Preparing and Supporting Bilingual Teachers for Equity in Two Way Dual Language Immersion Programs: A Bilingual Epistemological Framework for Teaching, Research, and Policy

Magaly Lavadenz

Loyola Marymount University

This paper aims to develop a set of theoretical principles from the approach of "knowledge in practice" for bilingual/dual language teachers¹ that describe the concepts to support the knowledge base for the bilingual teaching profession, and in particular to deliver on the promise of equity in dual language immersion classrooms for diverse groups of English Learners. Dual language immersion programs, as one of several bilingual program model types, have gained both increasing popularity and increased scrutiny by several scholars (Cervantes-Soon, 2014; Flores & García, 2017; Skutnabb-Kangas & McCarthy, 2008; Valdés, 2018), who critique the implementation of two-way immersion programs in which predominantly Latin@, Spanish-speaking English Learner students participate. This scrutiny has resulted in several dilemmas, controversies and knowledge generation, including, but not limited to:

- the commodification of languages as marketable/economic resources;
- the access and equitable participation of non-Latino language minority groups and other marginalized groups, including African American students from a variety of income levels;
- the need for research on the non-academic impacts of participation, the social interactions between actors in two-way immersion classrooms;

¹ I choose to use the term bilingual teachers and dual language teachers somewhat interchangeably given the nature of how the term in used in the literature. In California, and most states, bilingual authorizations include preparation to teach in a variety of bilingual program types, including two-way, developmental, and one-way programs, especially in the elementary grades.

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• the essentialization of racial, linguistic, ethnic, income and other social identity markers into binary/dual categories that may over-generalize the diversity of children and communities in dual language immersion programs, thereby perpetuating stereotypes of the US-Latin@ community.

These, among others, are the contemporary [and future] challenges and contextual variables in which bilingual teachers are prepared to teach diverse populations in dual language immersion programs, along with the specific professional development needed as they further develop expertise through their teaching careers (Aquino-Sterling & Rodriguez-Valls, 2016; ; Lavadenz & Baca, 2017; Lavadenz & Colón-Muñiz, 2018). In addition to the various state and university-level competencies, standards and assessments for bilingual teachers, there is an increasing interest in expanding state-level standards across states (Lopez & Santibañez, 2018; Martínez-Álvarez, Cuevas, & Torres-Guzmán, 2017) and within national accreditation bodies such as the Council on the Accreditation of Educator Preparation (CAEP)[:]. Notwithstanding this movement, the knowledge base for the bilingual teaching profession is situated within the research of the general teaching profession, and is still in development (del Rosal, Roman, & Basarba, 2018). Kincheloe (2004), however cautions that distilling 'knowledge in practice' about the teaching profession is both critical and complex:

It is naïve and dangerous to think that teachers can become the rigorous professionals envisioned here without a conceptual understanding of contemporary and past societies and the socio-cultural, political, and economic forces that have shaped them. Such

² These national standards are not currently adopted by CAEP and are in the process of public vetting:http://www.dlenm.org/uploads/FileLinks/f984aa94f1d04a4abca4d081a04a61dc/NDLETP S_FullText_FINAL_13Nov2018.pdf

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knowledges are essential in the process of both understanding and connecting the cultural landscape of the twenty-first century to questions of educational purpose and practice (p.50a).

Developing the framework for bilingual epistemologies for teaching that delivers on the promise of equity for English Learners in dual language immersion classrooms requires: 1) building the empirical base; 2) defining what we can know about preparing bilingual teachers for equitably rigorous, practical, socially just, and democratic dual language education; and 3) conceptualizing the complexities of today's bilingual education contexts from socio-political and historical perspectives.

This paper is organized by first providing a brief history of bilingual education in the US, positioning the passage of Proposition 58 (2016) in California an example of a set of policy reforms that literally guarantee the expansion of dual language immersion programs, followed by an overview of bilingual teacher credentialing and licensure. Then, findings from qualitative data, including interviews, observations, and journals from eleven practicing bilingual/dual language educators were collected, coded, and analyzed thematically over a three-year period. Grounded theoretical approaches were applied to develop a framework for bilingual teaching epistemologies, followed by set of recommendations for research, practice, and policy.

Brief History of Bilingual Education in the United States

..[M]ultiple influences on contemporary language education policies include not only the climate of opinion related specifically to linguistic differences but also other developments in theoretical conceptions of citizenship, identity, education equality and the connections between them" (Tollefson, 2002, p. 33).

Rich linguistic diversity has been part of the tapestry of the United States since its inception (Kloss, 1999). Social, racial, political, and economic forces, however, have long influenced how

language policies and education intersect in the United States, often concurrently (Skuttnab-Kangas & McCarthy, 2008). These intersecting language and education policies have ranged from multilingual acceptance for the mostly European languages during the early founding days of the republic, to linguistic repression and annihilation of the languages and cultures of the non-European indigenous and African languages (Zinn, 2003; Kloss, 1999). Through the early days of the formation of public education in the US, public schooling became a mechanism for Americanization, further minoritizing of non-European languages (and peoples) through explicit segregation, differential (mis) treatment, access, and (in)quality of educational services and outcomes for children of color and various language groups. Particularly in the Southwest, where Mexican American and indigenous children were often provided inferior and segregated education, given tests in a language they did not understand, labeled and tracked in schools for decades, public schooling for this student population and other minoritized groups was rarely equitable. And, although segregation and mandatory ignorance laws (for African Americans in the south) were outlawed through a variety of court cases and laws, their legacies have endured (Spring, 2002). As part of larger social civil rights movements, the Bilingual Education Act of 1968 created sets of policies to support "limited English proficient" students and the US Department of Education began to support school programs for these students by promoting mostly short duration bilingual programs (transitional bilingual programs through the third grade). The legacy of policy context and political order in settings defined by cultural reproduction, and individual agency and identity—key aspects that inform the perspectives, formation and development of bilingual teachers.

The California Context in the New Era of Bilingual Education

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Prior to 1998, California experienced shortages of bilingual teachers, despite the fact that slightly less than 30% of the state's English Learners participated in bilingual programs (Parrish et al., 2006). After the passage of the pro-English language Proposition 227 in 1998, California's restrictive language policies have largely produced a monolingual student population that is not prepared to enter the global multilingual realities of the 21^e century. Sociopolitically, the English-only drivers and forces that propelled the passage of Proposition 227 in 1998 have been countered in both the amount and quality of research that supports bilingualism and biliteracy, further validating what was known about the benefits two languages for language minority and language majority students and adults. Accordingly, during the Colorado campaign against the state initiative that was a version of California's "English for Immigrant Children" Proposition 227 was debated, anti-immigrant television propaganda was used to link English-only ideologies with racially-inspired sentiments that resulted in the campaign's defeat (August, Goldenberg, & Rueda, 2011).

Research evidence has also influenced the growth of dual language programs for nonimmigrant/non-English-learning populations, and positive popular opinion converged in 2016 with the passage of Proposition 58 (Ulloa, 2016) to reverse Proposition 227 and promote wider access to bilingual and dual language programs for English Learners. Research from fields such as cognitive psychology and neuroscience show that the benefits of bilingualism expand beyond schooling to influence areas such as the in the delay of onset of age-related dementia, improving young children's abilities to stay on task and a variety of cognitive skills inside and outside of school (National Academies of Sciences, Engineering, and Medicine [NASEM], 2017; Bialystok

³ The English Language proposition in Colorado, Initiative 31 (2002) was defeated. However, many attribute its defeat to the "No on 31"'s highly inflammatory campaign advertisements, which fueled anti-immigrant sentiments by warning that immigrant children would be placed in mainstream classrooms (Huber, 2002)

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et al., 2004). At least in California, the expansion of dual language programs seems to have attenuated some of the anti-immigrant tensions that marked the historical polemic about the expansion of bilingual education in the United States, viewed primarily as a compensatory and temporary approach to English acquisition for immigrant students (Gándara & Escamilla, 2017). The impact of policy reforms such as Proposition 58 include the resulting bilingual teacher shortages; however, in a recent survey of school districts in California, Californians Together reported that as many as 7,000 bilingually-certified teachers would be willing to return to bilingual classrooms. These are educators who have been teaching in structured English immersion classrooms (SEI) as a result of the reduction of bilingual programs during the 227-era. The authors (Ramos-Harris & Sandoval-Gonzalez, 2017) offer the caveat that these teachers will require additional supports in order to be ready to re-enter bilingual and dual language classrooms.

In addition, national demographic trends show increases in the numbers of English Learners, according to the U.S. Department of Education (2017). In the 2016-2017 school year, almost 10% of students in K-12 public schools were designated as ELs, an estimated 4.9 million students. While the general student population grew 9% from 1993-2003, the percentage of ELs grew 65% during the same period (U.S. Department of Education, 2017). California, where the largest number of Latinos in the country reside, also has the highest population of ELs at an estimated 1.3 million students. The second largest school district in the country, LAUSD, enrolls the largest number of ELs than any other district in the US -- an estimated 132,000 students-- nearly one in every three students and more than the next 12 districts in the state, combined (California Department of Education, 2019). Accordingly, teachers qualified to teach English Learners complete preparation programs in a variety of institutions, and must meet state

credential standards. Since 2003, the English Learner authorization is embedded in initial teacher preparation through a set of program requirements that are assessed through coursework, clinical practice, and assessments in approved credential programs. Initial teacher preparation is followed by a two-year "induction period" whereby teachers receive varying degrees of support (Santibañez & Snyder, 2018). Nationally, there is little and inconsistent research that supports a generalized knowledge base for teachers of English Learners, and less so for those in bilingual programs (NASEM, 2017). In the current era for increased demands for bilingual teachers and less supply, examining national and state trends for bilingual certification provides a sense of the ways in which bilingual teacher certification currently takes place.

Bilingual Teacher Certification

It is within and from the larger socio-historical and socio-political backdrop that bilingual teachers are certificated to practice as bilingual educators. During the early days of the Bilingual Education Act, Title VII grants were made available to institutions of higher education (IHE) to increase the numbers of bilingual education personnel at the undergraduate and graduate levels. (Acosta & Blanco, 1978).

During the program year 1977-78, a total of 101 institutions of higher education received grants for implementing bilingual teacher-training programs. Forty-two institutions of higher education received a total of 672 fellowship grants for personnel interested in pursuing master's and doctorate degrees with a specialization in bilingual education.

The program was intended to support IHEs' development of programs and curricula for bilingual personnel, and identified sets of basic linguistic, cultural and pedagogic competencies and

"supporting competencies" to inform bilingual teacher preparation and program design. Fortyfour years later, access to and certification standards vary across the United States as indicated in a recent report by the United States Department of Education (Boyle et al., 2015), and federal support for bilingual teacher preparation virtually disappeared during the No Child Left Behind Era. The authors illustrate the subsequent increases in the popularity of two-way immersion programs (for both native English and native Spanish-speaking students, as well as other language combinations) across the nation and the resurgence of other types of bilingual and dual language education programs (e.g., for predominantly native or heritage Spanish speakers). According to this report, twenty-five states and the District of Columbia currently offer some type of bilingual teacher certification. In one of the few large-scale analyses of state's licensure data bases, for example, Menken & Atunez (2001) found that only one-sixth of teacher preparation programs nationally provide programs to credential bilingual teachers. More recently, the analysis of current state bilingual certification requirements reveals that twentythree out of the fifty states and the District of Columbia offers bilingual certification. A deeper examination shows that states differ broadly in the criteria required for the authorization, including two states, Texas and Oregon, in which the certificate/license is only offered through testing, regardless of whether the candidate completed a bilingual teacher education universitybased program. Oregon requires only the passage of an ACTFL-approved oral language assessment:

(https://www.oregon.gov/tspc/TSPCPrograms/ProgramApprovalProcess/Program Review and Standards_Handbook.pdf); most states require Advanced-Mid Level language proficiency in the non-English Language as a requirement. Fourteen states explicitly require/recommend fieldwork/clinical/practicum experience in a bilingual setting. Institutions of higher education

that offer bilingual certifications and/or programs offer them at the undergraduate and graduate levels. These variations point to a greater need to build the bilingual teacher knowledge base through research-based evidence.

Beyond Languages: Learning to Teach in Bilingual and Dual Language Immersion Classrooms

The teaching profession has grappled with coming to consensus to frame the focus not only on the bilingual and biliteracy realities of teachers, students, and programs, but also to fully define a wider range of literacies required for education in the 21st century, and particularly empowering and transformative literacies for traditionally under-served children and youth. Multiliteracies require that educators draw on students' full range of linguistic, cultural, and representational resources (Leu et al., 2005) in ways that align with former California State Superintendent of Public Instruction Tom Torlakson's recommended goals of "cultural relevance" and "academic rigor" and advancing multilingualism in *California 2030* (2018).

By building upon the notion of epistemic practices in learning to teach to bilingual settings (Hollins, 2011), the field can begin to address the complexities of bilingual epistemologies by characterizing "the knowledge, skills, and habits of mind required for quality teaching. [connected] with a design for learning to teach ... [through] focused inquiry, directed observation, and guided practice; [it is an interpretive teaching process]." (Hollins, 2011, p. 396). We need teachers prepared in *multiliteracies*, that is, ready to teach in the 21^a century – with skills in technology, deeper critical thinking, and ready to address equity issues. These are teachers who understand a wide range of literacies including technological literacy; and who know how to use these literacies as a tool for their own professional development. 21^a century teachers are able to advance their own understanding of their teaching, feel competent to teach their students these literacies, and

advance all students' abilities to succeed in the 21^a century. Advancing all students' capacities to succeed in the 21^a century will require special attention to closing the achievement gap and addressing equity issues. It will also require an expanded repertoire of literacy, language, and academic skills including technology, intercultural communication and critical inquiry (Cummins, Brown, & Sayers, 2007).

There currently exists neither consensus nor coherent conceptual approach to bilingual teacher preparation and professional development in the United States or internationally. Due, in part at least, to the relatively few bilingual educators produced in the state and national levels, there have been very few empirical studies that have addressed the preparation of bilingual teachers in the United States (Lavadenz & Baca, 2017; Menken & Atunez, 2001). And yet, researchers and school districts across the nation and the state indicate the importance of the linguistic, cultural, and pedagogic capital that bilingually certified teachers bring to the schools and communities that they serve regardless of the type of instructional program type (Cantu, 2002; Gándara, Maxwell-Jolly, & Driscoll, 2005).

Pedagogic, content, and curricular knowledge are all important as Shulman (1986) suggests; however, he contends that pedagogic content knowledge (a key form of teacher expertise) is *the* key and is derived significantly from reflection on practice. Teacher inquiry, reflection on practice and action research acknowledge teachers as professionals honing their expertise and as engaged producers, not only consumers, of knowledge and transformed practices (important for fomenting and sustaining change and for inquiry into language acquisition and transfer where we have many important things yet to learn) (August & Hakuta, 1997; Burnaford, Fischer, & Hobson, 1996; Clandinin & Connelly, 1996; Hargreaves, 1994). There is now a substantial research base supporting the value of *equity in bilingual education*—meaning that for English Learners, an education in which two languages, English and the non-English native language, are used for instruction (August & Shanahan, 2006; Genesee, Lindholm-Leary, Saunders & Christian, 2007; Thomas & Collier, 2003). Increasingly, relevant research and syntheses of research, such as the Report of the National Literacy Panel on Language-Minority Children and Youth (August & Shanahan, 2006) and the National Academy of Science, Engineering and Mathematics (2017) reports findings on benefits of linguistic, cognitive and skills transfer between languages with regard to speaking, listening, reading, writing, and comprehension in two languages for language minority students. Insights from cognitive science and neuroscience affirm the cognitive benefits of bilingualism while also identifying specific psycholinguistic mechanisms with some practical insights for teaching and learning while others elucidate the role not only of transfer but of metalinguistic awareness and an overall construct of cross-linguistic resource sharing (Bialystok, 2001; Koda, 2005; Koda & Zehler, 2008). Along with these findings are continued affirmations of sociocultural influences, including the value of building on students' "funds of knowledge" and meaningfully involving parents in home-school collaborations for academic success (Ramirez, 2010; Valenzuela, 2016).

By highlighting the voices of bilingual educators at varying points in their careers in order to address the undergirding pedagogic, linguistic, and cultural abilities that inform a framework for bilingual teaching epistemologies, as we reclaim and channel our historical and contemporary knowledge base, we build toward the formation of bilingual epistemologies in which we can together clarify, communicate, and actualize the potential of our children and youth. (Lavadenz & Baca, 2017, p 8). To this end, this portion of the paper is centered on data from the bilingual teacher profession by posing the following research question: *How do teachers' representations of practices embody a theoretical knowledge base for teaching in bilingual contexts?* It is

important to note that a subset of these bilingual teachers is part of the subset of teachers are midcareer professionals who have been in SEI classrooms during the 227 era. Their contributions to the development of this frameworks is no less invaluable to their contributions to this knowledge base, and may be representative of those 7,000 teachers who may indeed be re-recruited to enter into dual language immersion programs.

Methods - Using Grounded Theory to Generate Bilingual Teaching Epistemologies

Every way of knowing rests on a theory of how people develop knowledge. (Charmaz, 2006, p. 5)

Grounded theoretical approaches were applied to develop a framework for bilingual teaching epistemologies. Qualitative data from eleven bilingual educators were collected over a threeyear period; these data included interviews, observations, journals and lesson plans. Table 1 provides an overview of the teachers and data collected from each one. Practicing bilingual educators were purposefully selected to represent various teaching career stages and expertise, from novice to veteran teachers.

Teacher Name* and	Range f YearsDescription of Bilingual Teaching		
Characteristics	Teaching Experience		
Novice Teachers (N=3)	0-5		
Joyce (2017)		• Traditional elementary dual language	
Ashely (2017)		student Teaching Placement	
Carla (2018)			
Mid Career Teachers (N=5)	6-20		
Stacy		-Teaching in dual language program	
Mina		-Teaching in SEI	
Daniel		-Teaching in SEI	
Maria		-Teaching in SEI	
Rachel		-Teaching in SEI	
Veteran Teachers (N=3)	25+ years		

Table 1: Bilingual Teachers' Backgrounds

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Teacher Name* and	Range f Years	Description of Bilingual Teaching	
Characteristics	Teaching	Experience	
Marina	28 years	Secondary bilingual math (recently retired) (has taught bilingual Algebra, ELD, Sheltered Maths, Spanish for Native Speakers	
Vivian	29	Spanish (single subject)	
Victoria	26	Elementary dual language classrooms	

(*Note: Pseudonyms are used for all teachers names)

These eleven teachers are first- or second-generation immigrant groups, and are from different national origin groups, including Guatemala, Argentina, Cuba, Peru, Mexico, Spain and/or combinations thereof, and all hold bilingual authorizations in Spanish.

Interviews with practicing novice and experienced bilingual educators were conducted, coded and analyzed thematically in order to create categories (Charmaz, 2015/2006; Patten, 2009). Data were initially coded to identify emergent themes across teachers and data sets, then triangulated across data sources (see Table 2). To be clear, the analysis represents *the interpretation* of teachers practices (as revealed by observational evidence such as videos of their practices or direct observation), as well as their oral and/or written descriptions and statements about their practices (as illustrated through interview and journals). These interpretations are foundational to grounded theoretical approaches, developed as qualitative memos and serve as the basis for the construction of the bilingual epistemologies for teaching. Using this approach facilitated the development of the themes/categories first, then to support the themes with research literature in bilingual teacher preparation.

Table 2: Data Sources and Triangulation

Data Sources	Themes				
	Multilingual Pedagogic Content Knowledge	Cross Cultural Capital	Translinguistic Repertoires	Critical Agency	
Interviews	6	24	18	16	
Journals	28	19	25	23	
Observations	22	18	26	18	
Lesson Plans	12	4	2	4	

Note. The numbers represent the coded segments of text for each theme.

Memos were created, first by teacher, then to generate theoretical categories for bilingual epistemologies across teachers and data sources. Figure 1 illustrates the conceptualization of the bilingual epistemological teaching framework.

Defining Bilingual Epistemologies for Teaching: A Framework for Research, Policy and

Practice

The framework for bilingual pedagogic epistemologies proposes to engage the field in clarifying the ideological, cross cultural, linguistic, and pedagogic elements in the profession.



Bilingual Epistemological Framework for Teaching

Figure 1: A Bilingual Epistemological Framework for Teaching

As proposed in Figure 1, bilingual epistemologies for teaching refer to the evidence from bilingual teachers' perspectives and practices that represent their choices for approaches to teaching, languages, and corresponding representations of their beliefs about the student populations they are teaching. Therefore, I use epistemologies to refer not only to what bilingual teachers represent about what counts as knowledge, but also to how they orchestrate/organize knowledge through their practices.

Multilingual Pedagogic Content Knowledge

Shulman's seminal work in the late 1990's and through the next decades proposed a six part definition that defined the knowledge base for teaching profession. He identified the connection between subject matter knowledge (the content of what is taught) in the context of facilitating student learning. The key elements of pedagogical content knowledge are: (1) knowledge of representations of subject matter (content knowledge); (2) understanding of students' conceptions of the subject and the learning and teaching implications that were associated with the specific subject matter; and (3) general pedagogical knowledge (or generalized teaching strategies); (4) curriculum knowledge; (5) knowledge of educational contexts; and (6) knowledge of the purposes of education (Shulman, 1987). The seventh dimension, Multilingual Pedagogic Content Knowledge, is proposed here to augment the linguistic and cultural knowledge, skills and abilities that are required of bilingual teachers to facilitate learning across two languages. Beyond the basic linguistic competencies that teachers must possess (Aquino-Sterling & Rodriguez-Valls, 2016), to enact the greater complexities of cross-linguistic resource sharing whereby bilingual teachers (meta)cognitively develop the language and literacy abilities of their emerging bilingual students in ways that maximize the connections between languages (Koda, 2004).

Multiliteracies Pedagogies within Multilingual Pedagogic Content Knowledge

Teachers used a variety of multiliteracies pedagogic approaches that acknowledge and build on the cultural and linguistic capital (prior knowledge) of students and communities. This also included:

- Multiliteracies pedagogy aims explicitly to promote cognitive engagement and identity investment on the part of students.
- Multiliteracies pedagogy enables students to construct knowledge, create literature and art, and act on social realities through dialogue and critical inquiry.
- Multiliteracies pedagogy employs a variety of technological tools to support students' construction of knowledge, literature, and art and their presentation of this intellectual work to multiple audiences through the creation of identity texts.



Figure 2: Multilingual Pedagogic Content Knowledge

In her journal, Vivian, a veteran secondary Math teacher, described how her teaching was transformed as she worked towards integrating literacy practices in one of the bilingual Algebra classes where students were struggling. She also incorporated group work and graphic organizers to invite them to participate in culturally responsive practices and activities that had meaning for them, such as collaborative problem solving of algebraic equations, and using the arts and writing poetry about their math experiences in either Spanish or English. She shares the results of one of

these experiences, a chart posted in the classroom with a student's alternative to the Catholic prayer "Our Father" based on their approaches to studying for their Algebra chapter examinations:

Padre nuestro que estás en la escuela,
santificado sea tu nombre,
venga a nosotros tu reino,
hágase señor tu voluntad,
así en la escuela como en el cielo.
Danos hoy nuestra "A" de cada día
perdona nuestras "F"
como nosotros también perdonamos
a quienes nos las pone.
No nos dejes caer en las "D"
y líbranos de toda "F".
Amén

Our Father, Who art in school, hallowed be your name, your kingdom come, your will be done, in school as it is in heaven Give us this day our daily "A"s and forgive us our "F"s as we forgive those who gave them to us and lead us not into the "D" but deliver us from every "F".

Many teachers used and/or described when and how to highlight cognates in Spanish and English, for example, as a strategy to support students' comprehension. They described how, as they observed and informally assessed their students' comprehension across a variety of content areas, they used students' first language. Joyce, a novice teacher, facilitated learning of the concept of place value during math in her first grade SEI classroom. She encouraged her student, For the Forum on Equity and Dual Language Education, Dec. 7-8, 2018, UCLA Civil Rights Project/Proyecto Derechos Civiles who was struggling to count in English, to count in Spanish in order to successfully complete the assignment. Dominguez (2017) describes the strategic use of mathematical discussions for bilingual teachers to be able to ask "Could these tasks be uninteresting to them? Could these tasks fail to stimulate students to speak, to engage in discussions with teachers and peers?" (p.37). Successful bilingual mathematical discussions incorporate math tasks/activities that are both familiar to students, such as the choice of poetry in Vivian's class and the choice of languages in Joyce's class and "at least for a little bit…push languages that are in the margins of students' lives back into the classroom."

Figure 2 illustrates Multilingual Pedagogic Content Knowledge as an epistemological lens operationalized by bilingual teacher practices. To further illustrate how Multilingual Pedagogic Content Knowledge is enacted, Marlene, a mid career teacher used writers' workshop as an action research project with her bilingual sixth grade classroom to encourage students to gain more interest and competency in writing. She had attended several professional development sessions on writers' workshop and wanted to incorporate the phases 1) Engagement with a modeling and mini-lesson; 2) Individual Writing; 3) Peer and Individual Conferencing and Revising; and 4) Sharing into her Language Arts block twice a week. She also wanted to provide this time to bring culturally relevant literature in both Spanish and English for her students to choose from as they experienced a variety of writing genres, from poetry, to autobiographies, journalistic, and letter writing. As an introduction to the first unit, she created lessons and homework where students interviewed their parents on the origin of their names and then wrote poems about the (his)story of their names. In a subsequent lesson, students learned about letter writing. During one observation, shortly after winter break, Penelope, an emergent writer and another student exchanged letters they had written at home during the holidays to a

sister and father in prison, respectively. Penelope's sister had been away for several months and the other student's father had been away for several years. The girls chose to read their letters during the author's chair phase of the writer's workshop, where a volunteer students sits in a special chair and reads aloud their writing to the entire class. Prior to the read aloud and sharing time, students practiced active listening and positive feedback as part of the implementation of Calkin's approach to the writer's workshop process. In both instances, the class was empathetic as they listened to the written words of their friends sharing intimately personal and painful emotions. Marlene conducted mini-writing lessons with the entire class, often focused on correcting writing errors that were revealed in the draft. In one example of Penelope's letter, Marlene used the sample from sentence " I felt betray" to conduct a mini-lesson on the past tense.

Cross cultural capital

Engagement across dual forms of cultural, linguistic, social, political, and familial capital were reflected in a variety of data sources. This was a result of their own personal bicultural identity formation as well as the ability to address the intersectionality of their identities across aspects of race, class, and gender in the target and primary cultures of their students and were able to engage critically at appropriate times. The concept of intersectionality was first described by Crenshaw (1989) as the rejection of a "single-axis framework" of race or class in the inquiry about the treatment of black women in court cases. Crenshaw (1989) outlines how racism is perpetuated in the law, further marginalizing black women by failing to examine the simultaneity of race and class in legal decisions. Intersectionality applies here as bilingual teachers, aware of their own privilege, noted greater awareness of their own power to use their own social, political, linguistic, and cultural capital in light of the changing demographics as a result of gentrification.

Stacy, a mid career bilingual teacher, has been teaching for 23 years at the same elementary school in a neighborhood that has been characterized as urban fringe and predominantly multigenerational Latino and English Learner. As a second generation Mexican American herself, she has observed that one of the effects of gentrification in her school has been the increased enrollment of Euro-American families and the decrease of the Latino and EL student population. Self-described bilingual *educadora*, Stacy views the importance of serving as an "*advocate for*" bilingual rights for access to dual language programs for Latino English Learners and their *families.*" Over the course of her teaching career, she shares that one of the ways to do this is to make sure that she is the "cultural bridge for her [EL] students" to make sure that the school and neighborhood communities value and respect cultural traditions. Stacy volunteers to do this by leading several school-wide events at her school, including the Ballet Folklórico, Día de los Muertos, and more recently a school-wide production of Hamilton. By creating instructional units as well as multiple activities that integrated the arts, and particularly the play Hamilton, Stacy maintains that the community can better understand issues of "gender, socio economic issues, race, religion," in addition to language. Incorporating the Latino community's "funds of knowledge" through the years, and particularly as they became the numeric "minority" in her school as a result of gentrification fueled Stacy's motivation to exercise her own power in the context of the growth and sustainability of the dual language program at the school. The relative increase of higher-income professional families and the relative decrease of the English Learner community had threatened the viability the balance of partner language (Spanish), predominantly working class Latino families and students in the dual language immersion program, one of the most long-lived in Los Angeles Unified School District. Threats of both school closure and of becoming a one-way Spanish immersion program were real, according to Stacy. Additionally, by

incorporating community and multiple forms of capital through arts and artistic performances, teachers were able to maintain and uplift their own and their Latino English Learners student and families cultural and linguistic capital.

Though most of the mid career teachers were bilingually authorized, most of them taught during the Proposition 227 era in SEI classrooms, yet use their own forms of linguistic and cultural capital to promote bilingualism for their students:

In my SEI classroom, I have always held family community events throughout the year that supports families, and in my community, that means doing this in Spanish because this is what they need to stay connected. For example, my students doing a monthly project, and some of those are done in Spanish for their parents. (Mina, mid career teacher)

Joyce, a novice first grade dual language teacher, uses a set of lessons focused on the homeschool connection and literacy development strategy by having students create "I Am" stories. She states, "*Our biggest partners are the families we work with. They have a wealth of knowledge we can use and incorporate in our classrooms.*" The "I Am" books begins with her sharing her "Yo Soy" book that she created as part of her bilingual teacher preparation program. The auto-biographical narratives use sentence frames that students complete by interviewing their families about their countries of origin, immigration stories, and favorite activities. She reflects that knowing family stories is a way to "nurture family ties and build communication in the home." Her own book, written bilingually, is shared with her students as a way to acknowledge the "family capital" that she and her students have and to build on community funds of knowledge:



Figure 3: Joyce's Yo Soy Autobiographical Book

Translinguistic Repertoires

Teachers indicated that using informal and formal linguistic registers with their students and students' families fostered the "destigmatization" of non-standard forms of languages, thus avoiding a rigid "monoglossic" pedagogy (Caldas, Palmer, & Schwedhelm, 2019). This included the uses of translanguaging as well as codeswitching in order to provide for "flexibility of bilingual learners to take control of their own learning, to self-regulate when and how to language, depending on the context in which they're being asked to perform." (Garcia & Wei, 2014). Translinguistic repertoires are continuously evolving, situationally responsive and intersect with our multilingual identities and abilities of diverse students in dual language and bilingual classrooms. Mina, a mid-career teacher, has been teaching in fourth and fifth grade Structured English Immersion classrooms in a predominantly Latino immigrant community since she began teaching in 2002. She reflects on her own perceived language loss/use over the years, and how students' flexible language usage occurs in her classroom:

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Most of my students actually have better Spanish than I do! What I noticed is my RFEPs and my bilingual students are very [proficient] in Spanish. Sometimes students volunteer to help my newcomer students, and they want to help them in Spanish. If for example, I forget how to say a word, they'll try to help me. This year especially [because we have more newcomers], we are moving back and forth between Spanish and English throughout the day.

The fluid movement of languages back and forth among emerging bilingual learners has been largely discouraged and historically stigmatized, however, usually in the form of strict allocation and separation of languages, as well as in a variety of instructional settings in which English Learners participate. "I feel that much of the time I can't draw the line between what is 'authentic' work, which sometimes includes code switching... and [then] I think I should not be accepting code switching" (Carla, novice teacher). García (2017) critiques the 'bilingual monoglossic ideology" that has been prevalent in bilingual programs for both language minority and language majority students. As described previously in the historical review of bilingual education policies in English Learners in the US and California, such policies have resulted in subtractive bilingualism for the majority of Latino English Learners, and trends toward a "boutique approach" to dual language programs for language majority, English dominant students and their families (Flores & García, 2017). García (2017) contends that the "normalization of standardized versions of languages" in both foreign language and bilingual education programs are socially constructed terms created by nation-states and that individual language varieties and uses are formed through social interactions, both outside and inside of schools, in order to make meaningful exchanges with others. Individual linguistic repertoires are not the idealized versions of standard, rather "...made up not of whole languages or dialects

(which are social external categories), but of lexical and structural features that make up the speaker's idiolect, shaped in social interaction. Speakers then deploy items from their own personal linguistic repertoire selectively as resources to make meaning." (García, 2017, p. 9). Further, the construction of multilingual epistemologies are needed to continue the shift in building a stronger connection between foreign language education and bilingual education and away from a nation-state orientation towards language learning and use.

As bilingual speakers, teachers often engaged with their own and their students multilingual linguistic repertoires which, as Lüdi and Py (2009) state that, are similar to the notion of interculturalism or transculturalism. These are multilingual competencies that "... may include different languages, dialects, registers, styles and routines spoken and are a sign of rich multilingual personality" (p. 17). Translinguistic repertoires, therefore, as observed and expressed by teachers, extend beyond the competencies to teach in a given specific and idealized language (Spanish in this case). Rather, these repertoires are influenced by and responsive to the multigenerational context of English Learners from a variety of countries of origin that teachers encountered.

My [newcomer]student is from El Salvador, most of my students are Mexican American and I have my Cuban background. We all have... different vocabulary [words] for things. Sometimes I'll say 'do you say this like this?', and my students will say, yes, or no depending on the word.

Rather than viewing Spanish language usage as a rigid, overly 'standardized' and traditional manner (Aquino-Sterling, & Rodríguez-Valls, 2016), bilingual teachers used translinguistic repertoires to both engage and make instruction meaningful for students. As Rachel describes her experience recently (re) instating the "preview-review" approach in her fourth grade SEI classroom because of the newcomer students in her classroom. She states, "*What I've noticed is*

that all of my other students who are bilingual but newcomers) are listening, and even answer me in Spanish. I think that I try to show them that being bilingual is a benefit. "Similar to Hopkins (2013) findings, Bilingual teachers viewed these practices as important for facilitating meaning making in the classroom, creating safe spaces for learning, and connecting students' language and experiences to their identities as well as to content.

Critical Agency

This finding was revealed through an advocacy-orientation to create community, school and classroom-level change in order to avoid replication of dominant cultural practices in schools. Bilingual teachers in this study engaged in processes of personal empowerment, to work in solidarity and action with their learners and communities. This view of models of teacher preparation documents the preparation of teachers "critical intellectuals"-whereby they learn to develop critical consciousness (Freire, 1998) and as professionals capable of recognizing the tensions between economic disparity and the ideological purposes of teaching, schooling and learning (Giroux, 1997). Critical consciousness is a prerequisite to understanding the political nature of schooling, as well as the existing socioeconomic disparities that negatively impact school performance in poor communities, especially when compared to those in more affluent neighborhoods (Valenzuela, 2016). Carla, in her fifth year of teaching, decided to return to teaching in the working class and immigrant community in which she grew up, particularly as she sees her role as a change agent, "as the teacher... I should be the agent of change. The teacher [role is] ...to point out their opinion and let the students transition to an individual step and an independent learner."

In addition, critical agency can be defined as an advocacy-orientation to create school/classroomlevel change in order to avoid replication of unjust practices in schools (Palmer, 2018). Carla continues by reflecting on a recent dilemma in her school in which one of the second grade English Learner students in her developmental bilingual program was recommended to move out of the program into an SEI classroom. She recalled earlier reading about the research finding (Goldenberg, 2014) that states that it takes five to seven years for English Learners to reach full academic and linguistic proficiency in English:

In my school there is a great push to transition without taking into account if the students have mastered their first language or not. I needed to push back so that they receive the support they need to build a strong foundation (in their first language).

Critical agency often comes about as part of developing and acting upon "critical consciousness" in which greater awareness of these disparities do not end in merely identifying issues such as lack of cultural representation in books, for example, as was the case with Vivian, who has taught fifth grade in the same district for 29 years to students in a predominantly Mexican-American community outside of Los Angeles. After years of being troubled by the omission of fifth grade history books to include the repatriation of Mexican-Americans to Mexico during the 1930s, she created a set of lessons where students did the analysis by conducting research on primary source materials of that time, then started a letter writing campaign to their legislator which ultimately became Assembly Bill 146 (2016) that was chartered into law and ultimately led to the inclusion of this part of US history in textbooks. Vivian reflects that *"I want my students to be empowered to be agents of change, and this experience helped them to feel that it is possible, especially in this political climate."*

Many teachers identified the challenge of advocacy and change agent role, as illustrated by Daniel, a mid career teacher:

Many teachers begin their career positive and optimistic, with ideas for constructivist and transformative education. Then, on entering the schools they end up being very traditional and rigid without enthusiasm for what they do. We don't want to follow this path. How can we avoid being swallowed up by the system?

Being "swallowed up by the system" also implied the Spanish language censorship that occurred as result of the passage of Proposition 227. However, interview data revealed how bilingual teachers often would question and challenge the notion of "forbidden languages (Gándara et al., 2011), by using opportunities to interact and bridge understanding of content through the use of Spanish in supposed English-only settings: "*I started teaching after 227 had passed. I always used Spanish to highlight cognates, for example. I volunteered to do after school Spanish classes so that my 5th grade students could be eligible for the Seal of Biliteracy Pathway."*

They often "cheated" as Reyes (2008) notes by purposefully using the home languages of their students in their classrooms frequently, in order to support their Spanish-speaking students and their families. During one video-taped observation, Marina- a veteran secondary Math teacher-used small bilingual groups in her "sheltered" Algebra class to support students in understanding concepts. When I asked her about why she does this during our "interview conversations," she stated, "*Because I believe in bilingual education and I know it works when done right*." She also shared that in the past, she was the teacher in her district that had the highest passage rates for the math portion of the high school exit exam (CAHSEE), "even though it was supposed to be all in English."

Implications and Conclusions

The development of bilingual epistemologies for teaching can serve to clarify, communicate, and actualize the potential of Latino English Learner children and youth across instructional settings

and particularly in this new era of bilingual education in California (Lavadenz & Baca, 2017, p8). Additional research is needed to solidify bilingual teachers' knowledge in practice and to move beyond standards and competencies in the profession to more robust models of teacher development. This is also critical to the "retooling" of bilingual teachers returning to dual language classrooms after having taught in SEI classrooms during the 227 era; as Hollins (2012) cautions, teachers' socialization into the profession occurs *after* they complete preservice preparation and occurs in the contexts and cultures of real schools; this is particularly critical to these bilingual teachers who are also participating in new types of bilingual professional development. Interpretations of bilingual teachers' experiential knowledge via the analysis of a variety of artifacts of teaching along with their perspectives were used to develop a bilingual epistemology for teaching in order to tackle a "critically complex phenomenon." As Alfaro & Bartolomé (2018) conclude, we must prepare "ideologically clear" bilingual teachers with elevated critical consciousness of their students' linguistic and cultural capital. Rectifying past and present education inequities for language minority communities require that the ideological, cross cultural, linguistic, and pedagogic elements in the bilingual teaching are articulated and actualized across the professional career span (Cervantes-Soon et al., 2017; Hernández, 2017). Advancing equity and access to quality dual language immersion programs for English Learners, particularly at this historical juncture of alignment of research and policy about bilingualism as an outcome and goal, are central to countering past inequities in dual language education.

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