

Translanguaging in English-Only Schools: From Pedagogy to Stance in the Disruption of Monolingual Policies and Practices

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This article presents findings from qualitative research conducted in eight New York City public schools offering English as a new language (also known as English as a second language), in which language education policies were monolingual in English at the start of data collection. These schools participated in an intensive professional development and technical assistance project for which they were required to engage students' bilingualism as a resource in instruction and implement translanguaging pedagogy, using the entire linguistic repertoire of bilingual children flexibly and strategically in instruction (García, Ibarra Johnson, & Seltzer, 2016). This study documents the efforts of participating schools to make their practices for emergent bilinguals more multilingual. Findings suggest that translanguaging pedagogy initiated broader ideological shifts as educators adopted a translanguaging stance that has proven transformative to the schools as a whole. Specifically, findings reveal changes in how educators thought about emergent bilinguals, their language practices and the place of those practices in instruction, and how this ideological shift engendered significant changes in several schools to their language policies. Moreover, findings show how the introduction of translanguaging pedagogy in participating schools disrupted dominant monolingual approaches in theoretical and practical ways and the impact of doing so on educators and students.

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In this article, we share findings from qualitative research conducted in eight New York City schools with English-only policies in place at the time data collection began. Initially, these schools provided only English as a new language (ENL)¹ instruction to their emergent bilinguals, without bringing students' home language practices into their classrooms. All eight schools disrupted this monolingual approach by voluntarily participating in a project called the City University of New York–New York State Initiative on Emergent Bilinguals (CUNY-NYSIEB),² which required that the schools (a) engage students' bilingualism as a resource in education, whereby the entire linguistic repertoire of bilingual children is used flexibly and strategically in instruction through translanguaging pedagogy (as described further below), and (b) build a schoolwide ecology of multilingualism that reflects the cultural and linguistic backgrounds of all students in the school. Schools participated in the project for at least 1–1.5 years³ and received intensive professional development and technical assistance through seminars their staff attended at the CUNY Graduate Center, in combination with on-site visits they received in their schools from project staff who visited regularly. This reflects a major commitment by participating schools to learn more about the education of emergent bilinguals and make changes in their schools for this student population.

The purpose of this research study was to document and analyze changes in schools that were made as a result of their participation in CUNY-NYSIEB. Our research examines participating schools' efforts to implement translanguaging pedagogy and multilingual approaches in education and shows how engaging in these efforts resulted in changes in the language ideologies of school leaders and the adoption of new school language policies. As administrators in participating schools promoted translanguaging pedagogy and teachers tried it out in their classrooms, we found that doing so was associated with broader ideological shifts among educators, whose views moved from being monolingual in orientation to multilingual, and were indicative of adopting what García, Ibarra Johnson, and Seltzer (2016) refer to as a *translanguaging stance*. We documented ideological changes over time in how

¹ The official title for these programs in New York is currently English as a new language (ENL), which replaced the term English as a second language (ESL).

² Kate Menken is the co-principal investigator and María Teresa (Maite) Sánchez is the former project director of CUNY-NYSIEB. Ricardo Otheguy is the principal investigator, Ofelia García is co-principal investigator, and Ivana Espinet is the current project director. The complete listing of team members is available at www.cuny-nysieb.org/our-team/. CUNY-NYSIEB is funded by the New York State Education Department.

³ Schools in the first cohort of CUNY-NYSIEB formally participated in the project for 1 year, and later cohorts participated for 1.5 years. Several schools actively maintained their involvement in CUNY-NYSIEB informally after the period of formal participation.

these educators regarded emergent bilinguals and their language practices, and the place of those practices in instruction. In many schools in our sample, this engendered changes to school language policies, such as the creation and implementation of new bilingual education programs. Moreover, findings show how the introduction of translanguaging pedagogy in participating schools disrupted dominant monolingual approaches in theoretical as well as practical ways, and the impact of doing so on educators and students.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Over the past decade, scholars of sociolinguistics, applied linguistics, TESOL, bilingual education, and related fields have moved from traditional models of bilingualism toward a dynamic model, as part of what May (2013) referred to as the *multilingual turn*. This scholarship is attentive to issues of language and power, seeks to break away from static language constructs, and calls into question the very notion of languages; these scholars write about fluidity, hybridity, and plurality in their protests against named languages and fixed language categories (e.g., Blommaert, 2010; Makoni & Pennycook, 2007).

This paradigm shift “has resulted in the uptake of the term *translanguaging*” (García & Wei, 2014, p. 62). The term *translanguaging* was coined by Welsh scholar Cen Williams in 1994 to refer to a pedagogical practice in which students alternate languages for a specific purpose in their learning process (Baker & Wright, 2017). García (2009) expanded the term beyond solely classroom settings to describe the flexible linguistic repertoire of bilingual/multilingual individuals: “The language practices of bilinguals are examples of what we are here calling *translanguaging*, ... *multiple discursive practices* in which bilinguals engage in order to *make sense of their bilingual worlds*” (p. 45; italics in the original). Translanguaging thus centers on the actual language practices of bilinguals and offers a way to view emergent bilinguals and their language practices without the application of monolingual norms and expectations, apart from the boundaries of named languages.⁴

⁴The following terms have also been used in the literature to try to capture the fluid language practices of bilinguals: *flexible bilingualism* (Blackledge & Creese, 2010), *metrolinguism* (Pennycook, 2010), *heterography* (Blommaert, 2010), *hybrid language practices* (Gutiérrez, Baquedano-López, & Tejada, 1999), *codemeshing* (Canagarajah, 2011a, 2011b; Young & Martinez, 2011), and *poly-lingual languaging* (Jørgensen, 2008). See Canagarajah (2011b) and Poza (2017) for a more complete overview of translanguaging and its related terms.

Translanguaging research in education has rapidly grown in popularity in recent years and includes studies of students' flexible languaging in schools and investigations of translanguaging as pedagogy (Canagarajah, 2011b; Menken, 2013). As García (2014, p. 3) writes,

Translanguaging refers to the discourse practices of bilinguals, as well as to pedagogical practices that use the entire complex linguistic repertoire of bilingual students flexibly in order to teach rigorous content and develop language practices for academic use.

In other words, translanguaging pedagogy involves building on bilingual students' language practices flexibly and strategically in order to learn academic content as well as new language practices. Although Canagarajah (2011b) maintained that translanguaging pedagogy was less understood than translanguaging as a discourse practice at the time, research in translanguaging pedagogy has proliferated since then (see, e.g., Cenoz & Gorter, 2015; Creese & Blackledge, 2015; García, Flores, & Woodley, 2012; García & Wei, 2014, 2015; García et al., 2016; Gort & Sembiante, 2015; for further published research specifically about CUNY-NYSIEB see Ascenzi-Moreno, 2017; Ascenzi-Moreno & Espinosa, 2018; García & Kleyn, 2016; García & Menken, 2015; García & Sánchez, 2015, 2018; Menken, Pérez Rosario, & Guzmán Valerio, 2018).

In spite of this recent research offering more complex and fluid understandings of language and the language practices of bilinguals, and the importance of embracing those practices in instruction, U.S. schooling has typically remained steadfast in its monolingual orientations to language education policy and emergent bilingual students (Gándara & Hopkins, 2010; García, 2009; Menken, 2013; Wiley, 2010). This includes the TESOL profession, which was the topic of the September 2013 special issue of *TESOL Quarterly* about *plurilingualism* in TESOL, which aimed at "pushing the boundaries to make way for a more multilingual TESOL" (Taylor & Snodden, 2013, p. 439). Fundamentally, translanguaging pedagogy contests what Flores and Aneja (2017) term "the monolingual bias [that] continues to dominate the TESOL profession" (p. 444). In TESOL and other disciplines, there has been increased interest in translanguaging pedagogy as a way to fully engage emergent bilinguals in their learning, to empower their bilingualism and bilingual voices, and to disrupt monolingual language education policies, with the argument that doing so will better meet the needs of bilingual students (Blackledge & Creese, 2010; Canagarajah, 2011b; Cenoz & Gorter, 2015; García et al., 2016; García & Kleyn, 2016; García & Wei, 2014).

Beyond simply a teaching method, García et al. (2016) argue that teachers who implement translanguaging pedagogy in their classrooms must have what they term a *translanguaging stance*.

The translanguaging stance refers to the philosophical orientation that teachers draw on to construct a translanguaging classroom. It is a necessary mindset or framework for educating bilingual students that informs everything from the way we view students and their dynamic bilingual performances and cultural practices to the way we plan instruction and assessment.

(p. 50)

Our findings build on and extend this work by offering empirical support for the idea that translanguaging pedagogy involves a translanguaging stance. However, we show that the stance need not necessarily precede the pedagogy; in our research, we instead found that a translanguaging stance can evolve from learning about and trying translanguaging strategies in the classroom. More broadly, the significance of this work is that translanguaging is by definition transgressive when taken up in U.S. schools, countering the hegemony of English.

METHODOLOGY

Our research was guided by the following research question:

In what ways has the introduction of translanguaging pedagogy in schools with English-only programs shifted educational practices, language ideologies, and/or language education policies, if at all?

To answer this question, we used a comparative case study approach (Creswell, 2013; Stake, 1995). The schools selected for inclusion were the eight schools in New York City that participated in the first three cohorts of CUNY-NYSIEB (2012–2015) and that offered only ENL to emergent bilinguals rather than bilingual education at the time they began their involvement in the project. Schools volunteered to participate in CUNY-NYSIEB.⁵

Details about each participating school can be found in Appendix A. As can be seen, there was a mix of elementary, middle, and high schools, and they varied in size from 300 to 1,400 students. Emergent bilinguals constituted 10%–40% of total school enrollment, with all participating schools exceeding the statewide average of 8.8% (New York State Education Department, 2017). In some schools, most emergent bilinguals had been in the United States 3 years or less, whereas in other schools most emergent bilinguals had attended U.S. schools for 7 years or more. Whereas in some schools emergent

⁵ Participating schools received professional development, technical assistance, and funds for multilingual classroom libraries (as detailed in García & Menken, 2015; García & Sánchez, 2015, 2018).

bilinguals mainly spoke Spanish, in others the population of emergent bilinguals was highly linguistically diverse.

The three main program models mandated in New York City and New York State policy for emergent bilinguals are dual-language bilingual education (in which at least 50% of instruction is meant to be provided in the language other than English), transitional bilingual education (which offers more instruction in English than a dual-language bilingual program), and ENL (in which instruction is typically monolingual in English) as defined by the New York City Department of Education (2013) and the New York State Education Department (2014). City and state policy require that schools provide at least one of these program models for their emergent bilingual students, and it is up to individual schools and local district leaders to determine which of these choices will be provided. All eight schools in our sample initially offered only ENL programming, though many enrolled enough bilingual students who speak the same home language for bilingual education to be viable. The schools in our sample are not unusual in this regard. In fact, the New York City Department of Education (2016) reports that approximately 80% of all emergent bilinguals in New York City are enrolled in ENL programs rather than some form of bilingual education, even though many students attend schools where it would be possible for bilingual education to be provided (see Menken & Solorza, 2014, for further discussion and explanation of this trend).

The data include transcripts of initial, midpoint, exit, and/or follow-up interviews with school staff. Initial, midpoint, and exit interviews were gathered during the 1–1.5 years of each school's official involvement in CUNY-NYSIEB, but follow-up interviews were conducted in the years since formal completion of the project (gathered until 2018). A total of 22 interviews were conducted for this research, with two to three interviews gathered per school. Each CUNY-NYSIEB school was required to form an Emergent Bilingual Leadership Team comprising the principal, other key administrators or support personnel, ENL teachers, general education teachers, and teachers of other subject areas. Interview participants were selected based on their membership in their school's leadership team. In addition to gathering baseline data, interviews asked school staff how their involvement in the project and the introduction of translanguaging pedagogy has impacted them and their schools. All interview protocols can be seen in Appendices B and C.

Field notes summarizing classroom observations, staff meetings, and team meetings during school visits were gathered. Each CUNY-NYSIEB school was visited three to seven times during its first 1–1.5 years of formal involvement in the project. We analyzed the final field notes

gathered each semester, which summarized changes observed during the semester at each participating school. In total, we analyzed field notes from 38 school visits. We also analyzed school profiles that CUNY-NYSIEB teams compiled about six of the participating schools.

The data were analyzed per the guidance of Miles, Huberman, and Saldaña (2013) and Saldaña (2015), involving first- and second-level coding to identify key themes and draw comparisons across cases. The findings reported here reflect the themes that emerged most often in interviews with school staff and in field notes regarding changes in the schools as a result of their efforts to engage bilingualism as a resource, implement translanguaging pedagogy, and develop a multilingual schoolwide ecology.

Because we were involved in leading the project (Kate Menken served as co-principal investigator while Maite Sánchez was the project director), it is important to clarify that the purpose of the present study is not to evaluate CUNY-NYSIEB's effectiveness, but rather simply to document any changes that participation produced in the schools. Interviewer effect should be acknowledged as a possible limitation, because members of the CUNY-NYSIEB team conducted the interviews, which may have encouraged participants to overstate their implementation of translanguaging pedagogy and its impact. There is also a risk that classroom practices reported in interviews might not be accurate, particularly because most interview participants were school principals or assistant principals, and we relied on their accounts. Field notes from classroom observations and teacher interviews helped mediate potential limitations of the interview data through triangulation of the data, but these limitations should be acknowledged.

FINDINGS

The CUNY-NYSIEB project introduced translanguaging theory and pedagogy to school staff and asked that school leaders engage the entire linguistic repertoire of bilingual children flexibly and strategically in instruction through translanguaging pedagogy and develop a linguistic landscape reflective of students' languages. We found that translanguaging pedagogy in these eight schools moved beyond simply a teaching approach to improve student performance, because it catalyzed ideological shifts and the adoption of a translanguaging stance. Moreover, the monolingual approach to educating bilingual students in participating schools was disrupted.

In this section, we document how educators began to incorporate translanguaging pedagogy in their classrooms and develop their schools' linguistic landscapes, and then we examine the ideological

changes that occurred as the English-only orientation of the schools was challenged and educators took up a translanguaging stance. We show how educators in the schools in our sample began to see their emergent bilingual students and their language practices differently once they were viewed holistically. And finally, we document below how in many cases the translanguaging stance that educators adopted galvanized structural changes in the schools that were codified in new language education policies.

Classroom Examples of Translanguaging Pedagogy

After attending professional development sessions and receiving coaching support on translanguaging pedagogy, teachers began incorporating students' home languages into teaching and learning in a range of ways. It is worth noting that some of the teachers were themselves bilingual (usually in Spanish), whereas others were monolingual English speakers, and all taught in classrooms with bilingual students. We detail below the ways that educators incorporated students' home languages in class discussions and supported multilingual literacy practices, even when they were not themselves speakers of the students' languages (for further discussion of translanguaging strategies and examples of implementation, see García & Kleyn, 2016; García & Menken, 2015; García & Sánchez, 2015, 2018). Typically, we found that teachers first started by trying one or two translanguaging strategies and, as they became more practiced, added others into their teaching.

Incorporating home languages in class discussions. Rather than requiring class discussions to occur only in English, one of the translanguaging teaching strategies that teachers in our sample began to employ was encouraging students to speak in the language(s) of their choice, for instance, in small-group and partner discussions with their peers. Teachers invited students to use their full linguistic repertoire, when in the past it had been expected that they would speak only in English. A principal in a participating school recounted what she started seeing in ENL classrooms:

There's more use of the home languages now ... Like you saw today in the classrooms. You know, the kids were partnered with a language partner ... There were different words like *because* in the languages that were spoken in the classroom, as a scaffold and a support ... That wouldn't have been there before.

(Principal, Elementary School A, Interview, Fall 2012)

In this passage, the principal describes how translanguaging pedagogy was implemented during partner work in her school's ENL classes.

Our researchers entered a fourth-grade classroom co-taught by a general education teacher and an ENL teacher, and made the following observations (note that “turn-and-talk” involves conversations between student partners; also, *desierto* is Spanish for *desert* and *yermo* means *wilderness*):

The class was discussing *wilderness* and the teachers built background knowledge by having students turn-and-talk using their full linguistic repertoire about four pictures depicting wilderness on the board . . . Then they asked students to say *wilderness* in different languages. The students gave two words in Spanish (*desierto* and *yermo*), and [the ENL teacher] pointed out that students have shades of meaning in their home languages too.

(Researchers' Field Notes, Elementary School A, Spring 2013)

During this classroom observation, the teacher engaged students' home language during instruction in a classroom where many of the students were speakers of Spanish as a way to aid comprehension, foster metalinguistic awareness, and also deepen students' understanding of wilderness. Administrators across all eight schools participating in CUNY-NYSIEB noticed how classroom discussions over time shifted from being monolingual in English to incorporating students' home languages.

Incorporating multilingual literacy practices. In addition to bringing students' home languages into class discussions, another translanguaging strategy we frequently observed was the incorporation of multilingual literacy practices. Specifically, we found that educators in participating schools acquired multilingual books and classroom materials and made these available to students, permitted and encouraged students to use their entire linguistic repertoire when writing, and visually displayed students' home languages in classrooms.

Schools in our sample developed multilingual classroom libraries with books and other materials in languages other than English, and teachers and students started using these materials in support of students' literacy development. For example, during independent reading, most of the teachers we observed gave students the option of reading books in their home language, when in the past they would have been required to read in English. Or when students needed to read a book in English, they would also be given an edition of the same book in their home language to increase their comprehension of the English version. Teachers started creating classroom handouts

and materials in English with translations into students' languages, which they did by using machine translation software or soliciting help from bilingual colleagues, families, and community members. Whereas the final goal of formal writing assignments was typically for students to produce written work in English, students in the participating schools were encouraged to use their entire linguistic repertoire to brainstorm ideas, draft papers, and revise their work. Accordingly, students were aided by bilingual dictionaries, the internet, and bilingual peers to develop their final writing piece in English.

For instance, a sixth-grade ENL teacher in Middle School D assigned a paper in which students would teach their classmates all they knew about a topic of their choice. To scaffold this writing assignment, the teacher developed a planning handout with the instructions translated into all of her students' languages (Hindi, Bengali, Spanish, Mandarin Chinese, Arabic, Urdu, and Nepali). One student, who was a recent arrival to the United States from China, wrote his paper about how to draw a person. The papers needed to have several subtopics; Figure 1 shows subtopic 3 of the handout that this student completed, which displays how he drafted his paper in both English and Mandarin. Figure 2 shows the final paper in English for subtopic 3.

Teachers also made the linguistic landscape of their classrooms multilingual, whereby students' home languages were visually displayed

Subtopic 3

Subtopic/ subtema/ সাব বিষয়/ 副主題/ الموضوع الفرعي/ alt başlık/ الموضوع الفرعي/ Subtopic 3:

Big Idea/ idea principal/ মূল ধারণা/ 大意/ ana fikir/ الرئيسية فكرة/ انظرنا:
 The comic strip painted head first draw a circle and then slowly changed. 画人要先画头然后慢慢改。

- Essential Detail/ detalle esencial/ 重要的细节/ ضروري تفصيل / hayati bir detay/ التفاصيل الأساسية /
 essentiality:
 The head of the painter's first draw a circle to draw a circle, the circle behind the better painting.
 画人的头一定要画圆，画得越圆后面越好看。
- Essential Detail/ detalle esencial/ 重要的细节/ ضروري تفصيل / hayati bir detay/ التفاصيل الأساسية /
 essentiality:
 To draw the whole person, then first paper is divided into three sections, a section of the painting Tau body, and the lower body section of painting. 如果是画整个人物的话，要把纸分成三部分，一部分画头，一部分画身子，一部分画下身。
- Essential Detail/ detalle esencial/ 重要的细节/ ضروري تفصيل / hayati bir detay/ التفاصيل الأساسية /
 essentiality:
 Hand painting hanging legs, knees down to a point.
 手如果是画腿的话那可以画到膝盖上一点。

FIGURE 1. Planning handout for subtopic 3, by a recent arrival to the United States from China.

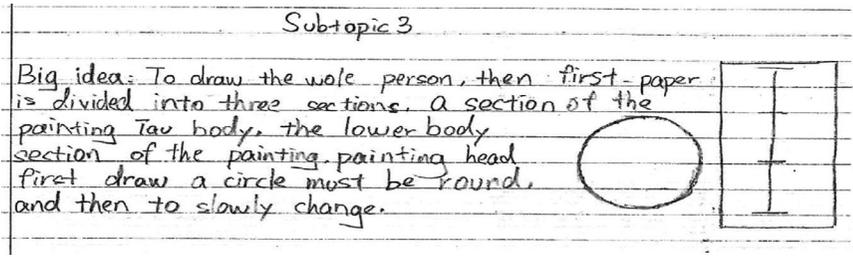


FIGURE 2. The final version of subtopic 3, by the same student.

(for further discussion of CUNY-NYSIEB schools' development of their multilingual linguistic landscape, see Menken et al., 2018). For example, teachers in participating schools created word walls, cognate walls, and false cognate walls in English and students' home languages. In an ENL classroom at High School H, students read a bilingual book titled *Aquí y Allá/Here and There* by Blanca Zendejas Nienhaus, which is an immigration story written in both English and Spanish. The teacher created a bulletin board with key vocabulary words translated by students into the different languages they spoke. This bulletin board can be seen in Figure 3.

In an eighth-grade English language arts (ELA) classroom, the teacher usually began lessons by displaying key vocabulary for the lesson



FIGURE 3. Multilingual bulletin board at High School H for the book *Aquí y allá*.

in English and her students' languages. In the following interview excerpt, this teacher discusses her efforts to prepare students to read the book *To Kill a Mockingbird*.

To Kill a Mockingbird is already so difficult and challenging, so I wanted to make sure that I pulled out words that I know that students will have difficulty in. I translated them into Spanish, French, Creole, and I sent home the Arabic with the students.

(ELA Teacher, Middle School F, Interview, May 2017)

Throughout their reading of the book, the students and the teacher repeatedly referred to the word wall the teacher created.

The educators in our sample noticed that their emergent bilingual students became more involved in their own learning through translanguaging strategies. For example, a fifth-grade ENL teacher in our sample who is monolingual in English began creating multilingual word walls by asking students for translations of some English words into their languages, which were Spanish, Arabic, and Polish. As he explained,

At first kids were hesitant; they didn't like seeing words written in their own languages . . . And after a while a couple of kids gave me blank notebooks and said, "Oh, if you ever want to have a word written in Arabic or Polish, write them in this book and I will translate it for you." So I got them more involved in the process as well.

(ENL Teacher, Elementary School A, Interview, February 2014)

Although scholars of TESOL and bilingual education have for years recommended that educators incorporate students' home languages in instruction (Baker & Wright, 2017; de Jong, 2011; Wright, 2015), the schools in our sample—like most across the United States—failed to do so prior to their involvement in CUNY-NYSIEB. By systematically bringing students' languages into their classrooms, teachers in the project normalized the fact that students live in bilingual households and that their bilingualism is a resource for them. The next section examines the ideological changes that incorporating translanguaging strategies engendered.

Ideological Changes From Monolingual to Multilingual: The Development of a Translanguaging Stance

Participants in our study showed evidence of changing their ideologies about bilingualism and language learning as a result of the introduction of translanguaging pedagogy, moving from a monolingual

perspective to a multilingual one, and ultimately taking up a translanguaging stance. This is not to imply that every teacher in every CUNY-NYSIEB school took up a translanguaging stance; in fact, the extent to which teachers implemented translanguaging pedagogy varied by school and teacher, and challenges did arise (for further discussion of this point, see Menken et al., 2018). However, we were genuinely surprised over the course of CUNY-NYSIEB by the extent to which practices changed in participating schools as educators took up translanguaging pedagogy, especially in ENL programs. We found that ENL teachers in our sample were overall quite willing to try translanguaging strategies in their classrooms, and we document how doing so in most participating schools resulted in changes in thinking as well as schoolwide changes.

For example, the principal of a middle school involved in CUNY-NYSIEB stated the following:

We [school staff] had to sort of change that [monolingual] mentality. And now teachers [are] seeing for themselves that when you use students' home language they learn the content better and they are actually learning more English ... Instead of just trying to feel "Let's just go with English because they need to learn English," we just said, "No, let's go back to where they're strongest, we know that it would help them with that bridge to reading and writing in English." And I'm really glad we did that, because ... the students feel really strong and confident, and participate and take risks all the time in English and also in reading and writing in Spanish. So I think we learned a really powerful mindset ... that has continued to influence our decisions.

(Principal, Middle School C, Interview, Spring 2014)

In the past at Middle School C, students had been encouraged to speak only English in the classroom, with certain teachers acting as "English police" by requiring that everyone spoke English and monitoring to ensure compliance (Principal, Middle School C, Interview, Fall 2012). However, employing translanguaging pedagogy caused an important change in mindset at this school over time, which we interpret as meaning that staff members at the school began to assume a translanguaging stance.

Educators in other schools in our sample also began to see students' home languages as an asset rather than a deficit after beginning to implement translanguaging pedagogy, as evident in the following interview excerpt (note this principal uses ESL to refer to ENL):

We used to think that ESL services were like remediation, you know, that we had to teach them [emergent bilinguals] English. We certainly do, but it really shifted it that their bilingualism is a resource for them.

(Principal, Elementary School A, Interview, Spring 2012)

This excerpt shows how learning about bilingualism and trying translanguaging strategies caused the principal and the teachers in her school to change their thinking about ENL from seeing it as a form of remedial education to instead adopting an assets-based approach and regarding bilingualism as a resource.

One assistant principal reflected on how translanguaging pedagogy took root in ENL classrooms over time:

Translanguaging is becoming a solid strategy that the ESL [teachers] are using ... Not just, “Oh, today I’m going to let you have a language partner.” It’s now become the culture in the classrooms that they’re using language partners. Some of it is translation, some of it is the way they’re talking to each other ... That has really, I think, strengthened those classrooms.

(Assistant Principal, Elementary School A, Spring 2013)

Leaders in other participating schools also shared the prevalence of translanguaging pedagogy in their schools over time. “Our teachers continued with the translanguaging strategies that they have used during the first year ... that became part of their norm” (Principal, Middle School C, Interview, Spring 2014).

In most participating schools, changes began after a small group of teachers first tried translanguaging approaches.

What I’m seeing is a difference in the way my teachers deliver instruction, so when I go in I actually see language objectives posted, I see children talking to each other in their own language ... I see children actually writing in English and writing in their own language ... So that has changed, and I think over time that will, you know, we’ll continue with this and it’ll go throughout the staff, let’s take a baby step ... And that, you know, they had, like, a little epiphany when it comes to that. And I think it will spread, so to speak, in a good way.

(Principal, Middle School D, Interview, Fall 2012)

In this school, the principal observed several teachers’ “baby steps” when they first began to implement translanguaging pedagogy and predicted how over time these efforts would spread. This in fact proved to be the case, because 2 years later more teachers had taken up translanguaging at this school (Middle School D, Team Report, Spring 2014). The school’s assistant principal (Assistant Principal, Middle School D, Interview, 2018) reported that efforts to continue and deepen that work were ongoing—a point we return to below.

In fact, in many schools in our sample, changes like this became more widespread after teachers observed others’ successes from

implementing translanguaging pedagogy. As one teacher described it, “Everyone wants to be part of it . . . they see that translanguaging is a tool they can use without speaking the students’ home language and it’s incredibly valuable” (Teacher, High School G, Team Report, Spring 2016). Although it took time for translanguaging pedagogy to be adopted in many schools, this was not always the case, and at High School G translanguaging strategies quickly became widespread. As the principal stated, “I was incredibly impressed that people had not only taken translanguaging to heart but that they had very quickly implemented it in the classroom and very quickly it had a positive effect” (Principal, High School G, Interview, Spring 2015).

Building on this principal’s idea of taking translanguaging “to heart,” another principal reflected on the changes made at his school, which indicate educators’ adoption of a translanguaging stance over time.

Changing anything you’ve done in a particular way over a period of time requires a lot of effort. Our belief now is that students who speak another language are capable of developing further proficiency and that is something that we should honor, while at the same time assisting them for language acquisition in English. Though we know . . . this is happening in tandem that one [language] can support the other . . . I think in terms of an overall orientation or valuing our students that we should be supporting their bilingualism rather than forcing them to a program that they only learn in English. Placing that as one of the values of the school kind of shifts things away from you know “the kids have to be proficient in English only.”

(Principal, Middle School E, Interview, Spring 2014)

This principal describes how the implementation of translanguaging pedagogy in his school was a significant first step toward adopting a broader translanguaging stance that has now become a core “value of the school,” in which bilingual students, their complex home language practices, and their families and communities are more valued.

Seeing Emergent Bilinguals Holistically

In the past, the schools in our sample had typically applied a monolingual gaze, looking at students’ English practices without considering their home language practices. Our findings show how engaging students’ translanguaging in the classroom and normalizing multilingualism in schools enabled school staff to regard their bilingual students holistically, considering both their home language practices and English together, and how doing so led educators to regard their students’

language practices more favorably (see also Ascenzi-Moreno & Espinosa, 2018). This increased students' participation and engagement in their schools and challenged existing hierarchies between emergent bilingual students and their English monolingual peers. Taken together, these changes are emblematic of disrupting traditional monolingual approaches and taking up a translanguaging stance over time.

For instance, the following passage describes how teachers' use of translanguaging strategies impacted emergent bilinguals in one of the participating schools:

Student engagement has increased ... [T]o use the home language kind of allowed students the flexibility to know that the home language is appreciated in school, they can use it and they can still learn the English language. The risk of not having to continually think about providing responses in English, knowing that they are in a safe space, and that it is okay, and that this is something that is happening school-wide. It allows students the comfort to fully participate in classes, whereas before they were inhibited because the idea of having to use the English language would keep them from participating.

(Principal, Middle School B, Interview, Spring 2015)

In this school, teachers across different subject areas implemented translanguaging pedagogy. As described in this interview excerpt, multilingual teaching and learning enabled students to participate more than they had when expected only to do so in English. Participants at this school and others in our sample found that translanguaging pedagogy resulted in greater student engagement and sense of place within the school community.

A high school teacher in our sample reinforced this point:

We did a lot of reading in English, translating it or summarizing it in their home language and reading the prompt in English. Some students were able to read the prompt and answer it in English and Spanish mixed in, and I found that to be a really positive experience, and some of the students too, they were able to understand the content and move back and forth between the two languages. It was review of science content ... They were doing those activities in the newcomers ESL class and they were able to feel a lot more successful in English.

(Teacher Leader, High School H, Interview, Spring 2015)

In this interview, the teacher leader describes how students in a high school ENL class navigated a complex science text in English and answered reading prompts by flexibly engaging their entire linguistic repertoire. She found that doing so helped the students better understand the text and allowed them to respond, when doing so only in English would have silenced them. According to this teacher, the use

of translanguaging pedagogy increased student participation in her ENL class and supported student learning of important and challenging course content. She described how this gave students more power in the classroom and control over their own learning.

Across all schools, educators noted how translanguaging pedagogy offered students affordances to be more active, engaged, and involved in their learning. This, in turn, was found in the schools in our sample to offer students recognition that they had not previously experienced, improve their feelings about school, and strengthen their place within the school community. As one administrator described:

We were really able to change the culture of the school where our emergent bilingual population really felt more empowered and more confident in their classrooms because they saw teachers making attempts to use translanguaging and to incorporate them into the classroom rather than let them just sit and not understand what's going on.

(Principal, Middle School C, Interview, Spring 2014)

This interview excerpt shows how translanguaging pedagogy impacted emergent bilingual students by increasing their access to course content, offering more educational opportunities, creating more democratic classrooms in which students are empowered, and nurturing feelings of belonging and ownership in school.

Our findings show how the development of a translanguaging stance in schools uprooted certain long-held misperceptions about bilingual students that were based on monolingual norms, and provided new ways of seeing bilingualism and emergent bilingual students:

It is a shift from ESL, there's something wrong, we have to help these kids learn English. To help them learn English is certainly there, but we don't think of it as a deficit; we think of it as really a positive to be bilingual. When you talk about preparing kids for a career and college readiness, to be fluent in two languages or three languages certainly gives them a leg up on everybody else. And just living in the city that we live in, is almost, you're at a deficit if you're monolingual ... I'm worried about saying this on tape: The students who are monolingual, you're not—I don't want to say superior, and that's not the right word, but do you know what I mean? It kind of equals everything out. And actually it gives the emergent bilingual students more stature, I think.

(Principal, Elementary School A, Interview, Spring 2014)

This passage is significant because, as we heard in other participating schools, the principal quoted here challenged the belief that

emergent bilinguals are deficient, and she described how adopting a translanguaging stance is an important step toward equalizing power relations between English monolinguals and emergent bilinguals.

New Multilingual Language Education Policies

Our findings show how developing a translanguaging stance galvanized broader systemic changes to the language policies of all of the participating schools, albeit to varying degrees. In this way, new ideologies about bilingualism and bilingual students were codified and enacted in the institutional structures of the schools. In marked contrast to the decline of bilingual education programming in recent years in New York City schools (Menken & Solorza, 2014), five of the eight schools in our sample decided to start new bilingual education programs during or after their participation in CUNY-NYSIEB, and four of the five have already done so. Two elected to start dual-language bilingual programs, and three began transitional bilingual education programs. These changes were not required as part of the schools' participation in CUNY-NYSIEB, but instead resulted from the efforts of principals, assistant principals, and teacher leaders to learn more about emergent bilinguals and bilingualism, implement translanguaging pedagogy, and develop their school's linguistic landscape. Table 1 shows the programming changes made at participating schools.

As shown in Table 1, all of the schools in our sample incorporated translanguaging pedagogy into instruction, although as noted previously there was variance among teachers in the extent of their use of translanguaging pedagogy (also see García & Kleyn, 2016; Menken et al., 2018). Three schools in our sample (Elementary School A, Middle School F, and High School G) continued to offer ENL programs to their emergent bilinguals, and educators of different subjects infused students' home languages in instruction through translanguaging pedagogy.

Three schools have opened new Spanish–English transitional bilingual education programs (see Table 1). Middle School B, Middle School C, and High School H first started offering what they term Spanish language arts classes for home language speakers of Spanish, and content-area classes in Spanish, such as math, science, and/or social studies. Once they secured enough certified teachers to fill out all the Spanish content classrooms, they proceeded to formalize their transitional bilingual education programs (within 1–3 years). For instance, in the quote below, the principal of Middle School C discussed the changes to the math classroom after the school hired a

TABLE 1
Language Policy Changes in Participating Schools

Programming changes	School pseudonym
Continued ENL programming, but incorporated translanguaging pedagogy	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Elementary School A ● Middle School F ● High School G
In addition to ENL programming with translanguaging pedagogy incorporated: Started a Spanish–English transitional bilingual program	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Middle School B ● Middle School C ● High School H
Started a Spanish–English dual-language bilingual program	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Middle School E
Intends to open a dual-language bilingual program and has applied to the school district to do so, but has yet to be approved	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Middle School D

bilingual certified teacher, and disclosed their plans at the time for further formal changes to their language education policy.

I just had a conversation with our dean today, about our thinking around math bilingual ... We have both models in math right now, where a bilingual teacher pushes in and the kids are all in the room together. [Students are] receiving two separate mini-lessons and then they do similar type of work together. I see it later developing more. We had never had bilingual support like that before—they were just in the monolingual classes.

(Principal, Middle School C, Interview, Fall 2012)

Over the next 2 years, this middle school was able to add science classes in Spanish as well as Spanish language arts classes for sixth, seventh, and eighth grades, and by the third year they were able to formally offer a transitional bilingual education program.

Home language instruction in transitional bilingual programs occurs less frequently than in dual-language bilingual programs, but the provision of bilingual education rather than ENL increased possibilities for students to receive home language instruction at these schools. The principals and teachers in the schools that decided to open transitional bilingual programs found that by supporting students’ home language practices and offering content-level classes in Spanish, they were better supporting students’ bilingualism and English development. At High School H, content-area classes in Spanish were added for the first time:

We opened a [new ninth-grade] bilingual Global [History] section for students who really needed the Spanish support. We created math and

science bilingual classes. We will likely have a bilingual pre-algebra, science skills, science foundation, and science literacy.

(ENL Teacher, High School H, Interview, Spring 2015)

It took this school 3 years to find all of the certified teachers needed to formally open their transitional bilingual education program.

Two schools sought to open dual-language bilingual education programs as a result of participation in CUNY-NYSIEB, but had different outcomes. Middle School D applied to its school district to open a dual-language bilingual program in 2015 (for the 2016–2017 school year), but to date their district’s leadership has yet to approve the change. The school has continued to try to open this program since then without success.

Middle School E, by contrast, quickly opened its dual-language bilingual program. It also started offering Spanish language arts class to emergent bilinguals in the school’s remaining ENL classrooms. Toward the end of the first year of the school’s participation in CUNY-NYSIEB, the principal stated:

That is the most dramatic change we have made, opening up that particular program [dual-language bilingual education]. But I think more subtle is the idea that we are explicitly encouraging teachers to now use native language instructionally.

(Principal, Middle School E, Interview, Fall 2012)

In this excerpt, the principal describes how an ideological shift in favor of using emergent bilinguals’ home languages in instruction resulted in the school’s decision to begin a new dual-language bilingual program. This is not to say that dual-language programs are a panacea, as they too historically have worked from a monolingual framework by emphasizing language separation and thereby marginalizing the translanguaging practices of bilingual students (Cervantes-Soon et al., 2017; García, Menken, Velasco, & Vogel, 2018), but within the parameters of city and state policy mandates, dual-language bilingual programs provide opportunities for more home language instruction than other programming options. And, having participated in CUNY-NYSIEB, Middle School E received professional development about ensuring spaces for translanguaging in dual-language program structures (per the approach of Sánchez, García, & Solorza, 2018). Moreover, because major changes in thinking took place in the schools in our sample, the codification of those changes in the form of new programming was the logical next step.

DISCUSSION AND IMPLICATIONS

Our findings show how teachers who participated in this study implemented a range of translanguaging strategies, such as bringing students' home languages into class discussions, incorporating multilingual literacy strategies, and developing a multilingual linguistic landscape. For the ENL schools in our sample, the implementation of translanguaging pedagogy ultimately resulted in broader ideological shifts and the adoption of a translanguaging stance, as well as more favorable perceptions of bilingual students and their dynamic language practices when viewed holistically. Accordingly, participants' new perspectives on emergent bilinguals and language learning were then enacted through educational programming changes and multilingual language education policies in their schools.

Based on our findings, we argue that translanguaging pedagogy in the schools in our sample went beyond simply a teaching approach, and was actually emblematic of a larger ideological stance that has proven transformative to the schools as a whole. Although our findings confirm that translanguaging is indeed an effective practical tool for educating emergent bilinguals, they also challenge how translanguaging pedagogy is often depicted as simply a scaffolding approach in research (García & Wei, 2014; Poza, 2017; Swanwick, 2016). Beyond the scaffolding mindset, a translanguaging stance is necessary for the implementation of translanguaging pedagogy to be truly transformative. Educators at the schools in our study, in ENL and bilingual programs alike, must continue to take efforts to ensure that engaging students' home language practices in instruction does not simply serve their learning of English and thereby its dominance, but rather that doing so empowers students and their dynamic bilingualism in the ways documented in this article.

Rather, translanguaging should be recognized as a political act that is “part of a larger political struggle of linguistic self-determination for language-minoritized populations” (Flores, 2014, n.p.). As García and Wei (2014) state, translanguaging “links the production of alternative meanings to transformative social action ... [and] contributes to the social justice agenda” (p. 37). Translanguaging pedagogy is therefore not only a teaching methodology; it is actually ideological as well, and emblematic of more holistic and assets-based approaches to emergent bilinguals and their language practices. Our research offers empirical support for these arguments and clarifies the connection between pedagogy, ideology, and language policy.

García et al. (2016) posit that teachers who implement translanguaging pedagogy in their classrooms must have a translanguaging stance.

However, it is important to note that this should not preclude teachers without that stance from trying translanguaging strategies in their classrooms. The educators in our sample had not yet taken up a translanguaging stance when they first began implementing translanguaging pedagogy in their classrooms, and the findings from this study show how a translanguaging stance resulted from educators' starting with "baby steps." Moreover, in engaging students' complex home language practices in the classroom, often in seemingly small ways, educators not only acknowledged and extended those language practices, but in so doing also contested U.S. language policy and the hegemony of English.

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APPENDIX A

Participating Schools—Demographic Information

Note: These are not our categorizations or terms, but rather those reported by schools in their comprehensive education plans. They define Newcomers as English language learners (ELLs) in U.S. schools 3 years or less, Long-Term ELLs as those in U.S. schools 7 or more years, and SIFE (Students with Interrupted Formal Education) as new arrivals who are 2 years or more below grade level upon enrollment in school.

Pseudonym	Grade levels	Total population	% ELLs	ELL subpopulations
Elementary School A	K–6	1,400	10%	No information
Middle School B	6–8	300	40%	30% Newcomers 35% Long-Term ELLs 25% ELLs with Individualized Education Plans (IEPs)
Middle School C	6–8	400	20%	50% Newcomers 21% Long-Term ELLs 30% ELLs with IEPs
Middle School D	6–8	1,000	15%	55% Newcomers 20% Long-Term ELLs 35% ELLs with IEPs
Middle School E	5–8	500	36%	No information
Middle School F	6–8	350	25%	40% Newcomers 60% Long-Term ELLs 10% ELLs with IEPs
High School G	9–12	460	25%	32% Newcomers 44% Long-Term ELLs 35% ELLs with IEPs
High School H	9–12	500	15%	55% Newcomers 35% Long-Term ELLs

APPENDIX B

Semistructured Initial Interview Protocol for Principals and Assistant Principals

1. What have been your goals for education for your emergent bilingual student body? How do they differ (if they differ) from your goals for educating your general student body?
2. Tell me about the profile of your emergent bilinguals. How would you characterize the kinds of strengths and challenges this subpopulation of students show?
3. Please describe in detail the programming you currently provide for the emergent bilinguals in your building and to what extent you think it is meeting the needs of all of the emergent bilinguals in your school.
4. Describe how the languages and cultures of your students are included in your school.
5. Describe the types of social, emotional, and behavioral issues that your emergent bilinguals in your school struggle with and the ways that your school has attempted to address these issues.
6. Describe the kinds of professional development training/supports that your school has received specific to education for emergent bilinguals. What has been helpful and why?

APPENDIX C

Semistructured Midpoint, Exit, and Follow-Up Interview Protocol

Common Questions for Principals, Assistant Principals, and Teachers

1. What has been your involvement in CUNY-NYSIEB to date (Exit Interview) and/or since the beginning of this school year (Follow-Up Interview)?
2. In what ways, if any, has your participation in CUNY-NYSIEB impacted your thinking and beliefs about emergent bilinguals and bilingualism? Can you give an example or tell a story to describe this?
3. How would you describe your knowledge base regarding the education of emergent bilinguals prior to participation in CUNY-NYSIEB, and how would you describe your knowledge base now?

4. In what ways, if any, has your participation in CUNY-NYSIEB impacted your school's programming for emergent bilinguals? Can you give an example or tell a story to describe this?
5. To what extent is bilingualism being regarded as a resource in instruction? Has it changed since the school's participation in CUNY-NYSIEB?
6. Have any barriers arisen in your efforts to improve your school's programming and services for emergent bilinguals? If so, please describe these.

Additional Question for Principals and/or Assistant Principals

1. To what extent are teachers implementing translanguaging strategies in their classrooms?

Additional Questions for Teachers

1. To what extent, if any, have you observed changes in how your principal (and/or assistant principal, in schools where the assistant principal has been a key player) regards emergent bilinguals and bilingualism?
2. In what ways, if any, has your school's participation in CUNY-NYSIEB impacted the instruction you provide to emergent bilinguals?