages in my classroom.

Role of parents	Role of parents	 24. Home language maintenance is the responsibility of the parents. The maintenance of the home language is the key to strengthening family ties. Parents are not doing enough to support their children in their home language. 25. I advise parents to help their children learn to speak English faster by speaking English in the home. 	 24. Home language maintenance is the responsibility of the parents. 25. I advise parents to help their children learn to speak English faster by speaking English at home. 32. I tell parents to maintain the home language is a key component to develop literacy in the school language.
	Beliefs towards the processes of emergent bilingual's language acquisition		 26. It is too much work for a child's brain learn their home language and English simultaneously. 27. Children should spend their time and efforts learning to read and write in English rather than the home language. 28. Children can learn read and write in two languages at the same time.

Appendix B		
IDB Phase II Classroom Observation Protocol MF		

Key <u>Teaching-learning focus/topic/ theme</u> *Italic- Teacher or Student sentences in HL* Teacher and Student in EN [context, environment, or clarifying comment] ... = inaudible "Direct quote" S: student T: teacher WB: White board SB: Smart Board

Date:

Date:				
Notes	Description	Analysis		
FOCUS ON	-	-		
LANGUAGE USE				
AND				
CIRCUMSTANCE				
CIRCUMSTANCE				

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MOST RELEVANT PRESENTATIONS

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