

Improving Education for Multilingual and English Learner Students

RESEARCH TO PRACTICE



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CHAPTER S

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This is a unique moment of opportunity for California, where the convergence of policy, research, and public interest calls for implementing increased multilingual education throughout the state for all students, and for establishing dual language (DL) programs as central in the education of English learner (EL) students. Throughout the state, educators are engaged in planning for new programs, and in building and sustaining them across the full pathway from early education through high school graduation. After two decades of primarily English-only education in the state, this is a major shift, and educators have many questions: Why has this shift occurred? What are multilingual programs? What are DL programs? What are the most effective pedagogical approaches for biliteracy development? What do teachers and administrators need to know in order to ensure quality programs?

This chapter presents essential concepts and research-based practices in response to these questions. It focuses primarily on multilingual programs for EL students. Because effective multilingual education begins with educators understanding and being able to articulate why California has set a roadmap toward a multilingual state, and then understanding the specific models of multilingual education, the chapter begins there. It then turns to seven research-based practices that comprise teaching for biliteracy in a DL program as distinct from teaching in programs focused primarily on English language proficiency.

The chapter ends with a focus on the essential role of administrators in creating the site and district conditions that support effective design and planning, as well as sustained implementation of quality multilingual programs.

Why Create and Implement Multilingual Programs?

It is important that every teacher and administrator in schools and districts with multilingual programs understand and be able to articulate the benefits of multilingualism, the rationale for multilingual programs being a core component of research-based approaches to meeting the needs of EL students, and where it is written that DL education is the direction California has set.

This chapter will use the term "bilingual" frequently, since most formal DL instructional programs use only two languages. The authors will continue to use the term "multilingual" to refer to students however, since some learners may speak additional languages beyond the two that are used in their DL program.

The Assets of Multilingualism

There are multiple benefits of bilingualism—for the individual, the family, the economy, general society, and all students—with particular import for English learner students.

We have a growing body of research that makes clear that students who are bilingual have advantages, not only in their literacy development, but in the development of problem-solving skills and other areas of cognition. What we see now is that bilingualism is a gift that we can give to our students and to our communities.

- Former US Secretary of Education John King¹

Bilingualism has **economic benefits**. Many career opportunities are available to people who communicate well in English and other languages—both in the United States and around the world—and these opportunities are even

greater (and may be compensated with higher salaries) when that proficiency includes reading and writing. In a global world, employers are increasingly interested in hiring workers who can reach out to international audiences abroad as well as service a multilingual population in the United States in their language with an understanding of their culture (Porras, Ee, and Gándara 2014). California in particular, as a major Pacific Rim economy, needs people with biliteracy skills and cross-cultural competencies to work in and fuel the economy, strengthen social cohesion, and enrich the quality of life in communities across the state.

Bilingualism has **social benefits**. Being bilingual offers students the opportunity to develop relationships across cultures. Students who study world languages display more interest in other cultures, and their cultural awareness and competency are enhanced. There are stronger family connections for those students who speak a language other than English (LOTE) at home—this maintains communication across generations and enables students to participate actively in both/all of their language worlds as bridge builders and translators. Family relationships can break down when children are no longer able to communicate effectively in the language of their parents—a common pattern among EL students educated only in English. When the home language is lost, part of one's identity is lost.

Bilingualism has **educational benefits** as well. A multilingual education confers a number of benefits on EL students—and all students—that a monolingual education does not. While not uniform for all students, those who develop biliteracy are less likely to drop out of school than those who do not sustain or develop their home languages (Rumbaut 2014). Higher levels of proficiency in two languages are associated with higher levels of performance on achievement tests—particularly those related to language and literacy—and improved academic outcomes (National Academies of Sciences, Engineering, and Medicine [NASEM] 2017). Students in DL programs catch up to and surpass the English language outcomes of EL students in English monolingual programs. Latinx students who develop their home language in addition to English and are biliterate are more likely to go to four-year colleges than those who lose or do not develop their first language (Santibañez and Zárate 2014).

Bilingualism has **brain and cognitive advantages**. As discussed in the first chapter of this volume, the development of skills in two or more languages has been found to enhance brain functioning and long-term cognitive flexibility (NASEM 2017). Enhanced working memory and protection from brain aging symptoms, including delay of age-related mental decline, are also associated with bilingualism. The ability to speak two languages is associated with superior concept formation, increased divergent thinking, pattern recognition, and problem solving (Bialystok 2011).

Finally, multilingual programs produce stronger English language outcomes for **EL students** and serve as an effective pathway for closing gaps and ensuring **equal educational access and participation.** The myth that bilingual programs inhibit EL students' English language development (ELD) has been debunked many times over the years. In fact, research has demonstrated that a greater number of EL students reach English language proficiency through bilingual programs than do EL students in English-only instructed programs—with the added benefit of biliteracy skills (Umansky, Valentino, and Reardon 2016).

This research consensus, combined with new policies and public opinion in California (specifically the State Seal of Biliteracy (SSB), the *California English Learner Roadmap: Strengthening Comprehensive Educational Policies, Programs, and Practices for English Learners (CA EL Roadmap)*, The Global California 2030 Initiative, and the California Education for a Global Economy [CA Ed.G.E] Initiative), powerfully call upon California schools to build and sustain multilingual programs. The coherence and convergence of research, policy, and guidance have set the conditions for a new era in California education. The next section of this chapter focuses on what this actually means—what multilingual programs are, and what implementing and teaching in such programs look like.

Understanding the Models: What Is Multilingual Education? What Are Dual Language Programs?

Multilingual education is an umbrella term for a variety of program models that aim to develop proficiency in two or more languages. The specific program model that is selected for any school defines key elements that together set

the conditions for DL development. These elements include decisions around the allocation of time to be spent in each language, the way in which the two languages are incorporated into the school day and across years, and how each year of the program builds on prior years to achieve high levels of biliteracy. Because there are different multilingual program designs, models, and structures, effective instruction begins with administrators—in collaboration with teachers, families, and community members—selecting an appropriate model for their student population and community, and with teachers having clarity about the model they are delivering and about the implications for curriculum planning and instruction. Clarity about the DL model any school elects to implement is essential to the quality of that program.

Questions Every DL Teacher and Administrator Should Be Able to Answer

- What are the goals of our DL program?
- Which model are we implementing, and what is the language allocation per grade level?
- In what ways (if at all) is curriculum content divided into different languages?
- What curriculum are we using in each language and content area?
- Who is our program designed to serve? And who actually are our students (by language proficiency, language group, language history, typology)?
- What student populations are served in our classrooms?
- How are we assessing program effectiveness? How are we monitoring student progress toward biliteracy?

California offers two categories of programs: language programs and language acquisition programs. Language programs provide opportunities for pupils to be instructed in languages other than English to the degree sufficient to produce proficiency in those languages. Language acquisition programs are

designed for EL students and must include integrated and designated ELD instruction to support their academic and language learning in ways that lead to fluent proficiency and academic achievement in English. Bilingual language acquisition programs lead to proficiency in another language in English.² All students—EL students and non-EL students, with and without disabilities—may participate in and benefit from multilingual programs that lead to biliteracy. For EL students, the pathway to biliteracy includes developing academic proficiency in the student's home language as well as in English. In this way, bilingual and DL programs are distinguished from other EL language acquisition program models in which English proficiency is the only language goal. They are also distinguished from language models that focus primarily on world or foreign language development for all students. While English-instructed classrooms may provide some degree of support in an EL student's home language, these are not considered multilingual programs because they neither have the goal of proficient biliteracy nor include an intentional, articulated sequence of language development in both languages.

Multilingual Program Models

There are various language learning program options for students who are fluent in English and seeking the enrichment of an additional language. They are not the focus of this chapter, though they also offer pathways and opportunities for students to develop multilingualism and are sometimes called dual language programs. These include, but are not limited to, language immersion, foreign language, and world language courses and programs. Heritage or native language programs are language development programs that are designed or tailored to address the needs of students who have a family background in or a cultural connection to a language of the program. though the students are not yet speakers of the language. These programs may also seek to rejuvenate an indigenous language, in addition to promoting bilingualism and biliteracy (with English). Indigenous communities commonly call this type of program a native language program. In some cases, this type of language program is designed to respond to the potential extinction of the language and culture of indigenous people. Figure 3.1 provides a graphic representation of the types of multilingual programs available in California.

Figure 3.1 Multilingual Programs

Open to All Students (not designed/offered specifically for English learner students)

- Foreign language programs in elementary schools
- World language courses in secondary schools
- One-way immersion programs
- Indigenous language programs
- Heritage language courses

Note: These program types are open to all students but are not designed to help EL students achieve proficiency in English—a specific goal for English learner students.

Open to All Students AND Designed/Offered Specifically for English Learner Students

- Dual language immersion
- Two-way (bilingual) immersion

Note: These programs are designed to help all enrolled students (both EL and non-EL students) attain full bilingualism and biliteracy in both English and a language other than English (LOTE). For EL students, the added benefit is that they sustain learning in their home language. Note: Transitional bilingual education programs are not considered biliteracy programs. While two languages are used, the goals and duration of the programs result in a transfer to English instruction and not long-term biliteracy.

Designed/Offered Specifically for English Learner Students

- Developmental bilingual education programs
- Maintenance bilingual programs
- Native speakers courses (e.g., Spanish for native speakers)

Long description of figure 3.1

Dual Language Program Models

Under the umbrella of multilingual education, there are a variety of DL program models that differ to some degree in goals and outcomes, appropriateness for and intention to serve specific student populations, and in the allocation of time for each language. In DL programs, students are taught literacy and academic content in English and a partner language. The aim is developing proficiency and literacy in both languages, attaining high levels of academic achievement, and developing an appreciation for and understanding of multiple cultures. In contrast, transitional bilingual education programs are not considered biliteracy programs because, while two languages are used, the goals and duration of the program do not result in biliteracy.

Proficient biliteracy is a high standard. It can take many years of consistent and articulated language development and the use of both languages for academic purposes to achieve this standard. Biliteracy also requires ongoing

maintenance, because as students progress through the grades their academic work becomes more rigorous. Therefore, DL programs are designed as pathways across grade levels—with an early start and duration of at least five years. In the elementary grades, DL programs constitute full instructional programs covering the same standards-based core curriculum taught to all students in the district.

A primary difference among additive DL approaches is the student population. Developmental or maintenance bilingual programs typically serve just EL students or former EL students who are native speakers of a LOTE. They add English to students' language repertoires and build toward high levels of proficiency in both English and the home language. These programs are most appropriate in linguistically isolated schools where the vast majority of students are EL students of a single language group or where a scarcity of bilingual teachers prompts prioritizing EL students for slots in bilingual classrooms.

DL and two-way bilingual immersion programs serve both EL students and non-EL students by integrating EL students from a common language background (e.g., Spanish, Mandarin Chinese) and English-speaking students in the same classroom for academic instruction in both languages, with each serving as a model of native language for the other. The integration of communities is a major feature of DL and two-way immersion programs. The "two-way" refers to the two populations that are developing DL proficiency and learning with and from each other. Ideally, there should be a 50:50 balance of partner language speakers and English proficient students (Sugarman 2018). Where that balance is not possible, each language group should account for at least one-third of a program's students in order to have enough second language peers (in both languages) to anchor the language. The remaining one-third is comprised of students who are balanced bilinguals.

DL and two-way bilingual immersion programs share with developmental bilingual programs similar goals of high levels of literacy in both languages and grade-level mastery, but they are more strongly positioned to build positive intergroup relations as the two language groups of students learn together (Sugarman 2018). In fact, two important reasons for the initial development of

two-way bilingual immersion programs were the integration of EL students who could otherwise be educated in more segregated settings and the development of more cultural sensitivity and awareness among non-EL students (Sugarman 2018). All effective multilingual programs of whatever model also incorporate a cultural component in which the cultures and communities of the two languages are woven equitably into instruction. Desirable outcomes of these programs are not just language acquisition, but also multiculturalism—an appreciation for the cultures associated with partner languages and the people who speak those languages, as well as for the skills needed for bridging across cultures. In DL education, this is formalized as the "third goal" or "third pillar": sociocultural competence. Figures 3.2 and 3.3 illustrate the primary distinctions between the two main types of additive DL programs, as well as the distinction between additive programs and other forms of language instruction for EL students.

Figure 3.2 Additive Dual Language/Multilingual Language Acquisition Program Models

Language Program Model	Goals	Student Population	Typical Duration
Dual-Language Immersion/Two- Way Bilingual Immersion (the "dual" or "two- way" refers to the two student populations)	Bilingualism, biliteracy, and academic achievement in two languages (English and a partner language) Integration across two language populations	EL students and non-EL students (ideally 50% each or minimum of 33% each)	At a minimum, kindergarten to grade 5 (K–5), ideally pre-K–12
Developmental or Maintenance Bilingual Education	Bilingualism, biliteracy, and academic achievement in two languages (English and EL's home language)	EL students and former EL students	At a minimum, K-5, ideally pre-K-12 with secondary options integrated

Figure 3.3 Non-Additive Language Acquisition Models

Language Program Model	Goals	Student Population	Typical Duration
Structured English Immersion (may include home language support, but not instruction)	English proficiency	EL students or EL students integrated with non-EL students in general education classes with specialist periods to address EL students needs	Until reclassified as Fluent English Proficient
Transitional Bilingual Education (uses two languages, but is not a biliteracy program because goals and duration do not result in biliteracy)	Proficiency and literacy in English (does not result in biliteracy) Partial home language emphasis for initial participation; transition to English as soon as possible	EL students in primary grades	Early exit is typically 2–3 years

A description of program options and goals for EL students is available on the California Department of Education (CDE) Language Acquisition Programs web page at https://www.cde.ca.gov/sp/el/er/ch3.asp#link1.

A key design element of DL is how much time will be spent in each language, also referred to as the **language allocation**. Programs vary in how they divide instructional time between English and the LOTE. In developmental or two-way bilingual immersion programs, the most common language ratios for the first year of elementary school typically are 90 percent LOTE and 10 percent English, or 50 percent LOTE and 50 percent English. Each year of schooling in the 90:10 program adds more English until a 50:50 balance is reached between the languages in the upper elementary grades. For all DL

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programs, a minimum of 50 percent in the LOTE is needed to provide the immersive condition that is a foundation for developing biliteracy through the elementary school grades. Programs in which the partner language is used for less than 50 percent of instruction or for fewer than five years are very unlikely to meet the goal of full bilingualism and biliteracy (Sugarman 2018).

DL programs in the early childhood education system are defined somewhat differently. The Balanced English with Home Language Development model simultaneously develops both languages. The ELD with Home Language Support model instructs primarily in English but affirms the child's home language and creates opportunities for a presence of and engagement with the home language as much as possible (CDE 2015a). For further discussion of early childhood education DL models, see chapter 4 in this volume.

Characteristics of Effective Programs Shared Across Models

DL program models vary in structure but share a commitment to DL proficiency, a biliteracy stance, and set of pedagogical practices. They support the identity and skills of multilingual people and view EL students as having multilingual brains, rather than viewing them with a monolingual perspective of having two separate languages developed in two wholly separate realms. Across all successful DL models, several key characteristics are present (Howard et al. 2018; Olsen 2014; CDE 2019):

- Active engagement in language production (speaking, writing, discourse), literacy in both languages, and use of both languages for meaningful interaction and academic study
- An affirming climate for linguistic and cultural diversity, including learning about the benefits of bilingualism and explicit efforts to equalize the status of minoritized languages (and communities) with English
- Integration of language and culture, intentionally teaching and learning the ways in which language reflects a culture and way of thinking

- Language-specific scope and sequence designed toward authentic proficiency in each language
- Cross-language connections that build metalinguistic understanding of how language works across language systems
- High-quality and equitable instructional materials in both languages
- Exposure to high-level, expressive, and authentic language models
- Valid and appropriate DL assessment
- Language instruction that is appropriately differentiated and scaffolded for students at different levels of proficiency

Dual Language Pedagogy: What Does Teaching for Biliteracy Look Like?

Effective DL pedagogy shares much in common with effective language education for EL students overall. They both use language development integrated with content knowledge, scaffolding to provide comprehensibility and support participation, oral language in a foundational role, and well-designed and responsive integrated and designated ELD (all addressed in the elementary and secondary education chapters of this book). In addition, in DL programs, effective pedagogy involves the strategic use of two languages. Learning builds upon what students know and have learned in one language to support high levels of literacy in the other, regardless of in which language learning occurs first. Students exercise the gift of working in and across two languages. It is not teaching the same thing in two different languages or developing two separate language capacities. The following section focuses on seven research-based pedagogical practices in comprehensive and effective DL programs.

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Research-Based Pedagogical Practices in DL Programs

- Establish Clear Language Allocation and Strategic Separation of the Languages
- 2. Actively Affirm the Status of the LOTE, Equalize the Status of Cultures, and Build Sociocultural Competence
- 3. Provide All Students with Strategically Coordinated and Aligned Literacy Instruction in Both Languages—Authentic to Each Language
- 4. Build Cross-Language Connections, Transfer, and Metalinguistic Understanding
- 5. Promote Opportunities for Language Choice, Support Bilingual Identities, and Activate Bilingualism
- 6. Integrate Content with Language and Literacy Development Using Content as a Bridge Across Languages
- 7. Assess in Both Languages to Inform Instruction

Research-Based Practice #1: Establish Clear Language Allocation and Strategic Separation of the Languages

Why it is important: Language is acquired and learned in large part by hearing it spoken with integrity and authenticity, and by being immersed in a context where the language has purpose and meaning for sufficient stretches of time to absorb its cadence, rhythm, sounds, pacing, patterns, structure, and vocabulary. This requires sufficient exposure to the new language and using it interactively with proficient speakers of the language. In most "one-way" immersion programs in the initial years, the teacher serves as this model; in two-way immersion programs, peers also serve that role.

Language is learned in contexts where the learner is motivated and needs to use the new language, where comprehension is facilitated, and where students are supported in producing the language with maximum opportunities to approximate and process it, internalize its rules, discover how it works, try out vocabulary, and wrestle with expressing themselves and understanding others

in authentic interactions with appropriate feedback. Language separation is important so that students have such a context and immersive time in each language, during which the integrity and authenticity of that language holds, and they experience (sometimes challenging) functioning in that language.

What it looks like: In order to create the conditions of DL immersion, language separation is intentional, protecting the time needed for each language. Specific instructional time is designated for each language—one language at a time—with no translation. Adults maintain the language of designation, and students are expected and supported to remain in the designated language. While language program models (and grade levels within a model) differ in the specific allocation of minutes per language, explicit allocation of Spanish time or English time, for example, is important to establish and maintain. The languages may be separated by teacher (team teaching, one in English and the other in the LOTE, often in different classrooms to support the creation of English environments and LOTE environments), by time (alternating mornings and afternoons, or alternating by day), or by subject (designating one subject to be learned in English, and another in the LOTE and alternating by semesters so students wrestle cognitively and acquire vocabulary and language in both languages in all subjects over time).

There is no research that definitively answers whether students should learn in both languages each day or whether instruction can alternate between the two languages daily or weekly. However, research on learning and memory distinguishes between two types of learning: massed (longer sessions of learning spaced further apart) and distributed practice (daily learning). Distributed practice over a period of time is more effective for long-term memory than massed practice (Kang 2016). Therefore, it is reasonable to conclude (especially for young learners of a second language) that daily use of both languages is a good approach to promoting higher levels of second language development, especially since content is taught through that language (Howard et al. 2018).

When a teacher stays in the target language and models the use of the new language or prompts the student to generate it, this promotes language

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development. However, teachers need to understand that in most contexts people naturally use all of their language resources as they are learning a new language, and bilingual individuals activate both languages regardless of which language they are producing. Very young children (preschool, transitional kindergarten [TK], kindergarten) should be allowed to express their needs and respond in the language (or mix of languages) in which they are most comfortable. They are utilizing all of their linguistic resources to communicate. However, while there is an authenticity about using both languages, especially when speaking to others who are also bilingual, the disciplined separation of languages for purposes of language learning is an important condition in the DL classroom. It is important that the teacher maintains the designated language of instruction. From the beginning, there should be a clear expectation that children will also use some of the new language. They can be increasingly encouraged and eventually required to use that language without reverting to their more familiar home language or to what they may see as the higher status language—English. For older students and students past the initial stages of bilingual development, the discipline of staying in the LOTE is important and, with scaffolding from the teacher, is a realistic expectation (Thomas and Collier 2012).

Making it clear to students when each language is to be used by routinizing the language allocation across the day and week or signaling the change with some visual movement or symbol can be helpful. As students are learning foundational literacy skills, such as sound–text correspondence, it helps when the languages are also visually separate. This is important particularly for those languages that essentially share an alphabet (e.g., Spanish and English), because while the alphabet looks the same, there are differences in the sounds the letters represent. The same letter (or letter combination) in one language can be pronounced differently and sound different in the other language. During contrastive analysis (the systematic study of a pair of languages with the purpose of identifying their structural differences and similarities), it can be particularly helpful to use consistent positional cues (e.g., Spanish always on the left and English on the right) to make the comparison more visible between languages. This can also be accomplished through color coding (e.g., Spanish is always written in green, English in blue, or using yellow paper or border for

English charts and white for Spanish). Once students have learned to read and are confident about the different alphabets and phonology, visual separation matters less. Students are then able to identify the languages in text by context, grammar, vocabulary, and structure.

Implementation challenges: Language separation can be difficult to maintain for a variety of reasons. Bilingual teachers themselves may find it difficult to sustain remaining in one language in the classroom when in other contexts of their lives they move freely between their languages. Sometimes teachers are tempted to provide concurrent translation out of concern that students may not be adequately understanding what is being taught in their second language. Concurrent translation is discouraged, however, as it involves direct translation from one language to the other and often results in students only tuning in to the language in which they are most proficient—exactly the opposite of what is needed and intended for DL learning. It interrupts the students' efforts to process and make sense of the new language. The productive cognitive struggle to understand and produce the language that is not one's strongest language is an essential part of second language learning. Students require maximum encouragement, scaffolding, and support, including think time and sufficient pauses between utterances, so that they can process, function with, use, and remain in the partner language.

Even though language allocation parameters are determined by the chosen DL program model, erosion of the minutes for the LOTE happens frequently in many schools—especially where a DL program is a strand within a school and not the whole school. For example, a teacher's schedule may have carefully established minutes in the day for each language, but the school assembly ends up in English, the specialist art teacher only speaks English, and a fabulous guest speaker from the community who comes to the class only speaks English. All of these added together means the allocation of time for the LOTE is eroded. "What counts as minutes?" is a frequent query from teachers in DL programs. Many programs find it is helpful to think of language allocation as a weekly allocation, monitoring the balance of languages across the five days. Regardless, monitoring of language allocation encroachment is an ongoing responsibility of both teachers and principals.

There are exceptions to the rigid separation of the two languages, which are discussed in later sections of this chapter. One exception is during planned transfer instruction, in which cross-language connections engage students in comparing the two languages together to explore common and contrasting patterns. Another exception is strategically planned time for language choice and translanguaging.

Research-Based Practice #2: Actively Affirm the Status of the LOTE, Equalize the Status of Cultures, and Build Sociocultural Competence

Why it is important: Language embodies culture. It is the vehicle through which people communicate the perspectives of their culture. Therefore, when learning a new language, an explicit focus on the culture embodied in that language is needed. The World Languages Standards for California Public Schools: Kindergarten Through Grade Twelve (WL Standards; CDE 2019) names culture as one of the three domain standards, calling upon educators to integrate the teaching of language with culture. Furthermore, different languages and cultures occupy different positions of power and status. The commitment to DL education is in itself a statement about the worth of languages beyond English. And the benefits of DL classrooms (particularly two-way classrooms which bring together students whose languages and cultures are minoritized and students of the majority culture and language) include offering both the opportunity to and the urgent necessity of equalizing the status of languages, cultures, and communities in the context of a larger society in which equal status is far from a reality.

Becoming proficiently bilingual involves engagement in understanding, bridging, and crossing cultures. This does not just happen automatically in classrooms where students from different language and cultural backgrounds are integrated for all or most of their instructional time. Cross-cultural understanding must be intentionally embedded in how language is taught, and in how relationships across language and cultural communities are fostered in the classroom. Through affirmation, establishing norms, building collaboration, and daily interactions, students will form positive relationships with peers from different backgrounds and develop an appreciation and understanding of social and cultural differences.

Without vigilance, the prestige, status, and power of English can result in a slide toward the use of more and more English in DL classrooms. An inequitable mix of English proficient students with speakers of other languages undermines a focus on the LOTE (Cummins 2000). This is particularly true in the less formal and social interactions between students. They may, for example, maintain the LOTE during formal instruction while responding to a teacher's questions about content, but then turn to a peer and ask to borrow a pencil in English. The LOTE in a DL and two-way immersion program, which is most often a minoritized language, is particularly vulnerable to being undermined, devalued, and less invested in by students, families, and the school system (Alfaro and Hernández 2016; Hernández and Daoud 2014). This can result in a subtractive learning environment that diminishes the rigor of the LOTE and the goals of sociocultural competence and equity (Palmer 2009). It is critical to convey the message that the LOTE is equally valued and that students who speak it as their home language are respected as equally talented peers. Teacher attention to equalizing the status of two cultural-linguistic communities is essential, especially when these communities are accorded unequal status in the society at large.

What it looks like: Teachers in effective biliteracy classrooms work vigilantly to incorporate a focus on culture, to equalize the status of the two languages, and to enhance the status of minoritized communities of students. This is not simply a matter of how many minutes are allocated to the LOTE, or how vigilantly a teacher enforces that allocation. Equalizing the status of languages means elevating the status of students, communities, and cultures. Teachers who institute pedagogies of inclusion create equity-oriented structures, build students' skills of respectful collaboration, and support the equal participation of all students. Successful teachers intentionally celebrate bilingualism and promote the value of the LOTE. For example, since more attractive materials are usually available in English than in the LOTE, teachers and librarians could make special efforts to obtain equity and parity of materials across the two languages. The LOTE could appear first on a bilingual poster, in a letter home to parents, or in announcements and assemblies.

Teachers can intentionally use the LOTE with other staff members in the presence of students. Bilingualism can be celebrated as vigorously as when EL students reclassify to fluent English proficient status. In the upper elementary grades, teachers can engage students in discussions about language equity and power and how language choices are influenced by power structures in society. By secondary school, where issues of identity and motivation become paramount in whether a student elects to continue with DL programs, schools can offer options to students so they can formally sustain and expand their multiliteracy. For example, instead of only offering a traditional Spanish world language class in high school, students whose home language is Spanish might be offered one or more A–G content classes in Spanish.

DL programs have an explicit goal to build sociocultural competence, which includes understanding that language represents and encodes a culture, building knowledge about and respect for one's own culture in addition to other cultures and languages, and developing skills of bridging and moving in multiple cultural worlds. The resource *Guiding Principles for Dual* Language Education (Howard et al. 2018) defines sociocultural competence as encompassing identity development, cross-cultural competence, and multicultural appreciation. This has ramifications for the content of what is taught in courses, such as ensuring that the literature, histories, and perspectives of multiple cultures are represented in the curriculum. It also calls for the consistent use of strategies to promote sociocultural competence, such as conflict resolution, community building, perspective taking, empathy development, global competence, and intercultural understanding. Consistent efforts to support the building of friendships across language and cultural groups of students and their families create the opportunities for students to have authentic interactions across cultural realities.

Implementation challenges: The benefits of integrating language groups do not automatically occur just because students from different backgrounds share a classroom (de Jong and Howard 2009; Hernández 2015). For example, EL students may become proficient in English faster than English speakers become proficient in the LOTE, which may create pressure to switch to English for discussions, limiting opportunities for EL students to serve as language

resources. Cultural differences and teacher expectations about academic language skills may also affect these opportunities. De Jong and Howard (2009) have suggested specific actions teachers can take to address these challenges, such as providing native language speakers of the LOTE with explicit direction in being "academic language experts" for their classmates, or separating students by home languages for brief periods (e.g., two hours per week) to address particular language needs. In addition, teachers must be vigilant to not prioritize the needs of native English speakers during LOTE instruction, resulting in less rigorous instruction for EL students. It is important that they don't succumb to simplification of either language or content in the LOTE in order to accommodate the native English-speaking students (DePalma 2010). This status difference can affect peer interactions. which tend to be in English, providing EL students with even less opportunity to develop their home language (Hernández 2015). Unless attention is paid to these language status dynamics, the benefits of DL instruction may not be as strong for EL students as they are for native English speakers.

Research-Based Practice #3: Provide All Students with Strategically Coordinated and Aligned Literacy Instruction in Both Languages—Authentic to Each Language

Why it is important: Because a major goal of DL programs is biliteracy, intentionality in how literacy will be developed in each language is essential. There are limited instructional minutes in a day, and schools must provide a full curriculum, so by strategically aligning and coordinating literacy instruction across the two languages, teachers can make the most efficient use of instructional time. This alignment can involve simultaneous or sequential literacy skills development, but it always builds across the two language systems. Lack of alignment and coordination results in wasted time in school, often narrows the curriculum to make room for two literacy blocks, and can mean losing the opportunity to build metalinguistic cross-language connections that strengthen literacy.

What it looks like: Explicit language arts for each language is based upon language-specific standards and is coordinated and carefully planned across the two languages. Questions teachers often raise include the following:

- Do you approach literacy in the same way in the two languages?
- Should students be taught to read in their native language first and then add the second language later?
- Should literacy instruction in the LOTE always precede literacy instruction in English?
- If the two languages are taught simultaneously, how do you do this without confusing students?
- How does this double-literacy effort "fit" into a school day without wasting time on reteaching literacy skills that are transferable?

In DL programs, language arts instruction is provided in both languages, and the approach to instruction in each language needs to be authentic to that language and aligned to that language's standards, rather than approached in an identical manner. Analysis of language arts standards and characteristics of each language is used to determine how the standards will be addressed, though a consistent and comprehensive literacy approach will include reading, writing, word study, and oral language in both languages.³

For example, for Spanish-English programs, the greatest differences in literacy instruction occur in the primary grades during initial foundational literacy instruction, due to the internal structural differences between the languages. Spanish has a transparent orthography with very clear soundsymbol correspondence. In most cases, each sound is represented by one letter, and each letter represents one sound. Not so in English, which has an opaque orthography—the sound-symbol relationship is less consistent. Many sounds can be represented in more than one way, and many letters (and letter combinations) can represent more than one sound. These differences affect the way early reading is taught in the two languages. Syllable awareness emerges before phoneme awareness in Spanish and is a stronger predictor of reading success in Spanish than in English. However, the role of syllabification in English is not as strong as in Spanish. In addition, the role of vowels in teaching language arts in Spanish is different than in English. Spanish instruction frequently starts by teaching children the vowels, while in English, teachers start with consonants. Both English-dominant and

Spanish-dominant children can learn to decode in Spanish effectively through a phonetic, syllabic approach. However, early English literacy approaches tend to use a balance of phonics and sight word techniques instead, which are less effective for Spanish. Once past basic foundational skills, as students become more fluent readers and writers, there are fewer differences in instructional approach and sequencing, though grammatical differences between languages are important to recognize as students advance through the grades.⁴ Effective DL literacy instruction across all grade levels responds to the specific language features of each language and how each language works to make meaning in different contexts.

In 90:10 or 80:20 DL programs, literacy instruction begins in the LOTE in large part because the vast majority of instructional minutes are devoted to that language, and to establish the importance of the minoritized language. This benefits EL students, with no downsides for English-speaking students. Research shows that EL students who are provided literacy instruction through their native language eventually score much higher on literacy tests in English—and in their native language—than students who have been provided literacy instruction largely or entirely in English (August and Shanahan 2006). Learning to read in their home language gives EL students more vocabulary and oral proficiency to build upon (NASEM 2017). At the same time, immersion research for native English speakers provides evidence that teaching literacy through a second language does not place these students at risk in their development of English later since they catch up to grade level at least by the end of elementary school on standardized tests of English reading achievement (Lindholm-Leary and Genesee 2014). Starting literacy instruction in the partner language in a 90:10 or 80:20 program is better for everyone. It is better for EL students because it helps with long-term achievement and helps elevate the status of their language. And it is better for English-only students, when the partner language is Spanish, because Spanish is actually more consistent and easier to learn to read, as described in the previous section. Most of the research in this area is on Spanish–English programs. The research is less clear on whether this same advantage holds true for other partner languages, although indications are that the sociocultural impact of prioritizing the partner language is the same (Lindholm-Leary 2011).

In 50:50 programs, simultaneous literacy instruction is generally the preference. There is sufficient time to devote to literacy instruction in both languages. However, simply instituting two side-by-side complete literacy programs—one in each language—is a waste of instructional time and does not consider the fact that some literacy skills transfer across languages and therefore do not need to be taught in both languages. For languages with the same alphabetic system, such as English and Spanish, students can be taught the many letters and sounds that are the same across the two language systems, and then learn which letters and sounds are different. They do not need to learn each alphabetic system from scratch in each language.

Literacy can be developed in both languages simultaneously but needs to be coordinated so students are not repeating the same content and skills. Effective teachers carefully ensure that lessons are not repeated and the same literature is not used in the two languages unless explicitly used for contrastive analysis. Dual literacy development works most powerfully with a coordinated approach across the two languages.

Implementation challenges: The research is not definitive about whether simultaneous or sequential literacy development in DL contexts is better in terms of general literacy outcomes. Some bilingual educators used to believe that students should wait for literacy instruction in English until they had a strong foundation in the LOTE. This belief is no longer supported by research. The rationale for this belief was because of the language status issues raised earlier in this chapter and because students who participated in transitional bilingual programs (that ended by second or third grade) could not benefit from biliteracy before entering into an all-English classroom setting, thus leaving their home languages underdeveloped. Therefore, the extra emphasis and time spent on home language literacy in the early years is important.

One thing is clear: the language of initial literacy instruction is not, in itself, a significant determinant of academic outcomes nor of English proficiency attainment. Both simultaneous literacy instruction and sequential approaches appear to have strong academic and English proficiency outcomes *if* oral language and literacy development in both languages continues across the

years on a pathway to high levels of proficiency (a minimum of five years) and the classes are taught with attention to cross-language connections. Some successful programs teach literacy in both languages, other successful programs provide reading instruction in the LOTE first and then later teach in English. By fifth grade, EL students from similar socioeconomic backgrounds in both literacy approaches score equivalently on norm-referenced, standardized achievement tests in reading assessed in English. Reading achievement in Spanish, however, is higher in those programs with literacy instruction that begins initially in Spanish (Lindholm-Leary 2014). Therefore, if the goal is high levels of biliteracy, there is an advantage to programs that begin literacy instruction in Spanish.

Whichever approach is adopted, programs need to leverage the opportunities created by that approach and offset the risks. For example, the simultaneous approach involves the risk of using valuable instructional time repeating literacy skills instruction, which can be offset by strategically coordinating literacy across the two languages to avoid repeating content and investing planning and instructional time on transfer. It also requires careful attention to language status issues that undermine the LOTE and to monitoring to ensure that literacy in the two languages does not push other essential content areas out of the curriculum. The sequential approach involves the risk of unnecessarily holding students back from engaging in literacy in both languages, which can be offset by careful attention to and monitoring of what students are able to do and their interest in literacy in the other language, and then differentiating and tailoring instruction to support the transition to biliteracy as soon as possible.

Research-Based Practice #4: Build Cross-Language Connections, Transfer, and Metalinguistic Understanding

Why it is important: Being multilingual is more than just having proficiency in two (or more) separate languages. The multilingual brain makes connections across the languages, greatly facilitating awareness of how language works, bringing into focus the unique aspects of each language, and forming generalizable understandings of what is shared across the languages with resultant cognitive flexibility. Multilingual learners benefit from having two or more languages that interact and complement one another. There are universal literacy skills and concepts that transfer from one language to another and

that do not need to be explicitly taught. Once something is learned in one of the languages, it generally applies to the other as well; it does not have to be relearned. Furthermore, the transfer of skills accelerates the developmental progression of the skills in the second language. Universal concepts and skills include things like alphabetic and orthographic awareness (marks on a page are symbols that represent sounds), the meaningfulness of print (print carries meaning and reading is about deriving meaning from print), habits and attitudes about reading and writing (e.g., reading is beneficial), higher-level thinking and metacognitive skills and strategies (good readers use the skills of skimming, paraphrasing, summarizing, predicting, notetaking, etc.), and content knowledge (knowledge transfers—content mastered in one language transfers to a second language). There are other skills and concepts that are language specific and must be explicitly taught, such as print directionality, how different genres work, grammatical structures, vocabulary, and orthography.

As students develop language, they are learning not just vocabulary, but also how words and phrases have meaning, and how they are constructed and put together into sentences and longer stretches of language. Every language has regular structures and rules governing how this is done. Students internalize rules from their home language and then use those rules to generalize and apply them to new vocabulary and new linguistic tasks in a second language. This often works (particularly in Spanish and English), but sometimes it does not. The term *approximation* is used instead of *error* to highlight the fact that students are applying a familiar set of rules to a new language—a very reasonable thing to do-even though it might produce grammatically incorrect results in the second language (Escamilla et al. 2013; Sobrato Early Academic Language [SEAL] 2017). With enough immersion (i.e., hearing how the language sounds when produced by a proficient speaker, reading abundantly to see models of the language), and with strategic teacher feedback and responsive direct instruction as needed, the multilingual learner begins to sort out the rules of each language system and is able to apply them fluently.

The relative similarities of two languages matters in this process—some languages have shared historical and linguistic roots with many similarities, while others differ in significant ways. Learning what transfers and what does

not is an essential part of becoming bilingual and biliterate, and a crucial area of understanding on the part of teachers of biliteracy. Research reveals that when learners of two languages discover similarities and differences between the two language systems, they become stronger in each language. Students also benefit from developing skills to become proficient "language detectives,"—thinking about, talking about, and marveling about language and the relationships between and among languages. Language and literacy development across two languages is greatly enhanced when there is an intentional focus on supporting and teaching for transfer and students are engaged in activities that cultivate their curiosity about how the two languages relate.

What it looks like: Teaching for transfer is all about helping students focus on the similarities and differences between their languages, and in so doing create stronger skills within each language system and more adaptability in functioning in and across the two languages. There are three general types of transfer:

- **Positive transfer** is when the influence of the native language leads to immediate or rapid acquisition or use of the second language because the languages work the same or similarly. An example of this is when the two languages share a writing system (e.g., Spanish and English).
- Negative transfer is when the influence of the native language
 may cause confusion or lead to errors in the application or use
 of the second language because skills are seemingly similar, but
 actually work differently in the two languages. An example of this
 is false cognates (e.g., "embarrassed" in English is not the same as
 "embarazada" in Spanish).
- **Zero transfer** is when linguistic and grammatical features occur in one language, but not in the other language. These need to be explicitly taught as part of the development of each language, but are not an issue that affects the second language. An example of this is the use of accent marks (e.g., Spanish and English) or when there are different writing systems across the two languages (e.g., Khmer and English).

The following vignette shows how effective DL instruction supports students in looking for and discovering cognates and other aspects of positive transfer.

3.1

A Cognate Hunt Leads to a Transfer Lesson

On the door to Ms. Herrera's third-grade DL class hangs a sign: "iSomos investigadoras de idiomas! We are Language Detectives!" Inside, Ms. Herrera begins her Ocean Animals and Habitats thematic unit by hanging her customary cognate wall transfer (T) chart. She writes "Océano" on the Spanish side of the T chart in blue, and "Ocean" on the English side in red, places a pocket of red and blue markers next to the chart, and (speaking in Spanish because this is the Spanish part of the day) challenges the class to find at least 15 cognate pairs by the end of the unit.

From that point on, the chart becomes the students' responsibility. Whenever they come across cognates (or possible cognates) in their reading or discussions about ocean habitats, the students know it is up to them as language detectives to post the pair of Spanish–English words. But before posting, their task is to check in with another classmate to see if there is agreement. Almost daily, a pair of students run to the chart calling out, "we found another one, we found cognates!"

By the middle of the unit, the list reached 15 cognate pairs—some specific to the topic ("animales/animals," "plantas/plants," "Pacífico/Pacific") and some not ("números/numbers"). It is time to call the language detectives together! With the students assembled on the rug, Ms. Herrera asks the class to look at the list and see if everyone agrees that these are cognates. A lively discussion follows. Are "penguin" and "pingüino" cognates? Are "bay" and "bahía" cognates? The class finally agrees that they are indeed cognates because they sound so similar even though spelling conventions are different in the two languages. And then the teacher points out "adaptación/adaptation." She had reviewed the list the day before and planned a specific mini-lesson on this cognate pair, based on the standard in the Common Core State Standards en Español: "Reconocen cognados entre el inglés y español y explican las diferencias"

en su pronunciación y ortografía," focusing on how English uses "-tion" and Spanish uses "-ción" as suffixes. "How might you say 'immigration' in Spanish applying this rule?" she asks, and the class shouts out "iinmigración!" Although the ending syllable follows the rule, a new rule generalization is discovered! English has double-consonant combinations, but Spanish rarely does. In this case, the "mm" in English becomes "nm" in Spanish.

Throughout the day, students try out their newfound contrastive analysis awareness. At the end of the day, after reading the final chapter of a favorite read aloud book in English, Ms. Herrera asks the students to think about a personal connection to a character in the story. A student named Sally calls out, "iEn español, conexión personal!" Ms. Herrera smiles; even though this is English time and Sally shouted out in Spanish, her interjection is an indication that the comparative suffixes lesson was soaking in. Throughout the week, students are encouraged to add other examples of this linguistic pattern onto a "-tion/-ción" contrastive analysis chart newly posted on the T wall. At the end of the week, Ms. Herrera gives the class a dictation in English with the word "integration" in it. She assigns them as homework translating the short paragraph into Spanish. Reading their responses later and seeing that all students had gotten "integración" correct, she knew her transfer lesson had been successful.

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Implementation challenges: Metalinguistic understanding develops in many ways. This can include natural metalinguistic aha moments when students realize that connections exist between languages. Teachable transfer moments (or just-in-time scaffolding for transfer) can occur at any point in any block of instructional time as an opportunity arises for an aha moment about the relationship between the two languages. However, intentionality is critical. Eleanor Thonis (1988), one of the foundational linguists and theorists in the field of transfer, warned that a major risk regarding the transfer of comprehension skills from Spanish to English is the unwarranted assumption that transfer will occur without intentional teaching for transfer. In addition to aha moments, students' development of metalinguistic awareness is enhanced when teachers explicitly plan for and instruct with a focus on transfer. Some call this a "bridge"—instructional time when teachers purposely bring the two languages together to engage students in contrastive analysis of the languages and strengthen their knowledge of both languages (Beeman and Urow 2013). Transfer instruction lessons are based on formative assessment of student needs and analysis of the two languages. This may take the form of specific planned time set aside for this purpose, but it can also occur in the LOTE language arts, ELD, or English language arts (ELA) time. It can be done in one language and then carried over to the other language during specified language allocation times. It may not happen daily but does happen on a regular basis and is planned into the weekly routine.

The emphasis on cross-linguistic connections depends on the teacher's understanding of the structures, sounds, and vocabulary of both languages. The specific connections depend on the features of the two languages. Transfer and developing metalinguistic awareness and connections across languages are ways of exercising the DL brain. Supporting that process and leveraging the strengths of bilingualism are discussed further in the next research-based practice.

Research-Based Practice #5: Promote Opportunities for Language Choice, Support Bilingual Identities, and Activate Bilingualism

Why it is important: Two goals of bilingual education are preparing students for participation in all of their linguistic contexts and supporting them in developing strong bilingual identities. This includes the right to make choices about how, when, with whom, and where they use their two languages. The importance of student language choice is a cornerstone of "translanguaging" (García and Wei 2014). In framing translanguaging, García and Wei use the notion of a single holistic language repertoire that includes all of a persons' linguistic resources. In other words, multilingual people have one whole language system that incorporates all of their languages, rather than several separate language systems. From a linguistics perspective, translanguaging is the "deployment of a speaker's full linguistic repertoire without regard for watchful adherence to the socially and politically defined boundaries of named ... languages" (Otheguy, García, and Reid 2015, 281). In translanguaging, students use all of their linguistic resources with no artificial separation of the languages. Increasingly, students are enrolling initially in California schools already having some degree of bilingualism. Their language practices and repertoire already incorporate aspects of multiple languages. A translanguaging approach in school enables students to draw upon their entire linguistic repertoire, to grow, and to be more complex and nuanced. If the goals are comprehension, engagement, and having a voice, then enabling students to use all of their linguistic resources provides a stronger foundation.

Much of the theorizing and work on translanguaging has focused on students in grades four and above, where there is sufficient proficiency in both languages to engage actively in reading, writing, discourse, and expression in the classroom in and across their full linguistic repertoire, although newer work is underway in developing translanguaging as a strategy in the lower grades.

In classrooms with strict language separation policies in place at all times, without emphasis on transfer and cross-language connections, and without support for translanguaging, students have to rely upon a serendipitous discovery of transfer and have therefore less opportunity to develop and demonstrate their bilingualism and skill in and voice for operating across

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language communities. They do not have the opportunity to explore the territory of bilingualism or the important aspect of forging choice and ownership of language. A DL education honors the rights of bilingual individuals to make choices about their language and expression and includes designating time in school where there is freedom to make choices about use of language and mix of languages.

Cultivating a translanguaging classroom requires the understanding that (1) bilinguals use their entire linguistic repertoires (both languages) as resources for learning and communication and as identity markers; (2) bilinguals learn language through their interaction with others within their home and within social and cultural environments (which may combine and mix both languages in unique forms); and (3) translanguaging is fluid language use that is part of bilinguals' sensemaking processes and expressive capacities that integrate home, school, community language, cultural practices, and ways of knowing. It is a theoretical and pedagogical approach that includes a teacher's stance toward students' language and voice as well as strategies that focus on developing and exercising an awareness of bilingualism. It is not a strategy aimed at developing proficiency in each of the two languages separately, nor is it for the initial teaching of a second language. For those tasks, separation of the languages is important and necessary. A translanguaging stance sees the bilingual student as having a complex and fluid language repertoire—viewing this as legitimate and as a resource, never a deficit.

What it looks like: In the classroom, this translanguaging time may take the form of a "language choice" or "free language" time of the day. Such time is explicitly for bilingual engagement, with activities such as translation or interpretation, bilingual discussions, creative expression of or engagement with bilingual texts, or individual choice time for engaging in academic work in either or both languages. During this bilingual time, teachers may, for example, explicitly ask students to read a text in one language and develop a response in another, or to draw upon resources across both (or all) of their languages to collaboratively produce a written or oral report (which could be in the LOTE, bilingual or monolingual, depending upon the intended audience). Students might make the choice to read about a topic in either of

their languages, or to write or present in either language or both languages. This is strategic language integration with the element of choice.

In addition, a class might study translanguaging in literature and narrative genres to examine when, how, and why bilingual authors choose to switch to a second language or from English to their mother tongue or combine languages—arriving at an understanding of the nuances of meaning, ownership of language, and identity. Students could reflect on issues of language choice and register⁵ variation as a matter of audience, voice, or appropriate genre for specific purposes. They can also be engaged in making such choices of their own. Support for their emerging identities and language skills as bilinguals involves opportunities for making language choices, for combining and calling upon both or all of their languages, and for engaging in analysis of bilingual written and spoken words. As students enter upper elementary years and beyond, teachers can provide opportunities for students to discuss their own language ideologies, to explore their history and heritage as a way of contextualizing how language relates to their identities, and to actively participate in shaping their relationship to language.

Implementation challenges: Teachers are sometimes concerned about opening up the option of language choice, fearing that students will revert to the easier choice of the language of status, namely English. And some are concerned that allowing students to mix their languages confuses and pollutes the structural integrity of each language. Certainly, paying attention to issues of language status and to protecting time for and maintaining a focus on the LOTE is always essential in a DL program (as discussed earlier in this chapter). It is not, however, a matter of either-or-of translanguaging or language separation—nor one of bilingualism versus the integrity of each language. Language choice and translanguaging are other aspects of a biliteracy program and do not infringe on time set aside for the study and use of LOTE. Along with designating certain instructional periods as "Spanish" time" or "English time" or "cross-language transfer time," the teacher can explicitly designate a "translanguaging time" or "bilingual focus time" as a strategic, intentional addition to protected instructional time in the LOTE—with the intention of engaging students in owning their own bilingualism.

Research-Based Practice #6: Integrate Content with Language and Literacy Development Using Content as a Bridge Across Languages

Why it is important: The *California ELA/ELD Framework* calls for integrating language development with content knowledge for all students, and Principle Two of the *CA EL Roadmap* (CDE 2018) similarly calls for integrating language development, literacy, and content learning as part of assuring intellectual quality of instruction and meaningful access for English learners. These practices reflect research findings that show language develops most powerfully where it has meaning and purpose. Acquiring and processing content knowledge requires language, including discipline-specific language. Quality DL programs—dedicated to both mastery of grade-level content and development of high levels of DL proficiency—are content driven for an additional reason as well: the content serves as a bridge across languages. Knowledge developed in one language supports content comprehension and language development in the second (Lindholm-Leary 2005; CDE 2019).

For too long, the education of EL students consisted of a narrowed curriculum focusing on learning English first (and often exclusively), sacrificing access to social studies, the sciences, and the arts until students achieved basic literacy in English. The resultant knowledge gap played a role in later academic struggles, a characteristic of long-term EL students (Olsen 2010). Quality DL programs are committed to content because content itself matters and because content is what gives language meaning and purpose. Students are developing proficiency in two languages and accessing knowledge and content in and through two languages. This means that teachers need to plan strategically for delivery of material in both of the program's languages and plan for how to use content as a bridge across languages.

What it looks like: As is the case in quality English-medium programs, DL program teachers use a variety of strategies to scaffold deep content and language learning. In a DL classroom, there is the additional benefit of bridging across two language contexts as students are engaged in learning—making it possible for students to access content in both languages, and to build upon what they have learned in one language as they continue their

learning and thinking in the other. The knowledge gained in one language provides meaning and a foundation for continuing knowledge development in the other language. Teachers do not need to teach the same content twice in the two languages. Every unit of study establishes the allocation of time per language, the strategic uses of each language, and cross-language connections that transfer skills and understanding between languages, as well as the integration of literacy skills with meaningful content (Beeman and Urow 2013). Every lesson progresses the content learning from the previous lesson, regardless of which language was used for instruction in the prior session. Therefore, strategic instructional planning both abides by the language allocation of the program model and attends to the scope and sequence of the unit of study, moving content knowledge progressively forward. New skills and concepts are developed in one language and then extended in the other language in ways that deepen students' conceptual understanding and expand their language development.

Effective teachers make informed choices about what content and strategies to use in which language so that learning in one language actually builds on learning in the other and does not simply repeat it. Many teachers have found it helpful to map out the whole unit before starting, in order to have a clear sense of how they are using the two languages intentionally to build content knowledge and language skills. Here are some important questions to consider in this process:

- In which language will I ground initial key concepts for this unit?
- What strategies and materials will I use to extend and build upon that learning in the other language?
- How will regular opportunities for listening, speaking, reading, and writing in both languages be incorporated?
- What materials are available in the LOTE? In English?
- How will performance tasks capture learning in both languages?
- What will be happening in designated ELD to prepare for, build upon, and respond to what students need in order to build toward these performance tasks and unit activities?

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 What transfer lessons can be planned in relation to the content being covered and the standards being addressed?

Implementation challenges: Teaching in two languages and integrating both languages with content learning goals pose unique challenges. One is that curriculum materials may not include materials in both languages. Even when materials are available in both languages, seldom are they aligned in ways that make their use practical for integrated content and language development in two languages. Given this challenge, DL teachers often end up creating their own materials, using a patchwork of curricular materials, or abandoning integrated design and working in one subject or discipline and language only in the given content area. In these situations, the benefits of transfer and of integrating content and language are compromised. To support DL teachers, quality resources must be allocated for materials in all subjects across the two languages, and collaboration and planning time provided to accomplish integration of content as well as connections across languages. Translation support, supplemental pay for extra hours, the support of resource teachers, and other mechanisms are needed to support DL teachers in their additional role of preparing aligned materials in both languages. The materials issue is particularly challenging for programs focused on languages other than Spanish.

Driven by the challenge of finding aligned content materials in both languages for all subjects, many programs designate one subject or content area to each language rather than working in both languages within a subject. To the degree possible, it is advisable to avoid this and steer away from the "one language per subject" approach. If the same pattern continues year after year, by the time a student gets to middle school, there are often content or vocabulary gaps in their knowledge. Planning for alignment across years is important. If, however, separation by subject is unavoidable, planning for content alignment across years is critical. For example, one year the subject is taught in the LOTE and the next year it alternates to English so students have the opportunity to develop conceptual understanding and language in both languages for all subjects. Alternatively, teachers could switch from thematic unit to thematic unit, alternating between predominantly English-medium interdisciplinary units and predominantly LOTE units throughout the year.

While there are multiple ways to organize curriculum, the general guidance is that content is not repeated as students move from one language to the other, content and concepts are built across the two languages, and language development is integrated with content.

Research-Based Practice #7: Assess in Both Languages to Inform Instruction

Why it is important: There is presently no requirement in California to test students in the LOTE for statewide accountability purposes, so it is up to districts and schools to institute assessments in both languages to inform instruction, monitor progress, and assess the strengths of a program. Without assessments in both languages, there may be information about students' progress in ELD, ELA, and other content areas taught in English, but not about how students are progressing academically in the LOTE. These students are acquiring valuable skills in two languages. If the goal is proficiency in two languages, both language development and academic development should be assessed in both languages so that teachers can respond to learning needs in a timely manner. Assessing only in English tells only half the story and can lead to needless concerns or overlook specific learning needs. Because DL education is about both DL development and mastery of academic content in two languages, it requires the use of multiple measures in both languages to assess students' progress toward meeting bilingualism and biliteracy goals, as well as meeting curricular and content-related goals.

Teachers, schools, and districts benefit from a clear means of determining whether students are on an appropriate trajectory toward full linguistic and academic proficiency in both languages. And they also benefit from assessments of content knowledge that match the language of instruction. Families benefit when they have information on normative expectations in biliteracy programs so they can monitor whether their children are receiving the language development in English and in the LOTE that will result in academic achievement and biliteracy.

What it looks like: Teachers need DL assessments, and a system of proficiency level reports and rubrics, in all four domains of language—speaking, listening, reading, and writing—to inform their instruction. Within the classroom, teachers can use various formative assessments to gather information on student learning. Oral language and writing assessments that are sensitive to cross-language influences are particularly useful for informing DL instruction. For example, some teachers use a bilingual side-by-side rubric for assessing writing, enabling them to look at the content, the structural elements, and the spelling of the writing in response to a prompt as different aspects of a students' writing in both languages (Butvilofsky et al. 2020). This informs instruction because a teacher can see where strength in one language can be leveraged to build writing capacity in the other language, and can hone in on what specifically needs to be supported in which language. Vignette 3.2 offers an illustration of how assessment can inform transfer awareness.

In successful DL programs, curriculum-based measures are administered in the language of instruction and incorporate a DL lens. To avoid the load of too many assessments, teachers can focus on key standards and skills that are most meaningful and assess them at a few points throughout the school year to assure students' satisfactory progress toward mastery. At least several times a year, parallel assessments in both languages are needed in key skills. For example, near the beginning of the school year a teacher might give students two opinion writing prompts using two different topics (one per language, both opinion writing) and then do the same thing later in the year. The teacher can then look across the two writing samples and determine students' strengths and needs when it comes to writing in this genre in each language. The focus of instruction in each language may be different, based on what the student produced, and teachers can support students in using their strengths in one language to improve in the other. For example, if a student can already produce a well-crafted piece of opinion writing in one language, they can learn to transfer specific writing skills into their other language. Parallel assessments build purpose and intentionality around crosslanguage work and promote efficient instructional time.

3.2

An Oral Language Assessment Informs a Transfer Lesson

The third-grade class in this developmental bilingual model is instructed 60 percent in Spanish and 40 percent in English. The class is deep in a science-based unit on fossils, integrating language in and through science content. The teacher, Ms. López, uses an oral language formative assessment in which individual students are given a content-based prompt related to what the class has been studying. In this case, the prompt was: "Tell me about paleontologists and the tools they use." Working with a student named Jesse, Ms. López wrote down the student's response, word for word. "They have hammers, brushes, and un tornillo. The shovel of the paleontologist, they use for dig."

There were several takeaways Ms. López noted: Jesse had a good grasp of the content; he could use help regarding adding an "-ing" ending to verbs to connote the habitual; and he made the same approximation other Spanish-speaking students commonly make by using "for" when describing purpose in English. She further observed that many other students in the class similarly used the grammatically correct Spanish form of the possessive and applied it to English, substituting English vocabulary into the Spanish form. The approximation made sense (that is, it is comprehensible), but she wanted her students to see how English and Spanish differ in how the possessive is structured.

The next day, Ms. López structured a transfer lesson. A blue pocket chart labeled "español" was posted next to a green pocket chart labeled "English." This is her standard wall for building cross-language connections. While still in Spanish instructional time, she had written three sentences on sentence strips and posted them on the Spanish section of the wall. The first was from a text the class had read:

Los fósiles de Mary Anning cambiaron el mundo.

The second sentence she spoke aloud while writing:

Los zapatos de David son fabulosos.

And the third sentence she had the class construct after asking them to describe her key.

La llave de la maestra López es dorada.

Ms. López asked the class (in Spanish, of course, because it was still Spanish instructional time) if they saw the pattern. As the class noted the pattern, she circled the "de" in each sentence. "This is how we structure the possessive in Spanish," she concluded, writing "posesivo" above the three sentences.

Later that day, having switched to English for ELA time, she suggested, "Let's make the bridge to English and see how the two languages differ." Writing "possessive" onto a sentence strip, Ms. López inserted it into the green pocket chart opposite the blue Spanish board, and then added below it a sentence already written out: "Ms. López's key is gold." Circling the apostrophe, she explained that the possessive in English is denoted by an "apostrophe s" after the noun. Together, the class translated the other two Spanish sentences into English: "David's shoes are fabulous." "Mary Anning's fossils changed the world."

For practice, the students turned to a partner. Partner A constructed a possessive statement in whichever language they wanted. Partner B then had to translate it into the correct form of the other language. Then they switched roles back and forth, practicing the possessive form and paying attention to the difference and switching between languages.

Ms. López kept the transfer anchor charts on possessives up for the duration of the week, purposely modeling possessive statements in both languages and listening and noting with satisfaction that her students were increasingly using the correct forms in each language. On Friday,

María raised her hand and said, "Teacher, I need to go to the office of the nurse." It was less than a second before María burst out laughing and said: "Just kidding! I know it's the nurse's office, and I don't have to go there. I just wanted to play a little possessive joke."

Parallel assessments can also inform reading instruction and student groupings. Using a reading assessment in both languages, for example, enables teachers to see if there is strength in one language that can bolster a student in their second, and create reading groups in the second language based on strengths in the first. Looking across the two language assessments, a "biliteracy zone" defines the student's reading level, rather than holding them from reading in their second language until they have an underlying proficiency and skills in their first language that can transfer to the second.

Putting It All Together

Together, these seven research-based practices inform pedagogy and practice as well as the structure of a day and week in a DL classroom. The structural implications include defined time by language (according to the chosen language allocation model), during which language arts and a designated focus on developing authentic proficiency in that language occur along with an academic study of curriculum content in the designated language. Designated ELD occurs as a specific, defined part of the English block. In addition, a DL week also has defined transfer and cross-language connection blocks, and designated time for bilingualism and translanguaging.

What Is the Role of Administrators in Supporting Multilingual Programs?

Teaching for biliteracy is challenging. Teachers need an understanding of their students and communities, a grasp of bilingual learning theory, appropriate materials in two languages, a toolkit of instructional strategies, and an overall curriculum vision to plan for and deliver the components of DL curriculum and instruction. They also need supportive conditions. Quality multilingual education depends upon having knowledgeable, supportive, and skilled administrators who can serve as instructional leaders and who work to create and protect the conditions for effective programs. Aligning curriculum across languages and preparing to teach in two languages takes more time and support than preparing to teach in just one language. Administrators can create the conditions needed for successful programs by, for example, creating frequent

opportunities for teachers to collaborate, providing instructional coaches, and purchasing or supporting the development of instructional materials. Furthermore, valid DL assessments make the difference between thriving programs and struggling ones, and it is up to site and district administrators to ensure these assessments are available and attended to. Knowledgeable and supportive principals build a schoolwide and community-wide climate that is supportive of bilingualism, as well as manage the logistics of scheduling and calendaring needed for effective DL program implementation.

Principle Three of the *CA EL Roadmap* (System Conditions that Support Effectiveness) and the *Guiding Principles for Dual Language Education* (Howard et al. 2018) explicitly call for district leaders, the school board, and district- and site-level administrators to provide the leadership, systems, and infrastructure in the school and district that will shape the conditions for quality DL teaching. This includes quality resources (e.g., DL curriculum and assessment), recruitment, and placement practices that promote the balance of students in the program, as well as professional learning specific to DL programs. Districts throughout California are approaching these tasks in the following ways:

- Selecting appropriate program models with community input
- Building pathways toward biliteracy from early education through high school graduation and planning for sustainability
- Building capacity and systems of professional learning for teachers to implement the model, including establishing ongoing collaboration and learning networks
- Monitoring student progress toward biliteracy and evaluating program quality
- Advocating for DL programs, teachers, students, and the community

The following section describes these crucial roles in more depth.

Selecting a Language Allocation Model That Matches the Context

Leadership needs to understand DL program models and how to select the model that is most appropriate and will be most effective for their school community, such as a 90:10 or a 50:50 language allocation model (see a

description of these language allocation models and their implementation challenges earlier in this chapter). A common mistake is trying to implement a DL program model that had success somewhere else, but that does not match the context or needs of a school community. There is no single model that makes sense for and can be successfully implemented in every context. Many researchers and experts recommend the 90:10 two-way DL immersion model. For some districts this evidence is sufficient to prompt the selection of that model. However, there are valid reasons for selecting a 50:50 language allocation model instead, or for selecting a one-way biliteracy program model over a two-way. The particular mix of students in a community, the goals of that community for language and social outcomes, and the capacity and availability of teachers to deliver DL instruction all impact what the best match for a school or district might be. Selecting the model that can work best for a community involves asking the following key questions and always engaging families and communities in the planning and inquiry process:

- Who is the student population? Two-way programs require a good balance of LOTE students and English proficient students. Recommendations are that less than half but at least 25 percent are English proficient students. If those demographics are not present, and the school or district cannot mount a recruitment strategy to attain that balance, the program will be less effective. Too many English proficient students without sufficient native speakers of the target language would suggest implementing a one-way immersion program rather than a two-way. A preponderance of EL students would call for a developmental bilingual language program. The student demographics can also inform the language allocation. In linguistically isolated communities where EL students have little exposure to English outside of school, a district may opt for a language allocation model that provides somewhat more English than the 90:10 model, such as an 80:20 or 50:50 model, which still provides intensive time in the LOTE but also allows for robust designated ELD.
- What is the capacity and what are the priorities? With a shortage
 of credentialed bilingual teachers prepared to deliver a DL program,
 districts face the dilemma of who will be enrolled in the program.
 Schools may opt to use the few bilingual teachers they have in a

developmental bilingual DL program to allow more EL students to be served. A short supply of bilingual teachers also prompts some sites and districts to establish 50:50 programs rather than 90:10 programs, because in a 50:50 model an English-only teacher can be paired with a bilingual teacher, who can cover two classrooms. This enables a site to maintain English-only teachers who otherwise would be displaced and moved to another site to make room for a DL program.

- What matters to parents and the community? Under Proposition 58, districts are to provide opportunities for families of all students to request a multilingual program. If 20 or more students at a grade level or 30 or more students within a school (English learners and others) request a program, the district has 60 days to explore and respond regarding its ability to implement the program the families requested. If a district already has families that have requested a program, their voices are essential as stakeholders in the process of determining the specific model. If the district or school does not yet have family input, this becomes an essential first step in exploring the appropriate model. It is every district's responsibility to inform families of language acquisition program options and their right to request a DL program.
- What are the goals? While all DL programs aim for proficiency in two languages, other goals may shape the choice of a specific DL program model. For example, the decision to implement a DL and two-way bilingual immersion program rather than a developmental bilingual program may be related to goals of racial/ethnic integration or bringing together cultural communities in the district. While a developmental bilingual program could serve the school's EL students well in terms of academic outcomes, it may not achieve the social integration goals desired.

Additional Factors That Impact Model Selection

There are additional considerations in determining whether a 50:50 or a 90:10 program is the best match. Sometimes programs that focus on less prevalent languages—especially those languages that do not share an alphabet with English—may choose a more balanced percentage of each language from the beginning because of the more limited transfer between the two languages

and the difficulty in accessing standards-based materials to teach content in the LOTE. Parents may be worried that their children's ELD might be delayed and therefore be unwilling to enroll their children in a 90:10 program, preferring a 50:50 program with more English in the early grades. Accountability testing, including pressure to show early and increased reclassification rates of EL students to English proficient status, can also result in pressure on schools to select a 50:50 model over a 90:10 model (Lindholm-Leary 2018).

Thoughtful and well-designed education campaigns about both 90:10 and 50:50 models—including student outcomes, short- and long-term benefits, and implementation challenges—are needed so that parents and families, community members, educators, and school board members can make informed decisions. Once the decision is made about which language allocation model to adopt, it is helpful to consider the benefits, opportunities, and challenges the model presents (see fig. 3.4) in order to maximize the opportunities and offset the downsides.

Figure 3.4 Benefits/Opportunities and Challenges of Various Language Allocation Models

Language Ratio	Benefits/ Opportunities	Challenges
90:10	 Enhances status of the target (minoritized) language Fullest immersion in the LOTE Easier to plan for teachers than a 50:50 model Stronger long-term outcomes in LOTE while providing equal outcomes in English Do not need full complement of curriculum materials in both languages in early grades 	 Educating parents and community to understand that English outcomes take somewhat longer to develop with this model than with a 50:50 model Requires teachers who are comfortable and proficient in the LOTE to be able to teach most of the day in that language

Language Ratio	Benefits/ Opportunities	Challenges
80:20	 Enhances the status of the target (minoritized) language Strong immersion in LOTE Easier for teachers to plan than a 50:50 model Stronger long-term outcomes in LOTE than a 50:50 model while providing equal outcomes in English For EL students in developmental bilingual programs living in linguistically isolated communities, provides additional time for ELD than a 90:10 model while maintaining significant focus on the LOTE 	 Educating parents and community to understand that English outcomes take somewhat longer to develop with this model than with a 50:50 model Requires teachers who are comfortable and proficient in the LOTE to be able to teach most of the day in that language
50:50	 In schools with shortages of bilingual teachers, a 50:50 model enables a bilingual-authorized teacher to pair with a monolingual English-speaking teacher to share classrooms and serve two groups of students, and it avoids displacement of staff Assuages nervousness on the part of parents, families, and educators about attention to English 	 Planning and delivery are more complex for teachers, requiring additional planning and collaboration time Grade-level standards-based materials in both languages are needed Long-term outcomes in LOTE may be somewhat compromised More challenging to equalize the status of the two languages and to maintain a true minimum of 50% in the LOTE

Planning for Sustainability

Starting a new program involves the challenges of recruiting sufficient numbers of students to enroll and finding teachers who are qualified. prepared, and willing to teach in the program. There are tendencies to start small, especially if the program is a pilot effort or the first DL program in a district. However, field experience suggests avoiding starting with just one classroom per grade level because enrollment cannot be sustained for the long-haul trajectory needed for quality DL outcomes. Some student attrition, and possibly teacher attrition or grade-level transfers, must be expected over the years of an elementary program. Also, class sizes in kindergarten and first grade are often smaller than in the upper grades, so starting with only one classroom results in either very small class sizes by the upper grades (raising equity concerns among teachers about why the DL classroom has much smaller ratios), forcing combination classes, or diminishing the program altogether. The "one classroom per grade level" scenario also reduces flexibility in upper grades to rebalance classes to address social dynamics that can arise in classrooms of students who have been together for years. Finally, starting with just one classroom puts undue pressure on the singleton teacher responsible for the grade level. For these reasons, it is best to begin the program with at least several classes at the kindergarten and first-grade levels at a school so that normal attrition does not lead to problems with class size and equity in the upper elementary grades. The following guidelines offer additional suggestions for planning for sustainability.

Considering a "whole school" approach. DL education can be implemented as a whole-school program in which all students in a school participate, or as a strand program, in which one or more classes at every grade level are dedicated to the DL program, while other classes follow a different model. The choice between a whole-school or a strand program is often a practical one. Programs often start as strand programs at a neighborhood school with a few designated classrooms, as an option for those who are interested. After some years of operation and growing demand, these schools often expand the number of DL classes they offer at each grade level and may eventually reach whole-school status. In districts with

magnet schools, a whole school can be designated as a DL program offered to students districtwide.

When a program operates as a strand in a larger school, it is important to build cohesion with the rest of the school and gather support from the broader community so that those outside the program understand its goals. Critical actions include the following:

- Engaging the entire school in defining a commitment to language diversity and valuing bilingualism
- Providing resources for the English-instructed classrooms to have specialty teachers or enrichment offerings that expose all students to languages other than English (e.g., world language enrichment, Spanish music specialist, French gardening class)
- Hosting schoolwide events that celebrate the linguistic and cultural diversity of the community where all classes participate in some way
- Adopting collaborative planning and a shared vision across the school that knit language acquisition program strands together in a shared vision about pedagogy and learning goals

Building for the Long-Term, from Preschool Through Graduation with Vertical and Horizontal Articulation

It takes years to become proficient in a language. To attain the goal of academic proficiency and literacy, the bar is even higher. Principle Four of the *CA EL Roadmap* explicitly calls attention to alignment and articulation from preschool through graduation—with particular import for DL education. Ideally, districts are prepared with the programs in both languages that enable students to start early and continue on into middle and high school to attain high levels of academic proficiency in both languages sufficient for college and careers. An early start captures the developmental window from ages four to eight for DL learning in which children are able to develop near native-like proficiency in multiple languages and before language loss in the home language begins to occur. An elementary school program alone can be a powerful start toward biliteracy, but it only gets a student partway to the

levels of proficiency required for career and adult use. To get students to the levels of proficiency needed for the SSB and careers requires planning across early education through high school graduation. Yet, DL programs are often planned only as elementary school programs.

Students who are enrolled in a DL pathway that is articulated in sequential study over an extended period are able to achieve the highest ranges of proficiency possible. This is one of the reasons that Principle Four of the *CA EL Roadmap* is Articulation and Alignment and that the *World Languages Framework for California Public Schools, Kindergarten Through Grade Twelve (WL Framework)* emphasizes the notion of pathways. From the start then, districts investing in multilingual education need to think in terms of and plan for full pathways for optimal DL outcomes. For reasons of political strategy aimed at building demand and support for secondary level programs, some may choose to focus first on planning for the elementary school program and wait to plan the secondary extension until parent interest and demand for continuing into upper grades has built. Nonetheless, a district engaging in starting an elementary program needs to know that at least several years of advanced planning will be needed before it can extend into the secondary school grades.

Without articulated pathways, students complete an elementary DL program and then arrive in secondary school where the choice of continued language study is often limited to lower-level courses designed for students with far less proficiency. World language courses in most secondary schools are intended for students without previous language study and can seldom address the more advanced language levels of students that were already developed through DL programs in elementary grades. In the absence of formally planned pre-kindergarten through grade twelve (K–12) DL pathways, secondary schools are unlikely to offer content area courses in a LOTE, although in some cases there are alternative programs (such as the International Baccalaureate) that can serve as a secondary follow-up to an elementary DL program.

DL program pathways in secondary schools offer students who come to them from elementary programs opportunities to continue to engage in content area academic work in the partner language, as well as continued development in the LOTE. Advance planning is essential, however, because offerings are often limited by scheduling issues and by the availability of teachers qualified to teach the content in the LOTE. Recruitment and advising is also essential. Many students who have been in DL programs in elementary school do not continue in DL pathways in secondary school. Therefore, effective district leaders attend to the articulation of pre-K–12 biliteracy pathways, to staffing, and to educating students and families about the benefits of a full pathway.

Various elementary school DL programs (developmental bilingual, two-way immersion) can converge in middle school and high school, where they may be served in combined higher-level world language classes and academic courses taught in the LOTE. Beyond elementary school, DL programs may be offered in the form of second language academies where students continue their study of core subjects in the LOTE, allowing for more time interacting in the language and higher ranges of language proficiency, or as a set of course options in the LOTE.

In high school, students who are continuing their pursuit of biliteracy continue to develop skills in both languages and enroll in academic content courses taught in the LOTE and in advanced language courses that prepare them to earn college credit through Advanced Placement language exams. Career technical academies can engage students in developing more specialized biliteracy for specific careers, such as medical professions, teaching, interpretation, etc. Teachers and counselors help guide students to these opportunities, mentoring them to consider how biliteracy can be a resource for their future.

Planning for pre-K–12 articulation can help to encourage ongoing language study, minimize the occurrence of students repeating language study they have already completed, and support students' attainment of high ranges of language proficiency. A well-articulated sequence of DL learning requires thoughtful planning and the collaboration of all stakeholders from the beginning. This involves world languages and English learner services specialists and early childhood and high school educators knitting together a shared vision, articulation, and relationships across what is often wholly separate departments. Figure 3.5 shows how a DL pathway might look.

Figure 3.5 Dual Language Pathways Pre-K-12

Preschool Pathway pre-K/TK

Balanced English and Home Language Development Approach: Children are supported in developing and maintaining the home language while promoting ELD.

Elementary Pathway TK/K through grades five and six

Dual Language Programs (two-way, one-way, developmental bilingual): Students develop five to seven years of proficiency in two languages, plus a broad base of content knowledge in English and the LOTE, ending with a Biliteracy Pathway Award.

New Language Pathways: World language courses for students learning a second (or third) language, and native speakers courses for students wanting to engage in academic literacy development of their home language.

High School Pathway grades nine through twelve

Dual Language Program: Continued development of content knowledge in English and the target language deepen linguistic skills and cultural competencies in the LOTE and English; Advanced Placement (AP) or International Baccalaureate (IB) Language Exam in ninth grade; third language study option beginning in tenth; ending with the SSB.

World Language Pathway: Begin development of linguistic, communicative, cultural, and intercultural expertise in the second language; AP or IB Language Exam in twelfth grade or dual enrollment in the target language ending with the SSB.

Native Speakers Classes: Continued development of the native/heritage language, leading to AP or IB Language Exam and the SSB.

World Language Career Technology Pathway: Development of second language proficiency in the context of the workplace (health, hospitality, social work); ending with the SSB.

In addition to continuing study for students through twelfth grade with a background in DL education, attention has to be paid to creating new opportunities for entering into DL study. While it is seldom appropriate for students without prior academic study and literacy in the LOTE to join a DL elementary program above the first grade (since they seldom have the

foundation of literacy), there needs to be other ways to enter pathways toward multilingualism. It should never be too late for a student to begin to study a new language or to develop a home language. Heritage language courses (e.g., Hmong for Hmong Speakers, Spanish for Native Speakers) enable students to develop academic proficiency in their family language—playing an important role in building language proficiency and sustaining cultures and family connections, as well as providing the benefits of increased metalinguistic understanding. Other options could include world language courses, language clubs, study abroad and international exchange programs, partnerships with community language schools, summer bilingual academies, bilingual service learning, and language-infused career academies.

Regardless of the specific multilingual program model, effective district and site administrators plan for articulated DL programs beginning in preschool and kindergarten and a range of multilingual options that offer study in the home language and in additional languages.

Recruiting and Supporting the Development of Qualified Teachers

A key role of administrators is to recruit teachers and other staff with appropriate competencies for the DL program (Howard et al. 2018). After decades of English-only policies and practices in California, there is a major shortage of teachers qualified and prepared to teach in DL programs (Harris and Sandoval-Gonzalez 2017). Even those who have a bilingual authorization and may have taught bilingually in prior eras might not have received updated professional learning that incorporates newer research on effective bilingual pedagogy and practices appropriate for this era of Common Core Standards (California Commission on Teacher Credentialing 2016). Starting, building, and sustaining quality multilingual programs requires attention to recruiting, growing, supporting, and maintaining qualified teachers. Developing partnerships for recruiting new teachers, systems of professional learning and support for teachers, and structures that enable bilingual teachers to engage in the specialized and extra planning required are all key responsibilities of administrators.

This process begins with clarity about what constitutes a qualified teacher for DL programs. As general education practitioners, teachers in DL education

are expected to possess the credentials and core competencies needed by all teachers for their grade level or subject matter, in addition to being knowledgeable about effective practices for EL students (e.g., planning with the *California English Language Development Standards: Kindergarten Through Grade 12 [CA ELD Standards];* culturally and linguistically sustaining pedagogy, scaffolding, and differentiating instruction) (August et al. 2012). Teachers' positive attitudes toward bilingualism and culturally diverse groups are essential in order to create an environment conducive to productive interactions and language learning. In addition, bilingual teachers in California need a bilingual authorization, a major qualification signifying a high level of proficiency in the languages in which they teach. It is especially important that secondary DL teachers have both advanced levels of language proficiency and content expertise.

Knowing what skills and competencies a teacher needs to be successful in a DL classroom helps administrators with identifying teacher candidates for DL programs and guiding professional learning investments. Forging reciprocal partnerships with teacher education programs ensures that pre-service preparation is specific to DL contexts and competencies, and that pre-service candidates have supportive DL classrooms in which to learn their craft. It can help if districts provide incentives and opportunities that encourage teachers with bilingual skills to pursue their bilingual authorization, as well as support for teachers who have the authorization but have not taught in a DL setting for a long time to receive professional development and coaching support.

Building Assessment Systems That Monitor and Honor Biliteracy

Assessment systems inform educators and the community whether students are progressing adequately toward biliteracy and mastering grade-level standards as they engage in DL education. This requires valid and appropriate assessments in both languages and a means of analyzing progress in a biliteracy trajectory. Developing proficiency in a language takes time, and attainment of academic proficiency in two languages is a process that normally takes five to seven years and can continue to build up to higher levels of academic biliteracy throughout schooling. Again and

again, research has demonstrated that well-implemented DL programs indeed result in equal or stronger outcomes in English with the addition of proficiency in a second language.

One major challenge for districts is in identifying assessment tools and defining an accountability system for their DL programs. Administrators should resist judging programs based only on bilingual students' achievement on tests that are designed and normed for monolingual instruction. Over time, the biliteracy models produce equal or superior outcomes in English as well as provide the added benefit of literacy in a second language, but students in a monolingual English program will normatively assess differently in the first six years than students receiving instructional time in both languages. Without awareness of the biliteracy trajectory in a DL program, erroneous conclusions about lack of adequate progress can lead parents, administrators, and district leaders to press for more English earlier or to eliminate the DL program altogether. For this reason, a key role of administrators is to ensure teachers have appropriate assessments for monitoring student progress in both languages and a system for monitoring progress along a biliteracy trajectory, and be able to communicate articulately with families and the district about impacts of the program on student progress.

Across studies, fifth grade appears to be the year in which most students in multilingual programs reach parity and begin to move beyond their English-only instructed peers in terms of English language proficiency. Thus, parents and educators do not need to be concerned about DL program students' initial slower development of English. It will, in most cases, catch up and even accelerate. Every DL program, school, and district needs an accountability system that can track whether students are moving toward and then attaining bilingual proficiency. Regular testing in both languages need not be "high stakes" to meet specific standards, but it should allow parents and educators to track students' progress and acknowledge their accomplishments.

Yet, few districts currently have assessment and accountability systems appropriate for DL education. In those situations, administrators should resist judging programs based only on bilingual students' achievement on tests

designed and normed for monolingual instruction. These assessments will not provide an adequate assessment of students' learning and skills, and can therefore powerfully undermine programs (Valdés and Figueroa 1994). As Valdés and Figueroa explain, "when a bilingual individual confronts a monolingual test... both the test taker and the test are asked to do something they cannot. The bilingual test taker cannot perform like a monolingual. The monolingual test cannot measure in the other language" (1994, 255).

Students' bilingualism is not well measured solely by using tools in either language (Escamilla, Butvilofsky, and Hopewell 2017). A bilingual assessment perspective recognizes that what students can do in one language is not yet the same as what they can do in the other and that looking at just one language does not tell the whole story. Assessment in English only undermines the value of teaching and learning the LOTE. To support biliteracy programs, district parallel assessments are needed in the languages of the biliteracy programs. Effective districts build their local accountability and continuous improvement system to incorporate indicators and benchmarks toward biliteracy as a core part of what is being monitored and responded to in local planning. Without this switch in district-valued assessments incorporated into local accountability, there is mounting evidence to suggest that bilingual children are particularly vulnerable to the narrowing of curriculum that can accompany testing as a result of their tendency to score lower in accountability measures in English in the first five or six years of a DL program (Palmer and Snodgrass Rangel 2011).

Given the variation of students' bilingual abilities, successful districts develop their own expectations around biliteracy trajectories based on an examination of their own data from bilingual assessments that are aligned with their instructional goals and grade-level standards. If DL programs are to thrive, then multiple measures—including measures of language development in both languages and bilingual measures of content understanding—are needed. Effective districts define a normative biliteracy trajectory for monitoring progress toward biliteracy, both as a mechanism for communicating with students, parents, and teachers about individual progress, and as a means of monitoring program effectiveness toward continuous improvement.

S.S

San Francisco Unified School District: Monitoring the Trajectory of Progress Toward Biliteracy

Bilingual education is not new to the San Francisco Unified School District (SFUSD). One of the few districts that maintained bilingual programs through the Proposition 227 era, SFUSD now can boast an abundance of DL and bilingual pathways from preschool through graduation with opportunities for students to develop proficiency in Italian, Japanese, Korean, Filipino, Spanish, Arabic, Mandarin, Cantonese, and Hebrew, in addition to English. Parents can choose to enroll their children in preschool DL programs in Spanish and Cantonese, in K-5 elementary DL immersion programs in nine languages, in heritage language programs in four languages, in newcomer EL programs (elementary, middle, and high school), and secondary school DL and world language programs. Each program addresses a different typology of students, but all share a commitment to high levels of academic proficiency in two or more languages. Working in partnership with Stanford University, SFUSD engaged in an English Learner Pathway Study to determine outcomes from their programs and to define a biliteracy trajectory for monitoring progress toward proficiency. The study found that in elementary school more students in English Plus (English-medium with ELD) classrooms were being reclassified as English proficient than in DL pathways. However, they also found that students in the DL pathways catch up by the seventh grade and have the added benefit of bilingualism. In a communications guide for parents, the district explains clearly:

- As your child develops English and academic skills, they will reach a point when they will be reclassified as a Fluent English Proficient student.
- In fifth grade, three out of four students in an English Plus pathway have reclassified, which is somewhat higher than reclassification rates in the other pathways.

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- By the seventh grade, reclassification rates are virtually the same above 85 percent—in all three EL pathways. The students in the DL pathways have caught up.
- Furthermore, the average ELA test scores of EL students enrolled in the Dual Immersion pathway increase faster from second through seventh grade than those of students enrolled in the English Plus or Bilingual Maintenance pathways.
- Although those in Dual Immersion pathways score below their peers in the Bilingual Maintenance and English Plus pathways in second grade, by fifth grade they catch up—their scores do not differ across pathways.
- By seventh grade, EL students in Dual Immersion pathways score higher on the ELA test than the average student in California, and higher than EL students enrolled in the other pathways.

The district uses these trajectories to monitor "normative" progress for the various pathways, and to reassure parents that students in the DL models are not suffering in English proficiency because they are working toward proficiency in two languages. The district also relies on this expected trajectory as a mechanism for their own monitoring of program effectiveness to inform continuous improvement.

To offset fears that lower levels of proficiency in English in the first years of study in a DL program are indications that students are failing to make adequate progress, the following steps are crucial:

- Knowing the research about normative progress and expectations
- Setting explicit scope and sequence of skills and end-of-year targets in both languages
- · Using biliteracy trajectories to determine adequate progress
- Regularly communicating about the research, scope and sequence of skills and targets, and biliteracy trajectories to students, parents, and school boards

Finally, successful district monitoring disaggregates impacts of DL programs by student type. Research has increasingly demonstrated that not all students in two-way programs reap the same benefits (Valdez, Freire, and Delavan 2016; Palmer and Henderson 2016). Aggregating data on all students in two-way programs into one measure does not reveal whether EL students in the program are gaining equally as English proficient students.

Being a Leader, Cheerleader, and Advocate

At this time, there is a shortage of qualified bilingual teachers, which limits the number of DL classrooms available in a school or community. An essential guiding question for all district planners has to be, then, "How will the district give access to the enrichment and benefits of a DL program?" This planning impacts where programs ought to be located (who has to travel and who does not), priorities for enrollment, the choice of program model (developmental bilingual or DL and two-way bilingual immersion), and the approach to staffing.

Research on effective programs is unequivocal about the importance of a supportive principal and leadership team who understand the DL education model and implementation, and who wholeheartedly support the vision and goals of the program (Howard et al. 2018). Support is made concrete through active advocacy on behalf of the program to ensure sufficient and appropriate resources, recruit and build community support, and provide teachers with the professional development and materials needed for quality implementation. Good leadership is also clear on the indicators of quality implementation and appropriate assessments, monitoring student progress along bilingual trajectories and engaging the school community in shared attention to and accountability for DL outcomes.

3.4

Oxnard Elementary School District's District-Level Planning and Investment in Building and Sustaining Dual Language Education—Principle Three of the *CA EL Roadmap* in Action!

Oxnard Elementary School District (OESD) is a kindergarten through grade eight (K–8) district comprising 21 schools serving approximately 16,000 students, 51.8 percent of whom are EL students. It is located in Ventura County on California's south coast, adjacent to an agricultural center that grows strawberries and lima beans. The vast majority of students in the district are Latinx. Throughout the Proposition 227 era, OESD held onto some of its bilingual programs, although those that were retained were scaled back to transitional early exit programs.

Intrigued by research on the effectiveness of DL programs, in 2009 the district opened its first two-way bilingual immersion program using a 90:10 model as a strand within Soria Elementary School. One year later, the program was changed to an 80:20 model as staff found that 10 percent in English was not sufficient time to address the CA ELD Standards. After only two years, long waiting lists to enroll in the program convinced the district to add DL programs at two additional sites. One was modeled after the initial two-way 80:20 program, but the other was made into a 50:50 developmental bilingual program just for EL students. The decision to make it a one-way English learner 50:50 program was based on student demographics (too few English speakers for a two-way program), the available staffing at the school (insufficient number of authorized teachers to staff bilingual classrooms), and the desire to avoid displacing existing faculty. By making the program a 50:50 model and having English-language teachers paired with Spanish-language teachers, the school was able to keep its existing teachers and serve the students of the community.

Demand for the programs continued to grow, and the district became increasingly convinced that biliteracy programs were more effective than English-only programs. The commitment to asset-based DL programs and to high levels of biliteracy for students was shared from the school board and superintendent level and throughout the district. The challenge was not to convince people that biliteracy was a worthy goal, but rather to craft a plan that would result in high-quality and sustainable programs throughout the district.

It was clear that the district needed to build infrastructure to support the development and implementation of their ambitious plan. Local Control Funding Formula funds enabled the district to hire a Director of Dual Language Program in addition to the existing Director of English Learner Services position. The first focus for this role was to facilitate learning across the district about DL approaches—the why, the what, and the how.

The importance of external guidance:

To support the district in developing its expansion plan and ensure high-quality programs, the district enlisted external experts to look at what they were doing. The BUENO Center for Multicultural Education (Bilinguals United for Education and New Opportunities—Kathy Escamilla/Literacy Squared) and later Karen Beeman (Center for Teaching for Biliteracy) reviewed the work in the district and offered recommendations for action. Beeman led several trips to Chicago so OESD teacher leaders and administrators could see strong biliteracy programs and engage in learning together. As the staff studied the *Guiding Principles for Dual Language Education* (Howard et al. 2018), and the recommendations of their external experts, a comprehensive vision began to emerge resulting in a long-term plan outlining a six-year process of implementation.

Creating consistent, sustainable, research-based, additive program models across the district:

Understanding the research on DL models, learning from other districts

about implementation challenges, and clarifying their vision for student outcomes, OESD made several important decisions:

- Phase out existing transitional bilingual programs by building them into developmental DL programs, grade level by grade level, thus moving from a weak model into a more robust and additive pathway toward biliteracy
- Switch from creating programs as strands within a school to wholeschool programs by expanding existing strands and planning for new programs as full schoolwide programs, thus creating more sustainable programs through the upper grades
- Match the demographic realities of the district (i.e., a large percentage of EL students) and the linguistic skills of teachers (i.e., a shortage of authorized bilingual teachers) by moving forward with 50:50 models of DL education that could utilize the Englishinstructing teachers in their home schools

All of this required clear articulation of the selected DL models and the engagement of principals, the teacher's union, and the community in understanding the various program models and their rationale. Phase Three of expansion occurred quickly, then, with four additional schools in 2013–14, and three more schools added in 2017–18. All of these newly added schools were 50:50 models, and most were developmental bilingual programs (all English learners). Mindful of equity in the opportunity for a DL program, every neighborhood of the city now had one DL program.

The ten schools were brought together to collectively establish a biliteracy vision statement for the district: "To provide students the opportunity to become biliterate/bicultural/multicultural through a rigorous academic program, in order for them to be able to develop to their fullest potential as global citizens."

As part of building a sense of district direction and to motivate students along the pathway toward biliteracy and the SSB at high school graduation, the district established Bilingual Pathway awards at fifth grade and eighth grade.

Articulating a coherent framework for instruction and system of professional support to guide implementation:

OESD was clear that effective programs require teachers who understand the model and its implications for instruction and pedagogy. The plan for implementation, therefore, included a major emphasis on supporting teachers in "doing the everyday work" of biliteracy teaching, which includes a framework for instruction and agreed-upon practices that are nonnegotiable for every classroom, for all of the more than 800 teachers in the district. Despite a major shortage of substitute teachers, which made release time difficult, the district was committed to quality, ongoing, and focused professional learning as the engine of what would result in the desired student outcomes. OESD approached this in several ways:

- Creating a literacy pedagogy statement and a condensed set of biliteracy essential components as the framework and touchstone for everything from professional development to coaching to Instructional walk-throughs (look-fors). Everyone (leadership, administrators, teachers, parents) knows what instruction should be.
- Establishing an ongoing system of professional learning for teachers, including a five-day summer institute, after-school meetings (voluntary, but with pay), monthly district gradelevel meetings (after school), special conference opportunities (strategically allocated), hosting a Teaching for Biliteracy Institute, walk-throughs (so teachers could visit each other's classrooms and focus on specific problems of practice), and use of Teachers on Special Assignment to support teachers.
- Attention to academic rigor and curriculum alignment through the strategic use of adopted curriculum in the context of immersion in the standards (Spanish standards, English standards, content standards)—resulting in more intentional teaching and transfer, and in the development of biliteracy units.

Because the programs were being built beginning with kindergarten and grade one and adding a grade level per year, it will not be until 2026 that all schools will have complete K–8 biliteracy programs. However, this steady phasing allows for professional learning and support for teachers

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and curriculum development targeted at specific cohorts of teachers who are in the process of implementation.

In addition to the focus on supporting teachers, OESD looks to the principals to serve as primary instructional leaders in DL education. Regular dual language immersion meetings engage principals in examining research, building leadership capacity, and problem solving. While philosophically the district's belief and commitment are that site administrators should be instructional leaders, it has become a practical matter as the district has declining enrollment with a resultant shrinking budget and less robust district leadership support.

Designing a system of accountability for dual language outcomes:

OESD has invested heavily in this direction for their schools as a top priority for leadership, a core of its instructional focus, and a priority for the use of its resources. Therefore, the district takes seriously the need to know whether students are actually achieving in the ways in which it hopes, and where the weak spots in implementation are that need attention.

While the California Assessment of Student Performance and Progress is one metric, because it is only in English and only for students in third grade and higher, it is far from adequate for the questions the district seeks to answer. OESD uses Star 360 in English and in Spanish, enabling the district to see what is happening for students in both languages and to inform their focus on transfer. This is both a task for district personnel monitoring the effort and a collaborative task engaging teachers. As a regular practice, they are able to respond to questions such as: "Are there big gaps between what students are able to do in the two languages? How does this inform the need for a more explicit focus in English, or in Spanish, for ELD, for transfer time?"

Writing assessments in both languages are linked to the curriculum being taught, thus enabling teachers to analyze student writing from a biliteracy lens. As teachers in the district work together on the development of the

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new biliteracy units, the clarity about which standards are being taught in which language are leading to the development of assessments as well.

OESD has a clear vision, an entire system aligned around that vision, and enthusiasm and inspiration to carry it forward. Key lessons shared with visitors and those wanting to know how the district has done it are to

- be steady and take the long view, (this is building educational pathways across years, with long-term outcomes that will be realized years down the road);
- · have a good plan for getting there;
- monitor progress along the way; and
- · keep a steady course.

They are, thus, building an assets-oriented schooling experience (Principle One of the *CA EL Roadmap*), implementing high-quality, rigorous, and standards-based education aiming toward goals of biliteracy (Principle Two), and being sure that their entire system is shaped around creating the conditions needed to support quality and consistent implementation (Principles Three and Four).

Conclusion

As this chapter has shown, there are many benefits for students and society that come from bilingualism, and from the interaction between cultures that language learning brings. For students, developing proficiency in more than one language enhances career opportunities, promotes cross-cultural understanding, and improves communication skills. EL students, especially, benefit from continuing to develop and learn in their home language and experience improved academic outcomes from being in DL programs. Multilingual programs are the vehicle to make all of this happen.

California has decisively declared this an era of assets-oriented education, in which the languages and cultures that students and families bring with them to school are valued and built upon, and where proficiency in multiple languages is a goal conferring benefits on individuals, communities, and the state's social and economic welfare. Educators have a strong knowledge base for designing programs to realize these goals, and a deep understanding of effective teaching pedagogy for DL education. Yet, while the goal in California is for every student to develop proficiency in multiple languages, there is still much to do to prepare schools for expanding opportunities in multilingual education (CDE 2018). Leaders should continue to acquire the expertise to adequately lead and support research-based quality programs, the availability of qualified teachers should continue to grow, and many educators and communities alike should continue to develop and implement current research-based practices for educating ML and EL students.

At the time of this publication, there were approximately 500 DL programs serving only a small fraction of students. What is more, those DL programs that exist might still be establishing the necessary district infrastructure and support to deliver effective, sustained programs and pathways to graduation. Further, a major barrier to the implementation of current research-based practices can be attributed to misunderstanding and fear around and biases against bilingual programs. All of this means that this era must assertively move to invest in the planning and start-up of new programs, building existing programs into full pathways toward biliteracy, developing the infrastructure to

sustain strong programs, and communicating the benefits of bilingualism and multilingual education to all stakeholders (CDE 2018).

Getting from here to there requires particular attention to the shortage of prepared bilingual teachers. The understanding of what constitutes effective bilingual pedagogy has been strengthened and clarified over the past decade due to new research on DL development and increased field experience in responding to the new context of Common Core standards and twenty first century demands (Howard et al. 2018). But that knowledge base is largely new to the teaching force in California as well as to site and district leaders, and it is a major shift from the pedagogy, practice, expectations, and beliefs of the recent past.

This chapter has summarized both research and field experience, demonstrating what it is looking like throughout California as educators take up these challenges and move to implement multilingual education. The new confluence of policy, vision, research, and field knowledge is a powerful support as the work continues to provide students with the gift of biliteracy, which can be accomplished by an investment in professional learning and by conditions that support effective biliteracy teaching—investments locally through Local Control and Accountability Plans, and statewide through legislative and philanthropic funding—to meet the exciting and challenging task of preparing teachers and retooling schools for multilingual outcomes. For this to happen, DL teachers—among others—need to be active participants, as described herein, articulating the teaching and learning conditions defined for quality DL programs, and continue, as they always have, to be active advocates for the students and families they serve.

This is a tall order, but it comes with a great gift—students emerging from school with a strong sense of identity, a proud connection to family and heritage, the ability to bridge and cross cultures and communities, and the academic, language, and social skills to participate, thrive, and lead in a global, twenty-first century, diverse and multilingual world (NASEM 2017).

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Next Steps

Educators are invited to explore the resources below as they plan, expand, or improve their multilingual instruction and DL programs and seek guidance and opportunities for further professional learning:

- The Association of Two-Way and Dual Language Education provides information on the ATDLE website at https://www.cde.ca.gov/sp/el/er/ch3.asp#link2.
- The BUENO Center for Multicultural Education (BUENO: Bilinguals United for Education and New Opportunities) and Literacy Squared provides information on the BUENO website at https://www.cde.ca.gov/sp/el/er/ch3.asp#link3.
- The California Association for Bilingual Education (CABE) provides information on the CABE website at https://www.cde.ca.gov/sp/el/er/ch3.asp#link4.
- The California Department of Education provides information on its Multilingual Education web page at https://www.cde.ca.gov/sp/el/er/ch3.asp#link5.
- Californians Together provides information on the Californians Together website at https://www.cde.ca.gov/sp/el/er/ch3.asp#link6.
- The Center for Applied Linguistics provides information on the CAL website at https://www.cde.ca.gov/sp/el/er/ch3.asp#link7.
- The Center for Equity for English Learners provides information on the Loyola Marymount University website at https://www.cde.ca.gov/sp/el/er/ch3.asp#link8.
- The Center for Teaching for Biliteracy provides information on the Center for Teaching for Biliteracy website at https://www.cde.ca.gov/sp/el/er/ch3.asp#link9.
- The National Resource Center for Asian Languages provides information on the California State University, Fullerton website at https://www.cde.ca.gov/sp/el/er/ch3.asp#link10.

- Information on the Sobrato Early Academic Language model can be found on the SEAL website at https://www.cde.ca.gov/sp/el/er/ch3. asp#link11.
- SEAL Videos (with "Bilingual/Dual Language" and "Supporting Dual Language Practices" playlists) can be found on the SEAL YouTube channel at https://www.cde.ca.gov/sp/el/er/ch3.asp#link12.
- The City University of New York–New York State Initiative on Emergent Bilinguals provides information on the CUNY–NYSIEB website at https://www.cde.ca.gov/sp/el/er/ch3.asp#link13.

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Endnotes

- 1 Retrieved from the US Department of Education website (https://www.cde.ca.gov/sp/el/er/ch3.asp#link14).
- 2 California *Education Code*, Ed.G.E, sections 300, 305-6, 310, 320, and 335, 2018.
- 3 The 2019 *CA WL Standards* and *WL Framework* provide guidance for standards-based language development and planning for instruction. Both are available on the California Department of Education website at https://www.cde.ca.gov/sp/el/er/ch3.asp#link15 and https://www.cde.ca.gov/sp/el/er/ch3.asp#link16, respectively.
- 4 Approaches to literacy instruction are less similar and less straightforward for languages that use an ideographic system for their written form, such as Korean or Japanese. In ideographic languages, symbols represent the words themselves, as compared to English in which words comprise various letters.
- 5 See figure 2.14—Understanding Register—in chapter two of the *California ELA/ELD Framework* for an explanation of register.