How do they really feel? An investigation into attitudes towards bilingual education in California

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Abstract

Although California is home to many bilingual education programs, legislation in the state has not always been supportive of effective bilingual education. Proposition 227, which passed in 1998, eliminated most bilingual education programs, but was effectively repealed in 2016 with the passing of Proposition 58. Although this change in legislation may indicate that underlying attitudes towards bilingual education have become more positive, research suggests that may not be the case. To investigate Californian attitudes towards bilingual education, the present study evaluated overall attitudes; the impact of demographic variables such as age, multilingual status, and experience of an ESL/Bilingual program; and how attitudes towards bilingual education may be related. Involving a questionnaire with both close-ended attitudinal items and open-ended free response questions, a mixed methods approach was used. This involved statistical analysis of attitudinal items and content analysis of free response questions from 132 Californians over the age of 18. The results of the study suggest that attitudes towards bilingual education in California are generally positive but that both age and multilingual status influenced how individuals felt about some aspects of bilingual education. Additionally, various attitudes towards bilingualism were found to have predictive relationships, indicating that many individuals have conflicting opinions about the goals and effects of bilingual education. Findings of the present study suggest a need to continue to evaluate bilingual education attitudes in California to educate the public to make informed decisions when they vote for future legislation.

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Abbreviations

ESL: English as a Second Language

ELL: English Language Learner

L1: First Language

L2: Second Language

IEMI: Independent Expert on Minority Issues

CMBBEA: Chacon-Moscone Bilingual-Bicultural Education Act of 1976

FRQ1: Free Response Question 1

FRQ2: Free Response Question 2

CUREC: Central University Research Ethics Committee

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1. Introduction

The United States has historically been seen as a "melting pot," with immigrants from around the world bringing various cultures and languages together in the one country. However, national language education policies have not reflected the needs of the population despite the variety of languages spoken by the populace. It is estimated that today only about three percent of the 40 million American children in elementary school are involved in some form of bilingual education (Goldenberg & Wagner, 2015). Of the dual immersion bilingual programs in the United States, nearly 60% of all programs are located in California, Utah, New York, Texas, and North Carolina, reflecting the uneven distribution of programs across the country (American Councils for International Education, 2021). Even though California boasts many of the country's bilingual programs, it is not without decades of conflicting state legislation both for and against bilingual education at different times.

California has been a pioneer in the bilingual education movement in the past century, influencing other states to place similar bills on the ballot. In the past sixty years, legislation in California has both embraced and rejected bilingual education at different points in time. However more recently, in 1998, Proposition 227 was passed, placing massive restrictions on bilingual education in California. Soon after, Arizona, Massachusetts and Colorado followed suit with similar bills on their ballots. Then in 2016, Proposition 58 was passed which repealed Proposition 227 and reinstated bilingual education while encouraging multilingualism in California. In just 20 years, the state of bilingual education in California was completely turned around. The causes of this major shift are currently debated, and while the change could reflect a change in attitudes, some argue that it is the result of a combination of misleading legislation and a misunderstanding about the goals of bilingual education (Citrin et al., 2017; Krashen, 2004). As a result, further research into attitudes towards bilingual education is necessary given the conflicting recent history of bilingual education policy in the state, the number of programs, and California's political influence.

The inconsistencies in bilingual education policy in California and how people may understand the legislation has been explored by some researchers (Citrin et al., 2017; Katznelson & Bernstein, 2017; Krashen, 2004) but warrants further investigation. The present study investigates Californian attitudes towards bilingual education and the ways in which

demographic variables such as age, multilingual status, and experience of an ESL/Bilingual program affect such attitudes. Additionally, the study looks to examine if people's various attitudes towards bilingual education are related.

To investigate Californian attitudes towards bilingual education, a mixed methods approach was used in the present study, involving a questionnaire comprised of close-ended attitudinal items, open-ended free response questions, and demographic questions. The questionnaire data was then analyzed using statistical analysis and content analysis to examine overall attitudes towards bilingual education in California; the role of age, multilingual status, and experience of an English as a Second Language (ESL)/Bilingual program on attitudes; and if attitudes towards bilingual education predict other attitudes towards bilingual education.

2. Literature Review

The present study looks to investigate the nature of the attitudes towards bilingual education held by Californians and the impact of individual age, multilingual status, and experience of an ESL/Bilingual program. Additionally, it looks to explore the relationship between different individual attitudes. As a result, the following section is a literature review of relevant research surrounding language attitudes and policies in general before examining the United States and California in particular. Finally, the section describes the impact of such research on the present study exploring attitudes towards bilingual education in California.

2.1. Language Attitudes

Broadly, language attitudes are the different immediate, and sometimes unconscious positive or negative reactions people have to different languages (Dragojevic, 2017). However, despite the breadth of research in the field of language attitudes, scholars have not been consistent with which aspects they choose to include or exclude from its definition (Sole, 1973). While many definitions of language attitudes center both the language and its speakers (Galindo, 1995), Cooper & Fishman (2009) expanded the definition of language attitudes to include not only opinions of language but also language behavior and how it manifests symbolically in society. This expanded definition allows for a well-rounded approach to studying language attitudes with the inclusion of language use and the role of language in society. Due to the myriad ways of defining language attitudes, this essay will employ Cooper & Fishman's (2009) definition of language attitudes, highlighting the need to include sociolinguistic elements when discussing language attitudes in this research context.

Underlying language attitudes are language ideologies, which are collective social constructions which form a “framework of biases about the linguistic world or some part of it” (Albury, 2020, p. 359). Essentially, attitudes represent how an individual feels and acts as a response to the ideologies shared by an individuals’ community (Albury, 2020; King, 2000). As put by Dołowy-Rybińska & Hornsby (2021, p. 97), “language attitudes may be seen as a bridge between ideologies and behaviors.” In this sense, when there is an underlying linguistic ideology shared by a community, everyone in that community will have their own attitudes that motivate their behaviors in that linguistic realm. Specifically, language attitudes can influence social

behavior towards others in both negative and positive ways (Dragojevic, 2017). On one hand, attitudes tend to be negative when others speak a different language or variety, which can result in decreased cooperation, stereotyping, prejudice, and discrimination in all aspects of work and life (Dragojevic, 2017; Gluzek & Dovidio, 2010; Lippi-Green, 2012). On the other hand, cases where individuals have a positive attitude and perception of another person's language tend to result in more positive cooperation in social situations (Dragojevic, 2017). As a result, the physical manifestations of various language attitudes, both positive and negative, can have serious implications when they influence the behaviors of large organizations and governing bodies.

2.1.1 Studying Language Attitudes

Garrett (2012) discusses three main approaches to measuring language attitudes. These are *societal treatment* of language varieties, *direct measures*, and *indirect measures*. According to Garrett (2012), *societal treatment* includes analyzing previously written pieces to gather information about attitudes (see MacKaye, 1990), while *direct measures* refer to directly analyzing attitudes through the use of tools such as questionnaires and scales to explicitly ask participants for their attitudes (see Dyste, 1989; García-Nevarez et al., 2005; Huerta et al., 2018). *Indirect measures* include techniques such as the 'matched guise' technique which asks participants to evaluate qualities of speech recordings, indirectly examining participant attitudes towards language varieties (see Andrews, 2003). Although language attitudes can be difficult to research due to their dynamic nature and their different individual manifestations, they can provide valuable information about how people feel about languages for deeper societal sociolinguistic awareness (Garrett, 2012). Understanding how attitudes are measured is important to the discussion of the intersection of language attitudes and language policy, as discussed in the following sections.

2.1.2 Language Attitudes and Minority Language Policy

Language attitudes are ever-present at the governmental level in the context of minority language policy. In 1966, Article 27 of the United Nation's International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights granted minority language protection in places where linguistic minorities exist (De Varennes, 2001; Skutnabb-Kangas, 1996). The underlying attitude of Article 27 emphasizes

the importance of languages to minority communities and individuals. Similarly, the South African Constitution's Section 30 formalizes the right of all South Africans to be able to speak the language of their choice (Reddi, 2002). Although Section 30 does not specifically mention minority languages, it formalizes the notion and attitude that all languages are important and cannot be a used as a way to discriminate against minorities (Reddi, 2002). On a broader scale in 2012, the Independent Expert on Minority Issues (IEMI) at the United Nations reinforced the importance of protecting minority languages (Holt et al., 2016). In 2013, the IEMI continued to emphasize that language is a crucial element of identity expression and presented the attitude that it is important to value and protect minority languages for cultural preservation (Holt et al., 2016). An attitudinal stance from a nation's government or organization such as the United Nations can carry great weight and has the potential to affect many individuals and communities who speak minority languages across the world.

Given that language attitudes can and do change over time (Albury, 2020; Cargile et al., 1994; Dragojevic, 2017), policies in countries with prominent historical minority languages are not immune to longitudinal governmental attitudinal changes, taking for example linguistic policy changes in Spain and in Wales. During the Spanish Civil War in the 20th century, Spanish nationalist leader Francisco Franco attacked any territory in Spain that was not aligned with the nationalist movement. However, Catalonia was special because they were additionally targeted via their language, resulting in Catalan being banned and repressed (Dowling, 2013). Although Franco banned the use of Catalan during warring times, Catalan was given prestige and priority again after his death because the governmental attitudes towards the language became more positive (Garland, 2006). Similarly, in Wales, the national attitudes towards Welsh have become more positive as a matter of national identity. Although both languages are formally recognized, Welsh is used in schools to teach children and English is used as the primary language in government (Garland, 2006). In this case, Welsh being encouraged at the individual level reflects an attitude that individuals should take on learning the national unifying language to keep it in use, while it is used in combination with English in government settings. The Spanish and Welsh examples of governmental language attitudes becoming more positive over time show that such changes can have powerful effects on the increased minority language usage.

Specifically in the United States, there is an absence of federal language policy that explicitly establishes a national language or protections for languages (Spolsky, 2003). This lack

of language policy could suggest an underlying attitude that there should not be an official language, or that minority languages should not be protected, but the actual attitude has not been formally documented at a federal level. However, the functionality of English in the United States and its presence as the only language of government speaks to its linguistic status, regardless of formal policies designating it a national language (Wang, 2016). Spolsky (2003) discusses various attempts by 'English-only' pressure groups to make English the national language of the United States. For example, 'English-only' groups promote English-only policies in government with the attitude that English is the key to opportunity in the United States, and actively works against promoters of bilingual policies that support education in minority languages (Spolsky, 2003; Stone, 1999). One group, *U.S. English* was founded in 1983 by Republican U.S. Senator S.I. Hayakawa who asserted that "bilingualism for the individual is fine, but not for a country" (U.S. English, 2022, n.p.). *U.S. English* works to make English the official language of the United States in response to the "language barrier" created by an influx of immigrants (U.S. English, 2022). Furthermore, the organization *ProEnglish*, founded by white nationalist John Tanton in 1994 aims to make English the national language as a result of anti-immigrant sentiment (Díez, 2019). Petrovic (2005) argues that the formation of English-only political groups in the United States reflects Ruiz's (1984) *language-as-problem* language planning model, which suggests languages other than English are a 'problem.' In this model, English is the 'solution,' as reflected by the English-only groups supporting policies that prioritize English and resultingly act against minority languages the people who speak them. This way of thinking is not limited to just English in California but can also be extended to minority/majority language relationships in other contexts.

The link between attitudes and policy can be conceptualized as having a two-way relationship, with policies capable of influencing attitudes and attitudes influencing policies (Dragojevic, 2017; Padilla et al., 1991). In instances where it is possible for people to vote for or against specific policies in ways that reflect their attitudes, they can also be influenced to think certain ways as a result of policies already in place. For example, the Scots language in Scotland has a distinct history of being a language that is a large part of Scottish culture but the language's inferiority to English has some individuals ashamed to use the language because of the way it is seen as a 'bad version of English' (Nosowitz, 2018). Nationally, policies to keep Scots receive less funding than the preservation of Scots Gaelic (Scottish Government, 2017). This contributes

to a governmental attitude of Scots' inferiority. However, many Scottish individuals still claim to use Scots in one way or another, and by linking the language to their identity will continue to fight for its survival, even if others find it an 'inferior' language (Nosowitz, 2018). Overall, the various language policies directed towards minority languages discussed above reflect the various language attitudes of the governing bodies behind them, reinforcing the idea that attitudes can have physical implications when they are held by those with political power.

In sum, language attitudes are behavioral manifestations of language ideologies with the power to influence language policy. The attitudinal changes can result in positively or negatively oriented language policy change as exemplified by minority language policies in various countries. Specifically, an investigation into language attitudes and policy in the United States provides an example of how changes can take place in the same country across a long period of time.

2.2 History of Bilingual Education Policies and Attitudes in the United States

The role of English in the United States has been debated since the beginning of the country's existence (Horton, 2005). García (1984) discusses the critical phases of attitudinal and political stances on bilingualism in the United States. At the beginning of the United States' history, from the 18th century into the 19th century, the country was openly multilingual to accommodate the new immigrants that were helping to establish the country. This was then shut down when sentiment shifted to European immigrants being considered inferior. By the early 20th century, many states had banned non-English language instruction in schools. However, in 1923 the Supreme Court case *Meyer vs Nebraska* ruled that banning the teaching of foreign languages was unconstitutional. As a result, people were given the right to practice their foreign languages, but the language rights of linguistic minorities were still not protected. This ruling reflected the underlying idea that foreign languages should be allowed in private but not explicitly in public policy. Then after World War II, the government adopted the stance that learning foreign languages would be beneficial for the country's war strategy. In the time between World War II and the publication of her article in 1984, García (1984) discusses that people who were simultaneous bilinguals were seen as more of a threat from a xenophobic perspective than those who learned a second language in schools or in school. The fear was that

those with a foreign background were not entirely "American" and possibly a threat to the country. This is opposed to those who are born American but then learn a second language to benefit the country.

English-only ideals have also been propagated over time in the United States by presidents. In the early 20th century, President Theodore Roosevelt expressed that other languages were not welcomed and viewed other languages (and people) coming into the country as a threat to American identity (Wang, 2016). Later in 1981, President Ronald Reagan suggested that having bilingual programs that maintain a student's native (i.e. non-English) language as anti-American (García, 1984). However, bilingual programs for native English speakers to learn foreign languages were seen as beneficial and thus encouraged (García, 1984). More recently, the emergence of English-only organizations reinforces the idea that non-English languages are unwelcome in the United States and is supported by the lack of official language policy. Although there has been debate about non-English languages in the United States as a threat to the unity of the country, the work of English-only organizations is unnecessary because the status of English is empirically not threatened (Wang, 2016). However, an examination of the arguments made by those English-only supporters reveal motivations relating to power and xenophobia (Horton, 2005), suggesting that discussions centered around English-only ideals may act as a veil for more deeply rooted ideological stances about the place of immigrants and non-English languages in the country.

However, despite the English-only movements over the years, the United States has many dual immersion programs to encourage both English and a partner language. In the broader United States, California, Texas, New York, Utah, and North Carolina account for nearly 60% of the country's total dual immersion programs, with Spanish the most common language partnered with English (American Councils for International Education, 2021). With approximately 3,600 programs across the country, California individually reported 660 public school dual immersion bilingual education programs in the state as of 2021 (American Councils for International Education, 2021), making up nearly a sixth of the total programs.

Overall, bilingual education in the United States has had a complicated history, and although it has been supported at times it has also been discouraged at others. Further understanding types of bilingual education programs will help provide a foundation to the

understanding attitudes and the specific ways bilingual education policies are implemented in the United States.

2.3 Types of Bilingual Education Programs

One way of promoting minority languages is through bilingual education programs. Encouraging education in languages other than the majority reflects an attitude that a minority language is important and worth knowing. More specifically, the ways in which community members feel about bilingual education programs is connected to the ways languages are used in the community (Baker & Wright, 2017). In this sense, if community members feel positively towards bilingual education programs which promote minority languages, they may be more positively oriented to minority language use in the community overall. The following section will explain bilingual education program types to further understand the ways in which bilingual education happens in multilingual communities.

Programs to learn a second language can be categorized as either additive or subtractive based on whether the learner maintains their first language (L1) in the process of learning the second language (L2). Additive programs maintain the learners' L1 when they learn the L2, while subtractive programs result in the learner losing their L1 in the process of L2 acquisition (De Jong & Howard, 2009; Padilla et al., 1991). Additive programs include those such as dual language immersion programs, where learners are placed in classrooms with equal numbers of native and non-native speakers of the target language, and the curriculum promotes both languages equally such that all learners become bilingual in both languages (Umansky & Reardon, 2014). Subtractive programs include transitional programs where learners are transitioned from their L1 to the L2, and submersion programs are where individuals who need to learn English are placed in English-only classrooms without much help from their L1 and whose goal is only to learn English, not develop the L1 (Hakuta & Snow, 1986; Lightbown, 2008).

The academic benefits of additive bilingual programs are numerous and include increased grammatical skills, higher literacy in the L2 when fostered in the L1, and improved performance in other academic areas beyond just linguistic capabilities (Carlisle, 1989; Hakuta & Snow, 1986; Lindholm-Leary & Howard, 2008; Thomas & Collier, 1997). Culturally, bilingual

programs which maintain the L1 can also help develop positive relationships within the family unit by maintaining the shared home language (Block, 2012). In their systematic review comparing English only and bilingual reading programs for English learners, Slavin & Cheung (2005) found support for bilingual programs positive effect on reading proficiency. Of the studies examined, there was no indication that bilingual education had negative effects on academic achievement or English learning. Overall, the positive effects of bilingual education have been thoroughly studied and consistently places additive programs as a better option than subtractive programs for learners.

In the United States, "bilingual education" is a loaded term, used in many educational contexts involving two or more languages and with many conflicting interpretations of what constitutes a bilingual education program (Kim et al., 2015). In this essay, "bilingual education" will refer to programs that are additive in nature and will be otherwise referred to as the specific type of subtractive program where relevant.

2.3.1 Dual Immersion Bilingual Education Programs

Sometimes also referred to as two-way immersion, dual immersion bilingual education programs attempt to establish learner proficiency in both a minority and the majority language of an area by spending equal amounts of time teaching both languages in a classroom with equal numbers of L1 speakers of both languages (Palmer, 2007). In California for example, dual language immersion programs might be Spanish/English, and graduates of the program would be proficient in both languages. Dual immersion programs, as well as other additive types of bilingual education programs, are theoretically informed by Cummins' Interdependence Hypothesis which contends that the level of proficiency a learner can achieve in their L2 is a function of the level of proficiency they have in their L1 (Cummins, 1979a, 2000). Not only do dual immersion programs allow learners of both the minority and majority language to capitalize on their L1 in the process of L2 learning, but the learners also have a chance to be immersed in the culture of the majority and minority language and can foster a sense of cultural awareness (Lambert, 1987). Given that there are strong connections between language and culture (Kramsch, 1998), creating an environment that encourages language learning and cultural understanding allows learners to understand one another on a deeper level. Additionally, learners

can have the unique access to L2 peer-resources sitting next to them in class, rather than just the teacher being the only source of the target language knowledge (Hakuta & Snow, 1986).

However, critics of dual immersion bilingual education programs cite the potential for inequalities in the programs between the majority and minority-language students (De Jong & Howard, 2009; Valdés, 1998). In her interviews with dual immersion program participants and their family members in California and New Mexico, Valdés (1998) mentions some concerns that individuals have about the programs. She illuminates concerns that just because the programs are supposed to be equally divided between the two languages, there is an inherent and inevitable power dynamic between the majority and minority languages being used, which can translate over to the classroom setting. As a result, she expresses that it is important to maintain high standards of teaching for the minority language in the classroom to make sure that minority L1 students can achieve comparable academic levels in their L1 and English. Although dual immersion bilingual education programs can offer academic success, it is important to keep in mind the possible underlying language attitudes that may result in the prioritization of one language over the other in the classroom and the educational system.

In sum, although "bilingual education" as a term covers many different types of educational models, additive bilingual education programs which result in L2 learning alongside L1 proficiency benefit learners beyond just L2 learning. As such, understanding the effects of monolingualism helps frame the importance of an additive bilingual education learning environment.

2.4 The Costs of Monolingualism

To help understand why some communities do not promote beneficial bilingual programs, Hakuta & Snow (1992) discussed the costs of monolingualism on societal and individual levels. They argue that ultimately the theories behind the "costs" of monolingualism are what separate the English-only from the bilingual education supporters in the United States. Hakuta & Snow (1992) specifically cite three costs of monolingualism to society: *educational costs*, *economic costs*, and *national security costs*. In *educational costs*, they outline the costs of training foreign language teachers and the fees of providing classes for students to learn foreign languages. *Economic costs* refer to the money lost by American international companies who do

not have access to multilingual American employees, and *national security costs* refers to the money spent to train government employees to learn foreign languages. However, costs of monolingualism to the individual include the time and effort it takes to learn another language later in life, and the loss of cognitive benefits one may have from being multilingual (Hakuta & Snow, 1992). Cognitive benefits of bilingualism have also been supported by research by Barac & Bialystok (2012) in their study of elementary school children, finding bilingual children to outperform monolingual peers on executive function and other cognition tasks. Additionally, Hakuta & Snow mentioned that the English-only stance believes there is too high of a cost in the United States being multilingual, as non-English languages might overtake English and "cause splintering of the nation" (1992, p. 390), are those with that perspective are not concerned with the individual cost of monolingualism. Therefore, the motivation to spend money on bilingual programs at a federal and state level is lost, and English-only lawmakers do not think about the cost of monolingualism to society but rather see the dollar signs associated with having effective bilingual programs nationwide to capitalize on the potential multilingual individuals in the country. Specifically, the authors noted that lawmakers are most interested in submersion programs because there are no special teachers or new materials required and no additional concessions need to be made to accommodate the English Language Learning (ELL) students, making them less expensive. However, research has shown that submersion programs cost about the same to school districts as additive bilingual programs (Horton, 2005), so the arguments against bilingual education programs suggesting they are more expensive are without actual basis.

Money aside, submersion programs come at a great cost for the individuals who participate in them, as they can often result in low self-esteem, failure, and academic delays (Akoğlu & Yağmur, 2016; Hakuta & Snow, 1992). Although additive bilingual programs would counteract the monolingual costs to society and individuals mentioned above, English-only legislation in these cases chooses to ignore that and instead center the idea submersion programs cost less money, with the attitude that economic cost is the most important thing to consider. As noted by Wang (2016, p. 37), "teaching approaches are often determined by political rather than pedagogical factors," suggesting that no matter the amount of research supporting the benefits of bilingual education, the policies, created with or without research in mind, will ultimately guide what happens in classrooms.

In sum, the costs of monolingualism extends beyond just linguistic capabilities, and can deeply affect individuals in society. Particularly in California, monolingualism and multilingualism have been politically endorsed at different times, exemplifying the differing attitudes underlying policies surrounding bilingual education policy. As such, a discussion of the most recent influential bilingual education policy in California provides a look at the connection between attitudes, policy, and bilingual or monolingual education policies.

2.5 Bilingualism in California

In the United States, California has a uniquely complex history with bilingual education policy, fraught with contradictions and many changes since the mid 20th century. Despite its multicultural and multilingual population, bilingual education policies have flipped between supporting bilingual education and opposing it, not always reflecting the needs of California's inhabitants. In and outside of California, anti-bilingual education and English-centered policies have been proposed, passing in California, Arizona, and Massachusetts, and failing in Colorado and Oregon (Martinez et al., 2022). However, given the unique landscape and political pull in the federal government and education policymaking sphere in the United States, an examination of bilingual education attitudes and policies specifically in California is necessary. This section will explore four key policies that shaped the path for bilingual education in California from the 20th century until today- the Chacon-Moscone Bilingual-Bicultural Education Act of 1976, Proposition 63, Proposition 227, and Proposition 58.

2.5.1 Chacon-Moscone Bilingual-Bicultural Education Act of 1976

California was one of the first states in the United States to pass legislation supporting bilingual education with the Chacon-Moscone Bilingual-Bicultural Education Act of 1976 (CMBBEA). The bill, which was considered to be progressive at the time, was passed in order to provide information and instructions on how to provide educational support for English learning students (Gándara, 2005). However, while claiming that bilingual education was the right of ELL students, the Act was actually proposing a subtractive, transitional bilingual education that did not intend to maintain the L1 of the ELL students it was meant to serve (Czeglédi, 2005; Gándara, 2005). The passing of the CMBBEA was preceded by the 1974 Supreme Court case

Lau vs Nichols, which ruled that an equal education for all students was no longer one that needed to be identical for all students, which allowed for specific bilingual programs to support ELLs (Okhremtchouk, 2010). Although the passing of the CMBBEA appeared to be progressive and supportive of multilingual students, it was rooted in ideals that places the students' non-English language as something to transition out of, with English fluency as the main goal of the program (Gándara, 2005). In 1980, the CMBBEA was reformed and included suggestions for more L1 usage in the classroom for ELL students, making it more progressive that its previous version.

2.5.2 Proposition 63

Although the CMBBEA was reformed to be more progressive, the bill did not last long. Spearheaded by *U.S. English*'s S.I. Hayakawa, in 1986 California passed Proposition 63 which was an "English-only" state constitutional amendment to make English the official language of the state and boost education in the language, passing with 73% of the vote (Dyste, 1989; Witt, 1998). The issue of "English-only" state policies was also on the ballots and passed in Colorado, Arizona, and Florida during the 1988 election season, illustrating that the issue was prevalent and being contested in various parts of the country (MacKaye, 1990). However, many groups in California opposed Proposition 63, including education advocates and who believed Proposition 63 would only threaten bilingual education programs, rather than support English learning and the "unification" via language that supporters argued it would (Dyste, 1989). One of the Proposition 63's largest opposers was California's then-governor, George Deukmejian who thought the bill was a threat to California's ethnic minority population (Dyste, 1989). However, although Governor Deukmejian was against Proposition 63, which did not explicitly disallow the usage of L1 in ELL classrooms, he then decided to end protections of the CMBBEA in 1987 (Czeglédi, 2005). The Governor's actions contradicted his expressed concerns for the ethnic minority community in California, and his removal of the CMBBEA marked the beginning of nearly a decade without any specific bilingual education legislation in California (Witt, 1998).

2.5.3 Californian Attitudes Towards Bilingualism and Proposition 63

After the passing of Proposition 63, MacKaye (1990) examined the various attitudes in the public debates surrounding the English-only legislation. She examined various Californian

newspapers in the lead up to and the aftermath of Proposition 63 passing, specifically looking at editorials and letters to the editor to gauge public attitudes and language attitudes in the state. After analyzing the responses, she found three dominating themes: *language as common bond*, *language as ethnicity*, and *language as access*.

MacKaye found the theme *language as common bond* to be the most prevalent in the responses, with people believing that "English is the glue that holds together the diverse society of the United States" (MacKaye, 1990, p. 137). In this way, she mentions that people who are against multilingualism often see it as divisive, without considering that most people in the United States who are multilingual do speak English. This viewpoint is common one, as many Americans note the association between speaking English and American national identity. MacKaye (1990) highlighted a correspondence by California resident Merrie Rich to Bay Area author Geoffrey Nunberg in which Rich said: "[Immigrants] purposely neglect English because they have no intention of being integrated into the American mainstream" (MacKaye, 1990, p. 140), clearly reflecting Rich's attitude that language is key to being included in the country and identified as a "true American." Perhaps most interesting in this theme of *language as a common bond* is the concept that language can both unify and divide the country at the same time. More specifically, that English can unify everyone, and minority languages can unify the minority groups while simultaneously dividing them from the other English-speaking Americans (MacKaye, 1990). The theme *language as ethnicity* emerged mostly in cases of opponents of Proposition 63, reflecting that language is crucial to ethnicity, and when policies attack language they also attack the people who speak that language. On the other side, supporters of Proposition 63 argued that to become American, immigrants should essentially give up their L1 and fully assimilate to the English-speaking culture. Finally, *language as access* noted that in the United States, one must speak English to realize one's potential in the country. Essentially, without knowing English, one cannot fully achieve the "American Dream." Opponents of Proposition 63 claimed it was inevitable that immigrants or people with a non-English L1 would have to learn English to be part of the society so there was no need to make it a law. However, supporters claimed that bilingual education would only encourage those individuals to try and get by in California without ever learning English. The concept that immigrants and linguistic minorities will only learn English and give up their L1 if there is a national policy is also a theme reported by Padilla and colleagues (1991) in their discussion of the English-only movement in the entire

United States. Clearly, the debate around English in California and the greater United States is hotly contested, and although there is an obvious benefit to learning English, the arguments about for and against Proposition 63 included a discussion of bilingual education but also hinted at other ideas such as xenophobia and racism.

2.5.4 Proposition 227

Nearly a decade after Proposition 63, Silicon Valley multimillionaire Ron Unz arrived on the scene of bilingual education policy in California. He created the framework for Proposition 227, called "English for the Children," whose goal was to eliminate bilingual education in the state of California and limit the amount of L2 support that English learning students received (Crawford, 2000). Martinez et al. (2022) and R. Galindo & Vigil (2004) mention the unsurprising link between anti-bilingual sentiment and xenophobic and racist rhetoric in the United States due to the large immigrant population in the country and in California specifically. However, Ron Unz intentionally did not make his arguments for Proposition 227 linked to xenophobia and racism (Crawford, 2000), and instead focused his argument on the benefits of children learning English and the opportunities lost by not learning English. Proposition 227 required California public schools to teach English to ELL students in separate classes that are taught nearly entirely in English and then transfer those students into mainstream classes after their year is over (Ballotpedia.org, n.d. b; Faulstich Orellana et al., 1999). Supporters of Proposition 227 argued that bilingual programs should be abandoned because they were failing to produce enough students who were fluent in English (Gándara, 2005). However, as mentioned in Section 2.3, English fluency is not the only goal of many bilingual programs, and the stance of the pro-227 individuals was heavily based in English-only ideologies of what should be learned in a bilingual program. Crawford (2000) suggests that the positioning of the bill also created a false dichotomy for voters to either vote for children to learn English or to give them bilingual education, as if those two things are mutually exclusive. However, given that the goals of additive bilingual programs includes learners becoming proficient in English, Krashen (2004) suggests that supporters of Proposition 227 were misinformed about the basics of bilingual education which may have influenced their choices:

> "My view is that most people have no idea what bilingual education is. They don't know that bilingual education is based on the principles they would find reasonable. They don't know that bilingual education has been successful in helping children acquire English. In

> fact, I suspect many do not know that bilingual education even has English as a central goal. Tragically, the profession has not tried very hard to inform them." (Krashen, 2004, n.p.)

Krashen is not the only person to suggest that voters are simply misinformed about the benefits of bilingual education. Faulstich Orellana et al. (1999) suggested that bilingual education policy makers, such as those who are against Proposition 227 need to do a better job informing the public about the benefits of bilingual education. In this sense, bilingual education is not marketed to the public in a way that reflects the benefits continually found in research, and the actual positive and encouraging results of bilingual education programs over the years are replaced by an unbased belief that bilingual education in California has failed (Crawford, 1998). García (2009) argues that this is the result of American societies' ideologies that value monolingualism over bilingualism.

The benefits and success of bilingual education, although prominent in research circles were being poorly argued by anti-Proposition 227 groups. This might suggest that rather than voting against just bilingual education policies, some individuals voted for Proposition 227 because they resonated with the English-only stance associated with it. Other individuals may just not have known what they were voting for because of the wording of the proposition, because by calling Proposition 227 "English for the Children" voters thought they were supporting children learning English and not necessarily harmful submersion programs (Krashen, 1999). To dig deeper on the wording of the bill, Krashen (1999) asked his class of 251 students to first vote for or against Proposition 227 in its original form, with 57% of students supporting the measure. Then after rewording the Proposition in a way that explained its objective to make bilingual education in California fully subtractive and thus not support ELL students, only 15% of students supported the measure. Although this is a limited sample of specifically Krashen's students, it suggests that voters in the 1998 election may have been misdirected by the wording of Proposition 227, leading them to vote for something that they did not necessarily agree with.

Furthering the research around bilingual education attitudes and policies, after the passing of Proposition 227, Katz (2000) polled 200 teacher-students in San Francisco, California about their attitudes toward bilingual education. She found that although some individuals initially had negative attitudes towards bilingual education, when taught about the benefits of the programs for learners, those who felt negatively became more open to the idea of bilingual education.

Supporting the suggestion that language attitudes are dynamic, the findings of Krashen (1999) and Katz (2000) suggest that just by informing people effectively about the benefits of bilingual education through education and explicit, well-written legislation has the potential to flip voters from one "side" of legislation to the other. This further supports the relationship between attitudes and behaviors (see Section 2.1.2), given that if attitudes change, behaviors (voting) can reflect those changes.

The overall effect of poor information dissemination on behalf of pro-bilingual education groups and the potentially misleading wording of Proposition 227 could have skewed results to not be fully reflective of voters' underlying attitudes towards bilingual education. It is possible that some people may have voted in opposition to Proposition 227 if they were fully aware of the potential benefits of bilingual education and if the legislation was more explicitly worded. In sum, although the research exists in academic circles supporting the benefits of bilingualism and supports bilingual programs that teach English and another language, the voices supporting monolingualism and English-only ideals are socially louder and were successful in the passing of Proposition 227 in 1998. Officially, California passed Proposition 227 in 1998 with 61.28% of the votes, and it would remain the de facto bilingual education policy in the state until Proposition 58 in 2016 (Ballotpedia.org, n.d. b).

2.5.5 The Ripple Effect of Proposition 227

Following the passage of California Proposition 227, bilingual education bills were put on the ballot in other states such as Colorado and Massachusetts. In 2002, Colorado and Massachusetts included two similar bills on their ballots that would either allow the continued education in an ELL's L1 or make education exclusively in English for all learners. Although Colorado has a large Spanish-speaking population and a history of defending English-only legislation and other conservative policies and thus would be expected to vote against bilingual education, voters passed and maintained bilingual education with Amendment 31 (Fitzgerald, 2011). Across the country in liberal Massachusetts, Question 2, the bill for bilingual education, failed and ELL students remained in limited transitional English programs (Fitzgerald, 2011). Fitzgerald (2011) ran a content analysis of public statements in both Colorado and Massachusetts leading up to the 2002 vote and found a few common themes in the public sentiment. Most prominently in Massachusetts, she found that many white individuals justified being anti-

bilingual education by claiming that it did not work for them personally and tended to cite the "successful" aftermath of Proposition 227 in California as reasons for their state to forgo bilingual education. Arguments in Colorado were more focused on the financial costs of bilingual education as reasoning against it. Passed in Arizona in 2000, a movement to end bilingual education in the state created Arizona Proposition 203, supported by Ron Unz and based on California's Proposition 227, had devastating effects on ELLs and movements to revitalize Indigenous languages (Combs & Nicholas, 2012; Martinez et al., 2022). The passage of Proposition 227 in California was very prominent in the American bilingual education policy landscape and as a result, other influential states followed suit by trying to pass similar bills, some openly using California as their framework. Ultimately, the scope of Proposition 227 and even future bilingual education policies in California have the potential to influence the policies in the rest of the United States.

2.5.6 Proposition 58

It was not until the 2016 election, nearly 20 years after Proposition 227 was passed, that bilingual education would again be supported at the California polls. Called the "California Education for a Global Economy Initiative," Proposition 58 established a new stance on multilingualism in California public schools by reinforcing the benefits of multilingualism and allowing schools to implement more inclusive and additive bilingual programs for English learning students (Taylor & Udang, 2016). Unlike Proposition 227 which was put on the ballot by private citizen and gubernatorial candidate Ron Unz with the support of the public, Proposition 58 was put on the 2016 ballot directly by California State Legislators (Taylor & Udang, 2016). Proposition 58 not only undid some of the provisions of Proposition 227, but it also took a stance supporting multilingualism in California for the economic advantages it provides when the state has more multilingual citizens (Katznelson & Bernstein, 2017). Specifically, Katznelson & Bernstein (2017) mention that the wording of Proposition 227 and Proposition 58 have very different ideological stances, drawing on Ruiz's (1984) *language-as-problem* and *language-as-resource* frameworks, respectively. While Proposition 227 posits that bilingualism is a problem and suggests English to be the solution, Katznelson & Bernstein (2017) say that Proposition 58 champions multilingualism as a resource and beneficial for both the individual and the greater community. Additionally, Simon-Cereijido (2018) mentions that

Proposition 58 presented multilingualism and biliteracy as assets to the present globalized world, and encouraged voters to think about the benefits of bilingualism to all children's cognitive capabilities, rather than just immigrant or ethnic minority children. Clearly there was an appeal with Proposition 58 to reinforce the individual and societal benefits of multilingualism that includes English, instead of just the importance of exclusive English learning that Proposition 227 promoted. Proposition 58 was put to the people of California in 2016 and was passed, with a 74% share of the vote (Ballotpedia.org, n.d. a).

However, even after Proposition 58 was passed, the connection between how people actually feel about bilingual policies and how they voted was still unclear. Citrin et al. (2017) asked various Californians about their views on cultural maintenance bilingual programs and found that many people still did not think they were important and voted for Proposition 58 because it encouraged learning English in said programs. By this, the authors suggest that underlying attitudes towards bilingual education programs and multilingualism in the state of California may not have actually changed much between 1998 and 2016. Instead, they suggest it may have just been the persuasive wording and campaigning choices of the pro-58 groups that convinced people to vote in support of the multilingualism bill. Similar to Krashen's (2004) argument that in 1998, many voters did not know enough about bilingual education to vote against Proposition 227, Citrin et al. (2017) suggest that there is a disconnect between researched truths and what people think they know about bilingual education, their attitudes towards bilingual education policy, and how they vote on related policies. Simon-Cereijido (2018) posits that the passing of Proposition 58 marks a new generation of inclusive and multilingual-supporting Californians. However, she then goes on to note the paradox of how even when progressive Proposition 58 passed, the country as a whole ended up with a xenophobic and racist conservative President in 2016. This furthers the exploration that people might not be as progressive in practice or underlying personal beliefs regarding bilingual education policies as their votes may indicate in the current voting system, as Citrin et al. (2017) suggested. The connection between Proposition 58 and the attitudes surrounding the 2016 Presidential election results are outside the limits of this paper, but further exemplifies the need for research in the connection between attitudes and policies in California.

2.6 Research Purpose

As exemplified by the above sections, the policies surrounding bilingual education in California have undergone many shifts in the past 60 years, and there may be a disconnect between voters' attitudes towards bilingual education and the way they vote for related measures at the polls. The possible disconnect could be due to intentionally confusing wording of the legislation, poorly disseminated information about the benefits of bilingual education, conflicting individual opinions, or something else entirely. Underlying this confusion is a need to understand any connections between people's attitudes towards bilingual education and how they feel about various aspects of past policies. Although these connections have been considered by previous researchers, more specific study needs to be done in this area to explore the effects of individual's demographic information on attitudes and if some attitudes have predictable relationships. By understanding the nature of the connection between an individual's attitudes and how they might vote for policies, steps can be taken to ensure that the public is well-informed about bilingual education and policies are written clearly for future elections and legislation in California and potentially the rest of the United States.

3. Methodology

This section will explain the procedures used in the experiment, including descriptions of the sampling methods, materials, design, and other considerations.

3.1 Research Purpose and Research Questions

Given the polar shifts in bilingual education policy in California in the past sixty years, the need to understand how Californians feel about bilingualism remains prevalent in research. Understanding the connections between various attitudes and individual and group attributes can lead to better public understanding of bilingualism in order to make informed decisions. Accordingly, the current research project was developed with the following guiding research questions:

1. What attitudes do Californians hold toward bilingual education?
2. Do attitudes toward bilingual education vary based on age, multilingual status, or experience of an ESL/bilingual program?
3. Are there predictive relationships between different types of attitudes towards bilingual education?

3.2 Research Design

3.2.1 Mixed Methods

This experiment used a mixed methods approach to examine the relationship between policies and attitudes towards bilingualism in California. Mixed methods research involves the use of both quantitative and qualitative measurement (Onwuegbuzie & Collins, 2007; Soukup, 2015). While qualitative measurements involve examining and interpreting meaning from written or spoken responses, quantitative measurements involve the collection of numerical data to be statistically analyzed (Dörnyei, 2007). In the case of the present study, quantitative data were the numerical results of scaled attitudinal items. Qualitative data were gathered through participants' responses to free-response questions. By using qualitative data from the open-ended

questions, the quantitative data can be better contextualized and candidate explanations for any group differences in responses can be supported by the respondents' freely formed thoughts in the free response questions (Rouder et al., 2021). By combining the two methods in a mixed methods approach, researchers can better capture not only the "inherent variability, complexity, and multidimensionality [but also the] real-life manifestations [of language attitudes]" (Soukup, 2015, p. 56).

Questionnaires are a commonly used and helpful tool to measure language attitudes, but do also have some limitations. Agheyisi & Fishman (1970) note that open-ended questions are limited by the potential that respondents may not exactly respond to the specific question being asked. Furthermore, according to the authors, although close-ended items allow for the researcher to ask specific questions that account for specific topics, participants can become bored of answering too many close-ended items. To account for the limitations of using exclusively close-ended questionnaire items, including open-ended questions allows the participant to add in their own thoughts outside of the stated questions. In this experiment, both types of questions were used to capitalize on the benefits of each type. For example, a close-ended item in the present questionnaire is Item 4: "California public schools should only teach English," and respondents are guided to indicate agreement on a scale with only the item provided. Whereas an open-ended question in the present questionnaire is Free Response Question 2 (FRQ2): "Any additional thoughts about bilingual education in California that were not expressed through questions above?" where respondents are given a text box to write freely in response to the question.

3.3 Participants and Setting

The inclusion criteria of the present study required the participant to be at least 18 years of age and a current resident of California. Limiting inclusion criteria to two factors was intentional in order to capture as many people as possible. In California, individuals become eligible to vote at 18 years old and considering that this survey is interested in gathering the intersection of policy and attitudes, only those who are theoretically eligible to vote were allowed to participate. The choice to only allow current California residents to respond was to

ensure that only people with a current perspective and opinion of the status of bilingual education in California were contributing to the present research.

3.4 Materials

3.4.1 Questionnaire

In the present study, a questionnaire consisting primarily of close-ended items focusing on bilingual attitudes were followed up by free response questions inviting respondents to add any other thoughts or expand on their responses to any of the previous items. The close-ended items used a visual analog slider scale to elicit responses. Its endpoints were labelled 0- "strongly disagree" and 100- "strongly agree." Participants could choose any point along the scale to indicate their level of agreement to the item, and each response was given a number based on where it lay along the continuum of 0-100. A visual analog slider scale was chosen as it reflects a continuous way of conceptualizing attitudes, rather than the discrete agreement categories provided by a typical Likert-scale with five points (Frey, 2018). Although these visual analog slider scales give respondents a lot of freedom to choose specifically where their agreement lies, it can also be difficult for some respondents to indicate the specific spot that represents their agreement (Frey, 2018). However, the potential for accurate responses and the ability for the response measurement tool to be used across various languages are both benefits of using a visual analog slider scale for attitudinal measurement in questionnaires.

The questionnaire was created using Qualtrics' online survey creation platform. All creation, dissemination, and analysis were done remotely by the researcher in Oxford, England. Invitations to participate in the survey were sent to prospective participants in California via the researcher's personal Instagram, Twitter, Facebook, and LinkedIn accounts. The survey link was also sent via email to various personal contacts, universities, schools, and organizations in California (see Appendix A). Both snowball and convenience sampling were employed, where potential participants were contacted by the researcher and encouraged to send the survey to anyone they may know who met the inclusion criteria (Dörnyei & Taguchi, 2009).

3.4.2 Questionnaire Design

The questionnaire consisted of eight 'blocks.' Each block was designed to elicit information about specific aspects related to bilingualism and education in California, and participants were not explicitly made aware of the 'block' themes. The 'block' themes were: Proposition 227 policy items; Proposition 58 policy items; culture and economics items; globalization, assimilation, and cognition items; program goals and importance items; cost and other items; free response questions; and demographic questions. When taking the questionnaire, each respondent saw the attitudinal items in each block in a different random order. This was to ensure that the policy-inspired items appeared before the attitudinal items while making sure the items still appeared in a randomized order per individual, as make sure that the order of items did not influence individual responses. Free response and demographic questions were not randomized and appeared at the end for everyone, given that if they are placed anywhere other than the end they can decrease question answering stamina for participants (Dörnyei & Taguchi, 2009).

The first two "blocks" of questionnaire items were designed to elicit responses to feelings about California Proposition 227, which was prominently against bilingual education and Proposition 58, which was encouraging of bilingual education (see Appendix B for full questionnaire). Questionnaire items were designed with key phrases from each piece of legislation in mind and presented to the participants in statement form. For example, California Proposition 227 states that a function of the proposition is "to teach [English to Limited English Proficiency] students in special classes taught nearly all in English" (Ballotpedia.org, n.d. b, n.p.), which informed the wording of Item 1 on the survey, "English Language Learning (ELL) children in California public schools should learn English by being taught only in English." The wording of some policy questions was intentionally similar to the legislation in order to elicit the response someone would have upon seeing the words in the voter guidebook, which outlines each proposition on the ballot and what a vote for or against it means, prior to voting for or against the proposition at the polls. Other policy questions were created to refer to more general aspects of the proposition, such as the Item 12: "California public schools should have language immersion programs which encourage multilingualism." This question in particular is drawn from the overall goal of California Proposition 58 to transition away from the English-only programs highlighted in Proposition 227 and towards bilingual education programs which do not

transition learners out of their native language (Ballotpedia.org, n.d. a). The 12 items designed to reflect Proposition 227 and Proposition 58 were placed at the beginning of the survey in order to gauge how people felt about the legislation before any potential effects of being primed by general language attitude questions. Participants were not made aware of the fact that there were questions reflecting specific policies or that the wording was similar.

General bilingualism attitudinal items were positioned next in the survey and were drawn from various themes of language attitudes. Given that the researcher was not aware of any previous study with an appropriate developed survey that measures the specific language attitude constructs of the present study, all items and questions were created from scratch. General bilingualism attitude items were created according to themes such as: preserving culture, economic motivations, globalization, assimilation, cognition, linguistic awareness, goals of bilingual programs, importance of keeping the L1, and the costs of losing a language. Some examples of attitudinal items in the survey include: "It is important to maintain one's first language when learning another language," "Knowing more than one language is important if someone wants to engage with the world outside of the US" and "Being bi-/multilingual helps with individual cultural awareness."

After the attitudinal items, two open-ended free response questions were placed to encourage participants to further explain any of their answers and/or note any other thoughts they had about the topic. After the free response question section, there were three demographic questions asking first about participant age range, then about whether they were multilingual, and finally whether they participated in an ESL or bilingual program or had a child who did.

Confirming consent was required to begin the survey and was prompted after the consent form and participant information sheet was shown on the screen (see Appendix C). Participants who selected 'no' to any part of the inclusion criteria was immediately exited from the survey and notified they were ineligible to participate. Participants could exit the survey at any time by clicking out of the survey, and all questions were optional.

3.4.3 Piloting the Survey

The survey questions were first written in English and piloted by nine individuals who fit the inclusion criteria but who were later excluded from participating in the final survey. The purpose of the pilot was to get feedback about the survey's questions, layout, clarity, and overall

feel by individuals who may otherwise have taken the survey. Piloting of the survey resulted in grammatical changes to some items to further clarify what was being asked. After piloting the data, a few more questions were added to clarify and thoroughly address the underlying theme being examined in some areas of the questionnaire. For example, to further clarify the theme of what the goal of a bilingual program should be, Items 30 and 32 were added: "The most important measure of success of a bilingual program is whether a graduate from the program can speak English" and "Bilingual program graduates should be equally proficient in both English and the second language." After the questions were finalized in English, they were translated into Spanish along with other questionnaire dissemination materials (e.g. outreach email, social media posts, and consent information) by Spanish/English translators. Spanish is the second most frequently spoken language in California (American Community Survey, 2015), and by translating the questionnaire and other informational materials into Spanish, the survey becomes accessible to the California population whose more dominant language is Spanish. The Spanish documents were translated by two different native-Spanish speaking individuals. Following good research practice (Dörnyei & Taguchi, 2009), the materials were then backtranslated into English by a different native Spanish speaker. The English backtranslated versions were examined for consistencies with the original English version of the survey, and some minor changes were made to the Spanish version of the questionnaire in collaboration with Spanish translators to ensure question nuances were not lost in translation. The Spanish questionnaire was then piloted with three Spanish speakers who also fit the inclusion criteria but who were excluded from participating in the study. The Spanish piloting resulted in only one correction, where "ELL" was suggested to be translated as "aprendices de inglés" for clarity.

After piloting, the questionnaire went live to the public on 1 April 2022. Reminders to encourage participation were periodically circulated on social media and via email. The survey remained open until 21 May 2022. Although the conditions and environment in which participants completed the survey could not be controlled for by the researcher, the online format allowed for flexibility and easy access to the survey to encourage participants to complete it. This method also allowed the researcher to remain in the UK during the data collection process, while reaching as many Californians as possible.

3.5 Post-Collection Factor Analysis

After data collection ended, Items 1-6, 29, 30, and 38 were reverse coded in order to ensure that all the items were aligned on a scale where a low score represented an anti-bilingualism sentiment, and a high score represented a positive bilingual sentiment. After completion, there were 143 total responses to the questionnaire. Incomplete responses were removed (n=11) leaving 132 usable responses for analysis.

Exploratory factor analysis was conducted to test the interrelatedness of the closed items and group them into factors. The exploratory factor analysis revealed four different factors; the first factor, *Positive Traits Associated with Bilingualism*, grouped together Items 9, 10, 12-22, 27, and 34 with a Cronbach α of .904 and reflected a theme of positive traits of bilingualism and teaching bilingualism in school. Factor two, *Importance of English*, grouped Items 7, 11, 23-26, 29, 35, and 41 with a Cronbach α of .453, reflecting the need to learn English and the importance of English. Factor three, *Assistance from L1*, is comprised of Items 1, 6, 15, 31, 33, and 36-39 with a Cronbach α of .627 and reflects items relating to how much assistance from the L1 a learner should receive. Finally, the fourth factor, *Prioritize English Learning* is comprised of Items 1-5, 9, 10, and 29 with a Cronbach α of .802 and reflects items relating to negative attitudes towards bilingualism. Items 8, 28, 32, and 40 did not load onto any of the four factors and so subsequently excluded from analysis. Item 30 was removed from analysis as its removal would increase the strength of the Cronbach α value for factor 2. Field (2018) suggests a Cronbach α value of 0.7, however an analysis of Cronbach alpha scores by Taber (2018) suggests that the value of 0.7 should be used as a guideline or suggestion, and lower scores do not give the entire picture of why a factor may be considered “unreliable” and that the number of questions or type of question could be contributing to the score.

3.6 Data Analysis Procedures

When running statistical analyses of the quantitative data from the questionnaire, all work was completed using IBM SPSS version 28. For tests to compare means, first variables were checked to make sure they met the variable type assumptions then data was checked for normality. If the data was normally distributed then a parametric test was applied, and if not,

then a nonparametric test was applied. For tests of association, first variables were checked to make sure they met the type requirements, and then data was checked for normality. If data was not normally distributed, it was transformed to normal using the transformation procedures outlined in Field (2018).

Qualitative analysis was completed on the free response questions (see Appendix B) where participants were given the option to give feedback either explaining any answers they provided to previous items or to give any other input regarding bilingualism in California. The results were then analyzed using the two-phase method of content analysis outlined in Dörnyei & Taguchi (2009) to check for themes in participant responses to the open-ended questions. The first step in the process involved marking each individual response for "distinct content elements, substantive statements, or key points" (Dörnyei & Taguchi, 2009, p. 99). The second phase then involves forming larger and broader categories that take into consideration the overall patterns in responses. Overall, the content analysis process employed examining individual responses first and then examining larger patterns from those responses.

3.7 Ethical Considerations

Ethical approval from the University of Oxford was received on 13 February 2022 and can be found in Appendix D. Participants gave consent at the beginning of the questionnaire after being provided the relevant information and were unable to begin the questionnaire without providing consent. All participants were made aware of their anonymity and the ways in which their data would be used and stored, and IP addresses were also not stored, making the questionnaire completely anonymous.

Conducting the survey online allowed for complete anonymity of the participant, as an online format without any personally identifiable information allowed people to complete the survey without being exposed. Additionally, in the time frame and health conditions of COVID-19, doing an online survey also allowed participants to complete the survey without health risk to themselves or the researcher.

Questionnaire data were collected and transferred from Qualtrics, following the of University of Oxford CUREC's Best Practice Guidance for Internet-Mediated Research (Central University Research Ethics Committee, 2021) and any data from the experiment will be saved on

the researcher's password protected computer and on Microsoft OneDrive for a minimum of three years after the study is completed.

4. Results

This chapter presents the quantitative and qualitative results of the current study to examine attitudes towards bilingual education held by Californians. This study used a questionnaire to collect quantitative data with two follow-up free response questions to gather qualitative data. Both types of results are presented in this chapter, beginning with quantitative and followed by qualitative results.

4.1 Quantitative Results

Quantitative results of the present study were collected via a questionnaire with various bilingualism attitudinal questions and three demographic questions. As discussed in Section 3.4.2, attitudinal questions were derived from various themes in bilingual attitudes and questions were coded such that a high score (max. 100) indicates positive feelings towards bilingualism and a low score (min. 0) indicates negative feelings towards bilingualism. Due to the nature of certain items, some were reverse-coded in preparation for the analysis. Subsequently, an exploratory factor analysis was carried out, which revealed four different factors. These were *Positive Traits Associated with Bilingualism*, *Importance of English*, *Assistance from L1*, and *Prioritize English Learning*. These received Cronbach α values of .904, .453, .627, and .802, respectively. The following sections first explore demographics of the participants followed by an analysis of the relationship between participant age, multilingual status, and experience of ESL/bilingual programs and each factor via tests of difference to compare group mean responses. Finally, the relationship between overall responses to factors is examined via linear regression. All quantitative analysis was completed using IBM SPSS version 28 on Mac OS Monterey version 12.3.1.

4.1.1 Outliers

Before running the tests discussed in the following sections, outliers in the dataset were addressed because they can decrease the validity of both one-way ANOVA tests and linear regression (Laerd Statistics, n.d. a, n.d. b). For the Kruskal-Wallis test, conducted in the following sections, outliers do not affect the validity of the test and as such the dataset with Windsorized outliers was also used (Laerd Statistics, n.d. c). Windsorizing outliers, as outlined

by Field (2018, p. 264), involves replacing the values of outliers with the next highest value that is not an outlier. Given that the outlying responses did not appear to be technical errors or mistakes, the choice was made to Windsorize rather than delete the data points.

4.2 Participant Demographics

To gather demographic information about participants, three questions were placed at the end of the questionnaire that asked about participant age, multilingual status, and experience of an ESL/Bilingual program. These three independent variables will be referred to as *age*, *multilingual*, and *program* respectively in the subsequent sections.

As illustrated in Figure 1, of the 132 respondents to the survey, 51 were between the ages of 18-24 (38.6%), 31 were between 25-34 (23.5%), seven were between 35-44 (5.3%), 10 were between 45-54 (7.6%), 23 were between 55-64 (17.4%) and 10 were 65 years or older (7.6%). When answering the demographic question about being multilingual, 88 identified as multilingual (66.7%) and 44 identified as monolingual (33.3%). Finally, when answering the question about whether they participated in a Bilingual or ESL program or had a child who did, 36 respondents indicated that they did (27.2%), 96 respondents said they did not (72.3%). When asked at the beginning of the survey which language they would prefer to take the questionnaire in, 131 responded ‘English,’ and only one respondent chose to take the survey in Spanish. The dominant presence of English responses limits the study, as Spanish dominant Californians are presumably not as well represented in the results. Consequently, analyses based on primary language will not be discussed.

Figure 4.1. Participant demographic distributions



4.3 Tests of Difference

This section aims to explore the research question: Do attitudes toward bilingual education vary based on age, multilingual status, or experience of an ESL/Bilingual program? Tests of difference were used to compare the means of different demographic groups for each relevant factor. For each test, assumptions were checked along the guidelines in Field (2018), beginning with normality of the dependent data examined. Skewness and kurtosis values were examined and if the values were $\leq |2|$, then the data were analyzed using a one-way independent ANOVA. For non-parametric data, with skewness and/or kurtosis values of $\geq |2|$, a Kruskal-Wallis test was administered. Overall, attitudes towards bilingual education were positive. Age accounted for differences in *Assistance from L1*, *Importance of English*, and *Prioritize English Learning* factors, while being multilingual only impacted *Prioritize English Learning*, and experience of an ESL/Bilingual program had no statistically significant difference on attitudes. Mean scores by demographic variable for each factor can be found in Appendix E. The following section will present the results of tests of difference by demographic variable for each factor in the present study.

4.3.1 Effects of *Age* Variable

To investigate the effect of participant age on all four factors, first the independent *Age* variable was split into two groups to allow comparison of the two youngest and two oldest age groups (18-24 and 24-34, n=82; 54-65 and 65+, n=33). By creating two groups comprised of

participants in the two youngest and two oldest age categories, differences in responses could reflect the attitudes of participants at opposite ends of the age spectrum.

Beginning with *Positive Traits Associated with Bilingualism*, the *Age* data were not normally distributed, and as a result, a non-parametric test was administered. In this case and cases like it, the non-parametric Kruskal-Wallis test, which "compares groups or conditions containing independent scores" (Field, 2018, p. 306), was employed. After conducting the Kruskal-Wallis test, *Positive Traits Associated with Bilingualism* was found not to be statistically significantly related to age $H(1)=.13$, $p=.72$, as noted in Table 4.1. Similarly, a Kruskal-Wallis test was administered to examine the effect of *Age* on the non-parametric data for *Prioritize English Learning*. As a result, as seen in Table 4.1, *Prioritize English Learning* scores were found to be significantly affected by age, $H(1)=17.9$, $p<.001$. The younger age group generally agreed less with the notion that English should be prioritized in bilingual programs ($M= 86.18$, $SD=11.73$) than the older age group $M=70.07$, $SD=18.94$).

Table 4.1.

Results of Kruskal-Wallis Tests of Difference for *Age*

Factor	H	df	Sig.
Positive Traits Associated with Bilingualism	.13	1	.72
Prioritize English Learning	17.9	1	<.001

For both *Importance of English* and *Assistance from L1* dependent variables, data were normally distributed. Therefore, one-way independent ANOVAs were used with both dependent variables meeting the assumptions for the test and had non-significant homogeneity of variance scores. The first test revealed a significant effect of age on *Importance of English*, $F(1, 113)=18.41$, $p<.001$, as reported in Table 4.2. Older individuals ($M=71.91$, $SD=10.31$) consider English to be more important than younger individuals ($M=60.91$, $SD=13.19$). As shown in Table 4.2, there was also a significant effect of age on *Assistance from L1*, $F(1, 113)=10.04$, $p=.002$. In this case, the older group ($M=73.34$, $SD=10.41$) think a learners' L2 should be used less than the younger group ($M=79.67$, $SD=9.39$). Overall, both the 18-34 and the 55-65+ age groups both thought highly of positive traits of bilingualism but disagreed significantly on the other three factors.

Table 4.2.

Results of One-Way Independent ANOVA for *Age*

Factor	F	df	Sig.	ω
Importance of English	18.41	1, 113	<.001	<.001
Assistance from L1	10.04	1, 113	.002	.004

4.3.2 Effects of *Multilingual* Variable

In order to evaluate whether being multi- or monolingual affects attitudes towards bilingual education, the *Multilingual* variable was split into two groups. Responses of "no" (monolingual) were represented by a "0" (n=44) and "yes" (multilingual) responses were represented by a "1" (n=88). For both *Positive Traits Associated with Bilingualism* and *Prioritize English Learning* factors, the data were not normally distributed, and as a result, Kruskal-Wallis tests were employed. As shown in Table 4.3, there was no significant effect of multilingual status on how participants felt about *Positive Traits Associated with Bilingualism*, H(1)=.63, p=.43. Both multilingual and monolingual individuals had a positive attitude towards bilingual education. However, for *Prioritize English Learning*, there was a significant effect of multilingual status on how much individuals agree with how much English should be prioritized, as reported in Table 4.3, H(1)=5.88, p=.02. Monolingual individuals thought more positively of bilingual education (M=85.01, SD=15.51) than multilingual individuals (M=78.48, SD=16.92).

Table 4.3.

Results of Kruskal-Wallis Tests of Difference for *Multilingualism*

Factor	H	df	Sig.
Positive Traits Associated with Bilingualism	.63	1	.43
Prioritize English Learning	5.88	1	.02

Next for both *Importance of English* and *Assistance from L1* dependent variables, data were normally distributed and met the assumption of homogeneity of variance, therefore a one-way independent ANOVA was run. As seen in Table 4.4, no significant effect of multilingual status on how individuals felt about the importance of English was found, F(1, 130)=.67, p=.42.

Similarly, as reported in Table 4.4 the test for *Assistance from L1* revealed a non-significant effect of multilingual status on the way people think about how much L1 should be used in L2 learning, F(1, 130)=0, p=.99. Both monolingual and multilingual Californians moderately agree that L1 can assist in L2 learning, (M=77.03, SD=10.55; M=77.06, SD=10.62, respectively).

Table 4.4.

Results of One-Way Independent ANOVA for *Multilingualism*

Factor	F	df	Sig.	ω
Importance of English	.67	1, 130	.42	.67
Assistance from L1	0	1, 130	.99	0

4.3.3 Effects of *Program* Variable

To investigate whether experience with an ESL/Bilingual program is associated with their responses to these factors, responses were first grouped into "yes" and "no" categories. Any participant who indicated in any way that they had either participated in an ESL/Bilingual program or had a child who did was grouped into the "yes" category, while those who indicated that they had not were grouped in to the "no" category. "No" responses were recoded into "0" (n=96) and "yes" responses were recoded into "1" (n=36).

Firstly, for *Positive Traits Associated with Bilingualism*, *Assistance from L1*, and *Prioritize English Learning* dependent variables the data were not normally distributed and as a result, a Kruskal-Wallis tests were administered. As shown in Table 4.5, responses to *Positive Traits Associated with Bilingualism* were not significantly affected by program involvement, H(1)=0.14, p=.71. When examining *Assistance from L1*, results showed no significant effect of *Program* responses, H(1)=0.29, p=.59, as seen in Table 4.5. Next, as reported in Table 4.5, the responses to *Prioritize English Learning* were also not significantly affected by an individuals' involvement with either an ESL or a Bilingual program, H(1)=.16, p=.69.

Table 4.5.

Results of Kruskal-Wallis Tests of Difference for *Program*

Factor	H	df	Sig.
Positive Traits Associated with Bilingualism	.14	1	.71
Assistance from L1	.29	1	.59
Prioritize English Learning	.16	1	.69

Finally, for the *Importance of English* dependent variable, data were normally distributed and the assumption of homogeneity of variance was met. Therefore, a one-way independent ANOVA was administered. As noted in Table 4.6, no significant effect of program involvement on the responses was detected, $F(1, 130)=.08$, $p=.78$. Overall, there were no statistically significant effects associated with an individuals' involvement in either an ESL or Bilingual program on their responses to any of the factors examined by the attitudinal questionnaire items.

Table 4.6.

Results of One-Way Independent ANOVA for *Program*

Factor	F	df	Sig.	ω
Importance of English	.08	1, 130	.78	.78

4.4 Linear Regression Results

To investigate the research question: "Are there predictive relationships between different types of attitudes towards bilingual education?" linear regressions of the overall responses to each factor were employed. Assumptions for linear regression analysis include: continuous predictor and outcome variables, normally distributed residuals, linearity, homoscedasticity, and multicollinearity (Field, 2018). The results from all four factors were each tested against the list of assumptions (see Appendix F). Outliers were Windsorized prior to checking the assumptions for each dependent variable (see Section 4.1.1) and the distribution of each variable was checked. *Positive Traits Associated with Bilingualism*, *Assistance from L1*, and *Prioritize English Learning* were all not normally distributed, with Shapiro-Wilk scores of $p<.001$ ($p>.05$), but according to Li et al. (2012) for linear regression, dependent (outcome) variables being

normally distributed is not statistically as important as normally distributed residuals. Therefore, in the following regressions, dependent variables were still examined if they were not normally distributed but had normally distributed residuals and met all other assumptions for linear regression. The *Importance of English* factor was normally distributed with an insignificant Shapiro-Wilk score of .22 ($p>.05$). As a result, linear regression analysis could proceed.

Linear regressions were run comparing all variables to one another. Significant relationships were found between *Positive Traits Associated with Bilingualism* and *Assistance from L1*; *Positive Traits Associated with Bilingualism* and *Prioritize English Learning*; and *Assistance from L1* and *Prioritize English Learning.* Other factors were also tested but no other statistically significant relationships were found.

4.4.1 Linear Regression Results of *Positive Traits Associated with Bilingualism* and *Assistance from L1*

Results from linear regression revealed a significant relationship between *Positive Traits Associated with Bilingualism* and *Assistance from L1* factors. It was found that *Positive Traits Associated with Bilingualism* significantly predicted *Assistance from L1* scores ($\beta=.55$, $p<.001$), with an R value of .55. According to Field (2018), an R value of ≥.1 is a small effect, ≥.3 is a medium effect, and ≥.5 is a large effect. This test revealed that the independent variable accounted for 29.2% of the variance (adjusted R^2 score). Results from the analysis of variance indicate that the model is significantly better at predicting the result than if mean scores were used (Field, 2018), $F(1, 130)=55.05$, $p<.001$. Overall, if Californians have a positive attitude towards bilingualism in their responses to *Positive Traits Associated with Bilingualism* items ($M= 88.47$, $SD= 10.74$), they are less likely to agree with the idea that an individual's L1 should be used when learning an L2 ($M=77.04$, $SD= 10.54$)

4.4.2 Linear Regression Results of *Positive Traits Associated with Bilingualism* and *Prioritize English Learning*

Results from linear regression revealed a significant relationship between *Positive Traits Associated with Bilingualism* and *Prioritize English Learning* factors. *Positive Traits Associated with Bilingualism* moderately predicted individual responses to *Prioritize English Learning* items [($R=.43$), $\beta=.43$, $p<.001$], accounting for 17.6% of the variance (adjusted R^2 score). Confirmed

by the ANOVA results, the test is a better indicator of the result than predicting using mean values, $F(1, 130)=29.07$, $p<.001$. Overall, if Californians have a highly positive attitude towards bilingual education ($M= 88.47$, $SD= 10.74$), they are also likely to think English does not need to be the priority goal of bilingual education ($M=80.66$, $SD=16.69$).

4.4.3 Linear Regression Results of *Assistance from L1* and *Prioritize English Learning*

Results from linear regression revealed a significant relationship between *Assistance from L1* and *Prioritize English Learning* factors. Responses to items on *Assistance from L1* strongly predicted responses to items related to *Prioritize English Learning* [($R=.57$), $\beta=.94$, $p<.001$], reflecting 35% of the variance in scores (adjusted R^2 score). The analysis of variance supports that the model is a better predictor of scores than using the mean values, $F(1, 130)=71.55$, $p<.001$.

As a result of the test, if Californians think an L2 learners' L1 should be used in the language acquisition process ($M=77.04$, $SD=10.54$), they are also expected to think that English is not the most important outcome of L2 learning ($M=80.66$, $SD=16.69$).

All statistical comparisons run on the questionnaire data can be further supported via analysis qualitative analysis. The free response questions positioned at the end of the questionnaire give additional insights into the ways in which people feel about bilingual education in California and help provide understanding of how or why people may have responded to the attitudinal items in the questionnaire.

4.5 Qualitative Results

This section seeks to deepen the understanding of what attitudes individuals hold towards bilingual education in California through the analysis of free response questions. The two free response questions were positioned in the questionnaire after the attitudinal items, and consisted of Free Response Question 1 (FRQ1), "use this textbox to explain any answers given above" (see Appendix G for all responses) and FRQ2, "any additional thoughts about bilingual education in California that were not expressed through questions above?" (see Appendix H for all responses). Content analysis of responses to the open-ended questions followed suggestions from Dörnyei & Taguchi (2009) which involves analyzing individual responses for themes and then

culminating the individual themes into overarching themes. Through content analysis of the free response questions, a deeper understanding of attitudes can potentially be achieved. There were 28 total responses for each question, and themes found via content analysis in the responses to both questions are discussed in this section.

4.5.1 Theme of "Cost"

The first prevalent theme brought up in the responses to the free response questions revealed a theme of "cost," which was also an underlying concept used when designing questions (see Section 3.4.2). Of the responses collected, nine (32.1%) addressed the theme of "cost" in some way in the first question, and five (17.8%) in the second question. In this case, "cost" can be either economic or personal in nature, with one respondent indicating that "implementing bilingual programs in California should happen no matter the cost" while another respondent believes that "the benefit to society outweighs the monetary cost of a program where it can be supported by a community's need/interest."

These two statements reflect an underlying idea that there is inherent value to being multilingual and the monetary cost of these programs is worth the resulting bilingual individuals the programs will create. However, there were also some participants of the opinion that being bilingual is not very important to economic gains: "I personally don't feel that it's necessary to be bilingual to [benefit economically]." This participant went on to report that in their experience, bilingual education students with English L1 get more benefits from the program than those who are learning English as an L2. Therefore, respondents suggest that although there is a potential for economic gain from being bilingual, that is not the case for everyone.

4.5.2 Theme of "Culture"

The next theme addressed in the responses to FRQ1 was "culture." Three respondents (10.7%) mentioned culture in their responses, with one individual of the opinion that losing the culture from one's first language is not a bad thing:

> "I recognize that previous generations of immigrants lost much of their culture when they assimilated into the English-speaking American states. Why is that necessarily bad? We can honor and respect others' cultural heritage while celebrating that which makes us all Americans."

This respondent identified that they are multilingual, between the ages of 55-64 and did not have any experience of an ESL/Bilingual program. Their response draws on the concept that American identity is tied to the English language and knowledge thereof. They suggest that learning English is potentially worth losing one's culture, but that it is also possible to appreciate other cultures if American culture (i.e., English) is also celebrated. On the other hand, a different individual indicated that "learning a language and learning a culture aren't always combined in a program [but] they should be." This person notes the importance of both language and culture to the language learning process and goes on to suggest that cultural education should have a larger role in the bilingual education process. While both responses are different, they reflect an idea that language and culture are closely tied, yet distinct, and there is some sort of connection between learning/losing language and learning/losing culture.

The theme of "culture" was found again in responses to FRQ2, with three respondents (10.7%) addressing it in their responses. On one hand, bilingualism is seen as a bridge between two cultures and keeps people connected in their community:

> "Losing your first language is alienating from your home's culture, something that shouldn't be considered a passing thing by education systems that push it to the side. The fact that I am fluent in both Spanish and English allows me to make more ties and at times translate for people who are struggling to be understood (in both Spanish and English)."

On the other hand, one respondent suggests L1 culture should still be seen as secondary to the respect for American culture that comes with knowing English:

> "If we can support positive cultural [identity] with L1 even better. However, [there] needs to be a respect and appreciation for this country and the English language. Cultivating respect for all people must be first and [that] is difficult to find in today's society."

While both responses place value on the culture that comes from an individual maintaining their L1, the second quote suggests a hierarchy of respect, placing American culture (i.e., knowledge of the English language) at the top. Again, the connection between language and culture is found, but in this case a hierarchy is suggested in the relationships between the two in a society.

4.5.3 Theme of "Lack of Faith in Bilingual Programs"

Another sentiment in the responses to FRQ1 is a "lack of faith in bilingual programs." Four out of 28 (14.3%) responses indicated that there were some negative thoughts around the quality of bilingual programs in the state. For instance, one respondent draws on Cummins'

Interdependence Hypothesis (Cummins, 1979b), which posits that proficiency in the L1 can predict proficiency in the L2, and suggests that schools are not doing well enough to support both the L1 and the L2:

> "I studied education and there are a lot of great things about bilingual programs, but they aren't done well. If done well, the first language is enhanced while the second language is taught; right now, the second language is half-taught and the first language is left behind, leaving the student below proficiency in both. TLDR- invest money into reinventing the curriculum or don't invest at all. It's imperative that these kids get genuine education, not just enough to get through a basic conversation."

This respondent suggests that there is an issue of not teaching enough of the L1 or the L2, leaving learners behind in both languages. As a result, the pessimistic attitude incites the idea that programs need to be reinvented or it is not worth keeping the programs as they are. The individual simultaneously recognizes the importance of L1 in L2 learning while expressing frustration that the curriculum is not supporting this method and as a result, failing the students in bilingual education programs.

4.5.4 Theme of "Support"

The next theme found is that of "support." Six (21.4%) of the 28 responses to FRQ1 discussed participant opinions about support in the bilingual education system in California. Some respondents indicated they are of the opinion that there is not enough support for ELL students in the bilingual education system, suggesting that "[ELL] children need support for English from home. Many students' parents are not proficient enough in English themselves to help. Community support for adults would be great." In this instance, they suggest that support for students cannot come fully from the school and that there should be some sort of external support for ELL students and their families to enhance learning. Another opinion expressed in some of the responses is that not everyone gets equal support in the current system, and that support systems should be expanded.

> "Primary language support should include all primary languages. Too often, Spanish and Vietnamese are the only languages in which support is offered. It's not unusual, in some areas of California, for there to be 5 or more different primary languages in a single classroom."

This respondent indicates that there needs to be L1 support for all students, even if their L1 is not the most popular. However, another respondent indicates that although L1 support would helpful, it may not be realistic: "While it would be great for kids to have support of their native

language while learning English, I am not sure how feasible that is if a school has ELL with various/multiple first languages." Although individuals may recognize the importance of L1 support they may also be apprehensive about whether it is possible to give equal help to all individuals given the variety of L1s in the classroom.

4.5.5 Theme of "Submersion"

In both free response questions, there were responses reflecting the opinion that submersion programs, where learners are placed into L2 classes without help from their first language (Hakuta & Snow, 1986), is the best option. While one respondent believes "students should not lean on their native language in order to learn English," another is of the opinion that "the best way to learn a language is to be fully immersed in it… I feel like it is best to learn by jumping into the deep end so to speak." Connecting to Lightbown's (2008) aquatic metaphors for submersion language education, this individual who identifies as between 18-24, monolingual, and without any experience of an ESL or bilingual program, has this opinion without indicating that they have any experience with the situation that they suggested would be successful. Although this is only a small sample of California, it could be indicative of other individuals in the state having the same opinion about submersion programs and therefore indicating that they do not understand the role of L1 in L2 acquisition.

4.6 Summary of Findings

Overall, the qualitative and quantitative results of this study indicate a variety of attitudes of bilingual education held by Californians. While age appears to be associated with opinions about the *Importance of English*, *Prioritize English Learning*, and *Assistance from L1*, being multilingual was associated only with the opinion of how much English learning should be prioritized. However, whether someone had experience of an ESL/Bilingual program did not have any impact on attitudes towards bilingual education in California. Across the groups, everyone held high attitudes towards *Positive Traits Associated with Bilingualism*. Results from linear regression revealed that there were connections between how individuals feel about *Positive Traits Associated with Bilingualism* and *Assistance from L1*, *Positive Traits Associated with Bilingualism* and *Prioritize English Learning*, and *Assistance from L1* and *Prioritize*

English Learning. Qualitative analysis then revealed five dominant themes in the free response questions of "cost," "culture," "lack of faith in bilingual programs," "support," and "submersion." Further discussion of the attitudinal items and free response questions will follow this section to connect the quantitative results and the qualitative responses to relevant literature and theory.

5. Discussion

The present study investigated the attitudes held by Californians about bilingual education. To investigate this topic, this study explored whether attitudes towards bilingual education are associated with participants' age, multilingual status, and experience of an ESL/Bilingual program. The study also examined how various attitudes held by participants are connected to each other, to examine how opinions interact on an individual level. Although this specific field of study is small, this study supplements the previous studies of attitudes towards bilingual education in California (see Citrin et al., 2017; Lao, 2004; MacKaye, 1990)

As discussed in the literature review (see Section 2), the state of bilingual education in California over the past sixty years has proven to be unstable. In the past 25 years, two main pieces of legislation were passed with opposing goals. The first being Proposition 227, which restricted bilingual education in 1998 which was then effectively repealed by Proposition 58 in 2016. However, some research argues that, despite the new legislation, public opinion related to bilingual education did not actually change (Citrin et al., 2017). As a result, understanding what people know about bilingual education and understanding their attitudes towards it is important for protecting bilingual education at the polls in future elections. Unlike previous studies investigating attitudes towards bilingual education in California, the present study included an aspect of demographic information such as participant age, multilingual status, and experience of an ESL/Bilingual program, as well as a statistical analysis of the relationship between various individual attitudes towards bilingual education. Although this study is exploratory in nature, it adds to the current research in the area and its findings prompt new topics for future research. The following discussion section will discuss the relevance of findings of the present study in relation to other related studies and theories in the field.

5.1 Attitudes Towards Bilingual Education in California

In general, attitudes towards bilingualism in California were positive for all demographic groups. By age, older groups tended to prioritize knowing and learning English in bilingual education settings more than younger groups. Younger groups also think the L1 should be used more in L2 learning than older participants, but overall attitudes towards bilingual education were generally positive across age groups. Being multilingual resulted in participants thinking

English should be prioritized more than the monolingual participants, and whether someone had experience of an ESL/Bilingual program did not affect the ways in which they felt about bilingual education. The following section will discuss the findings of the present study by demographic groups in relation to theory and other related studies.

5.1.1 *Age* and Attitudes

Overwhelmingly, the results of this study reflect positive attitudes towards bilingual education in California. Participants had high regard for *Positive Traits Associated with Bilingualism* across all demographic categories, but responses to other factors varied based on demographic categories. Specifically for the demographic factor of age, results suggest that although young people think English is an important language to know in California, older people tend to think it is even more important. Additionally, the findings suggest that older participants value the prioritization of English learning more than young people. Furthermore, younger people agree more that the use of L1 in the L2 learning process is positive compared to older people, reflecting underlying support of additive bilingual programs rather than subtractive programs with English proficiency as the main goal (De Jong & Howard, 2009). In relation to the two pieces of legislation focused on in the present study, Proposition 227 which effectively banned bilingual education in California in 1998 and Proposition 58 in 2016 which repealed Proposition 227 and encouraged multilingualism in the state, the current participants' ages and attitudes could be connected to the passing of the propositions. For example, the present older group's attitudes may reflect the attitudes of the general voting population in 1998, which may have been more negatively oriented towards bilingual education given that the population voted against it. Alternately, the passing of Proposition 58 supporting bilingual education in 2016 could reflect more positive attitudes of the younger age group in the present study who were eligible to vote in 2016.

The change in attitudes over time to become more positively oriented towards multilingualism could have been reflected by the passage of Proposition 58. However, Citrin et al. (2017) suggested that the population did not actually experience a shift in attitudes to become more positively aligned with bilingual education to repeal the force of Proposition 227. Instead, they suggest that it was actually the way in which Proposition 58 was written. While the proposition positioned multilingualism as a way to increase English learning, when the authors

emphasized to individuals that the proposition actually repealed Proposition 227, many individuals then chose not to support Proposition 58. In sum, although the results of the present study reflect a significant difference in attitudes across generations, there are potentially other explanations for this than actual underlying attitudes towards bilingualism.

5.1.2 *Multilingual* and Attitudes

The results suggest that an individual's multilingual status was associated only with how they felt about the extent to which English should be prioritized. Self-identified multilingual people thought English should be prioritized more than people who identified as monolingual, which could suggest many different underlying ideologies. Firstly, it could be that monolingual people who speak English see value in learning other languages, as supported by one participant's response to the open-ended questions: "Having taught bilingual children in California, having grown up with bilingual children, I wish I had been able to speak Spanish." In this line of thought, monolingual individuals may desire to learn another language and as a result may place more value on multilingualism than on English-only monolingualism. In their analysis of bilingual attitudes in Greece, Kostoulas-Makrakis et al. (2006) found that across individuals studied on the Greek islands of Rhodes and Symi, there were overall positive attitudes towards bilingualism. However, their findings specifically indicated that monolinguals on the islands had less favorable attitudes towards bilingualism than the bilingual individuals studied. Kostoulas-Makrakis et al. (2006) suggest this finding reflects the unifying quality of a national language, such as Greek in Greece and monolingual individuals had great pride in knowing the national language. However, the results of the present study do not align with Kostoulas-Makrakis et al. (2006) and instead suggest that there may be a different underlying ideology or phenomenon leading monolingual people to value bilingualism more than multilingual people.

Bilingualism as a means of economic success through increased job opportunities has been supported (Gándara, 2018; Kostoulas-Makrakis et al., 2006) and the aspiration could be an explanation of why monolingual individuals hold high regard for bilingual education as a means to success. As seen in the "cost" theme gathered from free responses (see Section 4.5.1), some people see bilingualism as economic beneficial to individuals and society. In the current study, an analysis of the "cost" theme reflects differing opinions of how bilingualism can benefit an individual economically. By way of example, on the one hand, a multilingual individual in the

25-34 age group noted that "Bilingualism is important but I think only because it helps economic gain," reflecting the ideology consistent with the findings that individuals hold bilingualism important for the economic benefits. On the other hand, another multilingual individual in the 18-24 age group indicated that they "…personally don't feel that it's necessary to be bilingual to [benefit economically]" indicating that there are mixed feelings about how even multilingual people feel about the ways being bilingual affects their potential economic gains. Unfortunately, the results of this survey did not gather any free responses relating to economic gains from monolingual individuals which would show the other side of the argument, but further studies addressing the ways monolingual individuals feel about the economic benefits of bilingualism would be complementary to this discussion. Overall, the reasons for why monolingual and multilingual individuals may prioritize English differently cannot be clearly delineated by the results of the present study and warrant further investigation.

5.1.3 *Program* and Attitudes

Interestingly, the results from the present study of whether an individual had experience with an ESL/Bilingual program did not statistically significantly affect the ways in which people felt about any of the studied factors. Relatedly, in her study of attitudes towards multilingualism in Croatia, Mihaljević Djigunović (2013) found that the education level of the individual had an effect on their attitudes towards both foreign language learning and multilingualism. Although the demographic variable of *Program* in the present study does not reflect the same kinds of education levels Mihaljević Djigunović (2013) was examining (participation in ESL/Bilingual programs in the present study versus total achieved education level in her study), it invites further exploration of the ways in which education experiences can influence individual attitudes towards bilingualism. Overall, Mihaljević Djigunović (2013) notes that attitudes to language learning can be connected to experience learning the language. The present study not finding support for the connection between an individual's experience with an ESL/Bilingual program and their attitudes towards bilingual education conflicts with Mihaljević Djigunović's suggestion. However, it is important to note that, in the present study, how an individual was involved with an ESL/Bilingual program was gathered from only one demographic question. Further studies that gather attitudinal information and a more detailed account of a participants' experiences with such programs could reveal differences based on experience. However,

suggestions from free response questions at the end of the survey also indicate a variety of experiences with bilingual education in California. Responses such as “My experience with [bilingual programs] has been lackluster,” and “I benefitted from Bilingual Portuguese-English education… hoping programs will return!” reflect two very different sentiments about experiences with bilingual education. Even though the two responses highlighted are only indicative of a small sample of California’s population, they could reflect a larger trend of attitudes towards bilingualism being related to the quality and perception of each individual’s experience with ESL or Bilingual programs in the state. Given that California, New York, Texas, Utah, and North Carolina are home are home to nearly 60% of all the dual immersion bilingual programs in the entire United States (American Councils for International Education, 2021), California is a place with a wealth of individual experiences and opinions to contribute to this potential body of research.

5.1.4 Effect of Demographics on Attitudes Towards Bilingual Education

Overall, results of the present study suggest that individual demographic information does contribute to the attitudes towards bilingual education, with age contributing the greatest number of significant differences. Being multilingual only affected the way participants felt about how much English should be prioritized, and experience of an ESL/Bilingual program was not statistically significantly related to attitudes towards any studied component of bilingual education. Understanding how specific groups of people feel about bilingual education can allow for a more targeted approach at education on the benefits of bilingual education or outreach in preparation for elections when the future of bilingual education is up for negotiation at the polls in future elections.

5.2 Relationship Between Attitudes

The results of the linear regressions between factors (see Section 4.4) revealed three significant bidirectional relationships within the web of factor connections: *Positive Traits Associated with Bilingualism* significantly predicted results of *Assistance from L1*; *Positive Traits Associated with Bilingualism* also significantly predicted results of *Prioritize English Learning*; and *Assistance from L1* significantly predicted results of *Prioritize English Learning*.

Given that the *Positive Traits Associated with Bilingualism* factor focuses on the benefits of bilingual education, the connection to other factors that do not always indicate the underlying positive traits of bilingualism suggest that even if people think highly of bilingualism, there may be strings attached. As suggested by the data, an individual may have a positive overall attitude towards bilingualism while also suggesting that they do not agree that a bilingual education student should be able to use their L1 in classrooms, or that they should ultimately be prioritizing English learning. These findings support the overall message propagated by Krashen (2004) (discussed in Section 2.5.4) that some people are not fully informed about the benefits of an additive bilingual education and may hold misconceptions about the goals of bilingual programs. Krashen refers mainly to the goal of many bilingual programs to make learners proficient in both English and the minority language. Krashen (2004) notes that some individuals think that by wanting to encourage English learning, they should be striking down legislation for bilingual programs. However, both English and the minority language would be taught in bilingual education programs, and people are just misinformed (Krashen, 2004). In this way, the results from the present study indicating the various illogical relationships between responses to factors further supports Krashen's (2004) argument. However, the present study may indicate that while people may not understand completely all benefits of bilingual education, there seems to be an overall positively oriented attitude towards it, which could help its legislative advancement at the polls. Continuing to educate individuals on the benefits of bilingual education for learning English and a second language could be beneficial to the continued advancement of programs in California.

5.3 Political Implications

As discussed in the literature review, there are political groups in the United States that align themselves with a pro-English and anti-bilingual education stance (Horton, 2005; Wang, 2016). ‘English-only’ groups such as *ProEnglish* claim that English in the United States is being threatened by minority languages and the only way to combat such a threat is to encourage English in all aspects of life and discourage the use of other languages for governmental purposes nationwide (Wang, 2016). However in the United States, English as a dominant language is empirically not threatened and other languages are not creating risk of “taking over”

(Wang, 2016). Relatedly, in the past decade discussions of the 'Great Replacement' have appeared in media, suggesting that white Americans are being "replaced" by immigrants as a result of immigration policies and that soon "true Americans" will become the minority (National Immigration Forum, 2021). While the 'Great Replacement' is not empirically supported and white people comprise 75% of the United States population (United States Census Bureau, 2021), it can result in dangerous manifestations of its ideology. Such manifestations include acts of internal terrorism such as the mass shooting in Buffalo, New York on 14 May 2022 by an 18-year-old American white supremacist whose goal was to kill Black people in a supermarket as a response to 'Great Replacement' theories (McKinley & Thrush, 2022). Although the tragedy of the Buffalo massacre was not explicitly linguistically motivated, it parallels ideas propagated by English-only political groups who believe in the linguistic equivalent to the 'Great Replacement.' The implications of labelling minority people and languages as a "threat" to the majority clearly has the potential for harmful outcomes. While it would be unrealistic to suggest that knowing English is not important to living in the United States and gives individuals many advantages, it is important to understand how people feel about English and bilingual education so that the prioritization of English does not go unchecked and result in any unintended consequences.

The theme of "culture" discussed in Section 4.5.2 revealed connections between knowing English and American identity with some participants suggesting that people should ultimately know English to respect American culture. Although the present study was limited in size, the responses that reflect pro-English stances and connections of English with "being American" indicate that even though California is currently acting under legislation that allows for bilingual education, there are people of the opinion that English is the most important to know and that a non-English L1 is not as important. Given that Citrin et al. (2017) suggest that attitudes towards bilingual education in California have not become more positive since 1998 and that the campaigning and wording of legislation has a greater impact on how people will vote, one could imagine how if enough people fear minority languages in California, the political landscape could change easily in just a single election. Overall, the knowledge of how people feel about bilingual education in California is going to continue to be important in order to educate the public about the benefits of bilingual education and the value of an individuals' non-English L1 to continue to protect minority languages and their speakers.

5.4 Limitations and Implications for Future Research

In good research practice, limitations of the present study must be acknowledged to recognize the generalizability of the findings within the landscape of bilingual education in California. The following sections will discuss the recognized limitations of the present study as it was completed.

5.4.1 Sample Size and Qualitative Responses

Given the current population of California is 39,250,000 people (United States Census Bureau, 2021), the sample size of the present study (n=132) cannot possibly capture the attitudes of all Californians. However, the study functions as a starting point for further investigation by examining a fraction of the population. As an extension, the limited number of responses to the open-ended questions at the end of the survey are limited even further, with n=28 for each question. Although the responses gathered can support the results of the present study, their limited application to the entire population of California must be acknowledged.

5.4.2 Participants

The choice to use snowball sampling and convenience sampling as outlined in Section 3.4.1 allowed the researcher greater flexibility to conduct research in California from Oxford, England. However, some demographic groups were underrepresented such as the 35-44 (n=7), 45-54 (n=10), and 65+ (n=10) age groups, with the younger two age groups potentially being overrepresented. Given that demographic variables could not be controlled for in the present study due to the type of sampling employed, further investigations around this topic could look to gather more diverse participants to reflect California's diverse population. Additionally, due to the voluntary nature of the questionnaire, it is limited by the bias of including only those who self-selected and wanted to participate.

5.4.3 Language

Respondents to the survey in the present study were overrepresented by English responses. Even though the option to answer the survey in Spanish was provided, only one participant chose to answer in Spanish. Although this does not indicate the number of actual

Spanish speakers who responded to the questionnaire, it limits the scope of the survey to potentially English-dominant participants. Additionally, the multitude of languages spoken in California were not provided as options to take the survey in due to the limitations of the time frame of the present study. Further studies could potentially reach more linguistically diverse participants by offering the survey in more than two languages and intentionally advertising the survey in linguistic-minority populated area, such as where Korean, Hmong, or Vietnamese are commonly spoken in the state.

5.4.4 Cross-Loading of Factors and Reliability Scores

As discussed in Section 3.5, the items in the survey were grouped together into four factors based on the results of an exploratory factor analysis. In the present study, some survey items cross-loaded onto multiple factors with high-cross loading scores. Items which cross-loaded onto more than one factor in the present study were included in both factors they loaded onto when contextually relevant to the theme. However, a strong questionnaire would be one without any cross-loading of items (Costello & Osborne, 2005). Additionally, the Cronbach α scores for both *Assistance from L1* and *Importance of English* factors did not meet the α value of .7 suggested by Field (2018). Therefore, if the current questionnaire were to be used again and replicated, future researchers may be able to increase reliability scores and eliminate cross-loading by changing existing items or adding more items.

With limitations in mind, the findings of the present study provide valuable insight to the field of attitudes towards bilingual education in California and contribute to overall notions of the complexity and inconsistencies in the ways people feel about the topic.

6. Conclusion and Implications

The results of the present study indicate that while overall attitudes towards bilingual education were relatively positive, both age and multilingual status played a role in how people felt about different aspects of bilingual education. Older groups think English learning should be prioritized in bilingual education and generally find English to be more important than younger groups. In contrast, the younger groups think the L1 should be used more in L2 learning. The study also found multilingual individuals think English should be prioritized in bilingual education more than their monolingual counterparts and that the experience of an ESL/Bilingual program did not statistically significantly impact attitudes towards bilingual education. Regression analysis revealed predictive relationships between different attitudes, indicating that people may hold contradicting attitudes towards bilingual education. Generally, findings from the present study are consistent with the limited previous studies in the area which indicate conflicting and sometimes illogical opinions about bilingual education. Overall, the ways Californians feel about bilingual education may be generally positive but still have some connections to ideals of subtractive and subversive language education, contrary to what might be expected of people living in a state with a relatively large number of bilingual education programs and current laws encouraging multilingualism and bilingual education programs.

Although the present study is relatively exploratory in nature, its evaluation of demographic information in relation to attitudes towards bilingual education, and the nature of the relationships between different attitudes, helps set a foundation to be built upon by future research in the area. The findings of this study combined with the history of bilingual education policy in California reflect the need to continue to investigate not only what Californians know about bilingual education but also their attitudes towards it. Educating the public about bilingual education to encourage informed decisions on any future legislation is important to maintain and grow programs in the state.

Future studies that can expand the small scale of the present study could have a great impact on the field of attitudes towards bilingual education not just in California but beyond. Given the political influence California has in the United States, continuing to research attitudes towards bilingual education in the state has the potential to reach people everywhere and warrants further investigation. By examining the effects of individual political orientation, specific languages spoken, and more deeply evaluating individuals' experiences with bilingual

education, this research could provide more insight in the field of language attitudes towards bilingual education and can help influence important policy decisions for decades to come.

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Appendix A: Outreach Email

Dear_____,

My name is Alyson Osgood and I am currently pursuing my master's degree in Applied Linguistics and Second Language Acquisition at the University of Oxford.

As a native of California, I grew up in the Bay Area and attended the University of California, Santa Barbara for my bachelor's degree in Linguistics. Growing up in a multilingual community sparked my interest in linguistics and languages and shaped my interest in bilingual attitudes and policies in California.

I would like to inform you of an opportunity to help me out with my thesis research on bilingual attitudes and policies in California, facilitated by the University of Oxford. As a resident of California, your contributions could help us better understand the connection between how people feel about bilingualism and the effect on policy. Ultimately, this could help create better bilingualism policies to fit the needs of Californians.

The questionnaire is completely anonymous and should only take 15-20 minutes of your time. The only requirements being that the participant must be 18 years of age and a current resident of California. I have attached the link to the survey, powered by Qualtrics and offered in both Spanish and English.

Please do not hesitate to reach out to me with any questions you may have, and please share this with anyone you may know who fits the participant requirements.

Sincerely,
Alyson Osgood
Applied Linguistics & Second Language Acquisition, expected 2022
University of Oxford, Department of Education

Appendix B: Questionnaire Items

Attitudinal Items:

All attitudinal items appeared in the Qualtrics questionnaire with a sliding scale from 0 to 100; with 0 indicating strong disagreement and 100 indicating strong agreement, as seen in Figure C1.

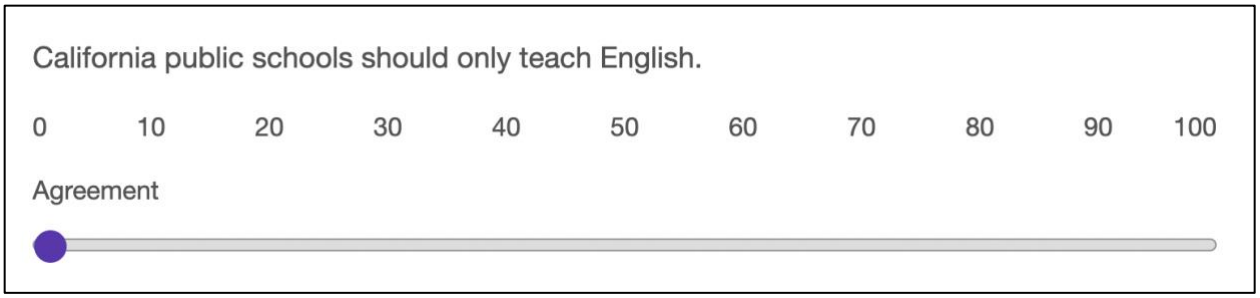


Figure C1. Example of attitudinal item in questionnaire with slider.

***Removed from analysis**

Block 1: Proposition 227 items

1. English Language Learning (ELL) children in California public schools should learn English by being taught only in English. / Los niños aprendices de inglés (ELL, por sus siglas en inglés) en las escuelas públicas de California deben aprender inglés enseñándose solo en inglés.
2. The best way to learn English is by learning in English. / La mejor manera de aprender inglés es aprendiendo en inglés.
3. Non-English languages should not be taught in California public schools. / Los idiomas que no sean inglés no deben enseñarse en las escuelas públicas de California.
4. California public schools should only teach English. / Las escuelas públicas de California solo deben enseñar inglés.
5. ELL children should stay in English support classes for only one year before going into mainstream English-only classes. / Los niños aprendices de inglés deben permanecer en las clases de apoyo de inglés solo durante un año antes de ingresar a las clases regulares enseñados en inglés.
6. ELL students should be in English support classes for as little time as possible. / Los estudiantes aprendices de inglés deben estar en clases de apoyo de inglés el menor tiempo posible.

Block 2: Proposition 58 items

7. California public schools should ensure ELL children achieve English proficiency as quickly as possible. / Las escuelas públicas de California deben garantizar que los niños aprendices de inglés logren el dominio del inglés lo más rápido posible.

*8. California public school English as a Second Language (ESL) programs should recognize that learning English can take varying amounts of time. / Los programas de inglés como segundo idioma (ESL, por sus siglas en inglés) de las escuelas públicas de California deben reconocer que aprender inglés puede llevar una cantidad variable de tiempo.

9. Non-English languages should be taught in California public schools. / Los idiomas distintos del inglés deben enseñarse en las escuelas públicas de California.

10. California public schools should teach languages other than English. / Las escuelas públicas de California deben enseñar otros idiomas además del inglés.

11. California public schools should implement dual-language immersion programs for native and non-native English speakers. / Las escuelas públicas de California deben implementar programas de inmersión bilingüe para hablantes nativos y no nativos de inglés.

12. California public schools should have language immersion programs which encourage multilingualism. / Las escuelas públicas de California deberían tener programas de inmersión lingüística que incentiva el multilingüismo.

Block 3: Culture and economics items

13. Being bi-/multilingual helps with individual cultural awareness. / Ser bilingüe/multilingüe ayuda con la conciencia cultural individual.

14. Knowing more than one language helps someone be more culturally aware. / Saber más de un idioma ayuda a que uno sea más consciente culturalmente.

15. Keeping a first language when learning English is important for an individual's cultural identity. / Mantener el primer idioma cuando se aprende inglés es importante para la identidad cultural de un individuo.

16. Losing a first language can be harmful to a person's cultural identity. / Perder el primer idioma puede ser perjudicial para la identidad cultural de una persona.

17. Being bilingual is important for individual economic growth. / Ser bilingüe es importante para el crecimiento económico individual.

18. Knowing more than one language is helpful for future careers. / Saber más de un idioma es útil para futuras carreras.
19. Being bilingual is important for society's economic growth. / Ser bilingüe es importante para el crecimiento económico de la sociedad.
20. California will benefit economically from having more bilingual residents. / California se beneficiará económicamente al tener más residentes bilingües.

Block 4: Globalization, assimilation, and cognition items

21. Being bi-/multilingual is important as our world continues to become more globalized. / Ser bilingüe o multilingüe es importante a medida que nuestro mundo continúa globalizándose.
22. Knowing more than one language is important if someone wants to engage with the world outside of the US. / Saber más de un idioma es importante si alguien quiere relacionarse con el mundo fuera de los EE. UU.
23. One must speak English to assimilate into California's culture. / Uno debe hablar inglés para asimilarse a la cultura de California.
24. Speaking English is essential to being identified as Californian. / Hablar inglés es esencial para ser identificado como californiano.
25. People who live in California should speak English. / La gente que vive en California debe hablar inglés.
26. English is the most important language to know in California. / El inglés es el idioma más importante que uno debe saber en California.
27. Being bi-/multilingual can improve a child's cognitive skills. / Ser bilingüe o multilingüe puede mejorar las habilidades cognitivas de un niño.
*28. People who speak more than one language are smarter than those who only speak one language. / Las personas que hablan más de un idioma son más inteligentes que las que solo hablan un idioma.

Block 5: Goals and importance items

29. Bilingual programs should function as a stepping stone towards doing studies only in English. / Los programas bilingües deben funcionar como un trampolín para realizar estudios en inglés.

*30. The most important measure of success of a bilingual program is whether a graduate from the program can speak English. / La medida más importante del éxito de un programa bilingüe es si un graduado del programa puede hablar inglés.
31. Bilingual programs should function as a stepping stone towards doing studies in both English and the second language. / Los programas bilingües deben funcionar como un trampolín para realizar estudios tanto en inglés como en el segundo idioma.
*32. Bilingual program graduates should be equally proficient in both English and the second language. / Los graduados del programa bilingüe deben ser igualmente competentes tanto en inglés como en el segundo idioma.
33. It is important to maintain one's first language when learning another language. / Es importante mantener el primer idioma cuando se aprende otro idioma.
34. It is bad to lose a first language when learning another language. / Es malo perder el primer idioma cuando se aprende otro idioma.

Block 6: Cost and other items

35. It is important for ELL children to learn English at school. / Es importante que los niños aprendices de inglés aprendan inglés en la escuela.
36. It is important that ELL children get the language support they need. / Es importante que los niños aprendices de inglés reciban el apoyo lingüístico que necesitan.
37. ELL children should receive assistance in their first language while they learn English. / Los niños aprendices de inglés deben recibir asistencia en su primer idioma mientras aprenden inglés.
38. ELL children should participate in English classes without help from their first language. / Los niños aprendices de inglés deben participar en las clases de inglés sin la ayuda de su primer idioma.
39. Bilingual programs are important, but only if they do not cost too much money. / Los programas bilingües son importantes, pero solo si no cuestan demasiado dinero.
*40. The individual "cost" of losing a first language is higher than the monetary cost of having a bilingual program. / El "costo" individual de perder el primer idioma es más alto que el costo monetario de tener un programa bilingüe.
41. California should invest money in bilingual education for public schools. / California debe invertir dinero en educación bilingüe para las escuelas públicas.

Block 7: Free Response Questions

Free Response Question 1 (FRQ1): Use this textbox to explain any answers given above. / Puede utilizar este cuadro de texto para explicar cualquiera de las respuestas dadas anteriormente.

Free Response Question 2 (FRQ2): Any additional thoughts about bilingual education in California that were not expressed through questions above? / ¿Tiene alguna idea adicional sobre la educación bilingüe en California que no haya expresado en las preguntas anteriores?

Block 8: Demographic Questions

Demographic Question 1: Please select which age range describes you: / Por favor seleccione el rango de edad que lo describe:

- 18-24
- 25-34
- 35-44
- 45-54
- 55-64
- 65+

Demographic Question 2: Are you able to speak in and understand more than one language? / ¿Es capaz de hablar y comprender más de un idioma?

- Yes/Sí
- No/No

Demographic Question 3: Select which apply to you: / Por favor seleccione lo que se aplica a Usted:

- I participate(d) in ESL programs / Yo participo/he participado en un programa de inglés como segundo idioma (ESL)
- I participate(d) in Bilingual programs / Yo participo/he participado en programas bilingües
- I have a child who participate(d) in ESL programs / Tengo un hijo que participa/ ha participado en un programa de inglés como segundo idioma (ESL)
- I have a child who participate(d) in Bilingual programs / Tengo un hijo que participa/ha participado en programas bilingües
- None of these apply to me / Ninguno de estos se aplica a mí

Appendix C: Participant Information Sheet

How Do They Really Feel? An Investigation into Attitudes Towards Bilingual Education in California
CUREC Approval Reference: CIA-22HT-003

General Information

The aim of this study is to understand how attitudes toward bilingual education in California influence how people feel about bilingual education policies. California is a state comprised of many multilingual people and there is a great need for effective bilingual education to be implemented at a policy level. By understanding how people feel about bilingualism, we can potentially influence policies in a positive way.

This study hopes to answer the following questions: 1) What attitudes do people have toward bilingual education in California? and 2) Do those attitudes predict opinions about bilingual education policy in California?

We appreciate your interest in participating in this questionnaire. You have been invited to participate as you are at least 18 years of age and a current resident of California, USA. Please read through this information before agreeing to participate (if you wish to) by ticking the 'yes' box below. You may ask any questions before deciding to take part by contacting the researcher (details below). The Principal Researcher is Alyson Osgood, who is attached to the Department of Education at the University of Oxford. This project is being completed under the supervision of Hamish Chalmers. You will be asked to respond to some statements. After reading each statement, please choose the response that reflects how you feel on a scale of "strongly disagree" to "strongly agree". There are also two optional, but highly encouraged, free-text responses at the end of the questionnaire. This should take about 20 minutes. No background knowledge is required. Data will be used by the primary investigator and their supervisor to conduct and analysis of the responses. If free-response answers are given in Spanish, a contracted Spanish-English translator will have access to just those responses.

Do I have to take part?

No. Please note that participation is voluntary. If you do decide to take part, you may withdraw at any point for any reason before submitting your answers by pressing the 'Exit' button/ closing the browser. All questions are optional.

How will my data be used?

We will not collect any data that could directly identify you. The questionnaire is completely anonymous. Your IP address will not be stored[1]. We will take all reasonable measures to ensure that data remain confidential. The responses you provide will be stored in a password-protected electronic file on University of Oxford secure servers and may be used in academic publications after the MSc dissertation is completed. Research data will be stored for at least 3 years after publication or public release of the work of the research.

[1] Guidance is available within CUREC's Best Practice Guidance (06) on Internet-mediated research

Who will have access to my data2?

The University of Oxford is the data controller with respect to your personal data and, as such, will determine how your personal data is used in the study. The University will process your personal data for the purpose of the research outlined above. Research is a task that we perform in the public interest. Further information about your rights with respect to your personal data is available from https://compliance.admin.ox.ac.uk/individual-rights. The data you provide may be shared with Spanish-English translators contracted to help translate answers. We would also like your permission to use the data in future studies, and to share data with other researchers (e.g. in online databases). Data will be de-identified before it is shared with other researchers or results are made public. The results will be written up for an MSc Applied Linguistics and Second Language Acquisition degree.

Who has reviewed this study?

This project has been reviewed by, and received ethics clearance through, a subcommittee of the University of Oxford Central University Research Ethics Committee [ref: CIA-22HT-003].

Who do I contact if I have a concern or I wish to complain?

If you have a concern about any aspect of this study, please speak to Alyson Osgood at [email address] or their supervisor Hamish Chalmers at Hamish.chalmers@education.ox.ac.uk, and we will do our best to answer your query. I/ We will acknowledge your concern within 10 working days and give you an indication of how it will be dealt with. If you remain unhappy or wish to make a formal complaint, please contact the Chair of the Research Ethics Committee at the University of Oxford who will seek to resolve the matter as soon as possible: Social Sciences & Humanities Interdivisional Research Ethics Committee; Email: ethics@socsci.ox.ac.uk; Address: Research Services, University of Oxford, Boundary Brook House, Churchill Drive, Headington, Oxford OX3 7GB

Please note that you may only participate in this survey if you are 18 years of age or over.

☐ I certify that I am 18 years of age or over

If you have read the information above and agree to participate with the understanding that the data you submit will be processed accordingly, please tick the box below to start.

☐ Yes, I agree to take part

[2] Guidance is available within CUREC's Best Practice Guidance (09) on Data collection, protection and management

Appendix D: CUREC Approval

CIA-22HT-003

13 February 2022

Dear Alyson,

How do they really feel? An investigation into attitudes towards bilingual education in California

Thank you for sharing the revised CUREC form and information letter. The above application has been considered on behalf of the Departmental Research Ethics Committee (DREC) in accordance with the procedures laid down by the University for ethical approval of all research involving human participants.

I am pleased to inform you that, on the basis of the information provided to DREC, the proposed research has been judged as meeting appropriate ethical standards, and accordingly, approval has been granted.

Please note that any data collection involving in-person interactions with participants must have an up-to-date COVID-19 fieldwork risk assessment in place. Please refer to the current guidance issued by CUREC during the pandemic, notably COVID-19: CUREC guidance on research involving human participants, https://researchsupport.admin.ox.ac.uk/governance/ethics/coronavirus.

If relevant please also check the CUREC website for their best practice research guides, https://researchsupport.admin.ox.ac.uk/governance/ethics/resources/bpg

Good luck with your research study,

Keep well and safe,

All good wishes,

Katharina Ereky-Stevens

Member, DREC

Appendix E: Mean Scores for Responses to Each Factor

Table E1. Mean Responses to Each Factor

Factor	Demographic Group	N	Mean	Std. Dev.
Positive Traits Associated with Bilingualism	18-24 & 25-34	82	90.38	8.77
	55-64 & 65+	33	87.53	12.95
	Multilingual: No	44	89.91	9.13
	Multilingual: Yes	88	87.75	11.45
	Program: No	96	88.45	11.12
	Program: Yes	36	88.52	9.82
Importance of English	18-24 & 25-34	82	60.91	13.19
	55-64 & 65+	33	71.91	10.31
	Multilingual: No	44	63.01	13.28
	Multilingual: Yes	88	65.02	13.47
	Program: No	96	64.15	13.68
	Program: Yes	36	64.88	12.78
Assistance from L1	18-24 & 25-34	82	79.67	9.39
	55-64 & 65+	33	73.34	10.41
	Multilingual: No	44	77.06	10.62
	Multilingual: Yes	88	77.03	10.55
	Program: No	96	77.28	10.63
	Program: Yes	36	76.40	10.41
Prioritize English Learning	18-24 & 25-34	82	86.17	11.73
	55-64 & 65+	33	70.07	18.94
	Multilingual: No	44	85.01	15.51
	Multilingual: Yes	88	78.48	16.92
	Program: No	96	80.59	17.39
	Program: Yes	36	80.84	14.89

Appendix F: Assumptions for Linear Regression

Variable Type
All dependent and independent variables were both continuous, meeting both assumptions for variable type (Field, 2018).

Multicollinearity
Only one predictor variable per model as indicated by multicollinearity Tolerance and VIF values of 1.00, as seen in Table F1.

Table F1. Multicollinearity of Linear Regression Models

			Collinearity Statistics of Independent Variable	
Model	Independent Variable	Dependent Variable	Tolerance	VIF
1	*Importance of English*	*Positive Traits Associated with Bilingualism*	1.00	1.00
2	*Importance of English*	*Assistance from L1*	1.00	1.00
3	*Importance of English*	*Prioritize English Learning*	1.00	1.00
4	*Positive Traits Associated with Bilingualism*	*Importance of English*	1.00	1.00
5	*Positive Traits Associated with Bilingualism*	*Assistance from L1*	1.00	1.00
6	*Positive Traits Associated with Bilingualism*	*Prioritize English Learning*	1.00	1.00
7	*Assistance from L1*	*Positive Traits Associated with Bilingualism*	1.00	1.00
8	*Assistance from L1*	*Importance of English*	1.00	1.00
9	*Assistance from L1*	*Prioritize English Learning*	1.00	1.00
10	*Prioritize English Learning*	*Positive Traits Associated with Bilingualism*	1.00	1.00
11	*Prioritize English Learning*	*Importance of English*	1.00	1.00
12	*Prioritize English Learning*	*Assistance from L1*	1.00	1.00

Normality
Normality for values for each factor, as indicated by skewness and kurtosis values (in bold), are reported in Table F2.

Table F2. Descriptives by Factor

Factor			Statistic	Std. Error
Positive Traits Associated with Bilingualism	Mean		88.47	0.94
	95% Confidence Interval for Mean	Lower Bound	86.62	
		Upper Bound	90.32	

	5% Trimmed Mean		89.35	
	Median		91.27	
	Variance		115.44	
	Std. Deviation		10.74	
	Minimum		61.07	
	Maximum		100.00	
	Range		38.93	
	Interquartile Range		15.18	
	Skewness		**-1.04**	**0.21**
	Kurtosis		**0.44**	**0.42**
Importance of English	Mean		64.35	1.17
	95% Confidence Interval for Mean	Lower Bound	62.04	
		Upper Bound	66.66	
	5% Trimmed Mean		64.29	
	Median		62.39	
	Variance		179.47	
	Std. Deviation		13.40	
	Minimum		34.89	
	Maximum		97.22	
	Range		62.33	
	Interquartile Range		19.50	
	Skewness		**0.19**	**0.21**
	Kurtosis		**-0.47**	**0.42**
Assistance from L1	Mean		77.04	0.92
	95% Confidence Interval for Mean	Lower Bound	75.23	
		Upper Bound	78.86	
	5% Trimmed Mean		77.36	
	Median		78.33	
	Variance		111.10	
	Std. Deviation		10.54	
	Minimum		55.10	
	Maximum		96.67	
	Range		41.57	
	Interquartile Range		15.08	
	Skewness		**-0.48**	**0.21**
	Kurtosis		**-0.57**	**0.42**
Prioritize English Learning	Mean		80.66	1.45
	95% Confidence Interval for Mean	Lower Bound	77.80	

	Upper Bound	83.53	
	5% Trimmed Mean	81.71	
	Median	84.63	
	Variance	278.66	
	Std. Deviation	16.70	
	Minimum	41.87	
	Maximum	100.00	
	Range	58.13	
	Interquartile Range	25.13	
	Skewness	**-0.83**	**0.21**
	Kurtosis	**-0.31**	**0.42**

Normally Distributed Residuals, Homoscedasticity, and Linearity

For each linear regression model, linearity of each model can be seen as indicated in the scatterplot of residuals, variance of the residuals of each predictor can be seen in P-P plots for each model (homoscedasticity), and the distribution of residuals for each model can be seen with the Durbin Watson statistic (normally distributed values between 1.5-2.5).

Model 1

Predictor/IV: *Importance of English*
Outcome/DV: *Positive Traits Associated with Bilingualism*

Figure F1. Normality P-P Plot of Residuals for Model 1

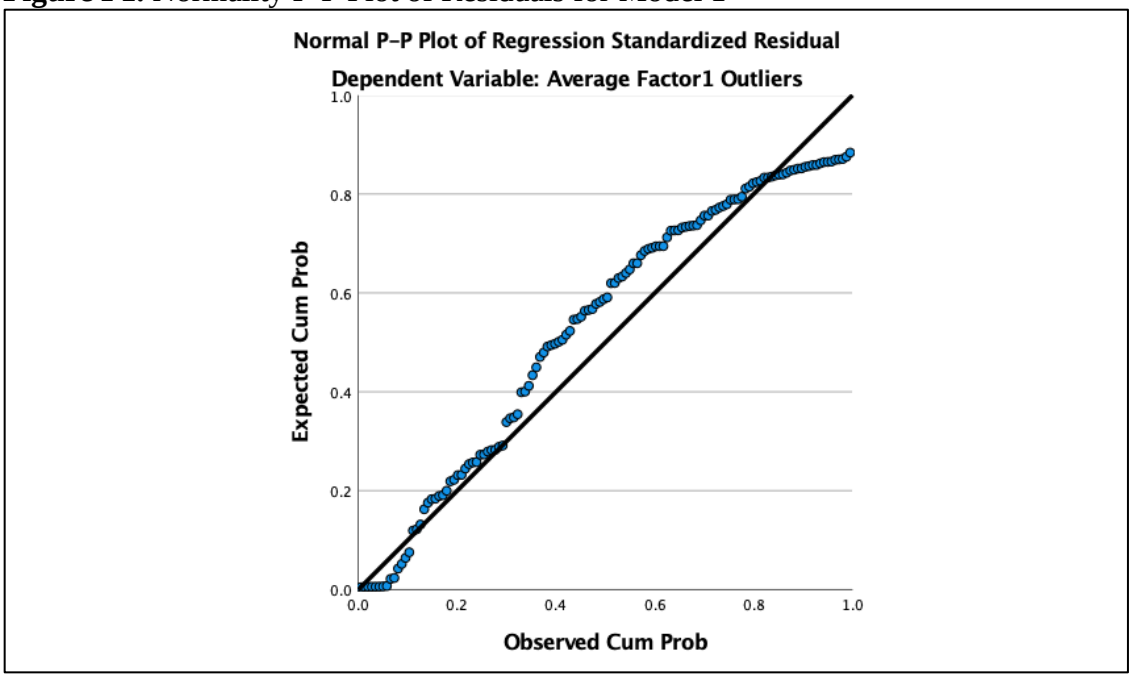


Figure F2. Scatterplot of Residuals for Model 1

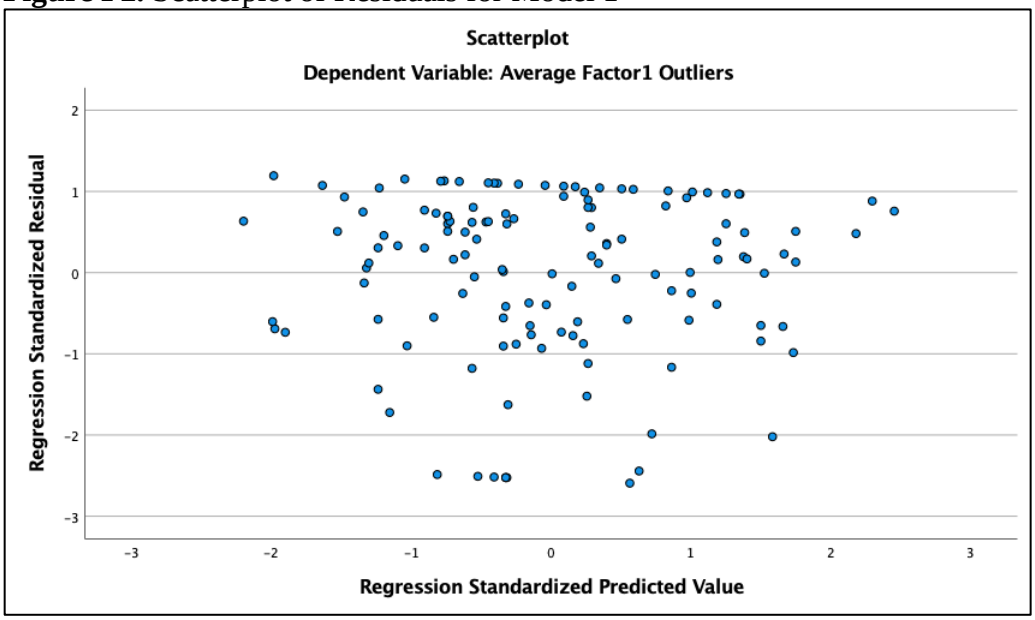


Table F3. Model Summary with Durbin Watson Statistic for Model 1

Model	R	R Square	Adjusted R Square	Std. Error of Estimate	Durbin Watson
1	.077	.006	-.002	10.75	1.233

Model 2
Predictor/IV: *Importance of English*
Outcome/DV: *Assistance from L1*

Figure F3. Normality P-P Plot of Residuals for Model 2

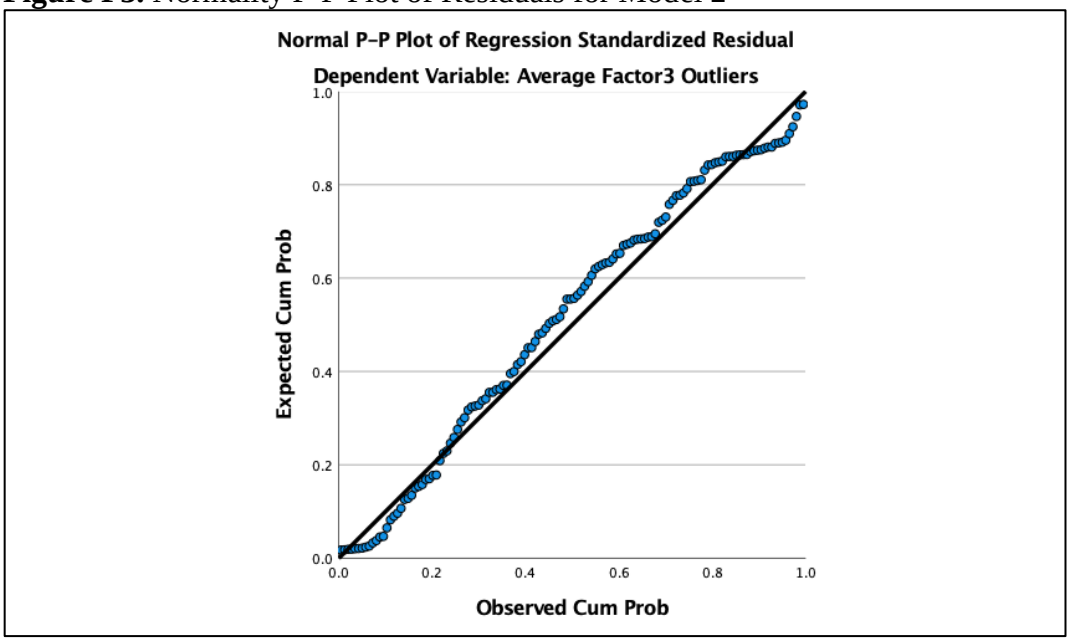


Figure F4. Scatterplot of Residuals for Model 2

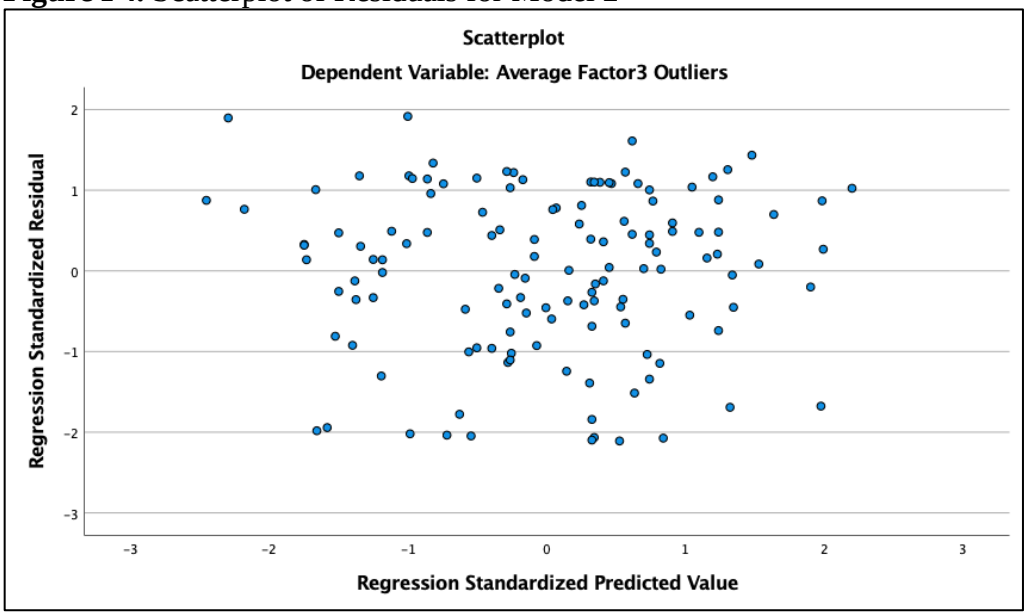


Table F4. Model Summary with Durbin Watson Statistic for Model 2

Model	R	R Square	Adjusted R Square	Std. Error of Estimate	Durbin Watson
2	.058	.003	-.004	10.56	.01

Model 3
Predictor/IV: *Importance of English*
Outcome/DV: *Prioritize English Learning*

Figure F5. Normality P-P Plot of Residuals for Model 3

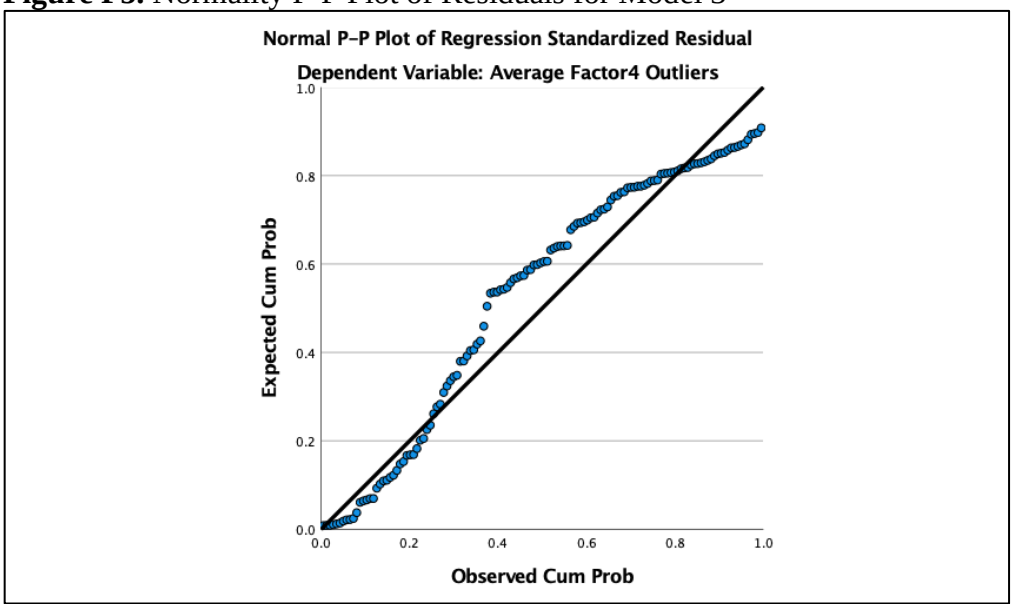


Figure F6. Scatterplot of Residuals for Model 3

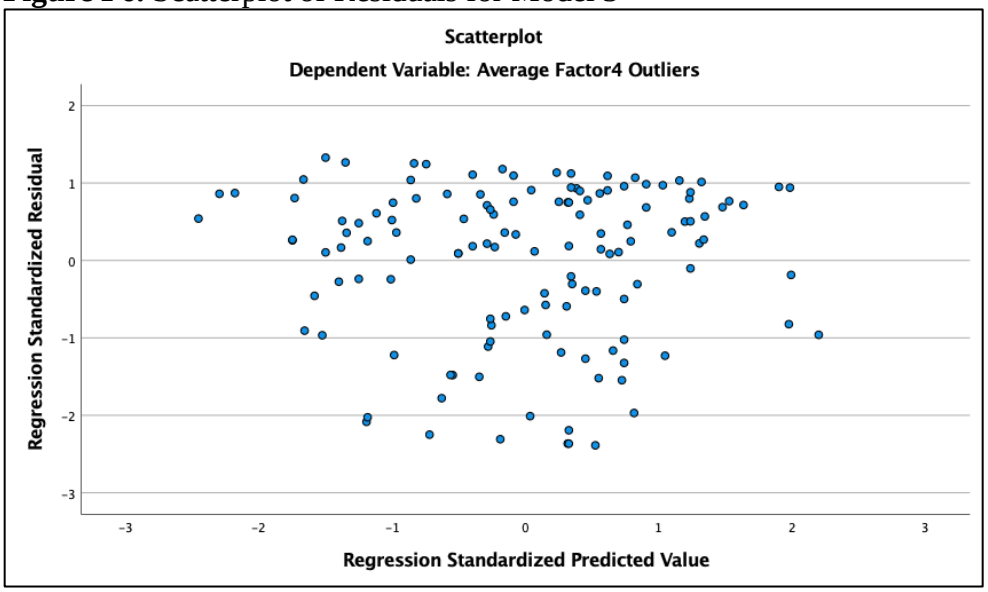


Table F5. Model Summary with Durbin Watson Statistic for Model 3

Model	R	R Square	Adjusted R Square	Std. Error of Estimate	Durbin Watson
3	.111	.012	.005	16.66	1.325

Model 4

Predictor/IV: *Positive Traits Associated with Bilingualism*
Outcome/DV: *Importance of English*

Figure F7. Normality P-P Plot of Residuals for Model 4

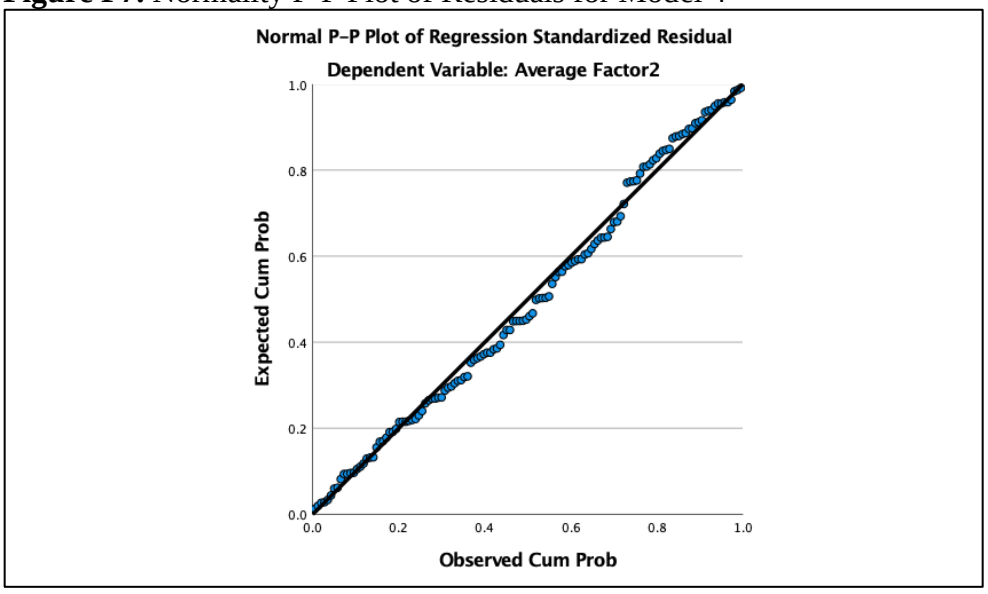


Figure F8. Scatterplot of Residuals for Model 4

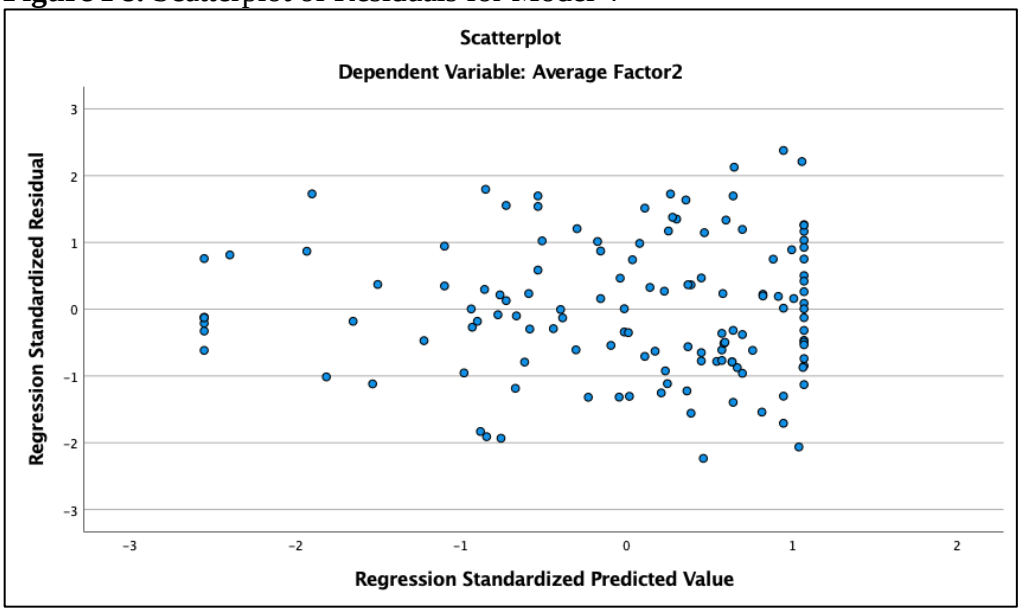


Table F6. Model Summary with Durbin Watson Statistic for Model 4

Model	R	R Square	Adjusted R Square	Std. Error of Estimate	Durbin Watson
4	.077	.006	-.002	13.41	2.163

Model 5
Predictor/IV: *Positive Traits Associated with Bilingualism*
Outcome/DV: *Assistance from L1*

Figure F9. Normality P-P Plot of Residuals for Model 5

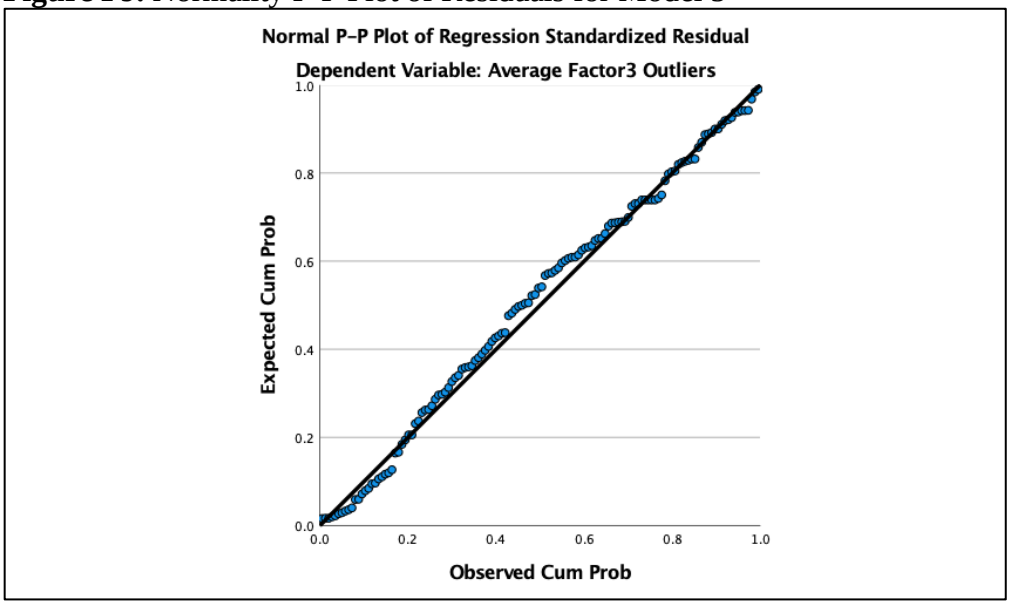


Figure F10. Scatterplot of Residuals for Model 5

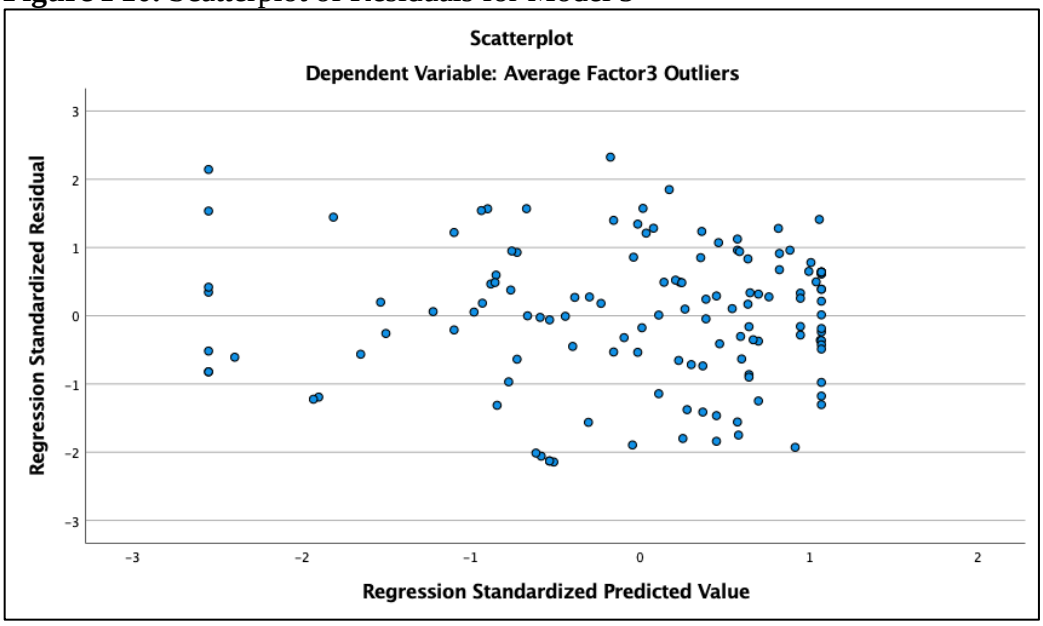


Table F7. Model Summary with Durbin Watson Statistic for Model 5

Model	R	R Square	Adjusted R Square	Std. Error of Estimate	Durbin Watson
5	.545	.297	.292	8.87	.553

Model 6

Predictor/IV: *Positive Traits Associated with Bilingualism*
Outcome/DV: *Prioritize English Learning*

Figure F11. Normality P-P Plot of Residuals for Model 6

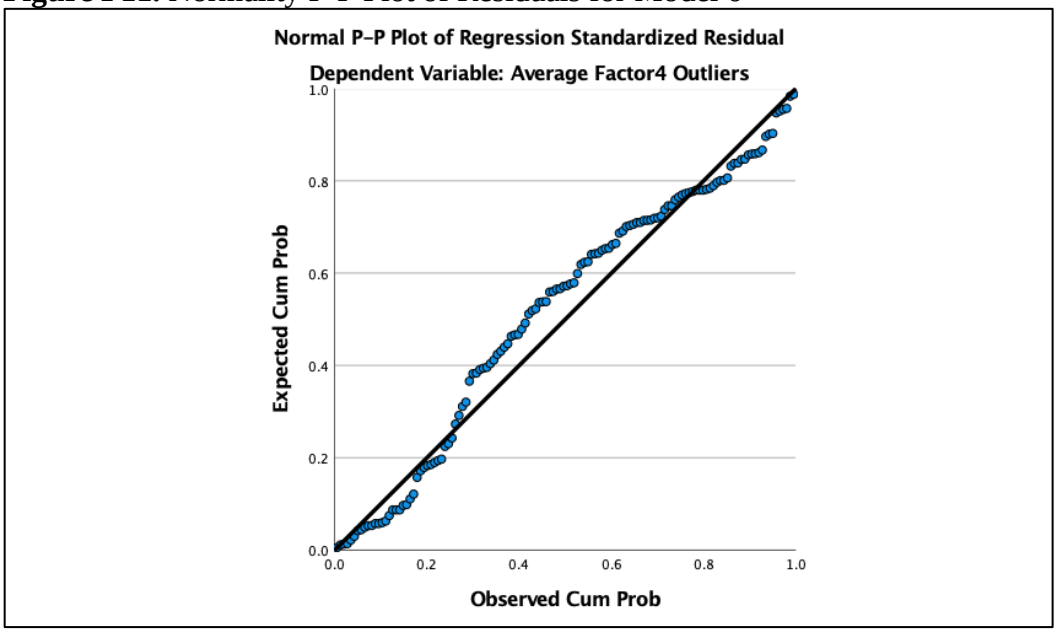


Figure F12. Scatterplot of Residuals for Model 6

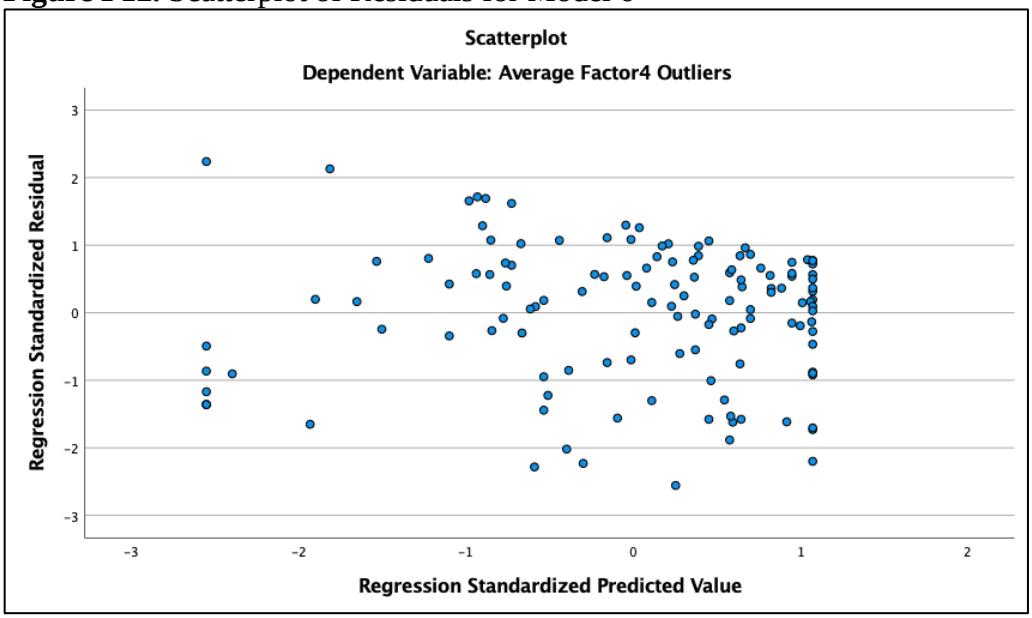


Table F8. Model Summary with Durbin Watson Statistic for Model 6

Model	R	R Square	Adjusted R Square	Std. Error of Estimate	Durbin Watson
6	.427	.183	.176	15.15	1.73

Model 7
Predictor/IV: *Assistance from L1*
Outcome/DV: *Positive Traits Associated with Bilingualism*

Figure F13. Normality P-P Plot of Residuals for Model 7

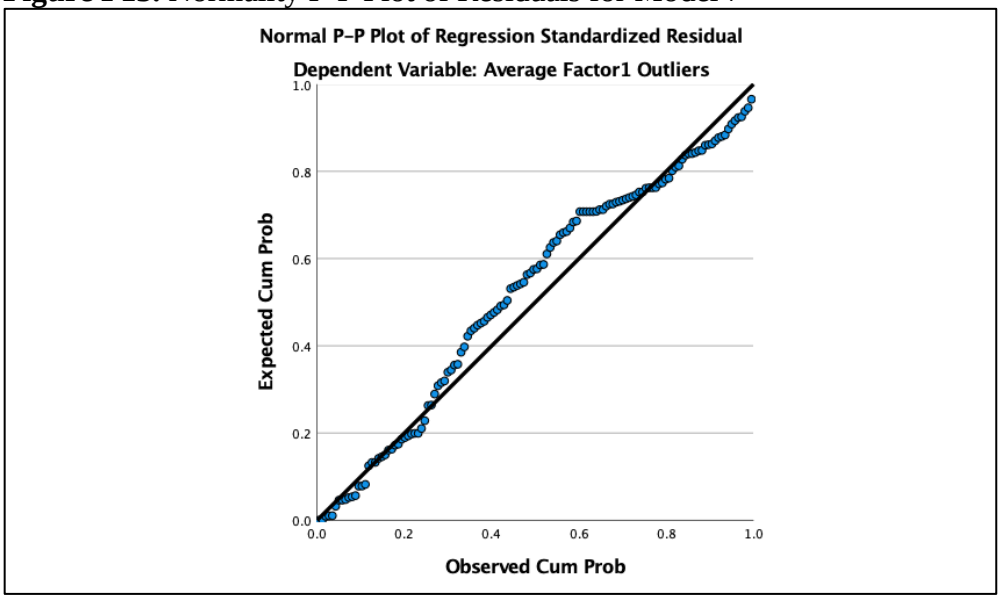


Figure F14. Scatterplot of Residuals for Model 7

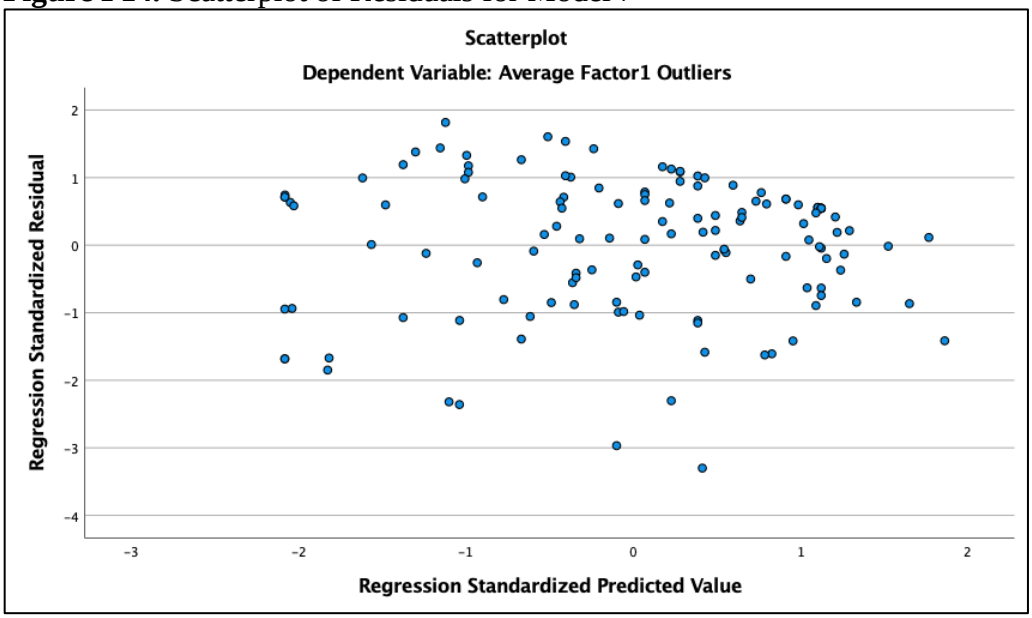


Table F9. Model Summary with Durbin Watson Statistic for Model 7

Model	R	R Square	Adjusted R Square	Std. Error of Estimate	Durbin Watson
7	.545	.297	.292	9.04	1.808

Model 8

Predictor/IV: *Assistance from L1*
Outcome/DV: *Importance of English*

Figure F15. Normality P-P Plot of Residuals for Model 8

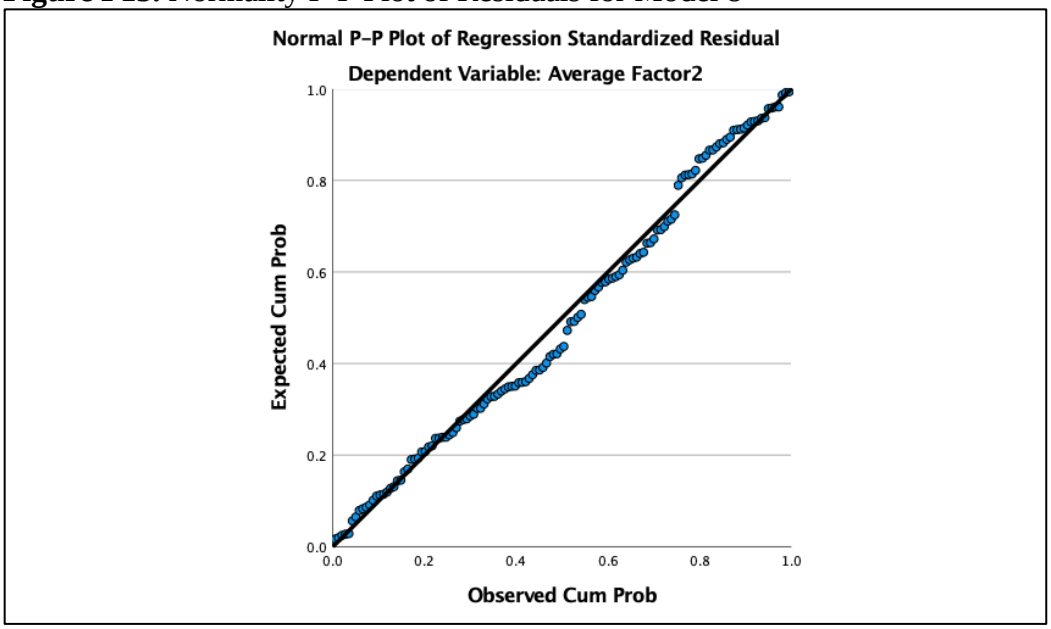


Figure F16. Scatterplot of Residuals for Model 8

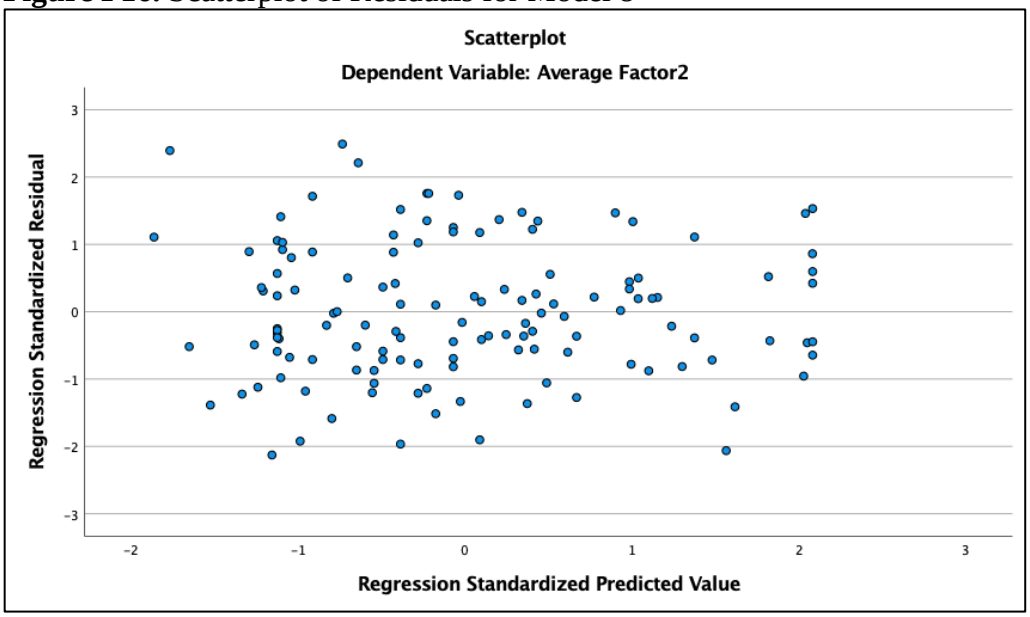


Table F10. Model Summary with Durbin Watson Statistic for Model 8

Model	R	R Square	Adjusted R Square	Std. Error of Estimate	Durbin Watson
8	.058	.003	-.004	13.43	2.2

Model 9
Predictor/IV: *Assistance from L1*
Outcome/DV: *Prioritize English Learning*

Figure F17. Normality P-P Plot of Residuals for Model 9

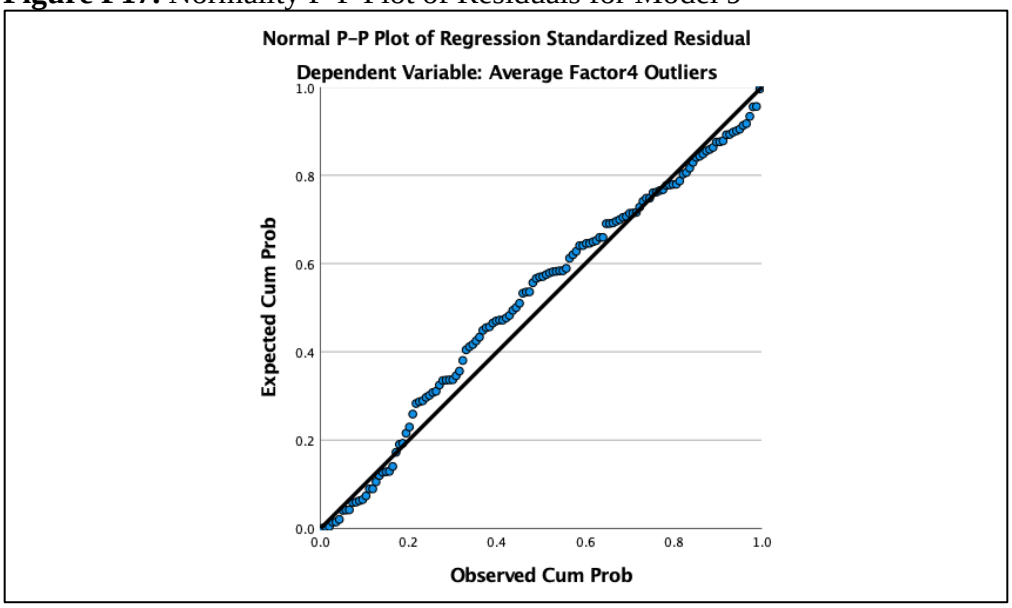


Figure F18. Scatterplot of Residuals for Model 9

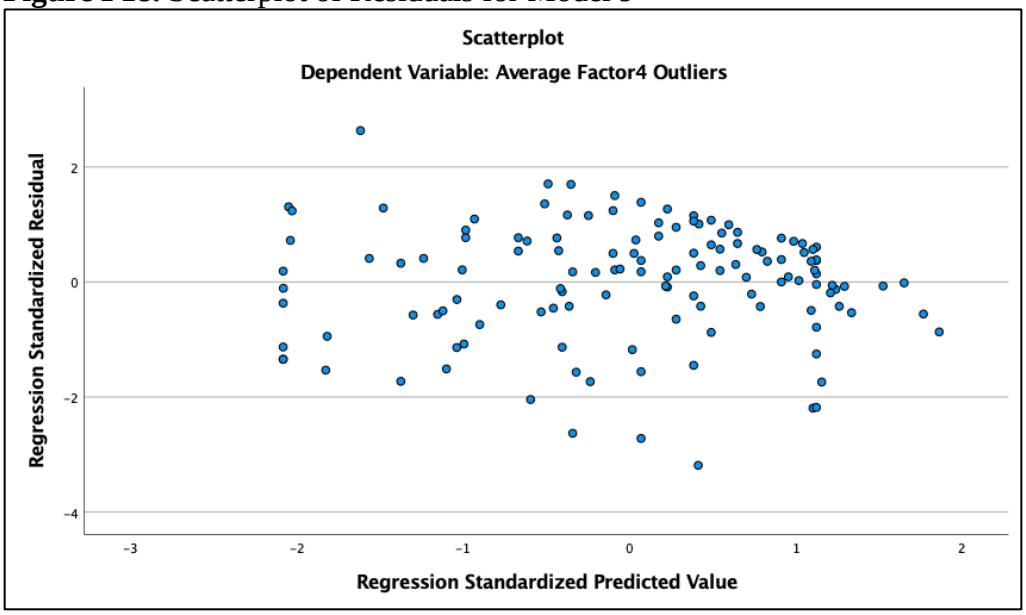


Table F11. Model Summary with Durbin Watson Statistic for Model 9

Model	R	R Square	Adjusted R Square	Std. Error of Estimate	Durbin Watson
9	.596	.355	.35	13.46	2.006

Model 10

Predictor/IV: *Prioritize English Learning*
Outcome/DV: *Positive Traits Associated with Bilingualism*

Figure F19. Normality P-P Plot of Residuals for Model 10

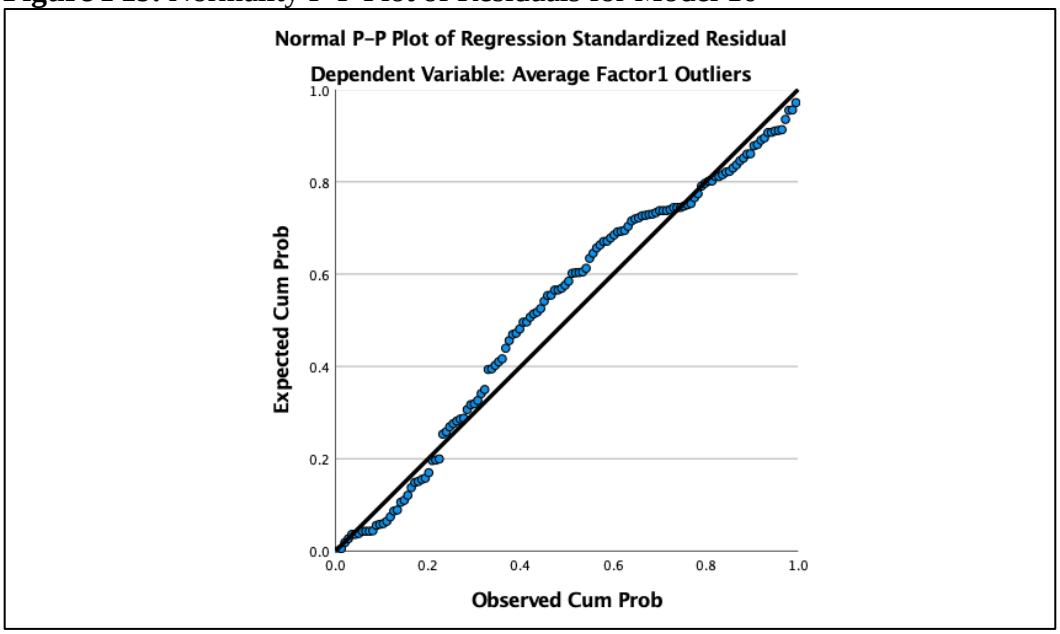


Figure F20. Scatterplot of Residuals for Model 10

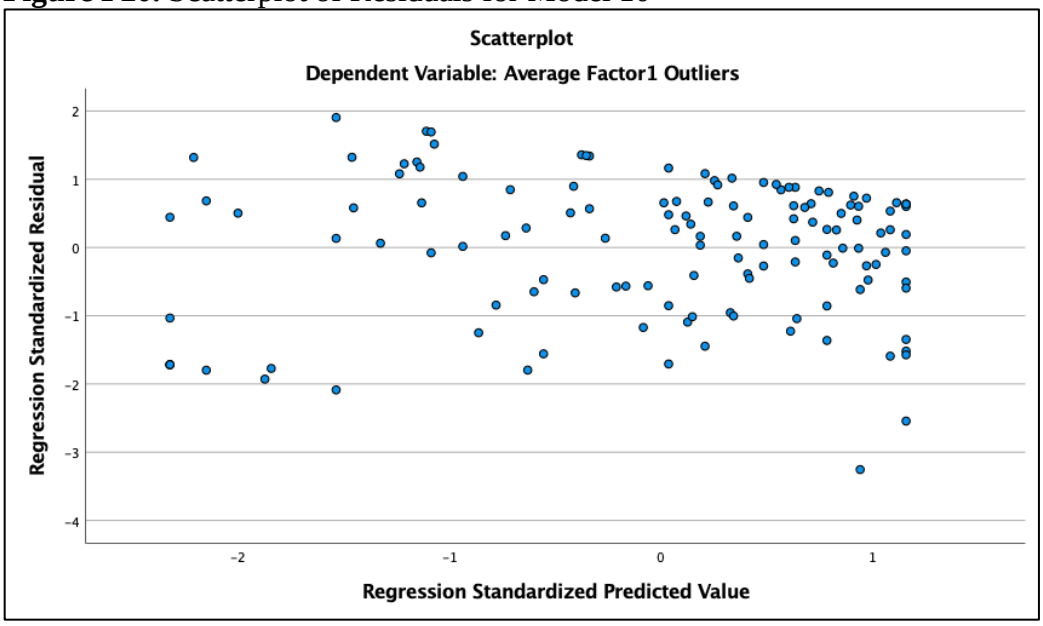


Table F12. Model Summary with Durbin Watson Statistic for Model 10

Model	R	R Square	Adjusted R Square	Std. Error of Estimate	Durbin Watson
10	.427	.183	.176	9.75	1.69

Model 11
Predictor/IV: *Prioritize English Learning*
Outcome/DV: *Importance of English*

Figure F21. Normality P-P Plot of Residuals for Model 11

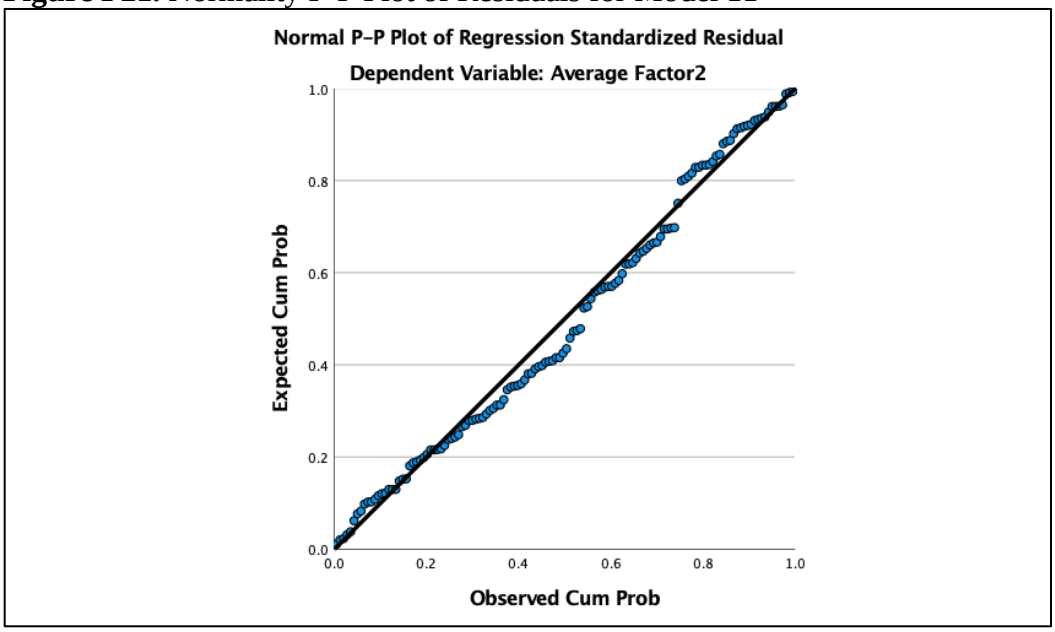


Figure F22. Scatterplot of Residuals for Model 11

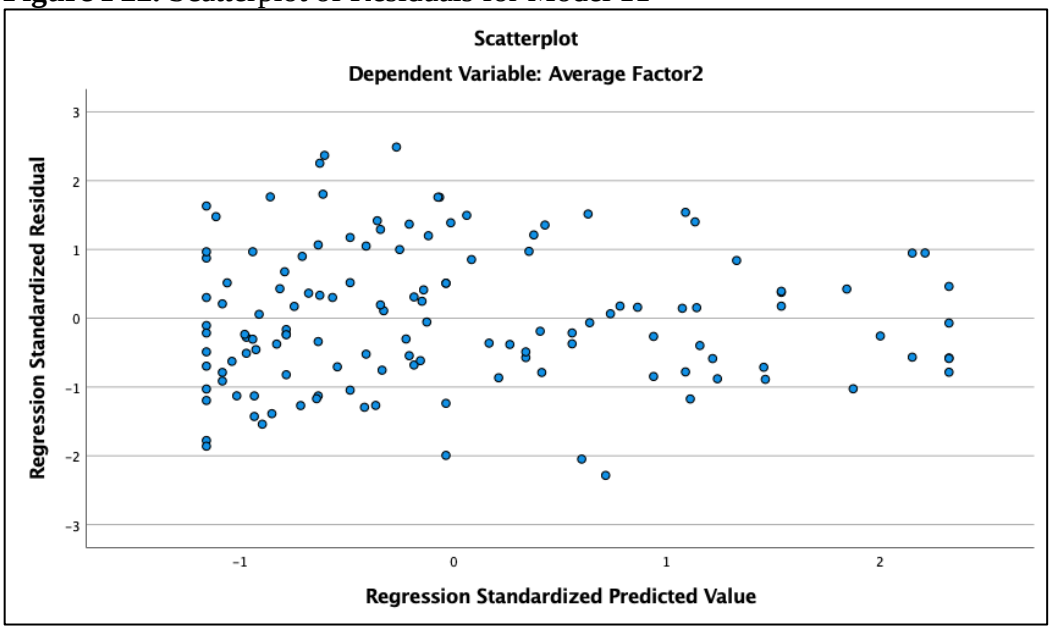


Table F13. Model Summary with Durbin Watson Statistic for Model 11

Model	R	R Square	Adjusted R Square	Std. Error of Estimate	Durbin Watson
11	.111	.012	.005	13.36	2.22

Model 12
Predictor/IV: *Prioritize English Learning*
Outcome/DV: *Assistance from L1*

Figure F23. Normality P-P Plot of Residuals for Model 12

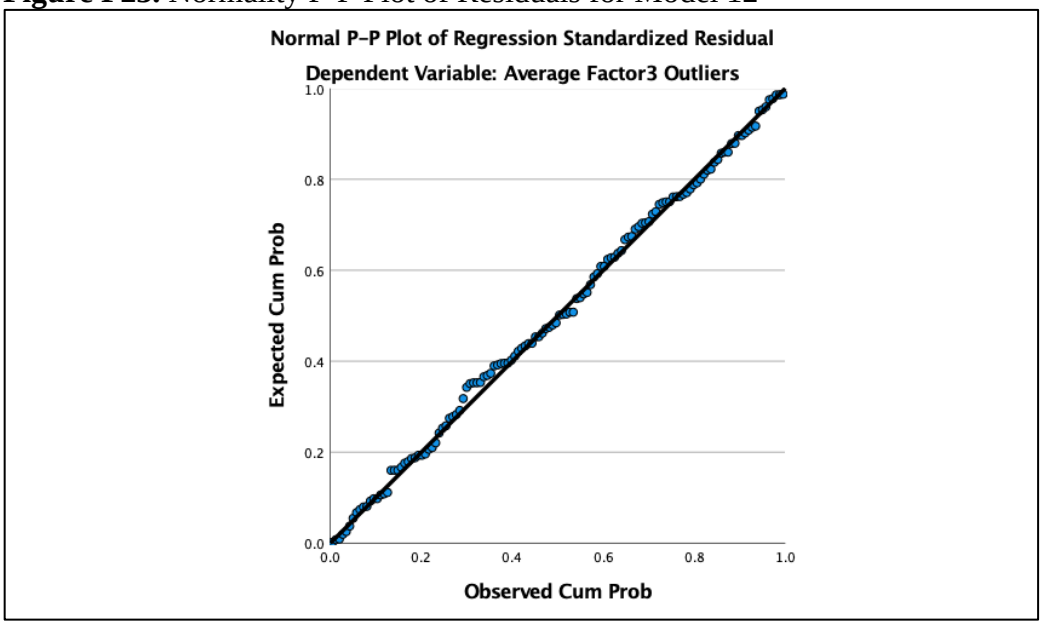


Figure F24. Scatterplot of Residuals for Model 12

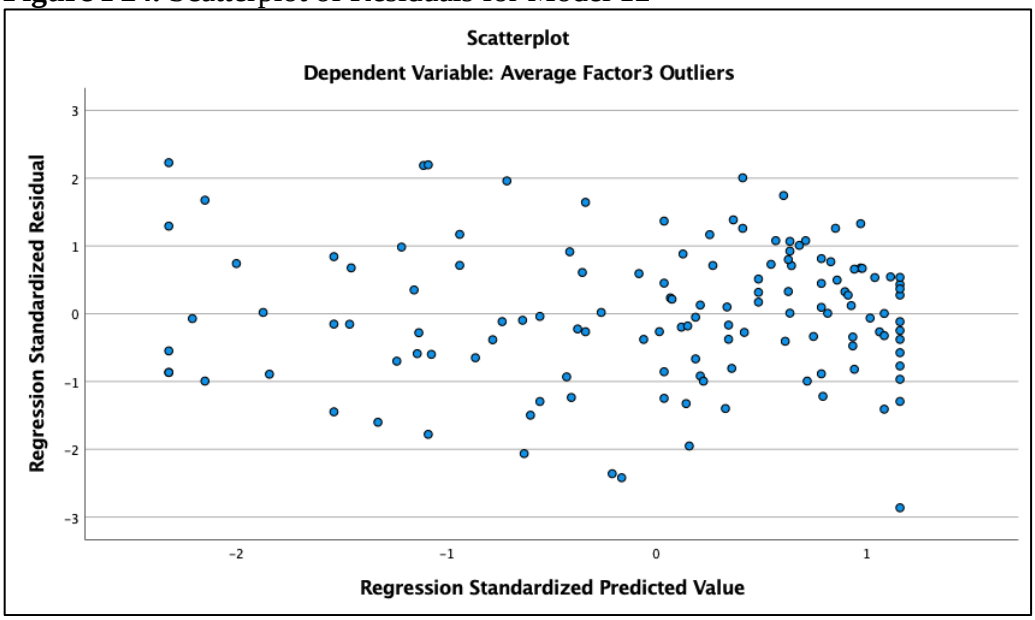


Table F14. Model Summary with Durbin Watson Statistic for Model 12

Model	R	R Square	Adjusted R Square	Std. Error of Estimate	Durbin Watson
12	.596	.355	.35	8.5	.714

Appendix G: Free Response Question 1 Responses

Free Response Question 1: Use this textbox to explain any answers to the previous questions.

1. I think the best way to learn a language is to be fully immersed in it. That's not to say there can't be help from the first language to explain more difficult concepts (for which the vocab may not exist yet in the new language). But I feel like it is best to learn by jumping into the deep end so to speak.
2. I think that it is important for Californians to speak English as it is the language of the state and the US so the majority of important processes in government, higher education, and employment are done in English and there aren't really supports for non-English speakers in a lot of those spaces.
3. I think that implementing bilingual programs in California schools should happen no matter the cost.
4. I benefited from Bilingual Portuguese - English education... hoping programs will return!
5. I studied education and there are a lot of great things about bilingual programs, but they aren't done well. If done well, the first language is enhanced while the second language is taught; right now, the second language is half-taught and the first language is left behind, leaving the student below proficiency in both. TLDR - Invest money into reinventing the curriculum or don't invest at all. It's imperative that these kids get genuine education, not just enough to get through a basic conversation.
6. I think it is important for the student to not lose their first language when learning English but I do understand and expect it to happen. Especially when the student is mainly surrounded by English in their daily lives and only speak their native language at home or a limited amount at school. This potential loss should not deter schools from teaching ELL students English.
7. I be agree with the bilingual programs
8. There are many studies that demonstrate that the brain creates many pathways and this has positive cognitive benefits problem solving and thinking outside of the box solutions.
9. Bilingualism is important but I think promoting it only because it helps economic gain.
10. My answer stating English proficiency as the main outcome of bilingual education is intended to [ensure] students have equal access to higher education and the job market. English proficiency is required for either one.

11. California, like many other countries in the world, have many languages that are spoken. I feel this survey is biased to the Spanish-speaking ELL. It is difficult to give support to a child who speaks French or Tagalog or even sign language in the classroom. Also, many European countries teach English as a Second Language so it is becoming the universal language of the business world. I recognize that previous generations of immigrants lost much of their culture when they assimilated into the English speaking American states. Why is that necessarily bad? We can honor and respect others cultural heritage while celebrating that which makes us all Americans.
12. It's difficult to assess the monetary benefits of [primary] language support while learning English. Culturally it is important to maintain first language while learning English but it doesn't have to be detrimental to cultural [identity]. There are too many other factors in human development to discern as accurate response. Bilingual education is complex. I learned my second language best when I was immersed but I already had literacy skills in my first language. Those literacy skills were essential in developing literacy skill in my L2. Likewise developing literacy skills in L2 improves L1 literacy skills as well.
13. All students can learn the English language with determination.
14. Bilingual and bicultural programs can be seen as two different forms of education. Learning a language and learning a culture aren't always combined in a program. However they should be. Also seeing dual immersion as the latest trend is different than offering a newcomer program for students at the start of the California education. Schools are also catering to one language when there are many diverse cultures in their area. Dual immersion and/or bicultural bilingual should apply to all students in need not just what's been deemed a tradition in the past. There are many students who could benefit from or are in deep need of help during their transition but do not receive it because their language is not popular enough or common enough.
15. Immersion programs should be a staple of public education in California. the benefit to society outweighs the monetary cost of a program where it can be supported by a [communities'] need/interest
16. Being bilingual is important and learning more than one language as a child is powerful.
17. I entered kindergarten without being able to speak English. I only got by the help of a teacher assistant who spoke Spanish, though it was at first distressing for me to not have her by my side. This was in Pennsylvania. When I moved to California, in 7th and 8th grade I had one immersion

class. Years later it is relieving to be able to spit out phrases in Spanish in friends and have them at least have the interest in wanting to know what it means and kind of being able to respond.
18. These ELL tend to fall in the cracks in my opinion, thank you for researching this topic.
19. I think it's great to be bilingual but never at the expense of losing one's native language.
20. I think learning a second language is important and should be implemented more in US society and should be normalized in the education system
21. I personally don't feel that it's necessary to be bilingual to be economically beneficially. From my experience, there are many bilingual people in California, many who are ELL learners. They do not gain many of the benefits that white non-immigrant people do when bilingual. My background of being out of touch with my heritage culture and language also influences my answers.
22. I think that kids need to learn English in school and that should be the goal. If they need some time to transition to all English classes, that is fine, but not the end goal.
23. Children are the future of California regardless of what language they speak. They deserve our full support to learn English and maintain their first languages.
24. Bilingual education is important for immigrants and non-native speakers of English.
25. Mis hijos son pequeños y aún, solo han sido expuestos al español. Mis respuestas están basadas en lo que creo pero aún no sé. / My children are small and yet they have only been exposed to Spanish. My responses are based on what I believe but do not know yet.
26. Being Bilingual/multilinguals has great advantage and immersion school shouldn’t cost high
27. I am an American, married to a Swiss person. We speak my spouse’s first language (Italian) and English at home, and our child attends a French private school. Spanish is clearly more relevant for California, but for our family and travels, it’s our child speaking Italian and French in addition to English works very well.
28. Bilingual programs are extremely important regardless of monetary cost. I believe it is so important for as many people as possible to participate in dual immersion education to become bilingual and biliterate.

Appendix H: Free Response Question 2 Responses

Free Response Question 2: Any additional thoughts about bilingual education in California that were not expressed through the questions above?

1. Starting non-English language classes at the high school level is a huge disservice to students as it is way more challenging to start learning a language in high school than elementary school.
2. My experience with it has been lackluster. I was fluent in Spanish as a kid and have since lost almost all of it. I took Spanish classes for 5 years in middle-high school and yet still do not retain much Spanish. The classes I took were fairly unhelpful as far as actually learning the language. I was in CA public schools. Currently I am trying to gain back what I lost but it is difficult not having people to talk to who can be patient while I learn.
3. A culture that supports bilingualism/multilingualism could possibly make things more equitable by lowering barriers to entry in things like higher education and better paying jobs.
4. Hoping to see more funds that will allow bi-lingual language education!
5. My hesitancy to invest is from the amount of money that schools have. Schools need money. Teachers, “regular” teachers, need money. Disabled students NEED specialized aids. If they hire specialized aids and pay six figures for them to just teach the same curriculum that doesn’t work, just have someone who passed Spanish in high school teach it because it’s not worth the investment. Every kid and adult I’ve met that has been through any bilingual, public school program feels proficient or below in both languages. TLDR part 2 - invest money in reinvention or just give all teachers a nice hearty raise.
6. School districts across California will have varying needs for additional support for English learning students, so policy state-wide would need to address these nuances. While there are most likely many teachers that are bilingual across the state, would there be sufficient teachers for each grade level that are bilingual in the second languages that the school district chooses to serve?
7. Bilingual programs are important.
8. The state of California has set goals for the 21 Century specifically for multilingual education.
9. These children need support for English from home. Many students parents are not proficient enough in English themselves to help. Community support for adults would be great.

10. Primary language support must include all primary languages. Too often, Spanish and Vietnamese are the only languages in which support is offered. It's not unusual, in some areas of California, for there to be 5 or more different primary languages in a single classroom.
11. There are no easy answers to this issue. Having taught bilingual children in California, having grown up with bilingual children, I wish I had been able to speak Spanish. Not being able to cognitively learn a foreign language does mean that person is NOT AS SMART. I really resented that particular statement!
12. There is a big difference between speaking a language and being literate. Schools must focus on literacy skills not just speaking. As a second language teacher I have never been able to justify the claim that bilingual employees make substantially more money. The most successful business people I know only use English in their jobs and I've met a lot of successful business people. Furthermore I would advise anyone new to this country that their main objective for their children should be developing English language skills. If we can support L1 that is awesome. If we can support positive [cultural identity] with L1 even better. However they're needs to be a respect and appreciation for this country and the English language. Cultivating respect for all people must be first and that's is difficult to find in todays society. Lastly, English proficiency cannot be measure but the awful tests we put second language learners through. And once a kid hits high school, the kids who have been categorized as non proficient seem to stay there or their results get worse. There are a lot of skills other than English that a student needs to pass those tests. Also it is interesting to evaluate why some cultures become English proficient quickly and others struggle greatly. Good luck with your studies. :-)
13. Students should not lean on their native language in order to learn English.
14. There is a huge difference between ELL, bilingual education, and dual immersion programs. ELL is supporting students while the learn English. It is not teaching in their primary language. Bilingual education is teaching students in both languages. Dual immersion is a choice to become proficient in two languages regardless of language of origin. I say this because some of the questions seem as if they were interchangeable.
15. At our site, I feel that sometimes that the acquisition of English for our EL students is negatively impacted by the focus of our English-only (and mostly white) students' need to acquire Spanish. It's almost like the EL students are in the program to serve the needs of the EO

students because the upper-grade classes (4th and 5th grade) do not adhere to the 50-50 model of English and Spanish. They still use more Spanish than English in those classes.
16. Losing your first language is alienating from your home's culture, something that shouldn't be considered a passing thing by education systems that push it to the side. The fact I am fluent in Spanish and English allows me to make more ties and at times translate for people who are struggling to be understood (in both Spanish and English).
17. I think that if programs are added into public schools, they need to be thoroughly thought out and as professionally designed as they are for private schools.
18. I feel that by supporting bilingual education it helps include more people from diverse communities
19. I know in terms of language justice, the needs of children from language backgrounds other than English are most important. However, the benefits of bilingual programs for children from monolingual English speaking families could also be emphasized to build political support as they really benefit everyone.
20. Doing the right thing and adequate funding rarely go hand in hand.
21. I think time and effort should be taken to create a well working program that targets bilingual and multilingual students
22. While it would be great for kids to have support of their native language while learning English, I am not sure how feasible that is if a school has ELL with various/multiple first languages. I wonder if a translation tech tool could help with that, as I think it would be excessively costly to provide first language support across a multitude of languages. I do however, see the value in this type of resource.
23. Mi miedo se meter a mis hijos en una escuela de inmersión es que se transfieran a una escuela no bilingüe y vayan atrasados con el inglés. O que después nos regresamos a nuestro país de habla hispana y yo no tuvieron oportunidad de aprender inglés. / The reason why I fear sending my children to an immersion school is that they'll transfer to a school which is not bilingual and they'll end up slacking in English. Or that if we return to our home country they would not have the opportunity to learn English.
24. In San Francisco, there seem to be good amount of public schools that are bilingual.
25. We should support children of immigrants and those that are immigrants themselves for their own sake, and for the sake of the California economy.

26. Some aspects of this are tricky. One thing is, it's amazing how fast children learn a new language if they're immersed in it. So I worry about providing assistance to a child that ultimately leaves them less fluent in English than they would have been without the help. Good luck with your project!
27. I think these are fairly easy in a community with only 1 or 2 dominant languages but in some communities with multiple language bases education can get very expensive and complicated.
28. I am curious as to how expensive it is to create/fund a successful dual immersion school versus just a monolingual school? Does it cost that much more to fund? Regardless of what the price is to create a successful program I think the education you receive is priceless and the gift of a bilingual education is worth it!