



Emergent Bilinguals' Emerging Identities in a Dual Language School

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Abstract

The purpose of this study was to explore how emergent bilinguals' emerging identities interact with their language attitudes and choices in various contexts to create their investment in English, Spanish, and bilingualism. Using a mixed method design, the researchers analyzed surveys and social networking maps of 63 Mexican-American, bilingual fifth-graders in a one-way dual language (DL) school and then the interviews of 10 of these students. Findings indicate that students' identities and investments show a strong relationship to their language use and language of instruction. Specifically, students' investments in their languages suggest that we might reconsider strict language separation in DL programs while also overtly attending to students' investment in the minority language, Spanish. Most significantly, the language we use formally and informally affects students' attitudes toward that language. Thus, greater emphasis on developing bilingual investment is an indispensable goal of DL programs.

Introduction

In the post-*No Child Left Behind* era, many schools have found that dual language (DL) programs provide a compelling means for meeting students' language needs and raising academic achievement (Lindholm-Leary & Genessee, 2010; Thomas & Collier, 2012). Indeed, dual language education is growing in the U.S. as stakeholders are more aware of the many benefits of bilingualism (Gándara, 2015). The often stated goal of DL programs is to develop students who are bilingual, biliterate and bicultural (Christian, 1996), which transcends bilingual listening, speaking, reading, and writing skills to include negotiating meaning in multiple cultural contexts. This three-fold goal is lofty, especially considering that many emergent bilingual students, those who enter U.S. schools speaking a language other than English in the home, begin to use English over their first language (L1) both inside and outside the classroom (Fortune, 2000; Potowski, 2004).

Researchers assert this is due to various factors beyond the immediate control of the school: 1) the "leakage" of an English dominant, even hegemonic, society into the dual language classroom (Freeman, 1998); 2) the emphasis high stakes testing often places on English development (Potowski, 2004); and 3) the stigma that can be associated with speaking any language other than English in the U.S. (Achugar, 2008). Because of these phenomena, Potowski (2004) implies that students' investment in their bilingual identities, particularly their identity in the minority language and culture, could be a key factor for predicting how well students will maintain and develop both languages, and thus reach the goal of becoming bilingual, biliterate, and bicultural.

While current research shows a strong link between bicultural development and continued bilingual and biliteracy development (Heller & Martin-Jones, 2001; Potowski, 2007), there are not many studies that explore these connections in practice (but see Potowski, 2007; Valdés, 1997). The purpose of this study was to explore how students' emerging identities as bilinguals interact with their language attitudes and language choice in various contexts. Using Norton's (2000) language investment theory as a framework, the researchers analyzed the surveys and social networking maps of 63 Latino emergent bilingual fifth-graders in a one-way dual language school in north Texas, as well as the semi-structured interviews with 10 of these students. This study uses the term *emergent bilinguals* to refer to the participants, because all students began school speaking

Spanish at home and were in the dynamic process of developing proficiency in English and Spanish in their elementary school years. The research questions are:

- 1) What identities do emergent bilinguals of a dual language program display?
- 2) What views do emergent bilinguals have toward their languages?
- 3) When and why do emergent bilinguals choose to use one language over another?
- 4) How do individual factors relate to students' language investments?

By examining these questions, the researchers aim to illustrate how a more complex conceptualization of language learning involving the concepts of social networks and power are juxtaposed to construct, deconstruct, and reconstruct individual and group identities that ultimately affect the language attitudes and language use of bilingual students. The end goal, then, is to inform stakeholders in dual language contexts of their roles toward the dynamic aim of bilingualism, biliteracy and biculturalism.

Theoretical Framework

Research in second language acquisition has focused on orientations that lead to successful language learning. Motivation to learn the language, the learner's personality (i.e. introverted or extroverted; inhibited or uninhibited), and the learner's attitudes toward the target language have dominated the literature explaining second language learning success (Brown, 1994; Gardner & Lambert, 1972). However, over the past twenty years, some linguists have begun to question the sufficiency of these concepts for explaining this phenomenon (Crookes & Schmidt, 1991; Dornyei, 1997; Oxford & Shearin, 1994).

According to Norton (2000), these concepts focus on the individual learner rather than both the individual and the social groups. Since all language learning arguably takes place within a group or network of groups, these conceptions fall considerably short. A broader and more nuanced theoretical framework considers not just the individual as a set of random variables, but as an agent in relation to her history, engagement, and differential access across various sites (Lantof & Pavlenko, 2001).

In addition to accounting for the individual in social networks, Norton (2000) and Pavlenko and Blackledge (2004) maintain that these traditional concepts in second language acquisition, such as personality, motivation, and dispositions, do not capture the complexity of the power structures in communities. Further, this results in missed opportunities for practice. Thus, in place of these traditional concepts, they argue for a more comprehensive framework for understanding the intricacies of second language acquisition starting with the construct of identity. Norton (2000) asserts that identity is "how a person understands his or her relationship to the world, how that relationship is constructed across time and space and how the person understands possibilities for the future" (p. 5).

This view of identity in language learning and practice is situated in a poststructuralist view. Block (2007) defines poststructuralism as "moving beyond the search...for unchanging, universal laws of human behavior and social phenomena to more nuanced, multileveled, and, ultimately, complicated framings of the world around us" (p. 864). Consequently, a poststructuralist view of identity highlights the dynamic nature of one's identity: it is fluid as it affects and is affected by the various social worlds the individual inhabits (Ricento,

2005). Furthermore, a poststructuralist view also focuses on whose identities are valued or devalued in political economies (Bammer, 1994; Hall, 1990). Therefore, in this study, we believe students' identities in all of their languages are dynamically connected to the people in their lives and the political value of each language in various contexts.

Similarly, Edwards (1985) states that language is inextricably linked to identity, its formation, presentation, and maintenance. In other words, language learners are constantly forming, showing, modifying, or keeping their identities. Therefore, identity formation always takes place in social situations as people send and receive meaning to and from one another. For that reason, studying identity in relation to language learning is crucial because language teaching is by nature highly political; that is, language has sociopolitical and economic consequences (Freire, 1985; Gee, 2008).

As a result, identity is a central concept to explore in relation to bilingual students because it is by language that they are able to negotiate who they are and through language that they hold membership—or are withheld membership—to prestigious social networks, giving them a place to speak (Heller, 1992).

Furthermore, this identity formation has a strong relationship with the language learner's views of the L2 that in turn creates "a positive attitude towards a second language and its community which help second language learning" (De Bot, Lowie & Verspoor, 2005, p. 72). This can be true of the L1 as well. Taken together, identity combined with one's language attitudes and usage comprises one's investment in a language, which largely affects the continued development and use of a bilingual's languages (Norton, 2000). That is, investment determines to what extent bilingual students will continue to develop and use all of their languages.

Individual Factors Influencing Identity and Investment

Certain individual characteristics interact with social environments to create positive or negative investment in one's languages. Table 1 summarizes individual factors and their relation to Spanish, English and bilingual investment. These identity factors include: gender, birth order (oldest, middle or youngest child), birth country (inside or outside of the United States), whether a student considers him or herself as popular and successful, his/her value of friends in relation to family, the number of times he/she visits a Spanish-speaking country, and how he/she identifies culturally. Each factor is related to one of these language investments.

Table 1
Indicators of Spanish, English, and Bilingual Investment

Indicator	Spanish Investment	English Investment	Bilingual Investment
Gender	Girls tend to maintain and use Spanish (Fought, 2003; Sánchez, 1983).	Boys tend to gravitate towards developing and speaking in English (Fought, 2003; Sánchez, 1983).	Boys and/or girls with strong family ties and a desire to be supported by their families show bilingual investment (Potowski, 2007).
Birth Order	Oldest children tend to have greater proficiency in Spanish and, thus, have greater Spanish investment (Fought, 2003; Sánchez, 1983).	The youngest children in families tend to have greater proficiency in English and have higher English investment (Fought, 2003; Sánchez, 1983).	
Birth Country	Students born outside the U.S. have greater appreciation for and proficiency in Spanish (Fought, 2003; Sánchez, 1983).	Those born in the U.S. show greater investment in English (Fought, 2003; Potowski, 2007; Sánchez, 1983).	
Popularity		Popular students tend to gravitate toward developing and using English (Fought, 2003; Potowski, 2007; Sánchez, 1983).	Students who view knowing a second language as "cool" tend to have bilingual investment (Potowski, 2007).
Success	Students who do not view themselves as successful may have higher Spanish investment (for native Spanish speakers) (Fought, 2003).	Students who view themselves as successful gravitate toward developing and speaking English (Fought, 2003; Sánchez, 1983).	Students who view bilingualism as a characteristic of success show bilingual investment (Potowski, 2007).
Value of Family/Friends	Those who value family more than friends have higher investments in Spanish (Fought, 2003; Sánchez, 1983).	Those who value friends more than family gravitate towards greater English investment (Fought, 2003; Sánchez, 1983).	Students who have a balance of families and friends who value one or both cultures have greater bilingual investment (Potowski, 2007).
Visits to Mexico	Those who have strong ties to a	Those who have little ties to Spanish	

	Spanish-speaking country have greater investments in Spanish (Fought, 2003; Potowski, 2007; Sánchez, 1983).	speaking countries tend to value English (Fought, 2003; Potowski, 2007; Sánchez, 1983).	
Cultural Identification	Those who identify with a non-U.S. country value Spanish more than English (Fought, 2003; Potowski, 2007; Sánchez, 1983).	Those who identify with the U.S. and/or American culture value English (Fought, 2003; Potowski, 2007; Sánchez, 1983).	Those who identify strongly with both cultures have higher levels of bilingual investment (Potowski, 2007).

As Potowski (2007), Fought (2003) and Sánchez's (1983) studies illustrate in Table 1, these identities and investments significantly affect how bilinguals view and use their languages. Consequently, in order to create a successful, sustainable dual language program with the end goal of fostering bilingual, biliterate, and bicultural graduates, one must attend to the issue of identity and how it is negotiated in multicultural contexts.

Method

This mixed method sequential explanatory design (Creswell, Plano Clark, Gutmann, & Hanson, 2003) consists of two phases: a quantitative phase utilizing two instruments (a survey and social networking maps) followed by a qualitative phase utilizing one instrument (student interviews). In this design, the researchers collected and analyzed the quantitative data before designing, collecting and analyzing the qualitative data instruments (Morse, 2003). The purpose for mixing methods was to test hypotheses on identity, language attitudes, and language use on a larger scale of DL students ($n = 63$) than is typically employed on identity studies, while still achieving expansion that reflects the complexity of these constructs (Cresswell et al., 2003; Teddlie & Tashakkori, 2009). Figure 1 depicts the study's design.



Figure 1. Follow up explanatory design (Cresswell et al, 2003).

Participants

The participants in this study were 63 fifth grade DL students at a large urban elementary school in north Texas during the 2013-2014 school year. All students in the sample are of Mexican heritage, participating in the free or reduced lunch program and DL program since kindergarten. Most of the students are still considered English learners according to the Texas language assessment and, therefore, continue to receive language support services. The demographics of the students in this study are reflective of the school that is 95% Hispanic with 98% of the students in the free or reduced lunch program.

Most of these students entered kindergarten as English learners, speaking primarily Spanish with parents in the home. As the data will later reveal, most students are second-generation Mexican-Americans who live in densely populated trailer homes with other first- and second-generation Mexican-Americans. All students in the sample have participated in the campus DL program for six years. Following the recommendation of Christian (1996), fifth grade participants were chosen for two reasons: 1) they had six years of experience in the DL program, and 2) they had high levels of social proficiency in both languages, making lack of social proficiency in their languages virtually a non-issue.

The school's DL design is unique to the district, with a one-language, one-teacher model. That is, students receive instruction in all content areas in both languages, as they switch between a Spanish teacher and an English teacher. It is basically a one-way program, with nearly all instructors native Spanish speakers; however, between two and five students per grade level are considered two-way students, who are non-limited English proficient and/or teachers' children in the district. Additionally, all students in this school receive literacy instruction in both languages starting in kindergarten. At this particular school, students switch teachers (and languages) every other day in kindergarten, every two days in first and second grade, and every week in third through fifth grades.

Measures and Procedure

The primary quantitative instrument was an electronic survey with a total of 40 questions, including four-point likert scale and multiple choice questions with four major sections: 1) cultural identity with 10 questions, 2) language attitudes with 10 questions, 3) language use in school with 8 questions, and 4) language use out of school with 12 questions. Questions were created by the researchers based on knowledge of salient relationships between identity, investment, and language use in the extant research (Fought, 2003; Potowski, 2007; Sánchez, 1983). The survey was tested in a pilot study the year before. The researchers tested the reliability of the survey as a uni-dimensional construct, and found that the internal consistency was slightly lower than the generally acceptable range (Cronbach's $\alpha = .65$) (Tavakol & Dennick, 2011). Instead of being a weakness of the instrument, the researchers believe this measure of reliability underscores the complexity of the constructs of Spanish, English, and bilingual investment. That is, investment in Spanish, English, and bilingualism are not mutually exclusive; the low Cronbach alpha demonstrates the heterogeneity of these constructs (Tavakol & Dennick, 2011), which aligns with the theoretical orientation of this work. As such, there is a need for an exploratory factor analysis of the 40 items on the survey to determine dimensionality. It was, however, beyond the scope of this study, as there were not enough participants to complete a robust exploratory factor analysis.

Students were randomly assigned to take the survey in English or Spanish in the first author's classroom on laptops in order to assess for a language priming effect. This allowed the teacher-researcher to monitor students as they took the survey. Immediately after taking the survey, students created a social networking map (Wasserman, 1994) with themselves at the center and all the people they speak to during the course of one week. Within this map, students labeled the relationship of the people with varying levels of closeness to them (Fought, 2003). Students marked the language(s) they speak with each person, followed by a range of options that reflect the hybridization of bilinguals' language use (García, 2009): English Only (EO), Spanish Only (SO), Mostly English with some Spanish (ES), Mostly Spanish with some English (SE), English and Spanish Equally (=). These social network maps aimed to corroborate the language domains and language communities of practices reported by students from the surveys (Fought, 2003; Myers-Scotton, 2006).

To explore the nuances of these items on the survey in depth, the researchers used purposeful sampling to select student volunteers ($n = 10$) that represented the range of bilingual identities and investment to take part in one semi-structured interview each. Interview questions were established based on the major developments from the electronic survey in order to access students' linguistic beliefs and behaviors.

Data Analysis

The researchers utilized mixed data analysis for the constructs of identity, language attitudes, and language use (Teddle & Tashakkori, 2009), placing greater emphasis on the quantitative results from the student survey (QUAN→qual) (Morse, 2003). After analyzing student survey responses through descriptives, t-tests, ANOVAs, and chi square analyses, the researchers transformed the qualitative data from the social networking maps using simple frequency counts to triangulate the survey findings (Lincoln & Guba, 1985).

Based on statistically significant findings, construct identification and construct validation were employed to expand the quantitative findings on the subcategories of identity, language attitudes, and language use (social and academic) in the semi-structured interviews (Teddle & Tashakkori, 2009). Lastly, the researchers made meta-inferences using an integrative framework for mixed methods (Tashakkori & Teddle, 2008) by "comparing, contrasting, building on or embedding one type of conclusion with the other" (Creswell & Tashakkori, 2007, p. 108).

Results

Overall, identity and investment (including language attitudes and language use) are complex, individualized constructs. These students ($n = 63$) represent comprehensive trends that are instructive to DL stakeholders with similar student populations.

Identities Displayed

Question 1 stated: What identities do these emergent bilinguals display? While this group of students is homogeneous on many levels, they still display diversity in their identities and understanding of their identities. Students' identities were most divergent in relation to how they identified themselves and their perception of the relationship between language and cultural identity, as shown in Figures 2, 3, and 4.

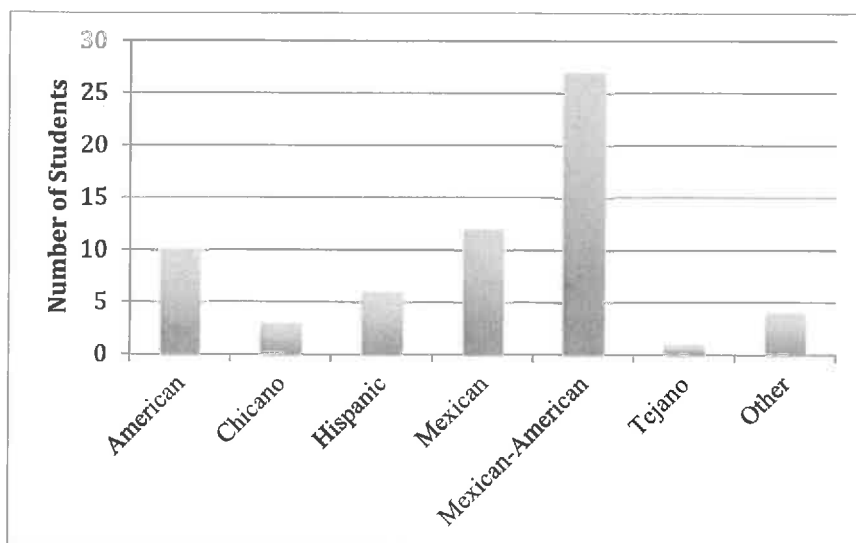


Figure 2. Cultural identification.

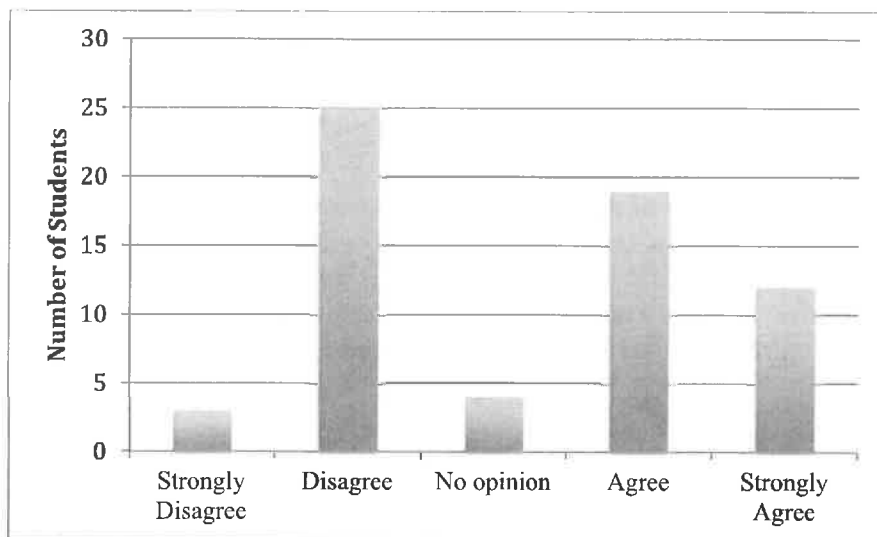


Figure 3. English and American cultural identity, i.e., "I need to speak English to be American."

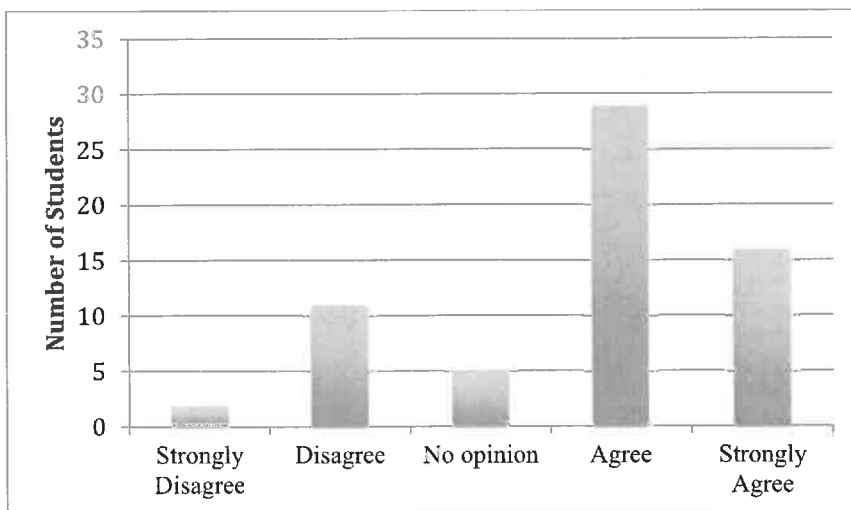


Figure 4. Spanish and Mexican cultural identity, i.e., “I need to speak Spanish to be Mexican.”

When asked why students culturally identified themselves one way over another, four students explained that a particular term is what they have heard their parents use: “That’s what my dad calls us.” Still, another four students responded that their country of birth determined their cultural identity: “I’m American because my parents are Mexican and I was born [in the United States].”

Views toward Languages

Question 2 explored students’ views of their languages. Most students valued bilingualism as a whole ($n = 53$) and each of their languages individually (English, $n = 54$; Spanish, $n = 55$). Most also reported enjoying using both languages at school ($n = 53$) and reading in each language (English, $n = 53$; Spanish, $n = 53$). Yet, when asked what languages they wanted to speak with their future children (see Figure 5), their responses varied, seeming to contradict the previous findings.

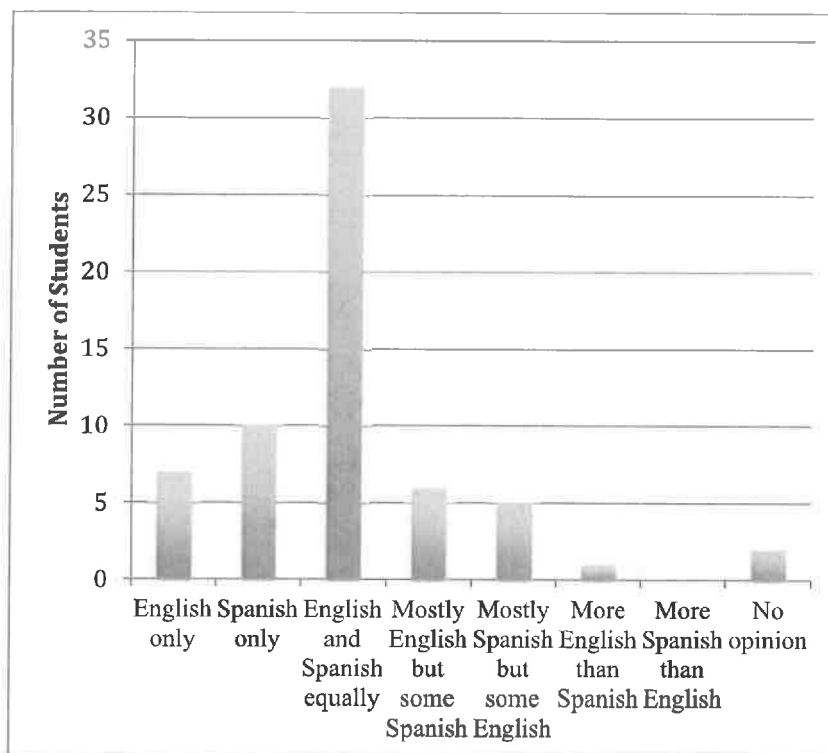


Figure 5. Language(s) with future children.

Interviews provided clarity on this seeming contradiction. When asked why, common reasons given for speaking Spanish in addition to English were the utility for speaking Spanish with monolingual family members and the desire to speak both languages for better jobs. A prime reason for English's importance was that it was an opportunity not provided to their immigrant parents in Mexico and it was "fun" and "easy." By contrast, words used to describe Spanish were "hard" and "confusing," although students' first language is Spanish. These sentiments are further corroborated by students' language shift toward English in the academic domains, shown in Figures 6 and 7.

This language shift towards English is also seen in students' beliefs about their vocabulary in each language, with more students believing they had enough vocabulary to explain themselves in English ($n = 54$) than in Spanish ($n = 47$). This is true despite the fact that students have received 50% of all academic instruction in both languages since kindergarten. Moreover, all school formative and summative assessments for classes are given in both languages, with equal content represented in both languages. Students' language test preferences are shown in Figures 6 and 7.

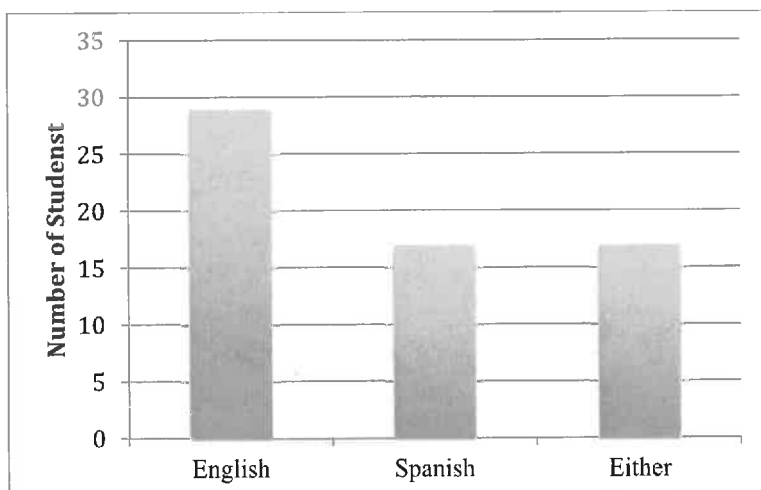


Figure 6. Writing test preference.

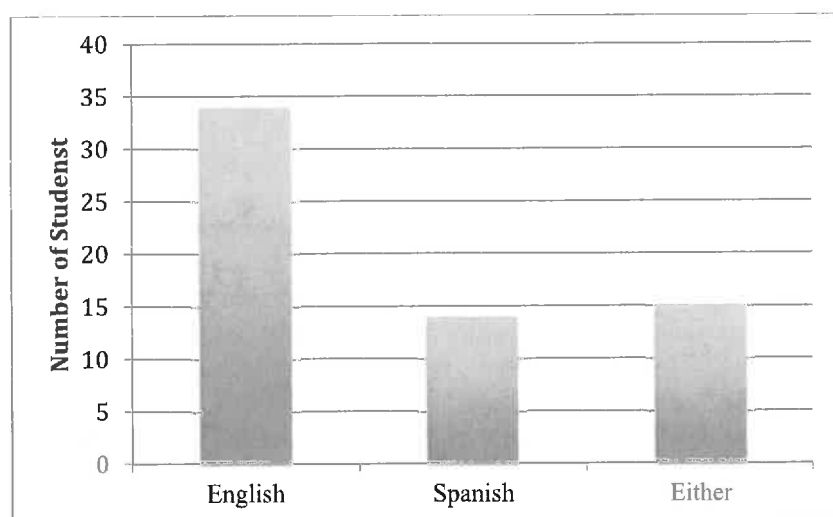


Figure 7. Reading test preference.

Language Choices

Question 3 asked: When and why do emergent bilinguals choose to use one language over another? The questions from the survey, social networking maps, and semi-structured interviews revealed that English and Spanish were used with different people, places, and combinations. Overall, Spanish ($n = 40$) or Spanish-English (signifying mostly Spanish with some English) ($n = 14$) was used with parents and solely Spanish was used at church ($n = 43$). All other domains (neighbors, store, friends, siblings, thinking) showed more diversity in language use with different combinations of English and Spanish reported.

When one language was used solely over another, it was often due to a dominant power relationship that was monolingual, such as parents ($n = 34$), English as a Second Language (ESL) teachers ($n = 42$), and school administration ($n = 18$). For example, one student explained that she had to use English with the specials teachers because they do not speak Spanish: "We go to specials with them. If I didn't speak with them in English I wouldn't be able to communicate with them and they wouldn't listen to me."

Identity Indicators and Students' Language Investments

Lastly, question 4 asked: How do identity indicators relate to students' language investments? Statistical analyses consisting of t-tests, ANOVAs and chi-squares revealed several noteworthy relationships between students' identities and their investments in their languages. Findings were organized under one of the three categories: Spanish, English, and bilingual investment. A finding was coded as Spanish, English or bilingual investment if it was associated with a characteristic, belief, or behavior that aligned with the corresponding investment in the literature. The student indicators that were most statistically meaningful in relation to language investment were gender, self-report as a successful student and self-cultural identification; these indicators were highly significant for all three types of investment, as they had the most number of statistically significant relationships. Table 2 shows the general identity and investment patterns.

Table 2
Identity and Investment Patterns

Indicator	Spanish Investment	English Investment	Bilingual Investment
Gender*	x	x	x
Birth Country	x	x	
Popularity		x	
Success*	x	x	x
Value of Family/Friends	x		
Visits to Mexico		x	x
Cultural Identification*	x	x	x

*Most significant identity indicators in relation to investment.

Spanish Investment

Of the student indicators mentioned, gender, birth country, student success identity, family values, and personal cultural identification displayed statistically greater investment in Spanish. As such, many of the individual factors in the literature were affirmed in survey analyses on Spanish investment. Girls showed greater Spanish investment by having traditional views of

family ($n = 32$) (reporting that “family is more important than friends”), $X^2(1)=4.24$, $p<.04$. Also, girls were more likely to prefer to read in Spanish ($M=3.92$, $SD=.70$) than boys ($M=3.29$, $SD=1.30$) $t(61)=-2.19$, $p<.36$. Similarly, the indicators for birth country and success support the previous literature on Spanish investment: students born outside the U.S. had greater preference for standardized reading tests in Spanish ($n = 4$), $X^2(2)=6.69$, $p<.04$ and students who did not see themselves as successful reported thinking mostly in Spanish ($n=8$), $X^2(2)=6.40$, $p<.04$. Lastly, the results presented the interrelationship between cultural identification and language use, as students who believed family was more important than friends also believed that one needs to speak Spanish to be a “good Mexican” ($n=14$), $X^2(2)=15.6$, $p<.02$. Also, those that identified themselves as Mexican-Americans and Hispanic were more likely to only speak Spanish with their neighbors ($n=14$), $X^2(2)=15.06$, $p<.02$.

English Investment

Similar to Spanish investment, many of the findings on English investment for this student group affirmed the conclusions in the extant literature. Of the student indicators mentioned, gender, birth country, popularity, students’ identity as successful, visits to Mexico, and personal cultural identification statistically displayed greater investment in English. Girls were more likely to want to take a reading test in English than in Spanish or either language ($n = 26$), $X^2(2)=8.39$, $p<.02$. Those that were born in the U.S. were more likely to want to read in English ($M=4.14$, $SD=.89$), preferred to write in English ($M=4.16$, $SD=.71$), best described their ideas in English ($M=4.20$, $SD=.82$) and believed that English was more important ($M=4.14$, $SD=.88$) than those born outside of the United States ($M=3.00$, $SD=1.29$), $t(61)=92$, $p<.02$, ($M=3.57$, $SD=.79$), $t(61)=2.02$, $p<.04$, ($M=3.14$, $SD=1.07$), $t(61)=3.11$, $p<.003$, ($M=3.00$, $SD=1.29$), $t(61)=92$, $p<.02$. Additionally, students who self-reported as being popular were also more likely to report being able to understand what they read in English ($M=4.14$, $SD=.89$) than those who self-reported not being popular ($M=3.50$, $SD=1.02$), $t(52)=2.31$, $p<.02$.

Furthermore, students who self-identified as successful were more likely to prefer to read in English ($M=4.16$, $SD=.72$), take a reading test in English ($n = 32$), $X^2(2)=11.44$, $p<.003$, and to be able to describe their ideas in English ($M=4.27$, $SD=.81$), than those who did not consider themselves successful ($M=3.36$, $SD=1.08$), $t(61)=2.63$, $p<.02$, ($M=3.43$, $SD=.94$), $t(61)=3.29$, $p<.002$, ($M=3.34$, $SD=.94$), $t(52)=3.29$, $p<.002$. The number of visits to Mexico was also related to English investment. Those that reported not visiting Mexico at all in a given year were more likely to believe that one needs to speak English in order to be American $F(2, 62)=3.95$, $p<.02$ and that friends were more important than family $F(2, 62)$, 3.71 , $p<.0$. More boys identified themselves as American ($n = 8$) than girls, $X^2(2)=10.34$, $p<.02$, who were more likely to identify as Mexican-American ($n = 21$), $X^2(2)=10.34$, $p<.02$.

Girls (instead of boys) showed a statistically significant result for liking to read in English; yet they also displayed this same statistically significant like to read in Spanish ($M=3.92$, $SD=.70$) when compared to boys ($M=3.29$, $SD=1.30$), $t(62)=-2.19$, $p<.04$. Because of how the questions were worded, students could answer in the positive to both liking to read in English and liking to read in Spanish, without their choices being mutually exclusive.

Bilingual Investment

Of the indicators mentioned, gender, success, visits to Mexico, and self-cultural identification statistically displayed greater bilingual investment. This time, popularity and birth country did not reveal any significant findings. Girls were more likely to culturally self-identify as Mexican American ($n = 11$), $X^2(3)=10.34$, $p<.02$, report speaking both English and Spanish at the store ($n = 23$), $X^2(2)=8.74$, $p<.01$, and speak both languages with their friends ($n = 26$), $X^2(2)=6.95$, $p<.03$. Furthermore, those that reported viewing themselves as successful students, were more likely to report wanting to speak both languages to future children ($n = 37$), $X^2(2)=7.93$, $p<.02$ and to think in both languages ($n = 28$), $X^2(2)=6.40$, $p<.04$. Additionally, students who reported not visiting Mexico at least once a year reported that being bilingual was important $F(2, 62)=4.58$, $p<.14$. Lastly, students who self-identified as American were also more likely to claim speaking to neighbors in both languages ($n = 5$), $X^2(6)=15.06$, $p<.02$.

The student characteristics regarding bilingual investment add nuance to the relationship of gender, success, visits to Mexico, and self-cultural identification. According to the literature, girls, students who view themselves as successful, and those who visit a Spanish speaking country frequently show more Spanish investment. However, here these very same indicators show bilingual investment. Furthermore, self-identifying as “American” is traditionally associated with English investment in the literature, yet once again, here those who identify as American report speaking both languages. The identity indicators explored through this study reaffirm the complex relationship between identity and investment.

Language Priming Effect

Students who were randomly assigned to take the survey in English demonstrated more investment in the English language, defined by having favorable attitudes toward English. Alternatively, students who took the survey in Spanish showed higher levels of Spanish investment. ($p<.001$).

Discussion

This study reinforces how a myriad of identity factors affect emergent bilinguals’ use of and investment in their languages, the foundation for continued bilingual and biliteracy development. Since students’ identities and investments show a strong correlation to their language use, bilingual identity investment should be addressed through all aspects of a dual language program; developing positive identities and investments it is not an automatic outcome of the program. The findings suggest three larger components that the researchers believe are crucial for dual language programs to consider in maximizing the development of positive bilingual identity and investment: 1) language separation and translanguaging, 2) protection of the minority language, and 3) the implications of language choice.

Language Separation and Translanguaging Opportunities

The results reinforce complex, dynamic uses of bilingualism and bicultural identities that resist binary categories as Spanish or English dominant. In response, administrators and teachers should allow space for this dynamic development by providing third spaces (Bhabha, 2004) for

metalinguistic development (Escamilla, et al., 2014; Thomas & Collier, 2012) and translanguaging opportunities (García & Li Wei, 2014) that defy strict separation of languages during the entirety of the program.

Perhaps dual language programs should reconsider strict language separation pedagogies and policies that are commonplace in many classrooms (Palmer, Martínez, Mateus & Henderson, 2014). Students' bilingual identities exist fluidly outside the classroom and both languages might help students achieve greater academic success within the classroom if students have freedom to draw on their full linguistic repertoire. As part of Literacy Squared®, Escamilla and colleagues (2014) use Dictado, a popular Mexican pedagogical practice, to elicit these kinds of conversations to promote metalinguistic awareness.

Protecting the Development of the Minority Language

Still, while it is important to provide third spaces that mirror the hybridization of bilinguals' identities and language use, it is just as vital to explicitly make plans to protect the non-English, minority language, even for native Spanish speakers (Potowski, 2004). Those students with higher Spanish investments chose to use Spanish more, increasing their likelihood of maintaining their language skills through the secondary school. This study revealed that although all of the 63 students entered school as monolingual Spanish-speakers, they showed a preference for English academically and socially.

Subsequently, in our efforts to provide English Learners with instruction to increase high academic levels in English, we cannot deny attention to the minority language. As educators, we must continually show students by our actions that we equally value the minority language in its oral, written, and multimodal cultural expressions. In the classroom and over the course of the DL program, it is essential that some spaces are reserved for developing continued proficiency and discussing students' attitudes toward the minority language. With the pressure of high stakes testing to monitor and develop English proficiency, Spanish proficiency must also be monitored and valued.

Implications of Language Choice

Although students were randomly assigned to take the survey in English or Spanish, the language priming effect was extremely significant ($p < .001$). That is, students who took the survey in Spanish, showed more favorable attitudes toward Spanish and the same for English. This suggests that the language used in instructional contexts has the ability to greatly influence students' language investments.

Consequently, educators in dual language programs must be aware that every use of language (oral or written) is a political act (Freire, 1985) that influences students' attitudes toward their languages. This implies the language of the curriculum is important, but also the language of seemingly innocuous communication: the language we use to greet, discipline, or praise students; the language of the school announcements or messages home to parents; and even the language teachers use to speak to one another when students are present. Every piece of language students see or hear influences their investment in that language. In an English-dominant society (Achugar, 2008), this might be even more of a reason to purposefully use the minority language in our official and unofficial language practices when dual language students are present.

Conclusion

The present study supports other findings (Powtoski, 2004; 2007) that illustrate students in DL schools do not necessarily develop or invest in identities as proud bilingual, biliterate, and bicultural citizens. Thus, greater emphasis on developing bilingual investment should be an indispensable goal of dual language programs. Only by overtly attending to the dynamic development of bilingual and bicultural identities will stakeholders be able to implement programs that are truly just, maximizing the bilingual, biliterate and bicultural outcomes of its students.

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**Recovering Language One: Building Academic Proficiencies for Dual Language Teacher
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